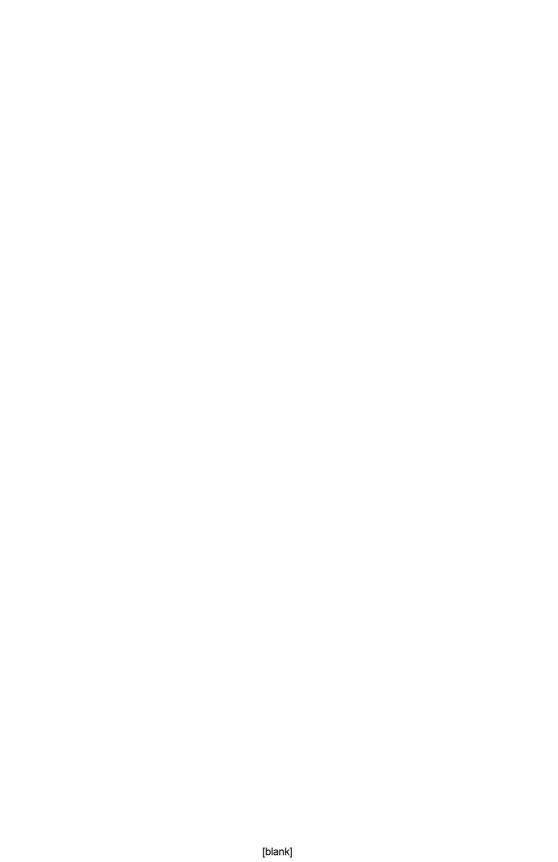# BARASANO SYNTAX

Studies in the Languages
of Colombia 2

Wendell Jones
and Paula Jones

Barasano Syntax

Studies in the Languages of Colombia 2

Summer Institute of Linguistics and The University of Texas at Arlington Publications in Linguistics

Publication 101

Editors

Virgil Poulter
University of Texas
at Arlington

William R. Merrifield
Summer Institute of
Linguistics

Series Editor

Paul Frank

Assistant Editors

Karl A. Franklin

Marilyn A. Mayers

Consulting Editors

Doris A. Bartholomew
Pamela M. Bendor-Samuel
Desmond C. Derbyshire
Robert A. Dooley
Jerold A. Edmondson

Austin Hale
Robert E. Longacre
Eugene E. Loos
Kenneth L. Pike
Viola G. Waterhouse

Barasano Syntax

Studies in the Languages of Colombia 2

Wendell Jones and Paula Jones

Cover and design sketch by Hazel Shorey

Contents

VENEZUELA

PANAMA

COLOMBIA

●BOGOTA

Barasano del sur

BRAZIL

ECUADOR

PERU

Foreword

Colombia, land of El Dorado, land of gold and emeralds! But even more precious are the gems found—not beneath its soil—but within its indigenous languages. Among these gems I would count the auxiliary verb system of Kogi, the positional verbs of Ika, the compound verbs of Epena, the evidential systems of Tucanoan languages, as well as their noun classifier systems.

For ten weeks in the fall of 1984, it was my privilege to lead a workshop, guiding several SIL colleagues in writing grammar sketches from a typological and functional perspective. What began as mere 'sketches' have become valuable grammars, and now with the publication of the second of these, we must acknowledge the authors' success.

The following impress me as the most significant reasons why this project yielded such rich fruit:

1. The typological/functional perspective provided an excellent framework for writing—as was our intention—broad, useful, descriptive grammars. Linguists and nonlinguists alike should be able to derive from them an accurate and fairly complete picture of what these languages are like, without the prerequisites that a more theoretical approach would have demanded.

2. All of the participants brought to the workshop an extensive knowledge of the language, acquired through months or years of study, and (with some exceptions) an exhaustive morpheme concordance of texts collected in their fieldwork. These slip concordances served as sources of examples, insights, and challenging 'residue'. And each participant brought

a terrific amount of energy, expended in long hours writing drafts at a very arduous pace.

3. At the beginning of the workshop, the authors were given a very general outline, and for each language, the corresponding files (empty except for the headings) were created on the disk in the computer center. The authors worked 'on-line', adding descriptive text and examples under the various headings, all the while refining and modifying the initial outline to fit the structure of the language being described. Consequently, there is some commonality to the structure of the various grammars, but without the negative effects of 'squeezing' the descriptions into a fixed, predetermined outline. (Mark Nelson and Bob Reed made the environment for working on-line very congenial.)

4. In addition to writing grammars, Paul Frank and Grace Hensarling served as consultants-in-training to other authors. Other linguists contributed occasional suggestions, most worthy of mention being Janet Barnes, Terry Malone, and Bob Reed.

5. At the end of the workshop, there were drafts of most sections of the grammars. Obviously, a terrific amount of work has been done since that time to bring these up to their current form. The person most responsible for keeping alive the vision of seeing them finished and published is Paul Frank; without his carrying the torch, they might never have seen the light of day.

6. Finally, if these grammars are a source of delight, it is because the languages they describe are marvelous objects, reflecting the creativity both of the One who gave language to Man and of the speakers who—in using language—continually shape it to serve their purposes in their environment.

David Weber

Abbreviations

an	animate	J	*Jānerā* dialect
ANT	antonymous	m	masculine
AUG	augmentation	mf	both masculine and feminine mixed
AVOID	avoidance		nine mixed
BEN	benefactive	MOT	motion
BUT	contraexpectation	NEG	negative
CAUS	causative	NOM	nominalizer
CERT	certainty	NOW	temporal pointer
CL	classifier, general classifier	O	object
CM	*Cōme Masa* dialect	ONLY	restricting focus
COND	condition, nonproximate contrastive	P	plural
		PERT	pertaining to
CONJ	conjecture	PRES	present
CONTR	contrastive focus	PROX	proximate .
DESID	desiderative	PST	past
DIM	diminutive	PTCPL	participle
DIST	distal	Q	question marker
DO	direct object	RECIP	reciprocal
DUR	durative of progression	REFL	reflexive
E	*Eduria* dialect	s	singular, singularizer
EXPL	explain	S	subject
f	feminine	SEL	selective focus
FF	fulfillment	SPCR	spacer
FOC	focus	STAT	stative
FUT	future	SUBJN	subjunctive
GEN	genitive	ŪÑ	*Ūma Ñarā* and *Queti Masa* dialects
HAB	habitual		dialects
HEARD	heard	VERIFY	experiential
i	inclusive plural	WIT	witnessed
IMPV	imperative	x	exclusive plural
in	inanimate	YM	*Yeba Masa* dialects
INFER	inferred	~	non
INSTR	instrument	!	interjection
INTENS	intensifier	1	first person
INTENT	intention	2	second person
IO	indirect object	3	third person
ITER	iterative		

1

Introduction

Barasano and Taiwano[1] are closely related languages of the Eastern Tucanoan family. The Taiwana people are of different ancestry than the Barasana, and thus a distinct social group. It is upon this basis that the two groups may intermarry.

These peoples live in southeastern Colombia just above the equator along the Piráparaná river at approximately six to seven hundred feet above sea level. The rivers are, for the most part, not navigable and thus it has been one of the more isolated areas of the department of the Vaupés.

Barasano and Taiwano are now spoken by about 250 people. These two groups were once much more numerous. Today there remain five distinct subgroups among the Barasana and at least four among the Taiwana. The people disagree as to the naming of their various groups, making an organized listing virtually impossible (Hugh-Jones 1979:282–85). This confusion may be the result of their not wanting others to know too much about their own group. Hence, in many cases the names given a group have been given by other groups rather than by members of the group itself. Also some names that have survived began as the way one group disparagingly referred to another.

---

[1]We use the Spanish names *Barasano* and *Taiwano* when referring to *el idioma barasano* 'the Barasano language' and *el idioma taiwano* 'the Taiwano language'. When referring to the people themselves, we use *Barasana* and *Taiwana*, thinking of *la gente barasana* 'the Barasana people' and *la gente taiwana* 'the Taiwana people'.

The authors have worked with the Barasana and Taiwana (both in and out of their homeland) since March of 1977 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Ministry of Government of Colombia. We benefitted from prior work by Richard and Connie Smith (see references for Smith). We have worked extensively with individuals of the following four dialects (as the individual identifies his or her dialect). Among the Barasana: Hilda Marín León and Roberto Marín N. of the *Yeba Masa*; Jaime Reina G. of the *Jānerā (Cōme Masa)* (1); Antonio and Enrique Lagorio *(Queti Masa)* and Emilio *(Ūma Ñarā)* of the *Jānerā*. Among the Taiwana, Alejandro Motero of the *Eduria* has been very helpful.

The major difference between *Jānerā (Barasano)* and *Eduria (Taiwano)* is the position of pitch-stress on words. *Cōme Masa, Queti Masa* and *Ūma Ñarā* refer to themselves as *Jānerā* when relating to outsiders. Since *Cōme Masa* has some common dialectical differences in the choice of words from the other two dialects, we use the *Cōme Masa* (ancestral name) and *Ūma Ñarā* (joking name) to distinguish them. We have concentrated our efforts on studying these three dialects of Barasano and this grammar sketch is of those dialects. However, where we are aware of them, we will note some of the differences between the other dialects, using the following abbreviations:

(1)   *(J)*   *Jānerā*
       (E)   *Eduria*
       (CM)   *Cōme Masa*
       (ŪÑ)   *Ūma Ñarā and Queti Masa*
       (YM)   *Yeba Masa*

1.1–1.11 Word-order typology overview

1.1. Word order. The basic word order in main, declarative clauses in Barasano is ov, with the subject generally following the verb.

When a pronoun occurs which refers to the subject, it immediately follows the predicate verb. Compare (2), a simple ov construction, with (3) where the object and verb are followed by the pronoun *īdā* 'they', followed by two noun phrases which clarify to whom 'they' refers. This statement was a response to the question, 'Why have you come?'

(2)   *yu-re   ha-bī*
       1s-O   hit-3ms
       He hit me.

(3)   yɯ-re tudi-bɯsa-bã   ĩdã, yɯ yɯ   yɯ hak-ɯ
      1s-O   scold-a^lot-3p   3p   1s kinsman   1s parent-ms
      My father and kinsman scolded me a lot.

When the subject is highlighted, or introduced as a new topic, it is fronted as in (4) and (5). The statement in (4) was a reply to the question 'Who is it that eats cassava?' In (5), the implicit general topic is animals, of which *bu* 'agouti' is specified and distinguished by its eating habits.

(4)   bu   yã-a-bĩ   kĩ   ba-gɯ
      agouti   be-PRES-3ms   cassava   eat-ms
      It is the agouti that eats cassava.

(5)   bu-bã   kĩ   ba-gɯ   yã-a-bĩ
      agouti-CONTR   cassava   eat-ms be-PRES-3ms
      The agouti (in contrast with others) eats cassava.

1.2. Order of direct and in direct objects. When both direct (DO) and in direct objects (IO) occur, the indirect object generally follows the direct object and hence is closer to the predicate, as in (6) where *heahe* 'shot' (DO) is followed by *ĩre* 'to him' (IO).

(6)   heahe   ĩ-re   ĩsi-yu-hu
      shot   3ms-IO   give-INFER--3p   •
      They say that he gave him shot.

1.3. Adpositions. Barasano uses only postpositions in adpositional phrases. Examples (7)–(9) illustrate the postpositions *hoe* 'on top of', *gɯdareko* 'middle of', and *ẽyaroka* 'beneath', respectively.

(7)   wɯhɯ-bo   tuti   hoe
      wɯhɯ-dome   stack   on^top^of
      on top of the pile of shallow baskets made of *wɯhɯ* reed

(8)   wĩ   gɯdareko
      house   middle
      middle of the house

(9) *to   bahi-ro   so² kāhi-ro   ēyaroka   we   roho*
     that be-NOM   3fs hang-NOM beneath black^dye place

       yu-yu-hu   so
       wait-INFER--3p   3fs
       They say that when that was (occurring), she placed a pot of black
       dye beneath where she was hanging (in her hammock) (and) waited.

1.4. Descriptive modifiers. The descriptive modifier generally precedes
the head noun in the noun phrase as shown in (10)–(12).

(10) *hưa-rahe   kōbe-rahe-ri*
       two-cylinder metal-cylinder-p
       two metal cans

(11) *kĕda-se   ba-re*
       good-NOM   eat--s
       good food

(12) *ti-yõ-ri   ưbưa-ri-yõ-ri*
       those-palm-p   tall-PTCPL-palm-p
       those tall palms

In (12), the demonstrative pronoun *tiyõri* 'those palms' functions as a
modifier preceding its head, the deverbal noun *ưbưariyõri* 'tall palms'.
It is our hypothesis that if the head is highlighted or if the modifiers
occur as clarification, then the head occurs initially but no example is
available.

1.5. Genitives. In a possessive phrase, the genitive *ya* precedes the head
noun as shown in (13) and (14).

(13) *Sabidõ   ya-wi*
       Sabino GEN-house
       Sabino's house

(14) *so   ya-waka-ri*
       3fs   GEN-dart-p
       her pencils

---

²*sõ* (3fs) is used by the *Yeba Masa* dialect.

With plural or nonindividuated inanimate objects *ya* becomes *ye* and generally occurs alone, referring to an explicit or implicit noun as in (15).

(15) *so   ye*
     3fs   GENp
     her things

In referring to animates, *ya* (genitive) is followed by gender-number markers as in (16), where *ya* precedes *-u* (masculine singular) to refer to one's pet or kinsman.[3]

(16) *yu   y-u*
     1s   GEN-ms
     my kinsman

No genitive marker is used when there is an animate head noun nor with body parts; rather the relationship is shown by word order as in (17) and (18). For further discussion of genitives, see §4.8.

(17) *yu   yĩk-o*
     1s   grandparent-fs
     my grandmother

(18) *ĩ   ĩgea   gohe*
     3ms nose hole
     the hole of his nose

1.6. Affixation. Affixation in Barasano consists of suffixes only. The verb morphology is quite extensive with verbal suffixes expressing emphasis, direction of movement, causation, benefaction, negation, contraexpectation, as well as aspect, tense-mood, and person-number. Verbs may also have derivational suffixes which form nouns or adverbs (including descriptive modifiers which are classified as nouns). In (19), note the string of verbal suffixes *-bāsi* (distal), *-ka* (far past) and *-bĩ* (third person masculine singular).

(19) *"yu rāka wa-yá"*   *yi-bāsi-ka-bĩ*
     1s with move-PROX^IMPV say-DIST-far^P ST-3ms
     "Come with me," he said (a long time ago).

---

[3]/ya + -u/ becomes /yu/.

Some modifiers of the predicate may be used either as separate words or as affixes to the verb root. For example, in (20), the adverb *buto* 'very much' precedes the object as a separate word. In (21), *buto* 'very much' has become *-busa* 'a lot', an affix to the verb root. (See §3.6 for further detail on intensifiers.)

(20) *buto*   *yu-re tudi-a-bã*   *ĩdã*
     very^much   1s-O   scold-PRES-3p   3p
     They scold me a lot.

(21) *yu-re*   *tudi-busa-a-bã*   *ĩdã*
     1s-O   scold-a^lot-PRES-3p   3p
     They scold me a lot.   .

A noun may take inflectional suffixes to indicate case or discourse features and derivational suffixes to form other nouns. In the first instance, note (22), where *-bã* (contrastive focus) indicates that the speaker is excluding himself in the sense that others may do such things but he does not. In (23), a new noun is formed from *wĩi* 'house' by adding the derivational suffix *-a* (pertaining to) plus *-gu* (masculine singular) to mean a man in relation to a house.

