

A typological rarity: The grammaticalization of Garifuna auxiliary verbs**Kevin Hughes**

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ABSTRACT. Garifuna is an Arawakan language that is unusual for placing its auxiliaries after verbs. Typologically, VO languages like Garifuna typically place auxiliaries before verbs (Aux V), and OV languages typically place them after (V Aux). This follows from the fact that auxiliaries often grammaticalize from verbs which take other verbs as complements. It is argued here that the Garifuna auxiliaries, though auxiliary-like in other respects, did not develop from such verbs, and so do not have the expected syntax. Cognates across the Arawakan family are identified, showing that the Garifuna auxiliaries are related to a range of morphemes that are mostly suffixes and postpositions, and which tend to follow verbs. The Garifuna auxiliaries are not unusual in comparison to their cognates. They only seem unusual because they have been labeled auxiliaries and this category comes with certain structural expectations.*

Keywords: Arawakan, auxiliary verbs, Garifuna, grammatical categories, grammaticalization, word order typology

1. INTRODUCTION. Garifuna is an Arawakan (Maipuran) language spoken primarily in Central America and among diaspora populations in the US. The language maintains an unexpected syntactic structure with respect to its auxiliary verbs. Although Garifuna is a VO language, it places auxiliaries after verbs rather than before them. Typologically, VO languages are expected to place auxiliaries before verbs, as summarized by Greenberg’s 16th universal (1966): “In languages with dominant order VSO, an inflected auxiliary always precedes the main verb. In languages with dominant order SOV, an inflected auxiliary always follows the main verb.” While claiming this is always the case overstates the situation, there is a strong statistical tendency supporting the correlation, as shown in table 1, adapted from Dryer (1992:83, 100). Numbers in table 1 represent groups of related languages, sorted by geographic distribution and their verb/object and verb/aux orderings. Garifuna belongs in the shaded row.

	Africa	Eurasia	SE Asia & Oceania	Australia & New Guinea	North America	South America	TOTAL
OV & V AUX	5	12	2	8	1	8	36
OV & AUX V	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
VO & V AUX	1	1	0	1	0	1	4
VO & AUX V	15	5	3	0	4	1	28

TABLE 1. Typological correlation of word order and auxiliary placement, Dryer 1992:100

This correlation is grounded in the diachronic development of auxiliaries. Auxiliaries commonly grammaticalize from verbs which take verb complements (Anderson 2006:11-12, Bybee 2010:111). In particular, they develop from phrasal heads with verb complements, henceforth ‘head verbs’, which follow the prototypical linear order for verbs and objects in their respective

languages (Anderson 2006:23). VO languages typically have Aux V ordering and OV languages typically have V Aux ordering because ‘Aux’ corresponds to ‘V’, and ‘V’ corresponds to ‘O’ historically, as shown in figure 1.

Figure 1: Typical structural development for auxiliaries

$$V_{\text{head}} O_{\text{comp.}} : V_{\text{head}} V_{\text{comp.}} \rightarrow \text{AUX}_{\text{head}} V_{\text{comp.}}$$

$$O_{\text{comp.}} V_{\text{head}} : V_{\text{comp.}} V_{\text{head}} \rightarrow V_{\text{comp.}} \text{AUX}_{\text{head}}$$

The Garifuna auxiliaries differ from most others in that they appear not to have their sources in head verbs. Cognates of the Garifuna auxiliaries identified here are mostly suffixes and adpositions, there is a tendency for them to come after verbs, and none of them are fully restricted to pre-verb positions. Garifuna auxiliaries are otherwise quite typical of the auxiliary category.¹ They encode tense and aspect, they occur adjacent to verbs, they carry inflection, and they are independent words rather than affixes. They have generally followed trajectories of semantic change that are common for auxiliaries and other tense-aspect marking morphology, and also happen to have grammaticalized in verb-adjacent position. Together, these factors allowed for the development of morphemes that meet most of the criteria by which the auxiliary category has been defined, though which do not meet the one that is responsible for their typical position relative to verbs; grammaticalization from head verbs.

It is notable that many cognates of the Garifuna auxiliaries are affixes. Auxiliaries in general can be considered ‘free grammatical’ morphemes, falling between syntactic expressions and inflectional morphology with regard to their degree of fusion (Bybee 1985:12). It may be that the Garifuna auxiliaries have not further grammaticalized into affixes because of Garifuna’s

system of inflectional morphology. The prefixes employed by the system not only affix to auxiliaries, but also to verbs, nouns, and prepositions, all of which can occur in the same position as the auxiliaries – immediately following verbs, as shown in 1.² If this system was in place before the auxiliaries began to grammaticalize, it could help explain why they have not further grammaticalized into verb affixes. A system of agreement which treated the grammaticalizing morphemes as stems could have afforded them a greater degree of independence relative to preceding verbs than they might otherwise have had.

