STATIVE VERBS IN KULINA

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ABSTRACT: Kulina is a language with a small number of adjectives in which most qualities and states are denoted by stative verbs. Stative and dynamic verbs have developed into distinct word classes with a series of differences in morphology and gender agreement.
KEYWORDS: Arawan; Kulina; stative verb.

INTRODUCTION

Kulina is spoken by around three thousand people in the Brazilian states of Amazonas and Acre and over five hundred in Peru. Together with Deni and Western Jamamadi, it belongs to the Madihá branch of the Arawan language family. The other known languages of the family are Arawá (extinct), Madi (consisting of the Banawá, Eastern Jamamadi and Jarawara varieties), Paumari, and Suruwahá.

Kulina has a small number of adjectives, which form a closed word class, a feature shared by other Arawan languages (Dixon 2004: 177). The majority of Kulina lexemes denoting properties or states are verbs. These verbs form one of two verbal subclasses, stative verbs, which can be distinguished from the other subclass, dynamic verbs, on morphosyntactic grounds. Corresponding verbal subclasses have not been reported from any related language, which suggests that they are an innovation.

1. GENDER

One of the differences between dynamic and stative verbs is their gender agreement. Kulina has two genders, masculine and feminine. Nouns referring to male humans are

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masculine, those referring to female humans are feminine and words which can refer to people of either sex, such as *ehedeni* 'child', can be used with either gender. When talking about people of both sexes, the masculine gender is used. Nouns referring to non-humans are divided between the two genders without any apparent rules.

Both dynamic and stative verbs, as well as some adjectives and words of various other word classes show gender agreement. In example (1), the adjective is masculine, agreeing with the masculine noun *wiwizo* 'sieve'. In example (2), the adjective is feminine, agreeing with the feminine noun *wiwithari* 'bench'.

(1)   *wiwizo   ime-i*
        sieve(M) big-M
        'The sieve is big.'

(2)   *wiwithari ime-ni*
        bench(F) big-F
        'The bench is big.'

The gender agreement patterns of dynamic and stative verbs are discussed in the following sections.

2. DYNAMIC VERBS

The two subclasses of Kulina verbs have been given semantic labels, 'dynamic' and 'stative', reflecting a diffence in meaning between most members of the two categories, but the defining criteria for the two categories are grammatical, not semantic, and some dynamic verbs, such as *pemi-* 'be hungry' and *pama-* 'be two', are semantically stative.

Dynamic verbs are of two main types, inflecting and non-inflecting. Kulina is a language with a rich verbal morphology and inflecting verbs allow the numerous verbal prefixes and suffixes to be attached directly to the verb root. But with the exception of the infinitive suffix *-de*, affixes cannot be attached to non-inflecting verbs.   These   verbs usually occur as bare roots followed by an auxiliary which takes all the affixes. There are two auxiliary verbs, *na-* and *ha-*, the use of which is lexically determined.

About a quarter of dynamic verbs are inflecting (3), while the vast majority are non-inflecting and take the auxiliary *na-* (4). Verbs with the auxiliary *ha-* (5) form the smallest

group, with just over a dozen attested members. In the text, inflecting verb stems are followed by a hyphen.

(3)   *o-hipa-de*
        1SG-eat-PAST
        'I ate.'

(4)   *zobi   o-na-de*
        dance 1SG-AUX-PAST
        'I danced.'

(5)   *nokho   o-ha-de*
        wake.up 1SG-AUX-PAST
        'I woke up.'

The person and number agreement of dynamic verbs follows a simple nominative-accusative pattern. All dynamic verbs agree in person only with their subject. Transitive and intransitive verbs show number agreement with their subject in the same way. Additionally, transitive verbs show number agreement with their object in ways that differ from subject number agreement.

The rules for gender agreement are more complex. Several TAM-suffixes and the negation suffix have masculine and feminine forms, which agree with the gender of one of the core arguments of the clause. While intrasitive verbs always agree with their subject, transitive verbs can agree either with their subject or their object, as shown in the following examples. Examples (6) and (7) are semantically similar, but in (6), the verb agrees with its feminine subject and in (7), with the masculine object.

(6)   *o-kha   amonehe bani   Ø-hipa-ni*
        1SG-ASS woman(F) meat(M) 3-eat-DECL.F
        'My wife ate meat.'

(7)   *amonehe tapa   apa i-na-i*
        woman(F) maize(M) eat   3-AUX-DECL.M
        'The woman ate maize.'