(22) *yi-be-a-ha*   *yu-bã*
     do-NEG-PRES--3   1s-CONTR
     I don't do that.

(23) *wĩi-a-gu*
     house-PERT-ms
     one from the house

1.7. Nominalizations. There are no relative clauses in Barasano since what appear to be restricting clauses are simply nominalizations in apposition to the head noun. In illustration (24), *sĩgo* 'one female' appears to be the head of the supposed relative clause *ĩda rãka buego* 'who studies with them'. However, the restricting clause may occur in the sentence without *sĩgo* and be grammatically acceptable. See §11.4–7, for more on this topic.

(24) *sĩg-o*   *ĩdã*   *rãka*   *bue-go*   *yu-re* *ãbo-a-bõ*   *so*
     one^an-3fs   3p   with   study-fs   1s-O   want-PRES-fs   3fs
     A girl who studies with them wants me (for her husband).

1.8. Comparatives. In comparative constructions, the descriptive modifier follows the standard of comparison. In (25), *ĩ gagu* 'his older brother' is the standard, followed by the comparative descriptive modifier *rĕtoro haigu* 'bigger than'. An alternative reading is seen in (26) where the adverb *rĕto* 'to surpass' is incorporated into the verb, along with some changes of subject and person markers.

(25) *ĩ   gag-u   rĕto-ro   hai-gu   yã-a-bĩ*
     3ms   older^sibling-ms   pass^by-NOM   big-ms   be-PRES-3ms
     He is bigger than his older brother.

(26) *ĩ   gag-u-re   hai-rĕto-a-bĩ   ĩ*
     3ms   older^sibling-ms-o   big-pass^by-PRES-3ms   3ms
     He is bigger than his older brother.

In these constructions, intonation and pause are also important in that they can change the meaning from comparative to superlative. With a pause, expressed by a comma, illustration (25) would be *ĩ gagu, rĕtoro haigu yã-a-bĩ,* meaning 'His older brother is bigger (than anyone).'

1.9. Negation. Negation in its most basic form occurs as a verbal suffix *-be,* immediately following the verb root as in (27), or following the motion suffix *-a,* which immediately follows the verb root as in (28).

(27) *wa-be-a-ha   yu*
     move-NEG-PRES--3   1s
     I am not going.

(28) *dõ   yi-gu   ĩ   rãka tudi-a-be-a-ti   bu*
     what   do-ms   3ms with   return-MOT-NEG-PRES -Q 2s
     Why aren't you returning there with him?

Some verb roots are inherently negative, for example, *bã* 'to not be' or 'to be without', illustrated in (29).

(29) *gubo   sudi   bã-a-ha   yu-re*
     foot   clothes not^be-PRES--3   1s-o
     There are no shoes for me. *or* I am without shoes.

1.10. Questions. In yes-no questions, the question marker is a suffix which occurs at the end of the main verb. The suffix *-ti* (question) is used with the verbs *wa* 'to move' and *bahi* 'to be' in examples (30) and (31)

respectively; and the suffix -ri is used in (32) with the transitive verb sĩa 'to kill'.

(30) *wa-be-a-ti*   *bũ*
      move-NEG-PRES-Q   2s
      Are you not going?

(31) *ĩ-dẽ*   *bahi-beti-boa-a-ti*   *bũ*
      3ms-SPEC be-NEG-BUT-PRES-Q   2s
      You couldn't be he, could you?

(32) *ĩ-re*   *sĩa-ri*   *bũ*
      3ms-O   kill-Q   2s
      Did you kill him?

In content questions, the interrogative pronouns generally occur initially in the sentence while the question marker still appears on the verb as in (33) and (34).

(33) *yĩb-ʉ*   *yã-a-ti*   *bũ*
      who-ms   be-PRES-Q   2s
      Who are you?

(34) *dõ*   *kõ-ro*   *yoa-ro*   *yã-gʉ-ti*   *bũ*   *to-hʉ*
      what   count-NOM   long-NOM   be-ms-Q   2s   there-place
      How long will you be there?

1.11. Summary. A review of this section shows that Barasano fits the pattern for ov languages. Accordingly, (a) it is a suffixing language; (b) there are only postpositions (no prepositions); (c) in noun phrases, the genitive precedes the head; (d) auxiliary verbs follow the main verb; and (e) modals are verb suffixes. Although there is variation in the order of descriptive modifiers (for pragmatic reasons), the typical order is that the modifier precedes the head. There are no relative clauses.

1.12–1.17 Phonology

1.12. Phonemes. Barasano has 23 phonemes: eleven consonants and twelve vowels which are presented in (35) and (36). Vowels are of six qualities, each with its nasalized counterpart (indicated by a tilde). The symbols used here and throughout the examples represent a modified

phonemic orthography. The phoneme in parenthesis is found only in loan words from Spanish or another Tucanoan language.

(35) Consonants

		labial	alveolar	velar
stop	vl	(p)	t	k
	vd	b	d	g
fricative			s	
flap			r	
semivowel		w	y	h

/p/	voiceless labial stop	/pisakɯ/	'cat'
/b/	voiced labial stop	/bɯhɯ/	'spider'
/t/	voiceless alveolar stop	/ta/	'grass'
/d/	voiced alveolar stop	/dakegɯ/	'male child'
/k/	voiceless velar stop	/kakɯ/	'dad'
/g/	voiced velar stop	/gagɯ/	'older brother'
/s/	voiceless alveolar sibilant	/so/	(3fs)
/r/	alveolar flap	/rase/	'toucan'
/h/	voiceless glottal fricative	/kahi/	'coca'
/w/	labial fricative semivowel	/wewo/	'panpipe'
/y/	lamino-palatal semivowel	/yai/	'dog'

(36) Vowels

	front	mid	back
high	i ĩ	ɯ ɯ̃	u ũ
low	e ẽ	a ã	o õ

/i/	high front vowel	/i/	'there (in sight)'
/ĩ/	high front nasalized vowel	/ĩ/	(3ms)
/e/	low front vowel	/eho/	'type of jungle nut'
/ẽ/	low front nasalized vowel	/ẽho/	'cold (illness)'
/ɯ/	high mid vowel	/ɯhɯ/	'head man'
/ɯ̃/	high mid nasalized vowel	/ɯ̃hɯ/	'to burn (fire)'
/a/	low mid vowel	/wa/	'to go'
/ã/	low mid nasalized vowel	/wã/	'to make a mark'
/u/	high back vowel	/udi/	'to smoke'
/ũ/	high back nasalized vowel	/ũdĩ/	'like'
/o/	mid back vowel	/oha/	'to enter woods'
/õ/	mid back nasalized vowel	/õha/	'to untie'

In the *Jánerá* and *Eduria* dialects, the voiceless alveolar sibilant /s/ is slightly affricated to [ts]; it has a variant [tš] which occurs before the back vowel /u/. For example, *súka* 'baby' is pronounced [tšúka]. In all of the dialects there is a falling dipthong /aʉ/, as in *haʉ* 'fine' and *agaʉ!* (exclamation of pain).

1.13. Syllable and word. The basic syllable pattern is (c)v. Thus, possible syllable patterns are v, and cv illustrated in (37).

(37)   v   *í*   (3ms)
       cv   *ka.hi*   'coca'

The phonological word may consist of from one to nine syllables. A series of up to three vowels is possible both initially and medially in a word, which would always syllabify as only one vowel to each syllable; e.g., *ko.e.a.bí* 'he washes'.

1.14. Stress and pitch. Stress is phonemic on the word level, with one primary stress per word. Word stress occurs on the nuclear syllable of a word, combined with features of high pitch, loudness, long vowel, and sometimes a fortis consonant (such as the /d/, in *idía* (idí.a) 'three').[4]

Prenuclear syllables have lower pitch, followed by the nuclear syllable with high pitch. Postnuclear syllables may have either high pitch or low pitch, depending on the particular morphemes involved. In the following discussion of high-pitch continuity, all high-pitched syllables are marked with an acute accent (´) with the first high-pitched syllable carrying the primary stress of the word. Example (38) demonstrates contrastive word stress.

(38)   *ríi*   'blood'
       rií   'meat'

Stress patterns differ from one dialect to another. There are some lexical differences between Barasano and Taiwano, but one of the most prominent differences between the two is stress placement. For example, in Barasano, 'bad' has the stress on the second syllable *rohóse,* whereas in Taiwano the stress is on the first syllable *róhose.* Because of this variation across dialects, and because few pairs of words within a dialect are

---

[4]Some intonation patterns seem to make the stressed syllable low in pitch (though still long), perhaps reflecting impatience or irritation.

distinguished solely by stress, neither high pitch nor stress have been marked in other sections of this paper. The markings in this particular section reflect the speech of Jaime Reina, speaker of the *Cõme Masa* dialect.

In studying pitch, certain nonphonemic variations need to be taken into consideration. Pitch seems to vary with vowel height (/i/ is higher in pitch than /a/), nasalization (/ẽ/ is higher in pitch than /e/) and phrase position (there seems to be an overall downdrift in a phrase, i.e., the high pitch in the last word is lower than the high pitch in the preceding word). Because of these variations, the presence of phonemic stress and/or high pitch is difficult to determine. In the word *á.bi-a-ha* (pick^up-PRES-~3an) 'I pick up', high pitch occurs on the first syllable, followed by low pitch on the second syllable of the root as well as on the suffixes. However, the /i/ of the second syllable tends to raise the pitch above that of the suffixes, almost as high as the first syllable, and the tendency is to perceive the second syllable as occurring with high pitch.

Following is a discussion of high-pitch continuity of nouns and verbs, along with their morphological structures. In general, nuclear word stress occurs on the root. Suffixes have either high or low pitch depending on morphological constraints.

With regard to nouns, the basic question is whether postnuclear syllables are high or low in pitch. The noun roots which have final stress, such as *bãsá* 'people', are irrelevant to this particular discussion. Noun roots which have nonfinal stress occur with two different pitch patterns: 1) those where all the postnuclear syllables of the root have high pitch such as *ságáró* 'thigh' (*sá* being the nucleus), and 2) those where the postnuclear syllables drop in pitch, as in the word *bídi* 'bird'.

With the addition of affixes, the stress and pitch contour of the noun root remain the same, but several factors influence the pitch contour of the affixes. Noun suffixes may be categorized into four classes:

1. Those which keep the tone of the previous syllable.
2. Those which are always low tone.
3. Those which are morphologically conditioned, i.e., they may keep the same tone as the previous syllable or fall in tone, depending on the particular root employed.
4. Those which pull the stress toward themselves, a phenomenon found only with *-ro* (augmentative).

Class one suffixes keep the tone of the previous syllable. Some suffixes belonging to this class are: *-rahe* 'hollow cylinder', *-hãi* 'flat/thin', *-bedo* 'ring', and *-bu* 'cylindrical container'. Note in (39) that the tone of the suffix *-bu* 'cylindrical container' can be either high or low depending on the

tone of the previous syllable of the root. Examples are given with a high-low, high-high, and low-high root, respectively.

(39) *hídõ*   'anaconda'   *hídõ-bɨ*   'cassava squeezer'
      héá   'fire'   *héá-bɨ́*   'firearm'
      wasó   'barkcloth'   *wasó-bɨ́*   'robe'

Class two suffixes always have low pitch irregardless of the tone of the preceding syllable, whether noun root or suffix. In (40) note that *-aka* (diminutive) is low even when it follows *hãbṍ* 'armadillo', a root which normally maintains high pitch following the nuclear syllable.

(40) *hãbṍ*   'armadillo'   *hãbó-aka*   'little armadillo'
      wasó-bɨ́ 'robe'   *wasó-bɨ́-aka*   'little robe'

Class three suffixes vary in pitch, depending on the class of the root. If the syllable preceding the suffix is low, these suffixes are also low. If the last syllable is high, the class three suffix may be either high or low depending on the particular noun root. Note the tone on *-a* 'having a hole', a classifier used as a singularizer, in example (41).

(41) *kũbú*   'canoes'   *kũbú-á*   'canoe'
      arú   'fish traps'   *arú-a*   'fish trap'

Class four consists solely of the suffix *-ro* (augmentative). This suffix is always low in pitch and seems to draw the accent to the syllable preceding it. Thus, *hái-ri-ka* 'big canoe' becomes *hai-ri-ká-ro* 'really big canoe/boat', and *kõbé-rahe* 'can' becomes *kõbe-rahé-ro* 'big can'.

Now consider the high-pitch continuity of verbs. Most verb roots are two syllables long with the stress on the second syllable. Where the stress falls on the first syllable, the pitch usually remains high on the second syllable.

Verb suffixes fall into three classes:
1. Those which have low pitch. (This is the more general case.)
2. Those which pull the stress to themselves, hence carrying secondary stress.
3. Those which carry the primary word stress: a) negative suffix, and b) suffixes signifying proximity with the irregular motion verb *wadi* 'to come'.

Most verb suffixes fall into class one having low pitch. The following verb illustrates three of these suffixes: *bɨhá-koã-a-ha* (find-FF-PRES--3) 'I found it'. Notice that all three suffixes are low pitch, even though the final syllable of the root is high.

Class two, which assumes a secondary stress, is illustrated by *-bosa* (benefactive) in the word *ăbi-a-bosá-ya* (pick^up-MOT-BEN-PRES^IMPV) 'pick up and carry it away for (me)'. The strongest stress and highest pitch falls on *ăbi* 'to pick up' with a secondary stress and high pitch on *-bosa* 'benefactive'. The pitch on the suffix, however, is not as high as that on the nucleus of the word.

The class three verb suffixes carry the primary word stress, leaving secondary stress on the root. One such suffix is *-beti* (negative). When *-beti* (negative) follows a root, in which the last syllable of that root is high, it also is high, with the primary stress falling on the right-most member (either *-be* or *-ti*) and the pitch dropping to low for the following morphemes.

In 42, where *-beti* (negative) follows *buhá* 'to find', the stressed syllable of the root has high pitch, but that pitch rises on each consecutive syllable, with the last syllable of the negative carrying the primary stress and the following syllables having a low pitch.

(42)   *buha-betí-ruuku-ha*
        find-NEG-DESIDms--3
        I will never find it.

Another class three suffix is *-di* (proximate). When this suffix follows the verb *wa* 'to move', it is the second syllable that receives the primary word stress. In certain inflections, the segments of *-di* (proximate) disappear, leaving only the stress behind (which falls on the proximate nominalizer, imperative marker, or person-number marker). For example, the verb *wa* 'to move' would have the inflection *wá-bĭ* (move^MOT-3ms) 'he went'. When the suffix *-di* (proximate) is added, its presence is signalled only by the occurrence of word stress on the person-number marker, giving the inflection *wa-bĭ* (move-PROX^3ms) 'he came'.

With other verbs of motion, the suffix *-a-di* (motion toward here) or *-a* (motion) is followed by a morpheme which serves partially to indicate proximity. With these verbal constructions, the primary accent remains on the verb root, e.g., *ăbi-a-yu-hu* (pick^up-MOT-PROX^INFER--3p) 'they say that he brought it.'

1.15. Nasalization. Nasalization is analyzed as a feature of the morpheme level with each morpheme being either all nasal or all oral. Nasalization may spread throughout a word, on a morphological basis, generally spreading to the right, although in certain instances it may spread to the left. This spreading does not seem to be phonologically conditioned, i.e., there are no phonemes which automatically stop the spread.