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) a. <u>auxiliary</u>
alíha na-gi-ru
read 1S-AUX.CNT-3SF
'I still read it' | b. <u>verb complement</u>
busíña-tina n-alíha-nu
want-1S 1S-read-3SF
'I want to read it (fem.)' |
| c. <u>possessive complement</u>
alíha-tibu nu-garúdia
read-2S 1S-book
'You read my book' | d. <u>preposition</u>
alíha-tibu n-úma
read-2S 1S-with
'You read with me' |

On a purely synchronic view, there is no clear answer to why the Garifuna auxiliaries maintain their unusual syntax. Some have suggested that perhaps they are equivalent to tense suffixes, or are otherwise part of the verb complex (Kaufman 2010:14, Sheil 2013:4-5), though this is problematic because they can take prefixes themselves and appear to have their own lexical stress. On the view that grammatical categories are emergent rather than predetermined (Haspelmath 2007), their status as a member of the category 'auxiliary' is purely descriptive. The explanation for why the Garifuna auxiliaries are as they are will be found in how they have changed over time and what shaped this change, rather than how they have been labeled.

2. METHODOLOGY. In order to investigate where the Garifuna auxiliaries came from, texts describing several Arawakan languages were examined with the goal of identifying cognates and observing their structural distribution. In the following sections, the auxiliaries are considered individually and cognates are posited based on semantic and phonological comparison. Data comes from sources cited herein, including academic papers, descriptive grammars and accompanying texts. Identification of cognates draws on Arawakan lexical reconstructions proposed by Payne (1991),³ and common pathways of grammaticalization established by Bybee and colleagues (1994), with one exception (see §3). The latter work was of particular importance for determining a reasonable semantic range for the cognates, as it presents evidence linking specific source semantics to specific types of tense-aspect-modality across languages. For some languages, a cognate could not be identified for a given Garifuna auxiliary, in which case that language is not discussed in the relevant section.

The majority of these cognates are affixes and adpositions, many being suffixes. With a few exceptions, these forms are not categorized as auxiliaries in their respective languages, and where they are I cannot distinguish between the author's conception of 'auxiliary' and a tense-aspect suffix. The Garifuna auxiliaries do not appear unusual when compared to their cognates. If cognates across the Arawakan family turned out to be mostly basic verbs, of the kind prone to grammaticalization (see Bybee et al. 1994), or tense-aspect affixes which align with the position of head verbs, then the placement of Garifuna's auxiliaries would be more mysterious. As it stands, it appears they are only unusual because they happen to be auxiliary-like even though they did not develop from head verbs. They most likely developed from morphemes that were frequently in post-verb positions, as many of their cognates apparently did.

Auxiliary	Transitivity	Affirmative pattern	Negative pattern	154
\emptyset immediate future	Intransitive	S-verb		
	Transitive	A-verb-O		
\emptyset non-future	Intransitive	verb-S	NEG-verb-S	
	Transitive	verb A- <i>umu</i> -O	NEG-verb A- <i>umu</i> -O	
<i>ba</i> future	Intransitive	S-verb <i>ba</i>	NEG-verb <i>ba</i> -S	
	Transitive	A-verb <i>ba</i> -O	NEG-verb A- <i>ba</i> -O	
<i>ña</i> progressive	Intransitive	S-verb <i>ña</i>	NEG S-verb <i>ña</i>	
	Transitive	A-verb <i>ña</i> -O	NEG A-verb <i>ña</i> -O	
<i>(h)a</i> perfect	Intransitive	verb <i>(h)a</i> -S	NEG-verb <i>(h)a</i> -S	
	Transitive	verb A- <i>(h)a</i> -(O)	NEG-verb A- <i>(h)a</i> -(O)	
<i>gi</i> continuative	Intransitive	verb <i>gi</i> -S	NEG-verb <i>gi</i> -S	
	Transitive	verb A- <i>gi</i> -O	NEG-verb A- <i>gi</i> -O	

TABLE 2. Garifuna verb-aux agreement patterns

Table 2, adapted from Kaufman (2010:10), shows the structure of Garifuna auxiliary verb constructions. S, A and O denote the position of agreement affixes which themselves have a complex distribution, the description of which could fill an entire thesis of its own (Holmes 1987). There are seven different series of these affixes, and seven morphemes in each series. The selection of the series and the affix depends on gender, person, number, negation, and additional

complexities that, to my knowledge, have not been fully worked out. Ekulona (2000) provides more detailed information on the affixes and their distribution.