Which argument a transitive verb agrees with in gender depends on a variety of factors. While object agreement is more common, a few verbs always agree with their subject and a few other verbs agree with their subject under certain circumstances. There are also some argument configurations which require all verbs to agree in gender with their subject, e.g. when the subject is third person singular and the object is first or second person. The rules determining gender agreement are discussed in detail in Dienst (2008).

The reason for the difference in agreement between (6) and (7) above lies in the different verbs. The verb *hipa-* 'eat (meat)' has to agree in gender with its subject if the subject is third person, as in (6). The same rule does not apply to *apa na-* 'eat (vegetarian food)', which has to agree in gender with its object in (7).

3. STATIVE VERBS

Stative verbs can be divided into the following three categories:
- non-inflecting verbs with the auxiliary *na-*
- non-inflecting verbs with the auxiliary *hira-*
- inflecting verbs

Most stative verbs are non-inflecting and take the auxiliary *na-* (8). Those which take the auxiliary *-hira* form a small closed class (9). Most inflecting stative verbs denote colours (10).

(8)   *amonehe   akho   tani*
        amonehe   akho   to-na-ni
        woman(F) stingy 3-AUX-DECL.F
        'The woman is stingy.'

(9)   *ozabehe   mota Ø-ka-hira-ni*
        communal.house(F) big   3-NCL-AUX-DECL.F
        'The communal house is big.'

(10)   *amonehe=kha etero   weshe-ni*
        woman=ASS clothes(F) yellow-DECL.F
        'The woman's clothes are yellow.'

The various differences between stative and dynamic verbs are discussed below.

3.1 SUBJECT PERSON OF INFLECTING VERBS

Subject person of dynamic verbs is marked by a prefix, which is attached to inflecting verbs (3 above) and the auxiliary of non-inflecting verbs (4 and 5 above). For third person, the prefix is often zero (6 above). The auxiliaries of non-inflecting stative verbs are marked in the same way (9 and 10 above). But inflecting stative verbs don't have a subject person slot and the same prefixless forms are used for first person (11), second person (12), and third person (13).

(11)   *owa naki   makho-w-i*
          1SG also.F red-EPENTH-DECL.M
          'I'm also (painted) red.' (male speaker)

(12)   *tia sowe-i*
          2   black-DECL.M
          'You are (painted) black.' (male addressee)

(13)   *o-tetepi=kha   pako-ni*
          1SG-top-ASS white-DECL.F
          'My shirt(F) is white.'

When an inflecting stative verb is used without an overt subject, it is transformed into a non-inflecting verb with the auxiliary *na-*, which takes a subject person prefix (14).

(14)   *pako   tani*
          pako   to-na-ni
          white 3-AUX-DECL.F
          'It is white.' or 'She is (painted) white.'

3.2 THIRD PERSON SUBJECT PREFIX

Non-inflecting verbs with the auxiliary *na-* make up the majority of both stative and dynamic verbs and in some cases, as in (15) and (16), clauses with stative verbs and with intransitive dynamic verbs have exactly the same structure.

stative verb: (15)   *ibo o-na-ni*
                        lazy 1SG-AUX-DECL.F
                        'I'm lazy.'

dynamic verb: (16)   *hapi o-na-ni*
                        bath 1SG-AUX-DECL.F
                        'I'm bathing.'

But the difference between the verbs in (15) and (16) becomes clear when the subject is changed to a different person. The first person singular subject prefix is *o-* for both stative and dynamic verbs, but in the third person singular, stative verbs take the prefix *to-*, which is fused with the auxiliary stem *na-* (17), whereas intransitive dynamic verbs usually have zero (18).

stative verb: (17)   *ibo tai*
                        ibo to-na-i
                        lazy 3-AUX-DECL.M
                        'He is lazy.'

dynamic verb: (18)   *hapi Ø-na-i*
                        bath 3-AUX-DECL.M
                        'He is bathing.'

3.3 SECOND PERSON SUBJECT PREFIX

The second person prefix is *ti-* for both stative and dynamic verbs. In the case of dynamic verbs with the auxiliary *na-*, the prefix is usually fused with the auxiliary (20). This does not happen with stative verbs (19).

stative verb: (19) *oba   ti-na-ni*

　　　　　　　　　dirty 2-AUX-DECL.F

　　　　　　　　　'You are dirty.'

dynamic verb: (20) *awi to   taki?*

　　　　　　　　　awi to   ti-na-ki?

　　　　　　　　　tapir shoot 2-AUX-Q.F

　　　　　　　　　'Did you shoot a tapir?'