A suffix may be intrinsically oral (O), intrinsically nasal (N), or a chameleon (C), either oral or nasal depending on its environment. Nasalization does not spread through an intrinsically oral suffix; an intrinsically nasal suffix remains nasal when it follows an oral syllable. An intrinsically oral vowel (suffix) following a nasal vowel stops the spread of nasalization. Chameleons are oral following oral morphemes and nasal following nasal morphemes. There are no instances of suffixes which begin with an intrinsically nasal vowel.

In (43), the verb root is nasalized, followed by two intrinsically oral morphemes, then an intrinsically nasal morpheme, and finally two chameleon morphemes.

Note that nasalization does not spread through the oral suffix -beti (negative), and that the nasal suffix -koã (fulfillment) is nasal even when it follows an oral syllable.

(43)   O O N C   C
        kẽdã-beti-goda-koã-ã-hã   ti
        good-NEG-INTENS-FF-PRES--3   3in
        It is truly not good.

                                              . . .

Two examples of chameleon type suffixes are -ya 'river' and -gʉ (masculine singular moninalizer): -ya 'river' is oral in Wai-ya 'Fish River', but is nasal when following a nasal root as in Kõbẽ-yã 'Metal River'; -gʉ (masculine singular nominalizer) is oral in ahi-gʉ (hear-ms) 'listener', whereas in yãgõ-gʉ̃ (talk-ms) 'speaker', it is nasalized. In kõbẽ-yã-a-gʉ (metal-river-PERT-ms) 'one from Metal River', an intrinsically oral morpheme -a (pertaining to), stops the spreading of nasalization, so that -gʉ is oral.[5]

Consonants through which nasalization may spread are: t, k, b, g, s, r, y, and h. The consonant w does not occur in suffixes and p is only found in a few loan words. In the preceding paragraph, the spreading of nasalization through g and y was demonstrated.

Examples of nasalization spreading through t, k, b, s, r, h, and d are as follows. The syllable beginning with t in -ti (question) is oral following an oral morpheme as in ahi-a-ti bʉ (hear-PRES-Q you) 'do you understand?' However, nasalization spreads through the t following a nasal morpheme as in ña-gʉ̃-tĩ yʉ? (be-ms-Q 1s) 'will I be there?'

The syllable beginning with k in the suffix -aka (diminutive) is oral following an oral morpheme as in dake-gʉ-aka (young-ms-DIM) 'little male

---

[5]For more examples of -a (pertaining to) combining a noun with a nominal, see §3.4.

child'. However, nasalization spreads through the *k* following a nasal morpheme, *sūkā-ākā* (baby-DIM) 'little baby'.

The syllable beginning with *b* in the suffix *-bʉ* (past nonthird person animate) is oral following an oral morpheme in *ahi-bʉ yʉ.* (hear--3PST 1s) 'I heard', but nasalization spreads through the *b* following a nasal morpheme, *yãgō-bʉ̃ yʉ* (talk--3PST 1s) 'I spoke.'

The syllables beginning with *s* and *r* in the suffixes *-se* (nominalizer) and *-re* (object) are oral in *ī yi-se-re* (3ms do-NOM-O) 'what he did'. However, with a nasal verb root such as *ãbī* 'to pick up' these suffixes allow the nasalization to spread through them: *ī ãbī-sē-rē* 'his thing he picked up'.

The syllable beginning with *h* in *-hʉ* (distal) is oral following an oral morpheme as in *to-hʉ* 'there-place'. But nasalization spreads through the *h* following a nasal morpheme as in *Tibī-yã-hʉ̃* (otter-river-place) 'to Otter River'.

The consonant *d* occurs in only two suffixes, both of which are always oral not allowing nasal spreading. However, in the formative verb stems, nasalization penetrates *-di* (intransitive). For example, the syllable beginning with *d* in *budi* 'to exit' is oral following the oral syllable *bu* (which is the transitive verb 'to make exit'). However, nasalization spreads through the *d* following the formative nasal verb stem *hūdīsī* in *hūdīsīdī* 'to be angry'.

The previous examples all show the spreading of nasalization to the right in a word. However, there are a few cases of nasalization spreading to the left. One such case involves *-be* (negative). When it occurs with the verb *ãbī* 'to pick up', inflected for nonthird person animate, it is oral as in (44). From this we would assume that *-be* (negative) is an intrinsically oral suffix. However, with the third-person-animate suffixes (which are all nasal) *-be* becomes nasal as in (45).

(44) *ãbī-be-hʉ   yʉ*
      pick^up-NEG--3   1s
      I didn't pick it up.

(45) *ãbī-bē-bī*
      pick^up-NEG-3ms
      He didn't pick it up.

Similarly, when *-be* (negative) occurs with verbs inflected for nonpast conjecture with a singular subject, it is oral as in (46). However, in the plural forms of this tense, the suffix following *-be* (negative) is *dã* (animate plural) (an intrinsically nasal suffix) and *-be* is nasal as in (47).

(46) *bõa-be-kʉ-bĩ*
      work-NEG--PROXms-3ms
      He probably won't work.

(47) *bõa-bẽ-dã-hã*   *yʉa*
      work-NEG-anp--3   1x
      We probably won't work.

When *-be* (negative) is followed by *-ti* (nonproximate nominalizer), *-be* is always oral.

(48) *bõa-beti-rũgũ-ã-bĩ*
      work-NEG-HAB-PRES-3ms
      He never works.

These examples indicate that the nasality of *-be* (negative) is conditioned not by the preceding morpheme, but by the following one.

A second example of nasalization spreading to the left is when personal pronouns are used to form indefinite and demonstrative pronouns. The personal pronouns are *ĩ* (3ms), *so*[6] (3fs), and *ĩdã* (3p). These are added to the indefinite nominal *gahe* 'other' to form *gãhĩ* 'another male', *gaheo* 'another female' and *gãhẽrã* 'others', respectively. Notice that the nasality of the personal pronoun determines the nasality of the resultant indefinite pronoun, even though the personal pronoun derivative occurs at the end of the word. The same pattern occurs with the demonstrative pronouns. The nominal *adi* 'this' fuses with the personal pronouns to form *ãdĩ* 'this male' and *adio* 'this female'; *ado* 'this place' becomes *ãdõã* 'these beings'. (*adi* 'this' is used for a highly specific thing or place whereas *ado* 'this' is used for a more general area or in reference to manner.)

1.16. Glottal stop. Sentences which end with pronouns (e.g., *yʉ* (1s)), the adverb *kẽda* 'again', the discourse marker *ya (yuha (E))* 'now', or the sentence fragment *ũhaʉ* 'yes', may optionally occur with a final glottal stop. We regard this phenomenon as outside the segmental phonology, and have thus not listed the glottal stop as a phoneme.

1.17. Sound symbolism and onomatopoeia. The phonome /i/ often signifies smallness, and /o/ largeness. For example: *adi-hʉ* 'this place' may signify an identified object or a small area, e.g., 'a spot', and *ado* 'here'

---

[6]*YM: sõ* (3fs).

signifies a larger area, e.g., 'the place where we live'; *abi!* means 'Oh, that's a lot less than I expected' and *abo!* can mean 'Oh, that's a lot more than I expected'; *yʉ kedi-ka-ti* (I fall-far^PST-NOM) may refer to 'the area on my body that hit a rock when I fell' whereas *yʉ kedi-ka-to* (I fall-far^PST-NOM) may refer to 'the area where I fell'.

Onomatopoeic expressions and ideophones are used most often within a quote and occur frequently with the phoneme /p/; /p/ otherwise occurs only in loans from Spanish and other Tucanoan languages. Some animals are given names by the sounds they make. For example, *tõi* is the name of a small green parrot who says "*tõi, tõi, tõi, tõi,*", and *waipaiyo* is the name of a bird who says "*waipaiyo*". See (49)–(51) for other examples of this kind of expression.

(49) *ĩ   yãgo-habã "Siokoe   koe   siokoe koe siokoe"*
      3ms   talk-COND siocoe   coe   siocoe coe siocoe

      yi-ka-bĩ   ĩ
      say-far^PST-3ms   3ms
      Whenever he (toucan) talks, he says, "Siocoe coe, siocoe coe, siocoe".

(50) *"Tapi tapi" yi   wẽha-yu-hu   ti*
      tapi   tapi   say fall-INFER--3p   3in
      Drops (of sweat) fell to the ground.

(51) *"topʉa" yi   ruha-ko-a-su-hu   ĩ*
      topʉa   say sink-FF-MOT-INFER-PROX--3p   3ms
      He hit the water and drowned.

[blank]

2

Parts of Speech

This chapter briefly discusses the major grammatical categories of Barasano, beginning with the open classes of nouns, verbs, modifiers in noun phrases, and adverbs; and ending with the closed classes of pronouns, other proforms, noun adjuncts, verb adjuncts, conjunctions, interjections, and negators.

2.1. Nouns. Nouns in Barasano fill the roles of subject, object, benefactive, location, time, manner, and instrument. They are divided into eight classes with the most basic division being animate vs. inanimate. Animate nouns are subdivided depending on their inflection for gender and number. These classes are reflected in verb agreement with the class of the subject.

Class 1 nouns are inanimate nouns and may end in any vowel; a few examples are *hīdobu* 'cassava squeezer', *kūbua* 'canoe', *ruhabedo* 'ring', and *wīi* 'house'. Inanimate nouns are inflected for class and number. Classifiers generally describe the shape of the object. For example, *-hãi* 'flat, thin object' is a classifier which joins with *kõbe* 'metal' to form the inanimate noun *kõbe-hãi* 'machete', and which may be pluralized with the suffix *-ri*, e.g., *kõbe-hãi-ri* 'machetes'.

Class 2 nouns are animate nouns which are unspecified as to their gender and number; these must be inflected with gender-number suffixes. For example, *hak-* 'parent', when inflected with *-u* (masculine singular) becomes *hak-u* 'father', when inflected with *-o* (feminine singular) becomes *hak-o* 'mother', and when inflected with *-ua* (plural) becomes *hak-ua* 'parents'. Other examples of this class are *gaw-u/-o/-a* 'male, female, plural

nonindigenous people' and *bed-i/-eo* (J), *-e* (E)/-erã 'younger male, female, plural sibling'. Domesticated cats and chickens also belong to this class.

Class three consists of nouns which are only plural. There are only two words in this class, *bēsa* (animate group) and *rĩa* 'children', e.g., *ĩ bēsa* 'he and those with him'. Neither of these two nouns occurs in the singular. To refer to a child, one switches to *bãk-ʉ/-o* (progeny-ms/fs) 'son or daughter'.

Class four consists of nouns which refer to animates which do not have any gender marking. The nouns of this class are mostly animals. In the singular, they trigger masculine, third person, verb inflection, unless *-o* (feminine singular) is added to the word, or the word *rõbio* 'female' is added to modify the noun causing it to refer to a female. Examples are *wekʉ* 'tapir', *weko* 'parrot', *hãbo* 'armadillo', *yai* 'wild cat/dog', and *yese* 'pig'. In order to speak of a female pig, one may say *yese-o* 'female pig'.

Class five consists of nouns which are only masculine. This class has nouns referring to kinship relationships and religious offices which are held only by men. Examples are *biaga* 'shaman who protects those performing initiation rites', *hakoarʉbʉ* 'father-in-law', and *baya* 'dance leader'.

Class six is comprised of nouns which are only feminine. These refer to kinship relations. Examples are *bēkaho* 'aunt', *õsibo* 'husband's sister' and *hēho* 'son's wife'. (Note that these all end in *-o*.)

Class seven consists of only one word, *sũka* 'baby'. It is not inflected for gender but may be referred to through the verb as either masculine or feminine depending on the sex of the child.

Class eight refers to speech act participants. This class consists of the pronouns *yʉ* (1s), *yʉa* (1x), *bãdi* (1i), *bʉ* (2s), and *bʉa* (2p). Kinship terms may also be used when referring to the second person along with one of the above pronouns. When one of these pronouns occurs as subject, the verb takes the nonthird-person-animate marking, except in certain tenses (see §6.1).

Nouns may be pluralized in various ways. The prototypical marker for animate nouns is *-a* (plural, animate) which serves to signal animacy in nouns which have no gender marking in the singular, e.g., *yõko* 'star (animate, assumed masculine)' becomes *yõko-a* 'stars'.

Nouns which refer to collections are inherently plural and require a singularizing suffix to refer to a single member. For example, the animate noun *ĩa* 'caterpillars' refers to a collection of caterpillars. In order to refer to a single caterpillar one says *ĩa-bʉ* (caterpillars-s) 'caterpillar'. The inanimate noun *oho* 'bananas' occurs with *-ro* 'singularizer' to refer to a single banana, i.e., *oho-ro* 'banana'.

The pluralizer for nearly all inanimate nouns is; *-ri* (plural, inanimate), e.g., *sotʉ-ri* 'pots'. Besides a plural form, many inanimate nouns have a

form to refer to general, nonspecific objects (usually the simplest form). For example, *kūbua* 'canoe' has the plural form *kūbuari* 'canoes' and the general, nonspecific form *kūbu* 'canoes'. In a context where the speaker alludes to a group travelling by canoes without focusing on the number of canoes, he may employ the nonspecific form.

In addition to nouns as described above, the language relies heavily on deverbal nouns, which are also subdivided into two groups, animate and inanimate.

Animate deverbal nouns are formed by adding a gender-number suffix to a verb, e.g., *bõa-go* (work-fs) 'female worker'; or by adding -*ri* (participle) to the verb plus *bãs-ʉ/-o/-a* (human-m/-f/-p) to form agentive nominalizations, e.g., *bõa-ri bãs-o* (work-PTCPL human-fs) 'working woman'.

Inanimate deverbal nouns require a participial following the verb root, e.g., *wʉ-ri-ka* (fly-PTCPL-hollow) 'airplane'; or they may be formed by adding general nominalizers, e.g., *wʉ-se* (fly-NOM) 'flying things (airplanes)'.[7]

2.2–2.8 Verbs

There are seven categories of verbs in Barasano: copular, subjectless, verbs with only a subject argument, transitive, bitransitive, verbs with verbal complements, and direct quote complements.

2.2. Copular verbs. Barasano has three copular verbs. The first two, *yã* 'to be' and the negator verb *bã* 'to not be, be without', are generally used in existential sentences; *yã* is also used for locational predicates, adjectival predicates, and nominal predicates. The third, *bahi* 'to be' is used for expressing temporary states and manner of appearance.

Examples (52)–(55) show the use of *yã* 'to be' as a copular verb with an adjectival predicate, a predicate nominal, a locational predicate, and with reference to a permanent state, respectively.

(52) *hai-gʉ*   *yã-a-bĩ*   *ĩ*
     big-ms   be-PRES-3ms   3ms
     He is big.

(53) *sĩa-ri*   *bãs-ʉ*   *yã-a-bĩ*   *ĩ*
     kill-PTCPL   human-ms   be-PRES-3ms   3ms
     He is a killer.

---

[7]For more concerning general, nonspecific nominalizers, see §11.4.

(54) ĩ   tɨ-hɨ-re   yã-beti-koã-ya
      3ms near-place-o be-NEG-FF-PRES^IMPV
      Don't live near him.

(55) riha-go yã-a-bõ
      sick-fs   be-PRES-3fs
      She is a sick person.

Examples (56)–(57) illustrate the use of the negator verb *bã* 'to not be' expressing nonexistence. In this type of construction a particular location is generally expressed as in (57). (For more detail regarding the uses of *bã* see chapter 9.)