3. THE NON-FUTURE TRANSITIVE AUXILIARY. The auxiliary *umu* is only used in non-future transitive constructions. The analysis I present for this morpheme is different from the others in that there is no appeal to tense-aspect grammaticalization. Instead, I suggest the grammaticalization of *umu* relates to transitivity, probably deriving from *úma*, a preposition meaning ‘with’. A form meaning ‘with’ is not a likely candidate for tense-aspect grammaticalization, but is potentially a good candidate for becoming a transitive marker. I suggest that *umu* is a relatively recent addition to the auxiliary series, and that it came to be used in non-future constructions by means of filling a gap. Existing auxiliaries encoded transitivity, though none in past or simple present tenses (see table 2). Because *úma* had no predisposition towards a particular tense-aspect itself, it came to encode non-future as it was incorporated into the auxiliary series. No other languages examined here had a morpheme marking transitivity that was a probable cognate for *umu*, suggesting that this is an innovation particular to Garifuna. Cognates for *umu* are mostly comitative and instrumental markers (see table 3).

Morphemes encoding transitivity tend to develop from verbs with meanings such as ‘want’, ‘make/do’, ‘have’, ‘take’, ‘give’, ‘get’, ‘bring’, ‘hold’, ‘put’, ‘see’, and ‘consume’ (Ninio 1999:639). What unifies these is that they employ a basic notion of transitivity; the connection of two entities. A form meaning ‘with’ fits this criteria well, even if it might not be categorized as a verb. It also fits the more general criteria that sources for grammaticalization embody basic, irreducible notions (Bybee et al. 1994:9-10), and that they occur with sufficient frequency in the relevant structural position. Both *umu* and *úma* commonly occur after verbs, as shown in 2 and 3.

An account of the suggested grammaticalization pathway from *úma* to *umu* is given in 4.

- (2) a. subúdi b-umu-ti sán
 know 2S-AUX.NF.TR-3SM INT
 ‘Did you know him?’
- b. m-a-súbudi-ru n-umu-ti
 NEG-VBL-know-VBL 1S-AUX.NF.TR-3SM
 ‘I did not know him’
- (3) a. dúnguwa-tibu l-úma n-amúlei
 meet.NF-2S 3SM-with 1S-brother
 ‘Did you meet up with my brother?’
- b. b-áiga n-úma
 2S-eat.IF 1S-with
 ‘Eat with me’ (Taylor 1956a:31)

(4) Proposed grammaticalization pathway for *umu*

Stage 1 *úma* begins to be used outside of prepositional constructions, employing an agreement pattern typical of verb complements.

alíha-tina n-úma-tu
 read.NF-1S 1S-with-3SF
 ‘I read with her/it’ (lit. ‘I read, I with her/it’)

Stage 2 *úma* increases in frequency in this type of construction and becomes more semantically bleached, maintaining only a basic notion of transitivity

alíha-tina n-úma-tu
 read.NF-1S 1S-trans.-3SF
 ‘I read it (fem.)’

Stage 3 *úma* diverges phonetically and the agreement suffix on the main verb is not used, matching existing auxiliary patterns.

alíha n-umu-tu
 read 1S-AUX.NF.TR-3SF
 ‘I read it (fem.)’

Proto-Arawakan	*-ima	with, husband, or spouse
Garifuna doublet	<i>úma</i>	with
Arawak (Lokono)	<i>oma</i> <i>abo</i>	Comitative postposition. <i>de oma</i> 'with me' Instrumental postposition. <i>adadyña abo</i> 'with a branch'
Wayuu (Guajiro, Wayuunaiki)	<i>(a)maa</i>	Comitative postposition/suffix. <i>nĩ-maa</i> 'with him'. Wise (1990) suggests it may be cognate with <i>imo</i> , a Campa morpheme meaning 'in the presence of'.
	<i>ĩmá, amá</i> <i>huma</i>	Comitative. Takes person affixes. <i>p-ĩmá</i> 'with you'. Originally 'with'. Now used as a preposition in particular phrases. <i>huma pe'kera</i> , 'in order to search (for lost cattle)'.
Paraujano	<i>mo</i> <i>oomi</i>	Comitative. <i>wa-mo</i> 'with us'. Proximate. <i>nĩ-oomi</i> 'where he is'.
Bare	<i>ima, emã</i> <i>abi</i>	Comitative. <i>n-ima</i> 'with me' Comitative/proximate. <i>n-abi</i> 'with/by me'
Maipure	<i>tãmi</i> <i>(-)inã</i>	Comitative postposition. <i>Pero tami</i> , 'with Peter'. Comitative/instrumental postposition. <i>vi-inã</i> , 'with us'. <i>suvi inã</i> , 'with a stick'.
Tariana	<i>-ne</i> <i>-ine</i>	Comitative/instrumental case suffix. <i>hipole-peri-ne</i> , green-COL-with, 'with the green ones'. Comitative/instrumental case suffix for pronouns. <i>nu-ine</i> , 'with me'