3.4 PLURAL MARKING

The plural of stative verbs is marked by the suffix *-khiri*, which can be attached to both inflecting and non-inflecting verbs (21).

(21)　*ia   bazima khara-khiri i-na-ni*

　　　1PL all   strong-PL   1PL-AUX-DECL.F

　　　'We are all strong.'

Inflecting verbs, such as *mopo* 'white' in (22), become non-inflecting when they are used with *-khiri* (23).

(22)　*o-kha   etero   mopo-ni*

　　　1SG-ASS clothes white-DECL.F

　　　'My clothes are white.'

(23)　*madiha bazima mopo-khiri Ø-na-i*

　　　Kulina all   white-PL   3-AUX-DECL.M

　　　'All the Kulina are (painted) white.'

In the second person, plural is additionally marked by the prefix *ke-* on the auxiliary *na-* (24).

(24)　*tia-deni shamo-khiri   ti-ke-na-ni*

　　　2-PL   not.know-PL 2-PL-AUX-DECL.F

　　　'You don't know (that).'

The suffix *-khiri* cannot be used with dynamic verbs. Inflecting dynamic verbs take the subject plural marker *-mana* (25). The auxiliary *na-* usually takes *ke-* as a plural subject marker (26). However, this prefix cannot co-occur with certain other affixes. When one or more of those affixes are used with *na-*, the plural marker *mana-* is employed instead of *ke-* (27).

(25) *amonehe bazima poo   i-kaari-mana-i*
      woman   all   manioc 3-cook-PL-DECL.M
      'All the women are cooking manioc.'

(26) *zanikowa khi Ø-ke-na-i*
      tortoise   find 3-PL-AUX-DECL.M
      'They found a tortoise.'

(27) *hizama   to   i-na-bakhi-mana-i*
      white.lipped.peccary shoot 3-AUX-PL.O-PL-DECL.M
      'They shot white-lipped peccaries.'

3.5 INFINITIVE

The infinitive suffix *-de* can be attached not only to inflecting dynamic verbs (28), but also to non-inflecting ones (29), which don't take an auxiliary in the infinitive. Stative verbs, however, cannot take the suffix *-de*.

(28) *hipa-de*
      eat-INF
      'to eat'

(29) *ba-de*
      weave-INF
      'to weave'

3.6 GENDER AGREEMENT WITH SUBJECT OR OBJECT

As explained in section 2, transitive dynamic verbs agree in gender either with their subject or with their object, with object agreement being more common. Some stative verbs can take a second argument (30) and a couple even a third (31), but these arguments are complements rather than objects and a stative verb cannot agree with one of them in gender. Stative verbs always agree in gender with their subject.

(30) *karia   athi   shamo   ta-i*
      karia   athi   shamo   to-na-i
      white.people language.M not.know 3-AUX-DECL.M
      'He doesn't know Portuguese.'

(31) *owa=za   zamatapa=kha akho   ti-na-ni*
      1SG=CMPL food=CMPL   stingy 2-AUX-DECL.F
      'You are stingy to me with food.'

3.7 FIRST AND SECOND PERSON GENDER AGREEMENT

When a dynamic verb agrees with a first or second person argument, it is always feminine, independently of the biological sex of the referent(s). This is also the case with auxiliaries used with non-inflecting stative verbs. But inflecting stative verbs are masculine when they agree with a male first or second person subject (11 and 12 above).

3.8 DEGREE MODIFIER BOTE

The degree modifier *bote* means 'very' when used with a stative verb (32) and 'almost' with a dynamic verb (33 and 34). Besides showing a semantic distinction, its morphosyntactic behaviour is also different with the two word classes. When *bote* 'very' is used after a non-inflecting stative verb, the auxiliary *na-* is omitted. When *bote* 'almost' is used after a dynamic verb, it is followed by an additional auxiliary *na-*. This applies not only to inflecting dynamic verbs (33), but also to non-inflecting ones with the auxiliary *na-* (34), so that these verbs are followed by two instances of *na-* when used with *bote*. The auxiliary following *bote* takes the usual verbal suffixes, but no prefixes.

(32) *makhidehe zokhe   bote*
       man   be.good.at.hunting very
       'The man is very good at hunting.'

(33) *Ø-wada-bote   na-ni*
        3-sleep-almost AUX-DECL.F
        'She's sleepy.' Literally 'She's almost sleeping.'