(56) ba-re bã-a-ha
      eat-s not^be-PRES-3
      There isn't anything to eat.

(57) to-hɨ-re   ĩ   bãdi-habã   wa-be-kɨ-ha   yɨ
      that-place-o 3ms not^be-COND move-NEG-PROXms-3 1s
      If he is not there, I won't go.

The third copular verb, *bahi* 'to be, be like', used for expressing temporary states and comparative constructions of manner or appearance, is illustrated in examples (58)–(60). In (58), *bahi* 'to be' refers anaphorically to a certain action. Explaining to another why she cried out just now, the speaker says:

(58) riha-go bahi-a-bõ
      sick-fs   be-PRES-3fs
      She is sick.

In (59), *bahi* 'to be' is used in the sense of manner of appearance.

(59) gũbu bẽhe-dẽ   bahi-koã-yu-hu
      log   NEG-SPCR be-FF-INFER-3
      He was actually not a log. (Though in appearance he seemed to be a log.)

In (60), *bahi* 'to be' is used in a comparative construction. The verb *yã* 'to be' expresses the existence of someone compared to a frog, which is

indicated by the predicate nominative *tūha* 'a species of frog' with *bahi* 'to be'.

(60) *tūha-re   bahi-gu   yã-a-bĩ*
     frog-o   be-ms   be-PRES-3ms
     He is one who behaves/appears like a *tūja* frog.

2.3. Subjectless verbs. The only verb which always occurs without a subject is *kũba* 'to be dry and windy'. This verb refers to the weather, see (61). The verbs *asi* 'to be hot' and *usa* 'to be cold' are also subjectless when they refer to the weather, as in (62). However, an alternate way of expressing 'to be hot' is by using the sun (animate) as the subject as in (63):[8]

(61) *kũba-a-ha*
     dry-PRES--3
     It is dry and windy.

(62) *asi-a-ha*
     hot-PRES--3
     It is hot.

(63) *buto   asi-a-bĩ   būihu*
     very^much   hot-PRES-3ms sun
     The sun (he) is very hot.

2.4. Verbs with only a subject argument. The *bodily function verbs,* such as *ãtia* 'to sneeze', *sadia* 'to cough', *gõde* 'to urinate', and *wãre* 'to palpitate (the heart)', have only subject arguments. (64) is an example of *wãre* 'to palpitate (the heart)' with its subject argument *usua* 'heart':

(64) *usu-a   wãre-a-ha   ti   "tu   tu"   yi-ro*
     hearts-s   palpitate-PRES--3 3in   tu   tu   say-NOM
     The heart palpitates making the sound "tu, tu".

Stative verbs. Stative verbs expressing color, e.g., *boti* 'to be white/light', *yĩ* 'to be black/dark', *bõdi* 'to be gray/light brown', *sũa* 'to be red', *suri* 'to be yellow', *sube* 'to be green/blue' have only subject arguments. Also, verbs expressing temporary states, such as *riha* 'to be sick', *kati* 'to be alive',

---

[8]The *Yeba Masa* word for *būihu* is *būhihu*.

sutiriti 'to be sad', and *rῦkɨ* 'to be heavy' have only subject arguments. For example, the subject argument in (65) for *yῖ* 'to be black/dark' is 'the cloth I found'.

(65) yɨ   ῖa   buha-ri-hᾱi   yῖ-beti-busa-a-ha   ti
      1s   see   find-PTCPL-flat^thin   dark-NEG-very^much-PR ES--3   3in
      The cloth I found isn't very dark.

Stative verbs may be derived from other verbs by the addition of -ya/-sa as seen in the following sets of verb roots:

(66) sua   'to weave'   suya   'to be woven'
      hea   'to get on'   hesa   'to be on'
      kῦ   'to put down'   kῦya   'to be on the ground'
      sᾱ   'to put in'   sᾱya   'to be inside'
      tu   'to put up against'   tuya   'to be up against'

Verb roots which agree in number with the subject. A very productive verb used in verb compounds, both transitive and intransitive, is *roka* 'to move down/away (s)'; *roka* becomes *rea* with plural subjects. For example, *bahi roka* 'to die (s)' and *bahi rea* 'to die (p)'; *roka roa* 'to get in water (s)' and *rea rode* 'to get in water (p)'. Another verb, *wadi* 'to split apart (in one place)' becomes *weje* 'to split apart (in more than one place)' to signal that though the object may be singular, the action occurred in more than one spot.

Involuntary process verbs. Such verbs as *bukɨa* 'to grow/ripen', *sῖdi* 'to dry up', *hudi* 'to sprout', *ruyua* 'to be born/appear', and *ruhea* 'to be born' also have only subject arguments. In (67) the subject argument for *hudi* 'to sprout' is *ohorika* 'corn':

(67) ohorika   hudi-ko-a-su-ha   ti
      corn   sprout-FF-MOT--PROX^INFER--3   3in
      The corn has sprouted.

Verbs involving patient subjects. Verbs like *kedi* 'to fall' and *ruha* 'to sink' are verbs involving patient subjects with no other necessary arguments, as in (68).

(68) *buto*   *kedi-ka-hu*   *ti*   *wu-ri-ka*
      very^much   fall-far^PST--3   3in   fly-PTCPL-hollow
      The plane fell a lot (due to wind currents).

Verbs with an incorporated object. Barasano has only one verb with an incorporated object that does not occur with marked objects and is considered to be intransitive (see also transitive verbs of this type in §2.5).

(69) *wai*   *wehe*
      fish   pull^away^many
      to fish with a pole

Verbs which occur with sentential subjects. The verbs *kēda* 'to be good', *seyo* 'to seem', and *hosa* 'to be difficult' occur with sentential subjects and no other arguments.

(70) *kūbua*   *kēdo-re*   *buto*   *hosa-a-ha*
      canoe   good^CAUS--s   very^much   be^difficult-PRES--3
      Making a canoe is very difficult.

Verbs of motion. There are four kinds of verbs of motion: (a) verbs which have a source as an inherent point of reference, e.g., *budi* 'to exit', *kedi* 'to fall', and *hati* 'to jump'; (b) verbs which have a destination as an inherent point of reference, e.g., *eha* 'to arrive' and *hea* 'to arrive (at the top)'; (c) verbs which have no source or destination as an inherent point of reference, e.g, *wa* 'to move', *bŭdi* 'to move upriver' and *bāha* 'to ascend (a hill)'; and (d) verbs of manner of locomotion, e.g., *ūba* 'to run', *du* 'to do backwards', and *rŭgu* 'to do vertically (as in wood splitting down with the grain)'.

These four categories overlap. For instance, *bŭha* 'to ascend vertically' implies neither source nor destination (class 3). It is most often used for scaling a mountain or climbing a tree. However, in (71), *wu* 'to fly' refers to motion in the air (not especially manner, as it can be used for birds, planes and humans) and *bŭha* qualifies the motion as being vertical:

(71) *wu* *bŭha-ko-a-su-hu*   *ī*
      fly   ascend^vertically-FF-MOT--PROX^INFER--3 p   3ms
      They say that he went straight up in the air.

Location or position is often included in the meaning of verbs. For this reason, and because certain verbs or combinations of verbs have

stereotyped locative objects, it is quite common to use verbs without
locative objects. Some of these verbs are: *roha* 'to descend a hill', *roha eha*
'to descend and arrive (at a river)', *roka tu* (move^down put^against) 'to
dock a canoe (at the shore)', *bāha* 'to ascend a hill', and *bɨha* 'to ascend
a tree'. In (72) the speaker tells of descending to a river, taking a canoe
upriver, and ascending uphill, all without locative objects.

(72) *wadi roha   eha   gua   bɨdi   kūbua sia*
      come descend^hill arrive bathe move^upriver canoe tie

      tu   ho   bāha-ko-a-bɨ   yɨ ya
      put^against   float^CAUS   ascend^hill-FF-MOT--3PST 1s NOW
      Coming, descending the hill and arriving to the river, bathing;
      moving upriver; tying the canoe against (a root) at the rivers edge; I
      then ascended the hill to here.

2.5. Transitive verbs. Some prototypical transitive verbs are *sia* 'to kill',
ha 'to hit', *kūdi* 'to bite', and *kēdo* (be^good^CAUS) 'to make/fix'. Example
(73) illustrates *sia* 'to kill' with the direct object *bɨ* 'you'.

(73) *yɨ   oka-re   bɨ ahi-beti-habā   bɨ-re   sia-gɨ-bī   yai*
      1s   words-o 2s listen-NEG-COND   2s-O   kill-ms-3ms wild^cat
      If you don't heed my words, the wild cat will probably kill you.

Verbs which agree in number with the object. As mentioned above *roka*
'to move down/away (singular)' becomes *rea* when it refers to plural (or
nonindividuated) objects. For instance, *roka* can be defined by context as
'to throw (one object)'. To throw more than one object, the speaker
employs *rea*. Other verbs of this kind are: *ābi* 'to pick up (one object)' and
hua 'to pick up (more than one object)'; *ha ta* (hit cut^off) 'to chop off
(one thing with a machete)' referring to cutting down one sapling, and *ha*
sure (hit cut^off^many) 'to chop off (plural objects with a machete)'
referring to cutting down many saplings. See §3.5 for other examples.

Verbs with an incorporated object. Barasano has a few verbs with
incorporated objects that may take an additional object (generally a
pronoun).

(74) *bādah-o   kɨti*
      spouse-fs have
      to have a wife

(75) *uko*   *yi*
      medicine   do
      to give medicine or treat with medicine

2.6. Bitransitive verbs. Bitransitive verbs are of two types, those with
an object plus locative phrase, and those with two objects.

Verbs with an object and a locative phrase. The verb *heo* 'to put on top'
may occur with a locative phrase ending with the postposition *hoe* 'on top
of' as well as an object. The verb *sā* 'to put in' may occur with a locative
phrase ending with the postposition *hubea* 'inside' as well as an object. In
example (76), *sā* 'to put in' occurs with the locative phrase *adirahe hubea*
'inside this barrel' as well as the object *ti* 'those'.

(76) *adi-rahe*   *hubea-hu*   *ti-re*   *sā-ya*   *bũ*
      this-cylinder   inside-place   those-o   put^in-PRES^IMPV   2s
      Put those inside of this barrel.

Verbs with two objects. A verb such as *īsi* 'to give, sell' may take two
objects. In (77), *gubo sudi* 'foot clothes' is the direct object followed by the
indirect object *yu-re* 'to me'.

(77) *gubo*   *sudi*   *yu-re*   *īsi-ya*   *bũ*
      foot   clothes   1s-O   give-PRES^IMPV   2s
      Give me some boots.

Two other verbs which may each have two direct objects are *kũ* 'to put'
and *sõ* 'to cause to enter'. The first object refers to the position attained
by the second object, which generally appears as a pronoun. For example,
in (78), the first object *uhu* 'chief' is the position attained by the second
object *ī* 'he'.

(78) *īdã*   *uh-u-re*   *ī-re*   *kũ-yu-hu*   *ī*
      3p   chief-ms-O   3ms-O   put-INFER -~3p   3ms
      They say that he appointed him to be their chief.

2.7. Verbs with verbal complements. This kind of verb is called a
manipulative verb, defined by Givón as a verb whose object (usually
animate) is manipulated to perform the act or state referred to in the
verbal complement (1984:123). The verbs *roti* 'to order, request' and
eharēbo 'to help' are the two verbs known to be used in this manner.

The verb *roti* 'to order, request' occurs with verbal complements which may be intransitive, showing direct involvement of the subject, (79), or the complement may be a transitive to show indirect involvement of the subject. With a transitive verb, the context resolves any possible ambiguity as in (80) which could mean that the subject ordered her to cause other(s) to leave.

(79) *so-re   budi   roti-bĩ*
      3fs-O   exit   order-3ms
      He told her to leave.

(80) *so-re   bu   roti-bĩ*
      3fs-O   exit^CAUS   order-3ms
      He ordered that she be made to leave.

The verb *eharebõ* 'to help' is also used as a manipulative verb in which the 'manipulee' is marked as an object though it is the subject of the embedded clause. In (81), *sore* 'her' is the object of *eharebõ* 'to help' and the subject of the embedded clause 'she be happy'.

(81) *so-re   warikẽda   eharebõ-yu-harã   ĩdã*
      3fs-O   happy   help-INFER-3p   3p
      They shared in her happiness. (lit. 'They helped her be happy.')

When the verbal complement is transitive, the object of that embedded verb is generally not explicit, at least in the immmediate context. Note (82) where *eharebõ* 'to help' occurs with *ĩre* 'him', the agent, and with the embedded transitive verb *bua* 'to build' which has no object.

(82) *ĩ-re   bua   eharebõ-ka-bã   ĩdã*
      3ms-O   build   help-far^PST-3p   3p
      They helped him build.

2.8. Direct quote complements. Direct quotes are the complements of *ya/yi* 'to do, say, think', which may be followed by a more specific utterance verb such as *yãgo* 'to talk', *goti* 'to tell, advise', *oti* 'to cry', *roti* 'to order', *sẽdi ĩa* (ask see) 'to ask for information', and *sẽdi* 'to ask for some known entity'. See (83) for an example of a direct quote as the complement of *yi sẽdi ĩa* 'to say to ask for information'.

(83) *bãs-a   eha-be-a-ti   ĩdã   yu-re yi sẽdi ĩa-ka-bõ*   *so*
      human-p arrive-NEG-PRES-Q 3p   1s-O   say ask see-far^PST-3fs 3fs
      She asked me, saying, "People haven't arrived?"

2.9. Modifiers in noun phrases. Barasano is a verb-adjective language. The verbal equivalent of a modifying adjective is a predicate verb in a nonrelative construction. That is, a single set of roots may take either regular verbal inflection and serve as predicates, or may take nominalizers, participials, and classifiers and serve as modifiers in noun phrases. Compare (84), in which *buti* 'to be hard' serves as a modifier with (85), in which it serves as a predicate.

(84) *kõbe   buti-be-ti-re*   *hua-yu-harã*   *ĩdã*
      metal hard-NEG-NOM-PROX-O   pick^up-INFER-3p   3p
      (I heard) they picked up the soft metal.

(85) *buti-be-a-ha*   *ti*
      hard-NEG-PRES--3   3in
      It isn't hard.

Thus, deverbal nominals that serve as modifiers are, in fact, deverbal nouns. Compare (86) in which *yoa-ri-bã* 'long path' occurs with airstrip to mean 'long airstrip', with (87) in which it occurs alone as a noun:

(86) *wu-ri-ka*   *bãa   yoa-ri-bãa*   *yi-to*   *bãdi*
      fly-PTCPL-hollow path long-PTCPL-path   do--2IMPV   1i
      Let's make a long airstrip.

(87) *yoa-ri-bãa*   *yã-a-ha*   *ti*
      long-PTCPL-path   be-PRES--3   3in
      It is a long path.

Differing degrees of qualities or dimensions can be indicated with *-busa* (very^much) (comparative), *-goda* (J) 'really', *-bãsu* (E) 'really', or *-aka* (diminutive). For example, in (89) *-busa* 'very much' is added to (88) to form the comparative expression 'a very good canoe'.

(88) *kẽda-ri-ka*
      good-PTCPL-hollow
      the good canoe

(89) *kĕda-bʉsa-ri-ka*
      good-very^much-PTCPL-hollow
      a very good canoe

The only known descriptive modifiers that are not inflected for tense are
bãba 'new (inanimate)', as in *bãbʉ/bãbo/bãbarã* 'young man/woman/adults';
and *bai/bʉo* 'ugly/bad', as in *baigʉ/-o/-rã* 'bad/ugly man/woman/ones'. (See
chapter three for a brief discussion of intensifiers, and the diminutive and
augmentative.)