TABLE 3. Proposed cognates for *umu* ⁴

4. THE FUTURE AUXILIARY. The auxiliary *ba* conveys future tense in Garifuna. Morphemes encoding future tense typically have sources with meanings of directional movement, desire, obligation or ability (Bybee et al. 1991, 1994:243-279). Payne (1991: 380) reconstructs proto-Arawakan **-ape* or **abe* ‘directional, arriving, approaching, motion’, which is potentially the source for *ba*. However, Payne (1990:78) also notes that suffixes denoting directional movement and having a shape similar to *pa* are an areal feature for some South American languages. Payne cites *-pu*, *-pa*, *-op*, *-ap*, *-ahp*, and *-pe*, which mean ‘arrival to here/there’ in Quechua, Mapudungun, Terêna, Piro, Amuesh and Waurá respectively. It is unclear if Garifuna’s *ba* derives from **abe* or a variant of the areal *pa*, or if perhaps these are related forms. It does not seem to be the case that *ba* developed from a head verb.

Several Garifuna constructions featuring *ba* are given in 5. Table 4 lists proposed cognates of *ba* from several Arawakan languages. Each cognate is described as a suffix or clitic in consulted texts, except for Garifuna where it has been called an auxiliary.

- (5) a. n-arúmugu ba
 1S-sleep AUX.FUT
 ‘I will sleep’
- b. m-alíha nu-bo-un
 NEG-read 1S-AUX.FUT-3SF
 ‘I will not read it’
- c. t-afara be-i Mully wügüru
 3SF-hit AUX.FUT-3SM Mully man
 ‘Mully will hit the man’ (Ekulona 2000:23)

Arawak (Lokono)	<i>-fa</i>	Future tense suffix. Pronounced [ɸa]. <i>li fara-fa</i> , he fight-FUT, 'he will fight'.
	<i>-ba</i>	Suffix indicating movement away from the speaker. <i>l-osa-ba</i> , 3S-go-away, 'He went away'.
Wayuu (Guajiro, Wayuunaiki)	<i>-pa, -pala</i>	Prospective 'auxiliary'. <i>ta-ahuta-pa</i> , 1S-throw-FUT, 'I'm going to throw (it).'
Paraujano	<i>-mi</i>	Allative suffix. <i>hĩ-mi</i> , 3F-towards, 'towards her'.
Maipure	<i>-mà</i>	Future tense suffix. <i>nu-nava-mà</i> , I-see-FUT, 'I will see'.
	<i>-macùma</i>	Irrealis suffix. Analyzed as <i>macù-ma</i> 'future + past'. <i>ua-mavà-macùma</i> , 1P-die-IRR, 'we might die'.
Tariana	<i>-mhade</i>	Future suffix, sometimes with sense of uncertainty. <i>wa-sape-mhade</i> , 1P-talk-FUT, 'we will talk'.
	<i>-mha</i>	Present non-visual evidential suffix. <i>di-nu-mha</i> , he-come-PNV, 'he is coming' (speaker cannot see him).
Resígaro	<i>-vá</i>	Future tense clitic. <i>xuukhoótsi-tshí-vá</i> , sunday-if-FUT, 'if it's Sunday'.

TABLE 4. Proposed cognates for *ba*⁵

5. THE PROGRESSIVE AUXILIARY. The Garifuna progressive auxiliary is *ña*, pronounced [ɲa]. Progressives regularly develop from sources such as locatives, verbs for 'live' or 'reside', and stative verbs such as 'sit', 'stand' or 'lie' (Bybee et al. 1994:129-130). For Garifuna, Bybee and colleagues have suggested that the progressive auxiliary developed from *ya* (in Taylor's transcription *ia*), meaning 'here' (Bybee et al. 1994:128).⁶ Apparently, *ya* is also an iterative morpheme in modern Garifuna (see 6 below). Grammaticalization pathways for iteratives are

largely the same as those for progressives (Bybee et al. 1994:160-164), so it is reasonable to suggest that these *ya* morphemes share the same source, or are perhaps still the same word for Garifuna speakers. Examples of *ya* as an iterative stem, independent word, and suffix are given in 6a-c, respectively.