(34) *awi to   o-na-bote   na-ni*
       tapir shoot 1SG-AUX-almost AUX-DECL.F
       'I almost shot a tapir.'

This may be an instance of polysemy or homonymy, but in either case *bote* delivers two arguments for distinguishing dynamic and stative verbs. If it is a case of homonymy, the restriction of *bote* 'almost' to the use with dynamic verbs is one argument and the restriction of *bote* 'very' to the use with stative verbs is a separate argument. If it is a case of polysemy, the different meanings of the modifier with dynamic and stative verbs is one argument, and its different morphosyntactic behaviour with the different word classes is a second argument.

4. CONVERSION

Kulina allows the conversion of dynamic into stative verbs and vice versa. Dynamic verbs typically refer to specific past, present or future actions or processes. But a sentence like 'Tortoises walk slowly.' does not refer to any particular event. It has basically the same meaning as 'Tortoises are slow walkers.' or simply 'Tortoises are slow.' and refers to a property of tortoises. When dynamic verbs are used to describe a property or characteristic, they are converted into stative verbs. In this case, inflecting dynamic verbs take the auxiliary *na-*.

Example (35) is a description of a picture of a snake, which means that it refers to a particular situation, so that the verb *withari-* 'sit on a raised surface' is used in its basic function as an inflecting dynamic verb. Example (36) is a statement about the behaviour of leaf frogs in general. Hence, the dynamic verb is converted into a stative one.

(35)   *makhasheii*   *witha-ri-i*
       two-striped.forest.pitviper sit-on.raised.surface-DECL.M
       'A two-striped forest-pitviper is sitting on (a branch).'
       (description of a picture)

(36)   *awaza*   *withari*   *tai*   *akawa*
       awa=za   witha-ri   to-na-i   akawa
       tree=LOC sit-on.raised.surface 3-AUX-DECL.M leaf.frog
       'Leaf frogs sit on trees.'
       (description of a property of leaf frogs)

Stative verbs (37) can be converted into inflecting dynamic verbs to describe a change of state (38), rather than a state.

(37)   *bika o-na-ni*
       good 1sg-AUX-DECL.F
       'I'm well.'

(38)   *o-bika-na*
       1sg-good-NFUT
       'I'm going to get well.'

5. DENI VERBS

Kulina and Deni constitute the opposite ends of the Madihá dialect continuum. There are only minor differences between their phonologies and most of their basic vocabulary is identical. Grammatical differences, however, are more pronounced. Deni is not known to distinguish stative and dynamic verbs. It has a higher proportion of inflecting verbs than Kulina, including many that correspond to Kulina stative verbs, as shown below. This indicates that the distinction between stative and dynamic verbs in Kulina is a relatively recent innovation. It is therefore remarkable that there is a sizeable number of grammatical differences between the two categories, as shown above. Kulina seems to have accumulated those differences within a short period of time, thereby reinforcing the status of stative and dynamic verbs as separate lexical categories.

Kulina stative verbs	Deni inflecting verbs[2]	
abika na-	*abika-*	'be hot'
ibo na-	*ibu-*	'be lazy'
matiti na-	*matiti-*	'be sticky'
mero na-	*meru-*	'be slippery'
oki na-	*uki-*	'be fat'
panana na-	*pana-*	'be hot' (chilli)
shiaha na-	*shivaha-*	'be bright'
siba na-	*siba-*	'be numerous'
wahi na-	*vahi-*	'be far'

6. CONCLUSION

Stative and dynamic verbs in Kulina are distinct lexical categories showing a considerable number of grammatical differences. This is the result of grammatical changes that occurred largely along semantic lines and split verbs into two lexical classes, a development that is unique within the Arawan family, setting Kulina apart even from its closest relatives.

ABBREVIATIONS

ASS	associative
AUX	auxiliary
CMPL	complement marker
DECL	declarative
EPENTH	epenthetic consonant
F	feminine
INF	infinitive
LOC	locative
M	masculine
NCL	noun class

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[2] The Deni data are from Koop and Koop (1985).

NFUT	near future
O	direct object
PAST	prehodiernal past tense
Q	interrogative
SG	singular
TAM	tense, aspect, mood, modality, evidentiality

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RESUMO: Kulina é uma língua com um pequeno número de adjetivos em que a maioria de qualidades e estados é denotada por verbos estativos. Verbos estativos e dinâmicos se tornaram classes de palavras distintas com uma série de diferenças na morfologia e na concordância de gênero.
PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Arawá; Kulina; verbo estativo.

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