2.10. Adverbs. There is a small class of adverbs which includes words
that specify manner (*guaro* 'fast', *rĕbo* 'suddenly', *kĕdaro* 'well', *dika bĕhe*
'quickly', *diwato bĕ* 'quickly', *kĕdaroaka* 'slowly'), relative time words (*rĕbo*
'in the beginning', *yukʉ* 'today or now', *rĩhoro* 'before', *hʉdo* 'after' *(J)*, *bero*
'after' *(E)*, *hĕre* 'already', *hĕhʉ* 'earlier', *kĕda* 'again', *bãbe* 'newly, recently'),
comparison words (*bahiro* 'like' *(E)*, *bero* 'like' *(J)*), and augmentative words
(*bʉto* 'very much', *kĕde* 'and, also').
   In addition, words classified as nouns, deverbal nouns, and deverbal
adverbs function as adverbs. In (90), *-wi* 'house' is the noun which
functions as an adverb of goal.

(90) *ĩa-kudi-boa   bãha-ko-a-ka-hʉ   yʉ Ēdeto*
      see-ITER-BUT   ascend^hill-FF-MOT-far^PST- -3 1s Ernest

      ya-wi-hʉ
      GEN-house-place
      . . . looking from place to place (but couldn't find one), I ascended to
      Ernest's house.

Deverbal adverbs are derived by adding *-ro* (nominalizer) to a verb stem,
as in *kĕda-ro* (be^good-NOM) 'well'; or by adding *-ri* (participle) plus *-hʉ*
'time, place' as in *busu-ri-hʉ* (be^light-PTCPL-time) 'dawn'. The form *kʉba*
'season, year' is an exception in that it is also used as a verb stem which
describes the dry season meaning 'to be dry and windy'.

2.11–2.15 Pronouns

Barasano pronouns are subdivided into personal, reflexive, interrogative,
and demonstrative pronouns.

2.11. Personal pronouns. A personal pronoun is very often a noun phrase in the subject position and is used in the noun phrase to enhance definiteness. Personal pronouns distinguish first, second, and third person, and singular versus plural. They also distinguish between first person plural inclusive and exclusive. In the third person singular there is an animate/inanimate distinction as well as separate forms for masculine and feminine. All of these pronouns are given in (91).

(91) *yʉ*   (1s)   *yʉ-a*   (1x)
       bū   (2s)   *bādi*   (1i)
       ĩ   (3ms)   *bʉ-a*   (2p)
       so/sõ (YM) (3fs)   *ĩ-dã*   (3p)
       ti   (3in)

2.12. Reflexive pronouns. Reflexive pronouns are formed by adding *bāsu* 'self' to the personal pronouns, e.g., *ĩ bāsu* 'himself'.

2.13. Interrogative pronouns. The interrogative pronouns distinguish animacy, number, and gender or class markers. The various forms are listed in (92).

(92)   Animate
       yībʉ, dī   'who (m)'
       yībo, diso   'who (f)'
       yībarã, dõa[9]   'who (p)'
       yībʉ-hʉa, dī-hʉa   'which one (m)'
       yībo-hʉa, diso-hʉa   'which one (f)'
       yībarã-hʉa, dõa-hʉa   'which ones'
       dõ-kārāko   'how many (f)'
       dõ-kārākʉ   'how many (m, mf))'

       Inanimate
       yē   'what'
       dõ   'where, when, how, how many'
       di- + CL   'which one(s)'
       dõkōro   'how much, many'
       dõ-kārāka + CL 'how many (with countable objects)'

---

[9]*dõa* 'who (p)' is at times used in place of *dī* 'who (m)' for the singular form.

Note that -*hɨa* (selective focus) is added to the interrogative pronouns for 'who' to form interrogative pronouns meaning 'which'. Also, the root forms for 'who' are *yɨba*- and *di-:* /yɨba + ɨ/ becomes /yɨbɨ/ and /yɨba + o/ becomes /yɨbo/; /di + ɨ̃/ becomes /dɨ̃/. There seem to be no restrictions in the alternation between *yɨba* and *dɨ̃*. However, *dɨ̃* is used more frequently for 'which' and *yɨba* for 'who'.

The interrogative pronouns are generally sentence initial and may either stand alone as a noun phrase or modify the noun they precede. In (93), the interrogative pronoun stands alone; in (94), it modifies the following noun (chicken); and in (95) it is not sentence initial but follows a topicalized phrase.

(93)   *yɨb-ɨ   yã-a-ti   ɨ̃*
       who-ms   be-PRES-Q   3ms
       Who is he?

(94)   *dɨ̃-hɨa   gãhabo-kɨ   ba-rã-ti   bãdi*
       whoms-SEL   chicken-ms   eat-anp-Q   1i
       Which chicken shall we eat?

(95)   *kũbu-a   di-ka   kẽdo-yu-hari   ɨ̃*
       canoe-hollow which-hollow good^CAUS-INFER-Q   3ms
       Regarding the canoes, which one did he make?

2.14. Demonstrative pronouns.   Demonstrative pronouns distinguish animate and inanimate, and are inflected for number, and gender or class. The pronouns for animate referents distinguish two degrees of distance— proximate and distal; those for inanimate have an additional medial degree of distance.

Animate demonstrative pronouns are formed by adding the personal pronouns to inanimate demonstrative pronouns, as seen in (96).

(96)   Proximate
       adi 'this'   + *ɨ̃* (3ms)   = *ãdi* 'this one (ms)'
       adi 'this'   + *so* (3fs)   = *adio* 'this one (fs)'
       ado 'this'   + *ɨ̃dã* (3p)   = *ãdoa* 'these ones'

       Distal
       i 'that'   + *ɨ̃* (3ms)   = *ĩ* 'that one (ms)'
       i 'that'   + *so* (3fs)   = *iso* 'that one (fs)'
       õ 'that'   + *ɨ̃dã* (3p)   = *õa* 'those ones'

The form *ado* 'this, here' is used in referring to quantity, time, and manner (besides location); *adi* 'this' is used with locations as affixes, e.g., *adi-tūkuro* 'this area'. It is also used with specific items. When *adi* 'this' occurs with *-hu* 'place' it refers to a specific small area, such as in speaking of 'this spot on my clothes'; *ado* 'this' refers to a broader area and does not require *-hu* 'place' to refer to 'here, this location'. The form *i* 'that' followed by *-hu* 'place' refers to an area at a distance yet visible to the speaker, whereas *õ* 'that', refers to a distance beyond the sight of the speaker. Illustration (97) shows *ado* 'this' used to modify *bahi-ro* to express 'this manner':

(97) *ado   bahi-ro   kēdo-ka-bā   īdã*
       this   be-NOM   good^CAUS-far^PST-3p   3p
       This is the way they made (it).

Inanimate demonstratives are formed by adding classifiers to the inanimate demonstrative pronoun as shown in (98).

(98) Proximate
       adi 'this'   +   *-hāi* 'flat, thin'   =   *adihāi* 'this flat, thin thing'

       Medial
       ti 'that'   +   *-hāi* 'flat, thin'   =   *tihāi* 'that flat, thin thing'

       Distal
       i 'that'   +   *-hāi* 'flat, thin'   =   *ihāi* 'that flat, thin thing there'

Inanimate demonstrative pronouns may be marked for plural by *-ri*, e.g., *adi-hāi-ri* (this-flat^thin-p) 'these flat thin things'. Some deverbal nouns (marked by *-a/-ka, -u/-ku, -ro/-se,* and *-hu*) do not require *-ri* in the plural. Instead, *adi* 'this', and *ti* 'that', may occur alone to refer to 'these' and 'those'.

Demonstrative pronouns occur with suffixes which generally refer to an implicit (or previously mentioned) head. When they occur with the head noun, they follow it since the head noun is generally topicalized in this position. Illustration (99) shows *ti-a* 'that hollow thing' following the head noun *buhua* 'blowgun':

(99) *buhu-a-re   ti-a-re   ābi . . .*
       blowguns-s-o   that-hollow-o   pick^up
       picking up that blowgun . . .

2.15. Pro-sentence. The word *ũhaũ?* is a pro-sentence indicating assent or agreement, or a positive response to a question, as in (101).

(100) *bue-gu   ya-ti   bũ*
      study-ms   do^PRES-Q   2s
      Are you studying?

(101) *ũhaũ?*
      Yes.

To indicate noncommitment, the pro-sentence *ba* 'I haven't decided, don't know' is used. It also seems to be used as a polite way of indicating a negative response, e.g., (103) is a response to (102):

(102) *wa-a-ko-ti   bũ*
      move-MOT--PROXfs-Q   2s
      Will you go?

(103) *ba*
      -CERT
      I haven't decided. *or* I don't think so.

2.16. Pro-verb. The pro-verb *yi* 'to do, say, think' is used with *to bahi-ro* (that be-NOM) 'thusly, that' to form an adverbial clause that refers back to whatever has been done or said in the previous clause. For example, the phrase in (104) is adverbial although *yi* 'to do, say, think' is not inflected.

(104) *to   bahi-ro   yi   wa-ko-a-su-hu*   *ĩ*
      that   be-NOM   say   move-FF-MOT-INFER-PROX- -3p   3ms
      Speaking thusly, he left.

When the previous context to which *yi* refers is viewed as time-consuming or as a logical argument necessary to set up the state for the following event, *-koã-ri* (fulfillment participle) is added to *yi*, e.g., (105).

(105) *to   bahi-ro   yi-koã-ri   wa-ko-a-su-hu*   *ĩ*
      that   be-NOM   say-FF-PTCPL   move-FF-MOT-INFER~PROX--3p   3ms
      Speaking thusly, he left.

2.17–2.21 Noun adjuncts

2.17. Case markers. The noun adjunct most commonly used is *-re* (object) which marks objects of verbs or any nonsubject word which is thematic, i.e., of primary importance in the ongoing discourse. Generally these objects are highly individuated. For example, all pronouns which occur as objects take *-re* (object). In the case of nominalized clauses where the verb is transitive, the object marker is crucial to the meaning. Compare the genitive construction of (106) with the object in (107):

(106) *ĩ   bue-gɥ*
     3ms   study-ms
     his student

(107) *ĩ-re   bue-gɥ*
     3ms-O   study-ms
     one who teaches him

When the object is not thematic, it need not occur with *-re* (object) even though it may be highly individuated. For example, in (108) *kakɥ* 'dad' is only mentioned and does not become a real part of the story till later. Thus the speaker did not mark *kakɥ* 'dad' as the object of *ĩa* 'to see'.

(108) *ti-rɥbɥ-re   wadi-ka-hɥ   yɥ ado-hɥ   dobĩgo   yã-ro*
     that-day-o   come-far^PST--3   1s here-place   domingo   be-NOM

     kak-ɥ   ĩa-gɥ
     my^parent-ms   see-ms
     On that day I came here, a Sunday, in order to see dad.

Later in the account, *kakɥ* 'dad' is introduced as a real part of the story, in that he responds to the main participant's speech, becoming an active participant. Thus, *-re* (object) now occurs with *kakɥ*.

(109) *"to   kō-ro   wai   hua-ro-a-dã"   yi-ka-hɥ   yɥ*
     that   count-NOM   fish   pick^up-anp-MOT-anp   say-far^PST--3   1s

     kak-ɥ-re   goti-gɥ
     my^parent-ms-o   tell-ms
     "We are going to get fish at that time", I told dad.

2.18. Discourse markers. The most common discourse markers are *-dẽ* (spacer), *-hʉa* (selective focus), *rĩdẽ* (restricting focus), *-bã* (contrastive focus) and *ya (J) / yuha (E)* (temporal pointer). The clitic *-dẽ* (spacer) is used to separate sentences or groups of sentences into two parts of unequal importance. The order of the constituents may be from less important (anaphoric information) to more important (nonanaphoric information) or vice versa. In (110) *-dẽ* 'spacer' separates the anaphoric information 'got her pregnant at night', and example (111) illustrates the use of *-hʉa* (selective focus) when switching from one main participant to another.

(110) *ĩ-dẽ*   *so-re*   *bãk-ʉ*   *sã-yu-hu*   *ĩ*   *yãbi-hʉ.*
      3ms-SPCR   3fs-O   progeny-ms   put^in-INFER--3p   3ms   night-time
      He was the one who got her pregnant at night.

(111) *ĩdã-re*   *huti* *yi-ro-dẽ,*   "*Yʉ-re*   *huti*
      3p-O   blow   do-NOM-SPCR   1s-O   blow

      eho-be-sa   *bʉ!*   *Yʉ-hʉ-re*
      arrive^CAUS-NEG-PRES-PROX^IMPV   2s   1s-place-O

      eho-be-ha   *bʉ,*" *yi-yu-hu*   *ĩ-hʉa.*
      arrive^CAUS-NEG-FUT^IMPV   2s   say-INFER--3p   3ms-SEL
      As he was blowing at them, he (*the other one*) said, "Don't blow it
      at me. Don't cause it to arrive over here where I am".

2.19. Quantifiers. Quantifiers are inflected for animacy, e.g., *hã-rã* (many-anp) 'many (animate)' and *hai-ro* (many-NOM) 'much (inanimate)'.

The Barasana count by fingers and toes, and eventually by people. They normally count up to five and beyond that would use 'many'. The word for 'five' is *koho-bõ-kõ-ro* (one-hand-count-NOM), and 'twenty' is *sĩg-ʉ bãs-ʉ kõ-ro* (one^an-ms human-ms count-NOM).

2.20. Classifiers. Approximately 140 classifiers have been recorded in Barasano. Most of these are semantically based on shape. They are usually nominal suffixes which cannot occur alone. Some classifiers are highly referential in that nominals require them. For example, *-ʉ* is the classifier for trees or wood in *kūbu-ʉ* 'tree called *kūbuʉ*'; *-ʉ* (classifier for tree) is replaced by a classifier for hollow objects in *kūbu-a* 'canoe'. However, *kūbu*

by itself may refer to the nonspecific form for 'canoes' or 'benches' (whose singular form is *kūbu-ro*).[10] See §4.1 for a complete list of these classifiers.

2.21. Spatial relators. Spacial relators of Barasano are postpositions. The most common ones are listed in (112).

(112) *boe*   'up from the river'   *hudo*   'ground level, base'
     eyãroka 'beneath'   *roka*   'down, down river'
     gaha   'end point'   *tu*   'near'
     hido   'mouth of a river'   *waisika* 'up river'
     hode   'headwater'   *wea*   'down toward the river'
     hoe   'on top of'   *weka*   'above'
     hubea   'inside'

2.22–2.25 Verb adjuncts

2.22. Tense and aspect. Barasano verbs are inflected to indicate tense, aspect, and the speaker's source of the information (evidentials), as well as person-marking which agrees with the subject. There are two basic categories of tense-evidentials: witnessed and nonwitnessed. Witnessed is subdivided into present and past; and nonwitnessed is subdivided into inferred, conjecture, and intention.

2.23. Mood. Barasano is marked for indicative, imperative, interrogative, and subjunctive mood. The subjunctive, indicated by *-boo* 'subjunctive', is followed by the tense-evidentials of conjecture.

2.24. Auxiliaries. Barasano has three auxiliary verbs. First, *ya* 'to do, say, think' is used for the progressive aspect, as seen in (113).