- (6) a. nu-méisturu ya-dibu
 1S-teacher ITR-2S
 ‘You are my teacher again’
- b. wéiri ya a-li
 big ITR AUX.PRF-3MS
 ‘He is grown up’ (lit. ‘he got bigger bit by bit’)
- c. m-áfarun-dügu-ya b-a-dina
 NEG-hit-FRQ-ITR 2S-AUX.PRF-1S
 ‘You’re not hitting me anymore’

Payne (1991:381) reconstructs proto-Arawakan *-*ena*, which is potentially the source for both *ya* and the progressive auxiliary *ña*. Payne glosses the form as ‘continuative existential’, which can be taken to mean ‘remain here’ or ‘be here’. Some examples of auxiliary constructions using *ña* are given in 7. Table 5 lists proposed cognates and example phrases.

- (7) a. n-aliha ña
 1S-read AUX.PRG
 ‘I am reading now’
- b. n-a-báhüda-ha ña ába úruga
 1S-VBL-tell-VBL AUX.PRG one story
 ‘I’m telling a story’
- c. m-arúmugu ña-dina
 NEG-sleep AUX.PRG-1S
 ‘I’m not sleeping these days’

Proto-Arawakan	*-ena	progressive, gerund, continuative existential
Garifuna doublet	ya (ia)	'here', iterative
Arawak (Lokono)	-ja jaha, jadi, jara	Past tense suffix with continuative aspect. <i>tho-boka-ja</i> , she-cook-PST.CNT, 'she was cooking (a meal).' Variants of 'here'. <i>jara-ka bo</i> , here-IND you, 'you are here'.
Wayuu (Guajiro, Wayuunaiki)	ya(-), yaya, yala ia / ya ⁸	Variants of 'here'. <i>ya-haci</i> , here-MS, 'a man who was here'. Stem of pronouns. <i>p-ia</i> , 2S-here, 'you'. <i>ta-ya</i> , 1s-here, 'I'.
Paraujano	-naa ye, aye	Iterative suffix. <i>na-po-naa-i</i> , 3P-dig-ITR-SUB, 'they dig repeatedly (cultivate)'. Variants of 'here'. <i>a-mi ye</i> , ATR-to here, 'come here'
Wapishana	-'naa	Suffix denoting action already in progress. <i>pakiz umako-'naa</i> , cowboy go-already, 'The cowboy is already going'.
Bare	-ni	Imperfective suffix. <i>u-dumá-ka-ni</i> , 3sf-sleep-THM-IMP, 'she was sleeping'.
Palikur	-ye, -yo -ne, -no ay	Durative suffix. <i>hiyeg barew-ye</i> , person beautiful-DUR.M, 'an utterly beautiful person'. Continuative suffix. <i>ig hakis-ota-ne</i> , he rub-eye-CNT.M, 'he continued rubbing his eye'. 'here'. <i>ay-ne-wa</i> , here-same-EMP, 'immediately'.
Maipure	-ina ia / ja ⁹	Continuative suffix. <i>ua-kinana-ri-ina</i> , 1P-forgive-REL-CNT, 'we are forgiving (them)' Stems of pronouns. <i>nu-ja</i> , 1S-here, 'I'. <i>p-ia</i> , 2S-here, 'you'.
Tariana	yã ema	'stay, live, or be inside'. <i>na-yã</i> , 3p-stay/live, 'they live (in a place)'. Verb meaning 'stand' or indicating a prolonged action when following another verb. <i>di-ema</i> , 3SM-stand, 'he was standing'.

TABLE 5. Proposed cognates of *ña*⁷

6. THE PERFECT AUXILIARY. The auxiliary (*h*)a conveys perfect aspect in Garifuna. Morphemes encoding perfect, perfective, passive, resultative or completive aspect, as well as past tense,

develop largely from verbs of two types; stative verbs such as *have*, *remain*, and *wait*, and dynamic verbs indicating a change of state, such as *finish* (Bybee et al. 1994:55-56).¹⁰ Comparative work by Wise (1990) on valence-changing affixes in Arawakan languages may shed light on how this applies to Garifuna and its relatives. Wise presents a set of cognate morphemes found in many Arawakan languages, which she describes as “perfective / verbalizing / causative / thematic suffixes” (1990:96). These are proposed to derive from **k^ha-*, a root meaning ‘make’ or ‘do’ (Wise 1990:102, 105). This meaning could be called dynamic in that acts of making and doing result in something created, changed or completed. Separately, Payne reconstructs proto-Arawakan **-k^ha* ‘perfect (perfective, habitual)’ (1991:381), but also, **-ka* or **k^ha* ‘passive’ (1991:379). These may represent the same form that Wise suggests.