(113) *kūbua*   *kēdo-gu*   *ya-ha*   *yu*
     canoe   good^CAUS-ms   do^PRES--3   1s
     I am making a canoe.

Second, *yi* 'to do, say, think' is used when speaking of any distance in space or time, as well as for all forms that are not inflected with person

---

[10]*kūbu* is also the word for 'shaman' but there appears to be no relationship between this and the words referring to a type of wood.

marking. For example, in (114), *yi* triggers the nonpast conjecture tense or mood endings for guessing that the subject, who is not present, is coming.

(114) *wa-a-gɨ   yi-gɨ-bɨ̃*
     move-MOT-ms do-ms-3ms
     He is probably coming.

Third, *yã* 'to be' is used for durative and is discussed in §6.7.

2.25. Subordinating suffixes. Subordinate clauses are formed by the addition of certain verbal suffixes. There are two subordinate clauses in (115), the first linking with the main clause by *-ri* (participle) to signify 'saying that'. The second subordinate clause is sentence final with *-rɨ-ɨ* linking the clause to the main clause by agreeing in gender and number with the subject to signify 'desiring, intending to eat him'.

(115) *[to   yi-koã-ri]₁   sɨoa-hɨĩ-re   waya*
     that   say-FF-PTCPL shallow^basket-place^3ms-O fish^scooping

     bãka-boa-yu-hu   ɨ̃   [ɨ̃-re   ba-rɨ-ɨ]₂
     search-BUT-INFER--3p 3ms 3ms-O eat-DESID-ms
     [Having said that,]₁ [desiring to eat him,]₂ he searched fishing for him with a shallow basket (but didn't find him).

Another type of subordinating clause is the conditional clause in condition-result propositions. Conditional clauses generally begin the sentence, followed by the result as the main clause. The subordinating suffix *-habã* 'if' ends the conditional clause in (116).

(116) *[kẽda-ro   bɨ   tɨoĩa   bãsi-habã]₁   [yã-rɨoko-ha   bɨ]₂*
     good-NOM   2s   think   know-COND   be-DESIDfs--3 2s
     [*If* you thinking understand well]₁, [you will live or remain (here)]₂.

2.26. Coordinating conjunctions. The word *kẽde* 'and, also' may be used to conjoin noun phrases as in (117) where it describes that he, too (in addition to them), swam, playing.

(117) *ĩdã   roha-a-to-re*   *ĩ*   *kẽde*   *ba*   *ahe*   *ĩdã*   *rãka*
    3p   descend-MOT-NOM-PROX-O   3ms   also   swim   play   3p   with

    ba   ahe . . .
    swim play

    When they descended, he also swam playing, swam playing with
    them . . .

2.27–2.30 Interjections

Most interjections follow the regular phonological patterns of nasality and syllable structure. They are divided into four moods: imperative, indicative, exclamatory, and dubitative.

2.27. Imperative. *Ita!* 'let's go!' is an imperative interjection used when the speaker expects the hearer to begin to go before him.

2.28. Indicative. *Ữhaữ?* 'yes' is an indicative interjection signifying a response of affirmation. This word does not conform to the general phonological patterns. Firstly, it is split nasally, i.e., the first syllable *ữ* is the only nasalized syllable. Secondly, the second syllable is a dipthong of the two vowels *a* and *ữ.* And thirdly, it is the only interjection which always ends with a glottal stop. There are a few words such as personal pronouns, the adverb *kẽda* 'again', and the discourse particle *ya* (temporal pointer) which may optionally end with a glottal stop when they occur sentence finally. *Ữhữ* 'yes' is another interjection which signifies an affirmative response. It is generally followed by some comment whereas *ữhaữ?* 'yes' is not usually followed by any explanation of the affirmation.

Haữ/Baữ 'fine' are also indicative interjections. Both of these expressions have the diphthong *a* plus *ữ* mentioned above.

Dã 'hi' is an interjection used as a greeting to acknowledge the presence of another.

2.29. Exclamatory. *Abo!* 'oh, how big!; oh, what a huge quantity!' is an example of an exclamatory interjection. *o* is used iconically for 'bigness' and *i* is used for 'smallness'. Thus, *Abi!* 'oh, how small!; oh, what a small quantity!' We have recorded over thirty exclamatory interjections, many of which are synonymous, and most of which begin with *a*. Some of these are listed in (118).

(118) *Abe!*   (expression of love for someone)
    Abʉ!   (expression of pleasure)
    Ade!   (expression of disgust)
    Agi!   (expression of surprise at unexpected appearance of
              someone, thing)
    Agaʉ!   (expression of pain from aching or mental anguish)
    Ayu!   (expression of fear or pity)
    Ayʉ!   (expression of sudden pain)

2.30. Doubt. *Ba* 'I/we don't know' is the only dubitative interjection. It may occur alone, or be followed by the sentence 'I/we don't know', or occur with a sentence in which the verb is often inflected with the mood of conjecture.

2.31. Negators. There is a negator form *bēhe* (J) / *bē* (E) which is independent of the verb. It is used for negating the word, phrase, or clause which precedes it and tends to have less than sentential scope. On the other hand, the verb suffix *-be* (negative) does have sentential scope. Compare the different translations of (119) and (120), where (119) has *bēhe* (negator) and (120) has *-be* (negative).

(119) *ti-kasabo   hoe   bēhe-re   ti-re   heo-bʉ   yʉ*
    that-platform on^top   NEG-O   that-o   on^CAUS--3   1s
    I put it not on top of the table. (I put it on top of something else.)

(120) *ti-kasabo   hoe-re   ti-re   heo-be-hʉ   yʉ*
    that-platform on^top-o that-o   on^CAUS-NEG--3   1s
    I didn't put it on top of the table. (I did something else with it or did nothing with it.)

3

Morphology

This chapter is a summary of derivational morphology that is not discussed elsewhere. It is divided into two major sections: noun morphology and verb morphology.

The section on noun morphology includes a brief discussion of the gender-number suffixes for nouns, the nominalizers for deverbal nouns, the diminutive -*aka,* and the use of -*a* to combine nouns with nominals and classifiers. The section on verb morphology includes a brief discussion of verb roots and intensifiers.

3.1–3.4 Noun morphology

3.1. Gender-number suffixes for nouns. Noun suffixes for gender-number, which are the most productive suffixes, are: -*u* (masculine singular), -*o* (feminine singular), -*rã* (animate plural), and a combination of classifier plus plural suffix. To illustrate these suffixes, see (121) where they are listed with the forms of *ya* (genitive) and *ruha* (semantically empty noun). Note that *a* is dropped when followed by -*u* (masculine singular) or -*o* (feminine singular).

(121) *ĩ y-ʉ*   (3ms GEN-ms)   'his kinsman'
      ĩ y-o   (3ms GEN-fs)   'his kinswoman'
      ĩ ya-rã   (3ms GEN-anp)   'his kinsmen'
      ĩ ya-wi   (3ms GEN-house)   'his house'
      ruh-ʉ   (ø-ms)   'torso of animate body, trunk of tree'
      ruha-rã   (ø-anp)   'torsos of animate bodies'
      ruha-bedo   (ø-ring)   'ring-shaped thing'

3.2. Nominalizers for deverbal nouns. Deverbal nouns are generally formed by a verb root plus tense marker plus a nominalizer suffix. The nominalizer suffix may simply be the regular gender-number suffix for nouns (see §3.1), or a combined form of gender, number, animacy, and time and space. These combined forms are listed in (122).

(122) *-gʉ*   (PRES/PST^PROXms)   *-ro*   (PRES/PSTins/p)
      -go   (PRES/PST^PROXfs)   *-rã*   (PRES/PSTanp)
      -kʉ   (far^PST/FUT^-PROXms)   *-do*   (PRES/PST^PROXins/p)
      -ko   (far^PST/FUT^-PROXfs)   *-dã*   (-PRES^-PR OXanp)
      -to   (far^PST/FUT^-PROXins/p)

The following generalizations regarding these forms can be made:
1. The syllable pattern for such nominalizers is cv.
2. Nonproximate nominalizers (for far past and future tenses) are distinguished by voiceless stops except for the animate-plural form in which nasalization evidently preserves the voicing.
3. *-g* and *-k* signify individuated animate.
4. *-r* signifies nonindividuated.

A deverbal noun with the realis tenses (see §6.5), is formed by a verb root plus tense marker and the combined nominalizer. The occurrence of *-go* and *-ko* can be seen in (123). Note that there are no tense suffixes for present and immediate past. The tense suffix for far past is *-ka*. The suffix *-ro* is given a future meaning, even though there are no strictly future tense suffixes and future tense has not been categorized as a realis tense. However, it is included here because the construction fits that of the realis tenses. Perhaps *-ro* (future) is related to *-ro* (heard) where the present tense is related to distance in time rather than space.

(123) Present and   *bue-go*
    immediate past   study-fs
                     female student
   Far past   *bue-ka-ko*
                     study-far^PST--PROXfs
                     past female student
   Future   *bue-ro-ko*
                     study-FUT--PROXfs
                     future female student

The construction of deverbal nouns with the irrealis tenses is a verb root plus tense suffix followed by the gender-number suffixes for nouns. In (124) note that the *-a* in *-rʉa* (desiderative), is dropped when followed by *-ʉ* (masculine singular) or *-o* (feminine singular).

(124) Intention   *bue-rʉ-o*
                     study-DESID-fs
                     a female who intends to study

   Past   *bue-ria-rã*
    conjecture   study-PST^CONJ-anp
                     ones who probably studied

One other nominalizer *-ri* (participle) which has an inherent gender and is used to form mass nouns. In (125) *-ri* (participle) is used with *ʉka* 'to write'.

(125) *ʉka-ri*   *kʉti-go*   *yã-ka-bõ*
    write-PTCPL   have-fs   be-far^PST-3fs
    She had spots (as a characteristic).

Additional nominalizers are discussed in §11.6.

3.3. Diminutive and augmentative. The diminutive is formed by adding *-aka* (diminutive) to nouns and adverbs. In (126), *koho-katʉa/hakatʉa (E)* 'one side' plus *-aka* is used to mean a small section of an area, and in (127), where *-aka* (diminutive) is suffixed to the adverb *kẽda-ro* 'well', it means 'slowly'.

(126) *koho-katʉa-aka-dẽ*   *bahi-koã-bʉ*
    one-side-DIM-SPCR   be-FF--3PST
    I was at (visited) a small part (of the village).

(127) *kĕda-ro-aka*   *wa-a-ha-bõ*
      good-NOM-DIM   move-MOT-PRES-PROX-3fs
      She is going by slowly.

The suffix *-ro* (augmentative) may be added to nouns to indicate increased size. When added to nouns the accent is drawn to the syllable preceding *-ro* (augmentative). This can be seen in the paired examples given in (128) and (129).

(128) *hái-ri-ka*   *hai-ri-ká-ro*
      big-PTCPL-hollow   big-PTCPL-hollow-AUG
      big canoe   really big canoe

(129) *hũugu*   *hũugú-ro*
      'hammock'   hammock-AUG
                                   big hammock

3.4. Combining a noun with a nominal. The suffix *-a* (pertaining to) is used to combine a noun with a nominal or classifier in order to refer to something which pertains to something else but is not considered an inherent part of it. Following is a list of examples using this construction expressing spacial and temporal relationships.

(130) Spacial relations

wíi-a-ye	(house-PERT-inp)	'things of the house'
ado-a-gu	(here-PERT-ms)	'one (ms) from here'
Bĩtú-a-go	(bĩtú-PERT-fs)	'one (fs) from *Mitú*'
gudareko-a-gu	(middle-PERT-ms)	'one (ms) in the middle'

Temporal relations

hudo-a-dã	(after-PERT-anp)	'ones (who came) later'
ti-rũbu-a-ye	(that-day-PERT-inp)	'things (stories) of long ago'
ti-rũbu-a-dã	(that-day-PERT-anp)	'ones of (who lived) long ago'
adi-rũbu-a-dã	(these-days-PERT-anp)	'ones of (living) today'
yãbika	(yesterday	'the day before yesterday'
rĩhoro-a-rũbu	before-PERT-day)	

3.5–3.6 Verb morphology

Verb roots (including compounds), and intensifier suffixes are discussed in this section.

3.5. Verb roots. Verb roots may consist of one or more syllables. The second syllable may be a derivational suffix which qualifies the basic meaning of the root or changes its transitivity. Five types of this kind of construction are presented below. Compound verbs are formed by a combination of two roots with the second one being inflected. Compounds of cognition and position are discussed following the two syllable roots.

The first example in which the second syllable of a verb root qualifies the first syllable is the addition of the suffix *-ya/-sa* (stative). When it occurs with *tu* 'to put up against', the first syllable indicates the manner in which the subject arrived at the state, as in (131).

(131) *sohe-hʉ-re   tu-ya-ka-hʉ   ti*
        door-place-o put^against-STAT-far^PST--3 3in
        It was up against the door.

In (132) compare the sets of other verb roots which occur with this suffix.

(132)	*sua*	'to weave'	*suya*	'to be woven'
	hea	'to get on'	*hesa*	'to be on'
	kū	'to put down'	*kūya*	'to be on the ground'
	sā	'to put in'	*sāya*	'to be inside'
	bu	'to make exit'	*buya*	'to be emitting (as heat)'

Second, besides indicating stative, the second syllable may indicate intransitivity. For example, *bu* is transitive signifying 'to make something/someone exit' and *buya* is stative for 'to be emitting', and *budi* is intransitive for 'to exit'.

Third, the form of the verb root changes or the second syllable changes to indicate whether an action is done to one or many objects or persons. Some of these verb roots are listed in (133).

(133) *ābi*   'to pick up one object'
    hua   'to pick up more than one object'
    roka   'to move one object or person down or away'
    rea   'to move more than one object or person down or away '
    wadi   'to split apart in one place'
    wehe   'to split apart in many places'
    wea   'to take off one object from its source'
    wehe   'to take off more than one object from its source'
    yẽa   'to grab one object'
    yẽhe   'to grab more than one object'

Fourth, the second syllable may indicate distance in distinguishing motion for intransitive verbs, e.g., *rũa* may refer to travelling along on an airstrip whereas *rũha* refers to travelling along the airstrip a short distance from it.

Fifth, the second syllable may indicate whether or not a transitive verb is directed toward the agent (reflexive) or elsewhere. For example, *sua* signifies 'to weave'. However, in an instance referring to a woman picking up a child and putting him on her hip, the action is viewed as weaving the child to herself as expressed in (134).

(134) *ĩ-re*   *ābi*   *roka*   *su-di-bõ*   *so*
    3ms-O   pick^up   move^down   weave-REFL-fs   3fs
    She picked him up and put him (his legs) around herself.

Verb phrases of cognition. The inflection of finite verbs in Barasano relates how the speaker has obtained his information. This same notion occurs with verbs of cognition. Compounds are often formed which indicate through which of the senses the participant in a discourse experienced the situation. Thus, with *bãsi* 'to know' we form *ĩa bãsi* (see know) 'to know by sight, to recognize', *ahi bãsi* (hear know) 'to know by hearing/to understand' or *tɨoĩa bãsi* (think know) 'to know by thinking, to remember'. (135) is an example of *ahi bãsi* 'to understand' by hearing.

(135) *so-re*   *ahi*   *bãsi-a-ha*   *yɨ*
    3fs-O   hear   know-PRES--3   1s
    I understand her speech.

The verb *bãsi* 'to know' also occurs with numerous other verbal complements and as such signifies 'to know how to/be able to', e.g., in (136) *yãgo* 'to talk' is the verbal complement of *bãsi* 'to know':

(136) *yãgo   bãsi-be-a-bõ*
      talk   know-NEG-PRES-3fs
      She doesn't know how to talk.

Compound verbs of position. The verb roots *rũgu* 'to get into, or movement in a standing position' and *kea* 'to be in a horizontal position on the ground (having fallen)' are verbs used to indicate the position of the subject, which is the patient or experiencer of some event. Thus, the form *sĩdi kea* 'to dry up lying on the ground' speaks of the withering of a tree lying on the ground while *sĩdi rũgu* 'to dry up' speaks of the withering of a standing tree. Other common compounds are *eha rũgu* 'to arrive standing up' (the polite way to enter a house) as opposed to *eha rũhu* 'to arrive and squat'; *wau wiha rũgu* (wade move^toward^middle stand) 'to wade toward the middle of a stream'; and *wubũ rũgu* (get^up stand) 'to stand up' as opposed to *wubũ* (get^up) 'to sit up'.

Examples of other stative verbs which can occur as part of compound verbs are: *hesa* 'to be on', *sãya* 'to be inside', and *kũya* 'to be on the ground'. With *kãdi* 'to sleep', the compounded form for 'to sleep on a branch' is *kãdi hesa*, 'to sleep inside a canoe' is *kãdi sãya,* and 'to sleep on the ground' is *kãdi kũya.*

3.6. Intensifiers. The suffixes *-busa* 'very much' and *-goda* 'really' *(J)*[11] are used to indicate that something is a large degree of the quantity or quality expressed by the verb root to which it is suffixed.

(137) *yoa-busa-a-ha*
      long-very^much-PRES--3
      It is very long.

(138) *ibisiti-goda-a-ha*   *ti*
      sweet-INTENS-PRES--3   3in
      It is really sweet!

---

[11]The *Eduria* dialect has *-bãsu* 'really' instead of *-goda.*

4

Noun Phrase

This chapter discusses the constituents of the noun phrase which includes classifiers, quantifiers, numerals, noun-noun structures, descriptive modifiers, and postpositions. [12] In general, the head of the noun phrase occurs as the last constituent unless it is in focus or being topicalized, in which case it occurs first.

4.1–4.4 Noun classifiers

Barasano has an extensive system of noun classifiers, which provide concordance (agreement) within the noun phrase, and are used to form referring expressions that head noun phrases.

Note examples (139)–(141) which illustrate agreement in the noun phrase. In (139), -ᵾ (classifier for hammock) is the classifier added to *hᵾa* 'two' (the -*a* is dropped) which agrees with the object *hᵾᵾ (J) / hᵾᵾgᵾ (E)* 'hammock'. In (140), -*ga* 'hollow/having a hole' is the classifier added to *ya* (genitive) to agree with the noun *kūbua* 'canoe'. In (141) -*ka* 'hollow, having a hole' is the classifier added to the deverbal nominal *hai-bᵾsa-ri* which agrees with *wewo* (specie of reed) (whose singularizer is -*a* 'hollow, having a hole').

49

(139) *hũu-re*   *hu-u-re*   *ãbo-a-ha*   *yu*
      hammock-o   two-hammock-o   want-PRES--3   1s
      I want two hammocks.

(140) *kūbua*   *yu*   *ya-ga*   *rãca*   *wa-a-su-bĩ*
      canoe   1s   GEN-hollow   with   move-MOT-INFER-PROX-   3ms
      He went away with my canoe.

(141) *wewo*   *hai-busa-ri-ka-dẽ*   *kẽdo-ka-bã*
      wewo   big-rather-PTCPL-hollow-SPCR   good^CAUS-far^PST-3p

> *tõro-a-re*
> flute-hollow-o
> They make the flute from the rather large *wewo* (hollow reeds).

4.1. Salient features of classifiers. Barasano classifiers are divided into eleven major categories as listed in (142). The number of classifiers for each category is given in parentheses.

(142) Shape (58)   Manner-formed (7)
       Masses (13)   Abstract (4)
       Designs (16)   Associative (3)
       Botanical (10)   General (3)
       Disassociated parts (7)   Residue (1)
       Geographical (15)

Shape is the major feature and comprises the largest category, with 58 classifiers out of 137. There is some latitude in which classifier is used, so that the same object may be described from different perspectives, employing different classifiers. For example, 'machete' is classified in Barasano by shape, *kõbe-hãi* (metal-flat^thin), but in Taiwano by function: *ha-ri-a-se* (hit-PTCPL--s-CL).

Shape. Shape classifiers are subdivided into thirteen major groups.

1. concave bowl, pot shapes (8)
   -*baja* 'bowl, glass-shape'
   -*bo* 'shallow bowl-shape'
   -*koaro* 'gourd'
   -*koro* 'shell'
   -*ru*/-*tu* 'pot-like'

-soroa 'disc, solid-shape'
-sotʉ 'pot-like'
-tobe 'nest-like'

2. protrusion/mound/hump (8)
   -besoro 'protrusion (same as *-sawia*)'
   -bua 'mound (smaller than *-bo*)'
   -bururiaka 'protrusion (smaller than *-būra*)'
   -buro 'hill-shaped (large protrusion)'
   -būra 'protrusion (smaller than *-rapea*)'
   -rapea 'protrusion (larger than *-būra*)'
   -sawia 'protrusion (larger than *-rapea* and *-būra*)'
   -tuyua 'small mound (i.e., anthill)'

3. crooked shapes (6)
   -begoro 'crooked'
   -dugero 'crooked'
   -gogibā 'crooked'
   -gʉgʉbā 'curly hair'
   -kogoro 'series of bumps'
   -subia 'crooked'

4. empty circles (5)
   -bedo 'ring-shaped'
   -beruri 'loop-shaped'
   -sādiro 'circle with nothing in it'
   -sawero 'ear-shaped'
   -yoa 'form of a circle that is filled'

5. spherical shapes (5)
   -a 'sphere or oblong shaped'
   -bʉrʉa 'spheroid of any size'
   -hatahia 'oblong shaped basket'
   -hoa 'bag-shaped'
   -sīboa 'oblong, spherical'

6. cylinders (hollow and nonhollow) (6)
   -a/-ga/-ka 'hollow'
   -bota 'post'
   -bʉ 'tubular or hollow cylinder'
   -hoti 'rolled-up cylinder'

-rahe 'hollow cylinder'
-toti 'hollow cylinder'

7. square box shapes (4)
   -arʉa 'square space of room size down to box size'
   -hataro (E), rāka (J) 'box-shaped'
   -kuhi 'square to slightly rectangular solid (can have rounded corners)'
   -sõa 'square-shaped from room size down to box size'

8. flat planes (3)
   -ahu 'long, straight plane'
   -kasabo 'platform, shelf, table'
   -hāi 'flat, thin plane'

9. pointed shapes (3)
   -sābi(aka) 'sharp end'
   -taporo 'blunt beak (bird)'
   -waka 'dart-shaped'

10. funnel shapes (3)
    -dero 'funnel-shaped'
    -deuro 'gulley-like (old riverbed)'
    -hedo 'conical'

11. thin, long shapes (3)
    -bã 'path, string-like'
    -kʉdi 'wave-like shape'
    -sĩoro 'leaning tree, wall'

12. hour glass shapes (2)
    -sa 'hour-glass shape'
    -sēdero 'hour-glass shape'

13. general (2)
    -gogoro 'many shapes or designs in a multi-dimensional object'
    -wi 'house-shape'

Masses. The masses category is comprised of classifiers for groups, bunches, swarms, flocks, piles, and rows. These are listed in (143). They sometimes seem to intersect with shape or design in some classifiers, e.g., *-ka* 'row of entities' used for *kahi-ka* 'row of coca bushes', or ... *bue-rã,*

ruha-ka-ri huya-ka-bã. (study-anp ∅-row-p sit-far^PST-3p) 'students, were seated in rows'.

(143) *-abea* 'cluster in spherical form, pile (flowers, leaves, branches)'
    -bitia 'bunch of things in sphere shape'
    -bõaro 'swarm of insects, flock of birds in one place'
    -butu (E), -tubua (J) 'group'
    -derea 'spotted, blotched'
    -gogoa 'diamond shaped'
    -hãboro 'pile of brush, sticks, roots'
    -hoa 'group of people'
    -huri 'bunch of bananas in pointed shape'
    -siorohu 'swarm of insects, flock of birds'
    -tõ 'bunch of things in a round shape'
    -tuti 'stack'
    -yasia 'pile of brush, sticks, roots'

Designs. The designs category, listed in (144), is comprised of arrangements of lines or dots which can be drawn. All are used in the daily and ceremonial face and body painting, as well as on the fronts of houses (a dying practice), and on the large dance sticks. When used for body painting, they occur with the nominal *ruha*, e.g., *ruha-tãke-ri* (∅-dot-p) 'design of dots around the hairline' (used to protect children from harm), *ruha-dúka* (∅-right^angle^design) 'right angle design' (frequently drawn on both cheeks), or *ruha-tẽde-ri* (∅-intersecting^lines-p) 'intersecting lines design drawn across the forehead'. When these classifiers are used to describe objects, they require an additional classifier (see §4.2).

(144) *-dõri* 'broken line, line of hyphens, dashes design'
    -dúka 'ninety degree angle design, elbow design'
    -húda 'line design'
    -ka 'straight line design, row'
    -ku 'section, panel'
    -pawia 'fish hook-like design'
    -piruro 'parallel vertical lines design'
    -ra 'feather-like design, school of fish design'
    -ruhu 'right angle design'
    -saro 'lines rotating out from a center design'
    -sẽro ' 'V' design'
    -tedẽri 'intersecting lines design'

-*tẽro* 'letter 'T' design, cross design'
-*yɨrɨ* 'rings on a palm trunk, lines on a hawk feather design'

Botanical. The botanical category in (145) is comprised of classifiers which refer only to botanical objects. Examples are -*yõ* 'palm', used as a general classifier for palms, as in *rẽ-yõ* 'mirití palm' and *ɨdẽ-yõ* 'chontaduro palm'; and -*rɨkɨ* 'stalk', as in *kĩ-rɨkɨ* 'cassava stalk' and *kahi-rɨkɨ* 'coca bush stalk'.

(145) -*dõ* 'palm'
      -*gũbu* 'log'
      -*hũro* 'leaf'
      -*kahe* 'plants planted from sprouts which come from the base of the fruit'
      -*kahero* 'stalk, base of fruit'
      -*ke* 'palm leaf'
      -*rɨkɨ* 'stalk'
      -*siri* 'knotted tree'
      -*sõrero* 'rings of a tree bark'
      -*sɨrɨa* 'place in hollow tubed plants where there is a joint'

Disassociated parts. The classifiers of this category, listed in (146), all seem to indicate some part disassociated from some larger whole; e.g., -*huria* 'cut-off part' used in *yuku-huria* (wood-cut^off^part) 'pole' and *wai-huria* (fish-cut^off^part) 'part of a fish'; and -*kero* 'part taken from the whole' used in *ĩ ba-rɨa-ria-kero* (3ms eat-DESID-PST^CONJ-part^taken^from^ whole) 'his food that was taken from the whole.'

(146) -*gose* 'remainder, residue in separating substances'
      -*huria* 'cut-off piece (usually of a cylinder)'
      -*kero* 'part taken from the whole'
      -*sero* 'missing piece'
      -*sɨhu* 'fragments, tiny particles'
      -*turia* 'amount piled over the top of something'
      -*tɨgoro* 'part or fraction of a whole'

Geographical. The classifiers of this category are listed in (147) and are used for hills, rivers, islands, or flat areas of land. They are frequently used with names, e.g., -*ya* 'river' forms *Wai-ya* 'Fish River,' or *Kõbe-ya* 'Metal River'.

(147) -*bẽ* 'place where there is or has been a fire'
      -*godo* 'used area, empty area'
      -*gohe* 'hole in ground'
      -*hakatʉa (E), -katʉa (J)* 'side'
      -*hugua* 'corner'
      -*hʉ* 'place'
      -*ra* 'lake, lagoon, area of water just below the rapids'
      -*sa* 'river, stream'
      -*sabua* 'precipice'
      -*sãia* 'area inside V-shape or right angle'
      -*sohe* 'opening'
      -*tata* 'swamp'
      -*tʉkuro* 'area of land'
      -*tʉria* 'riverbank'
      -*ya* 'river, stream'

Manner formed. How the object is formed seems to be the emphasis for this class, e.g., -*bĭka* 'bundle made by taking string/rope/vine-like object and bending it many times', or -*tiro* 'flat plane made by chopping perpendicularly'. Though most of this class, listed in (148), could be placed under Shape, the speakers emphasize the actions involved in making the objects, not the shapes.

(148) -*bĭka* 'bundle made by taking string and bending it many times'
      -*boka* 'bundle made by taking a bunch of something and bending it once'
      -*sãde* 'bundle made by wrapping something in a leaf'
      -*tãdia* 'folded thing'
      -*tiro* 'objects made by chopping perpendicularly to make a flat surface'
      -*tubea* 'object made to lean to one side'

Abstract. Abstract classifiers are used for time and place, listed in (149). Examples are: *busu-ri-hʉ* (light-PTCPL-time) 'dawn (the time it is, becomes light)'; and *sʉbe-ri-hʉ* (green-PTCPL-place) 'green place'.

(149) -*hʉ* 'time, place'[13]
      -*kʉba* 'season'
      -*rodo* 'period of time'
      -*rʉbʉ* 'day'

---

[13]-*hʉ* also functions as a nominalizer; see §5.5.

Associative. The associative classifiers are listed in (150). The classifier
-ɨ/-gɨ/-kɨ is used to classify such objects as trees, the torsos of animate
bodies, mountains, hammocks, and nets. These objects seem dissimilar to
the non-Barasana, but a possible reason for their being in the same class
is a Barasana belief that some people came to this earth through the
centers of trees. The word for the chest and abdomen of animate bodies
is the same as for the trunk of a tree, *ruh-ɨ*[14] 'trunk of tree, torso of
animate body'. In the same sense, *hɨ̃-ɨ* *(J)* / *hɨ̃ɨ-gɨ* *(E)* 'hammock', and
bahi-ɨ 'net' are all made from the centers of palms.

The classifiers *-gase* 'skin/bark' and *-a/-ga/-ka* 'appendages of the human
body' (head, penis, fingers, toes, and arms) are also placed in the
associative category.

(150) *-a/-ga/-ka* 'certain body appendages'
       -gasero 'skin, bark'
       -ɨ/-gɨ/-kɨ 'trees, torsos of animate bodies, mountains, hammocks,
           nets'

General. There are three general classifiers, as listed in (151). They are
frequently used to form new expressions for foreign objects, e.g.,
yãgo-ri-a-ro (talk-PTCPL--s-CL) 'tape recorder', *wea-ri-to* *(J)* (paddle-PTCPL-CL)
'a paddle', *rihoa heo-ri-a-ro* *(J)* (head on^CAUS-PTCPL--s-CL) 'hat', or *ha-ri-a-se*
(E) (hit-PTCPL--s-CL) 'machete'.[15]

(151) *-ro* 'thing'
       -se 'thing'
       -to 'thing'

Residue. We do not feel we have a complete list of classifiers, but of
those we presently have, *-bobohɨ/-bobori* (plural) 'white area on skin,
occurring after an itch or bite', does not seem to fit into any of the
categories above.