Some of Garifuna’s relatives offer evidence of transition from a morpheme meaning ‘to make’ or ‘to do’, to another, more generalized morpheme with a resultative or verbalizing meaning. In Resígaro, for example, *khú* exists simultaneously as a verb meaning ‘to make or do’ and a verbalizing suffix (Allin 1976b:425). Also to note is Eherman’s description of Wayuu *-ka* as a ‘logical contingent’ (1972:73-74), which often attaches to verbs in subordinate clauses indicating a logical relationship to another clause, but also to non-subordinate clauses where it can indicate something akin to perfect aspect.

Examples of constructions using *(h)a* are given in 8. Table 6 lists proposed cognates and provides some examples of their usage. It is unlikely that *(h)a* developed from a head verb, though it is possible that the proposed source morpheme **k^ha* could be labeled a verb, or that it behaved as a verb in Proto-Arawakan. These morphemes should not have occurred with regularity in pre-verb positions, as they are typically post-verbal across the Arawakan family.

Proto-Arawakan	*-k ^h a	passive, perfect, to make or do
Garifuna doublet	-ha	verbalizer
Arawak (Lokono)	-ka	Present perfect or perfective suffix. <i>kawa-ka-i</i> , absent-PRF-3SM, 'he is gone'.
Wayuu (Guajiro, Wayuunaiki)	-ka, -kala, -kaka	Variants of a 'logical contingent' marker. <i>emira-kaka taya</i> , be.full-LC I 'But I'm full' (in response to a command to eat)
Wapishana	-kao	Passive suffix. <i>u-bo'ti-t-kao</i> , he-lasso-TR-PSV, 'he is lassoed'.
Palikur	-ka	Passive suffix. <i>keh-kis-ka paxnik payt ri-t</i> , make-cause-PSV four house by-3M 'four houses were made by him.'
	-ha	Verbalizing suffix.
Maipure	-à	Verbalizing suffix. <i>capi-à</i> , hand-VBL, 'bring, take'.
Tariana	ka- ... -kana ... -a	Passive circumfix, often accompanied by an auxiliary meaning 'go, do, give'. <i>hane ka-ñha-kana-mhade di-a</i> , this.one REL-eat-PSV-FUT 3SM-AUX 'this one will be getting eaten up'.
Resígaro	khú	Verb meaning 'to make or do'. Verbalizing suffix. <i>mapiitsí</i> 'bad omen', <i>mapiitsí-khú</i> 'to presage, forebode'.

TABLE 6. Proposed cognates for (h)a ¹¹

- (8) a. alíha n-a-ru garúdia to
 read 1S-AUX.PRF-3SF book 3SF.this
 'I have read this book'
- b. ma-sánda ha-ru
 NEG-sick AUX.PRF-3FS
 'She's not sick anymore'
- c. dará n-a funédere
 open 1S-AUX.PRF window
 'I have opened the window'

7. THE CONTINUATIVE AUXILIARY. The Garifuna auxiliary *gi* conveys continuative aspect.

Continuative morphemes have sources similar to those for iteratives, frequentives, progressives, habituals, and imperfectives, with meanings of sustained location, such as 'sit', 'remain', or 'be' in a place (Bybee et al. 1994:164-165). Payne (1991:81) reconstructs proto-Arawakan **-ki* 'imperfective, durative, habitual, progressive', but this gloss does not give a clear idea of what the original meaning may have been. These aspectual types all involve the association of an event or state in the past with an identical event or state in the present or future. Based on this observation and cross-linguistic comparison, I suggest that *gi* developed from a morpheme meaning 'again', 'in this way' or 'thusly', though I follow Payne in his phonological reconstruction, **-ki*. Several constructions using *gi* are given in 9. Table 7 lists proposed cognates and example phrases. It seems unlikely that *gi* developed from a head verb. In fact, Payne seems to reconstruct the form as a suffix or post-positioned morpheme (1991:81).

- (9) a. alíha gi-dina
 read AUX.CNT-1S
 'I still read'
- b. alíha na-gi-ru
 read 1S-AUX.CNT-3SF
 'I still read it'

c. ma-sánda gi-ru
 NEG-sick AUX.CNT-3SF
 'She's not sick yet' (lit. She continues not to be sick)

Proto-Arawakan	*-ki	again, in this way
Arawak (Lokono)	<i>khi</i> <i>khi ... ba</i> <i>khidin</i>	'thusly', 'same', references a previously mentioned situation 'thusly, again'. <i>da-jonto-fa balhinia khi ba</i> 1S-pay-FUT though thusly again 'I will pay you back again the same way'. 'same action'
Wayuu (Guajiro, Wayuunaiki)	<i>-ku</i> <i>-kú má</i> <i>akuaippa</i>	'incessant-incomplete auxiliary'. Denotes repetition and continual attempt. <i>ta-ala.aha-ku</i> , 1S-return-AUX 'I've been coming back and forth'. Suffix indicating repeated, continual or poorly timed action. <i>ánta-kú má</i> , 'arrive at a bad time, repeatedly, or in many locations.' 'manner, way, form, conduct, custom'. Likely a reference to repeated actions or states, ways of being. Possible doublet with <i>-kú má</i> and cognate to Arawak <i>khi ba</i> .
Palikur	<i>akiw</i> <i>ke</i>	'again'. <i>ir tipik akiw</i> , he went again, 'he left again'. 'similar, like'. <i>ir tipik ke mayrbetite</i> , he went like wind, 'he went like the wind'.
Tariana	<i>ka:</i> <i>kayu, kayi</i> <i>ke:, ki:</i> <i>khi</i>	'just like this'. Rarely used. Appears in idiomatic expressions. <i>ka: di-ka</i> , 'despise', lit. 'look like this'. 'like, like so, thusly'. <i>kayi-na-ki-ka</i> , so-3P-do-SUB, 'they do like so'. Contraction of <i>kayu, kayi</i> 'having a form like this', deictic accompanied by a manual gesture.
Resígaro	<i>-ké</i>	Habitual suffix. <i>hipáphavée-ké no-khú</i> , wash.oneself-HAB 1S-do, 'I used to wash myself.'

TABLE 7. Proposed cognates for *gi*¹²

9. CONCLUSION. The Garifuna auxiliaries have been considered typologically unusual because they are placed after verbs even though Garifuna is a VO language. However, when cognates across the Arawakan family are examined, the Garifuna auxiliaries do not seem so unusual. These cognates look much like the Garifuna auxiliaries in their shape and morphosyntactic distribution, though many are less independent, being affixes. It seems that the Garifuna auxiliaries are considered unusual primarily because they are labeled auxiliaries, and not because they are especially aberrant, at least from a diachronic perspective.

Grammatical categories like ‘auxiliary’ are abstractions rather than predetermined categories (Hasplemath 2007), and membership in any given category is gradient. The Garifuna auxiliaries are particularly interesting because they followed expected grammaticalization trajectories for auxiliaries along semantic criteria, but have only partly developed as expected along syntactic criteria, being verb adjacent but on the ‘wrong’ side of the verb. This is a direct result of the structural distribution of their sources historically, which appear not to have been head verbs or morphemes otherwise restricted to pre-verb positions. Their unexpected positioning is unproblematic, so long as the auxiliary category is taken as a descriptive abstraction rather than an innate or universal category in itself. On this view, the label ‘auxiliary’ is of little theoretical consequence. Although the label is a reasonable descriptor in many ways, it does not explain why the Garifuna auxiliaries are as they are. Considering the probable diachronic development of the Garifuna auxiliaries offers an explanation for their unexpected syntactic position.

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¹ See Heine (1993:22-24) for a discussion on how the auxiliary category has been defined.

² Glosses in tables and numbered examples have been adapted to fit analyses proposed here.

Where no source for a Garifuna example is cited, examples are from fieldwork conducted over the summer of 2012, in the Bronx, New York. Abbreviations include: 1 ‘first person’, 2 ‘second person’, 3 ‘third person’, ATR ‘attributive’, AUX ‘auxiliary’, CNT ‘continuative’, COL ‘collective’, DUR ‘durative’, EMP ‘emphatic’, F ‘feminine’, FUT ‘future’, FRQ ‘frequentive’, HAB ‘habitual’, IF ‘immediate future’, IMP ‘imperfect’, IND ‘indicative’, IRR ‘irrealis’, ITR ‘iterative’, LC ‘logical contingent’, M ‘masculine’, NEG ‘negative’, NF ‘non-future’, NM ‘non-masculine’, P ‘plural’, PNV ‘present non-visual’, PRF ‘perfect’, PRG ‘progressive’, PST ‘past’, PSV ‘passive’, REL ‘relative’, S ‘singular’, SUB ‘subordinate’, THM ‘thematic’, TR ‘transitive’, VBL ‘verbalizer’.

³ Payne uses the name Maipurán to refer to the Arawakan language family. The names Arawakan, Arawak, Maipurán, and Maipurean have been used by various authors to refer to the same language group.

⁴ In this and other tables, Arawakan languages more closely related to Garifuna appear nearer the top, and ones more distantly related appear nearer the bottom. For more details on the structure of the Arawakan family, see Kaufman (1994) and Aikhenvald (1999). Examples and references for table 3 can be found in the following sources: Proto-Arawakan (Payne 1991:409), Garifuna (Hadel 1975b:397), Arawak (Pet 2011:27, 53, 208), Wayuu (Captain and Captain 2005:18; Ehrman 1972; Holmer 1949c:151, 155; Wise 1990:101; Zubiri and Jusayu 1986:165, 178),

Paraujano (Patte 1989:65-66, 92), Bare (Aikhenvald 1995:7, 13), Maipure (Zamponi 2003:34-35, 60), Tariana (Aikhenvald 2006:140, 142).

⁵ Examples and references can be found in the following sources: Proto-Arawakan (Payne 1991:380), Arawak (Pet 2011:8, 24, 30-31, 34, 36, 112), Wayuu (Ehrman 1972:95, Holmer 1949c:149), Paraujano (Patte 1989:62, 108), Bare (Aikhenvald 1995:7, 13), Maipure (Zamponi 2003:39, 41), Tariana (Aikhenvald 2006:43, 216), Resígaro (Allin 1976a:261).

⁶ Following work by Douglas Taylor (1956a-b, 1958a-b), Bybee and colleagues (1994) call Garifuna ‘Island Carib’. Taylor referred to Garifuna as the Central American dialect of Island Carib, though Island Carib proper is Garifuna’s linguistic predecessor, spoken on the Caribbean island of St. Vincent until around 1920 (Taylor 1977:89).

⁷ Examples and references can be found in the following sources: Proto-Arawakan (Payne 1991:381), Garifuna (Bybee et al. 1994:140, Cayetano 1993:89), Arawak (Pet 2011:35, 40, 137, 208-209), Wayuu (Ehrman 1972:108, 112, Holmer 1949c:152, 154), Paraujano (Patte 1989:47-48, 50, 63-64, 66, 83, 87, 117, 129), Wapishana (Tracy 1974:121), Bare (Aikhenvald 1995:30), Palikur (Aikhenvald and Green 1998:438, 449, 452, Valadares 2006, Wise and Green 1971:261, 272, 277), Maipure (Zamponi 2003:21, 40), Tariana (Aikhenvald 2006:117, 431, 433, 609)

⁸ Wayuu pronouns consist of a person/number prefix and the stem *-ia* / *-ya*. They may have derived from a morpheme meaning ‘here’. For example *pia* ‘you’ (Captain and Captain 2005:41) could be analyzed as *p-ia* ‘2S-here’. This pattern holds throughout all the pronouns, and is further supported by the structure of Wayuu demonstrative nouns: (i) *ci-ya*, S.M-here, ‘this one (mas.)’; (ii) *ti-ya*, S.NM-here, ‘this one (non-mas.)’ (Ehrman 1972:215).

⁹ Note the similarity to Wayuu pronouns, discussed in footnote 8.

¹⁰ Bybee et al. (1994:54-55) uses the term ‘anterior’ rather than ‘perfect’, to avoid confusion between the terms ‘perfect’ and ‘perfective’.

¹¹ Examples and references can be found in the following sources: Proto-Arawakan (Payne 1991:379-81, Wise 1990:105), Arawak (Pet 2011:34-35, Wise 1990:105), Wayuu (Ehrman 1972:73-74, 89, 93), Wapishana (Tracy 1974:123), Palikur (Wise 1990:105, 107, Wise and Green 1971:266), Maipure (Zamponi 2003:44), Tariana (Aikhenvald 2006:235, 258-259, 452), Resígaro (Allin 1976a:61, 97, 1976b:320, 425, 1976b:389-427).

¹² Examples and references can be found in the following sources: Proto-Arawakan (Payne 1991:381), Arawak (Pet 2011:108, 139, 143-144, 205-206, 211), Wayuu (Captain and Captain 2005:76, Ehrman 1972:82, Zubiri and Jasayu 1986:229), Palikur (Wise and Green 1971:266, 269, 275), Tariana (Aikhenvald 2006:52-53, 174, 195, 213, 231, 603, 608), Resígaro (Allin 1976a:214-215, Payne 1991:381).