4.2. Compound classifiers. In some instances two classifiers may occur
on a noun to form a compound classifier, each of which may occur alone.
For example, compare *ɨye-godo-a* (oil-cleared^out-hollow) 'empty oil
bottle', having both *-godo* 'cleared out' and *-a* 'hollow, having a hole' with

---

[14]*ruha* plus *-ɨ* becomes *ruhɨ*.

[15]*-se* and *-ro* also function as nominalizers; see §11.4. Also, *-rito* may be perceived to be
-ri-to (participle-nominalizer).

wíi-godo (house-cleared^out) 'cleared area for a house' and *kūbu-a* (canoe-hollow) 'canoe'. When two classifiers occur on a noun, the second is the one used for concordance with the modifier as in (152).

(152) *ɯye-godo-a*   *ti-a-re*   *ābo-a-ha*   *yɯ*
      oil-cleared^out-hollow   that-hollow-o   want-PRES--3   1s
      I want that empty oil can.

Another type of compound construction is an adjectival suffix indicating design plus a regular classifier. There are approximately seventeen of these suffixes and while they seem very much like classifiers, we do not regard them as such because they occur obligatorily with a following classifier. One example is *-piru* 'striped' in the phrase *sūbe-ri-piru-hāi* (green-PTCPL-striped-flat^thin) 'flat, thin, green, striped thing' which could refer to a piece of green striped cloth.

4.3. Classifiers added to noun heads of noun phrases. Some classifiers occur with nouns causing the noun to refer to a slightly different thing. For example, in (153), note the slight change of meaning when the classifiers *-hāi* 'flat, thin' and *-tō* 'a hanging bunch' are added to nouns.

(153) *sudi* 'clothing'   *-hāi* 'flat, thin'   *sudi-hāi* 'cloth'
      wíi 'house'   *-hāi* 'flat, thin'   *wíi-hāi* 'shelter'
      wai 'fish'   *-tō* 'a hanging bunch'   *wai-tō* 'string of fish'
      oho 'bananas'   *-tō* 'a hanging bunch'   *oho-tō* 'bunch of bananas'

Some nouns need classifiers in order to serve as referring expressions, e.g., *kūbu* 'kind of tree', *hi-* 'kind of basket' and *ruha* (semantically empty noun).

(154) *hi*   *-bɯ* 'hollow cylinder'   *hi-bɯ* 'deep basket'
      ruha   *-bedo* 'ring'   *ruha-bedo* 'a ring-shaped thing'

Some nouns are more attributive than inherently referential. With such nouns, the classifier functions more as the referring element, with the noun modifying it. Note that *wɯhɯ-bo* 'shallow basket made of *wɯhɯ* reed' in (155) does not refer to a reed (the referent of the noun) but to a thing of the type indicated by the classifier, to which *wɯhɯ* 'type of reed' is attributed.

(155) *yukʉ* 'wood'   *-hãi* 'flat, thin'   *yukʉ-hãi* 'a board'
      kõbe 'metal'   *-waka* 'dart '   *kõbe-waka* 'a nail'
      wʉhʉ 'reed'   *-bo* 'dome'   *wʉhʉ-bo* 'shallow basket made of
                                                         wʉhʉ reed'
      riri 'clay'   *-rahe* 'cylinder'   *riri-rahe* 'clay cylinder (used as
                                                         cooking pot support)'
      bẽka 'ant'   *-bo* 'dome'   *bẽka-bo* 'ant hill'

4.4. The nominal *ruha*. The semantically empty noun *ruha* is used with classifiers to refer to an object without naming the object itself. The classifier, then, supplies the referential properties of the resulting noun, e.g., *ruha-a* 'hollowed-out object, object with hole'. In the case where two features are known, a suffix indicating design would follow the nominal *ruha* and that suffix would then bear the classifier, e.g., *ruha-piru-ro* (∅-striped-CL) 'striped thing' which could be used when referring to a striped towel.

4.5. Quantifiers. Quantifiers may occur with or without a noun head and are inflected for animacy. The marker for animate is *-rã* as in *hã-rã* (beˆmany-anp) 'many', and for inanimate is *-ro* as in *hai-ro* (big-NOM) 'much, many'.[16] Exceptionally, *sĩgʉri* 'few, some' has what is generally an inanimate pluralizer *-ri* following *sĩg-ʉ* (oneˆan-ms) 'one animate male'.

In the list of quantifiers in (156), note that several end with *-aka*, (diminutive), and *-kõ* 'to count'. The form *-ka* is perhaps *-kõ* where the *õ* has become *ã* when preceding *rãka* 'with'. (There is some idiolectal variation in the use of quantifiers.)

(156)   Animate   Inanimate

      sĩgʉri 'few, some (m/mf)'   *bõhoro* 'few'
      sĩgori 'few, some (f)'   *bõhoroaka* 'few, little'
      bõhoroaka (J), *õkãrãaka (E)* 'few' *õkõroaka* 'few'
      hãrã (J), *hãhãrã (E)* 'many'   *hairo* 'much, many'
      hediro (J, E), *hedirã (YM)* 'all'   *hediro* 'all'
      tokãrãkʉ or *tokõro*   *tokõro* 'that number'
         'that number (m/mf)'   *tokarãka* + shape CL
      tokãrãko 'that number (f)'   'that number-shape CL'

Things marked with *-ro* tend to be viewed as a whole without distinguishing the parts (in a sense, a singularizing effect), as in *bõho-ro-aka* (beˆsmall-NOM-

---

[16] *hã* 'to be many' does not occur as a fully inflected verb.

DIM) is viewing 'few' as a mass, whereas *sïguri* perceives the individuals that constitute 'the few'.

In cases where quantifiers modify nouns they generally occur before the noun as in (157) where *hārā* 'many' precedes *bāsa* 'people' and (158) where *hairo* 'many' precedes *gaheūdi* (J) 'possessions':[17]

(157) *hārā   bās-a   eha-bā*
      many   human-p arrive-3p
      Many people (have) arrived.

(158) *hai-ro   gaheūdi   hua-a-bï*
      many-NOM   possessions   pick^up-PRES-3ms
      He gets a lot of things.

When a quantifier occurs with a noun which is new information or is in some type of special focus, it follows the noun.

Quantifiers may also occur alone with suffixes that refer to an implicit (or previously mentioned) head.

4.6. Numerals. Numerals occur with suffixes which generally refer to an implicit head. When they occur with the head noun, they may precede or follow it. When they follow it, we contend that the head noun is topicalized or in some type of special focus. Thus comparing illustration (159) with (160), (160) is considered a noun phrase where the head is in focus.

(159) *hua-rahe   kōbe-rahe-ri*
      two-cylinder metal-cylinder-p
      two metal cans

(160) *gūta-hāi   hua-hāi*
      stone-flat^thin   two-flat^thin
      two stone slabs

In some cases, a numeral plus a classifier may function as a noun. For example, the classifier *-rūbu* 'day' functions as a noun yet does not occur by itself, e.g., *idia-rūbu* 'three days' in (161).

----

[17]*gaheūdi* (J) / *gaheyeūdi* (E)

(161) *idia-rŭbɨ   yã-yu-hu   so   wíi   budi-be-ko*
      three-day be-INFER--3p 3fs house leave-NEG--PROXfs
      For three days she remained in the house without leaving.

With animate nouns, numerals agree in number and gender. A list of
numerals for animate nouns is given in (162). The gender suffixes *-ɨ*
(masculine), and *-o* (feminine) follow all the numbers except *hɨa* 'two' and
idia 'three' which are the only numbers marked with *-rã* (plural). If a group
is mixed according to gender, the *-ɨ* (masculine) suffix is used. Number-
agreement marking with numerals is strictly adhered to for animate nouns,
e.g., *hɨa-rã* (two-anp) 'two living things'.

(162) *sĩg-ɨ/o*   'one-(m/f)'
      hɨa-rã   'two-(anp)'
      idia-rã   'three-(anp)'
      babarirãk-ɨ/o   'four-(m/f)'
      kohobõkãrãk-ɨ/o   'five-(m/f)'
      kohobõkãrãk-ɨ   'five-(mf)'

With inanimate nouns numerals agree in class and number. For example,
the number *hɨa* 'two' followed by the class marker *-hãi* 'flat, thin objects'
produces the *hɨahãi* 'two flat, thin objects', which may modify any object
in the *-hãi* class, e.g., *hɨa-hãi sudi-hãi* (two-flat^thin cloth-flat^thin) 'two
pieces of cloth'.
     The number 'one' has a different form when referring to inanimate
nouns. The inanimate form is *koho-*, e.g., *koho-rŭbɨ* 'one day'.
     By contrast to animate nouns, for which number agreement is rigidly
adhered to, with inanimate nouns there is a certain amount of variation:
hɨa 'two' is rarely marked as plural, *idia* 'three' is optionally marked as
plural, and numbers above four are usually marked as plural. For example,
'two days' is *hɨa-rŭbɨ* (two-day); 'three days' may be *idia-rŭbɨ* (three-day)
or *idia-rŭbɨ-ri* (three-day-p); and 'four days' is *babari-rŭbɨ-ri* (four-day-p).

4.7–4.8 Noun-noun structures

Barasano forms noun-noun structures by compounding and by use of the
case marker *ya* (genitive). Because of the classifier system and few independent
nouns, Barasano does not have many noun-noun structures.

4.7. Compound nouns. Compound nouns are rare, undoubtedly due to the productiveness of combining a noun and classifier to form a referring expression. In the few that occur, the first noun attributes characteristics or properties and the second provides the reference. For example, *wai-sotu* 'fish pot' (pot refers to the method of cooking), *bode-kũbua* (dragonfly canoe) 'helicopter' and *hea-guso* (fire alligator) 'cayman'.

4.8. Genitive constructions. Barasano uses the case marker *ya* (genitive) to express ownership. It is generally used in referring expressions, and occurs between the possessor and the possessed, e.g., *Hãibe ya-wi* (Jim GEN-house) 'Jim's house.' The possessor is usually a pronoun, e.g., *ĩ ya-wi* (3ms GEN-house) 'his house' or *so ya-papera-tuti* (3fs GEN-paper-stack) 'her book'. The possessor precedes the possessed unless the possessed is topicalized in which case it is fronted. In illustration (163), *ya* (genitive) follows the head which is topicalized.

(163) *hũu*   *ĩ*   *ya-gu*
      hammock 3ms GEN-hammock
      his long hammock

There is a plural genitive form *ye*, e.g., *bãs-a ye sita* (human-p GENp land) 'the people's land'. With plural inanimate referents (as well as for nonindividuated items), *ye* (genitive plural) occurs without a classifier suffix, e.g., *ĩdã ye* 'their things'.[18]

Notions like part-whole and kinship relationship are expressed by putting the possessor directly before the possessed. To indicate the possession of body parts, a noun or pronoun is directly followed by the term for the body part, e.g., *Hãibe ãbo* 'Jim's hand' or *ĩ ãbo* 'his hand'. The form *-wi* 'house' [19] may also occur without the genitive marker, e.g., *Hãibe wi* 'Jim's house'. Kinship terms are obligatorily preceded by a noun or pronoun which refers to the person so related and which directly precedes the kinship term, e.g., *Hãibe yĩku* 'Jim's grandfather', or *ĩ yĩku* 'his grandfather'.

---

[18]A less common way of expressing the genitive plural is by following *ye* (genitive plural) with the noun to which it refers, e.g., *ĩdã ye sita* (3p GENp land) 'their land'. Also, at least in one dialect of *Jãnerã*, it is acceptable to simply state the possessor prior to the possessed (without *ya*), e.g.,: *ĩ hũu* 'his hammock'.

[19]*-wi* 'house' is not written as suffixed to proper nouns and pronouns (our own bias). *wũ* 'house' is the word used when it is not suffixed to a noun.

The genitive *ya* occurs with a suffix to indicate the possessed. For animate possessed elements, a gender-number suffix is used: *-ʉ* (masculine), *-o* (feminine), and *-rã* (plural). The /a/ in *ya* (genitive) is dropped when followed by *-ʉ* (masculine singular) and *-o* (feminine singular). For inanimate possessed elements, a classifier suffix is used. The possessor is generally a personal pronoun. The phrases so formed, like the following, refer back to some previously-mentioned animate, possessed beings:[20]

(164) *ĩ   y-ʉ*
      3ms   GEN-ms
      his kinsman *or* male pet

(165) *yʉ   y-o*
      1s   GEN-fs
      my kinswoman *or* female pet

(166) *bʉ̃   ya-rã*
      2p   GEN-p
      your kinsmen *or* pets

The following phrases would refer back to some previously-mentioned, inanimate, singular, possessed item.[21]

(167) *yʉ   ya-ro*
      1s   GEN-CL
      my thing (e.g., seat)

(168) *ĩ   ya-ga*
      3ms   GEN-hollow
      his hollow thing *or* thing having a hole (e.g., needle)

(169) *so   ya-tuti*
      3fs   GEN-stack
      her stack (e.g., book)

---

[20]A less common way of expressing the genitive with animates is to follow it by the noun to which it refers, e.g., *yʉ y-ʉ bãk-ʉ* (1s GEN-ms progeny-ms) 'my son'.

[21]A less frequent way of expressing the genitive with inanimates is to follow *ya-* (genitive) and a classifier with the noun to which it refers, e.g., *ĩ ya-gʉ jʉ̃ʉ* (3ms GEN-ms hammock) 'his hammock'.

(170) *bṹ   ya-hãi*
       2s   GEN-flat^thin
       your flat, thin thing (e.g., machete)

4.9. Descriptive modifiers. Barasano is a verb-adjective language, which is to say that there is a single set of roots which may take either regular verbal inflection and serve as predicates, or may take nominalizers, participials, and classifiers, and serve as modifiers in noun phrases. A descriptive noun phrase is formed by a stative verb, (e.g., *bai* 'be bad, ugly', *boti* 'be white', *yoa* 'be long', *hai* 'be big, many, *kẽda* 'be good', etc.') followed by either:

1. A gender-number marker or nominalizer, e.g., *kẽda-go* (be^good-fs) 'good woman' and *kẽda-se* (be^good-NOM) 'good stuff'; or
2. A participle and a classifier or, for humans, the word *bãs-* 'human' plus gender-number marker, e.g., *kedã-ri-bedo* (be^good-PTCPL-ring) 'a nice ring' and *sĩa-ri bãs-ɨ* (kill-PTCPL human-ms) 'a man who kills'.

A head noun is not required, as in (171), where both modifiers are used as referring expressions to the implicit head noun *sudi-hãi* (cloth-flat^thin) 'cloth'.

(171) *sũa-ri-hãi*   *yoa-ri-hãi*   *ãbo-a-ha*   *yɨ*
       red-PTCPL-flat^thin   long-PTCPL-flat^thin   want-PRES--3   1s
       I want a long red piece of cloth.

4.10. Postpositional phrases. Postpositions occur following noun phrases. They head the noun phrase and bear the phrase's case markers. The following are examples of postpositional phrases with the postpostions *hoe* 'on top of' and *gɨdareko* 'middle'.

(172) *oho*   *hṹ-ro*   *hoe*
       bananas   leaves-s   on^top
       on the banana leaf

(173) *wɨhɨ-bo*   *tuti*   *hoe-hɨ-re*   *so-re*   *heo-yu-hu*   *so*
       wɨhɨ-dome   stack   on^top-place-o   3fs-o   on^CAUS-INFER--3p   3fs
       They say that she put her away on top of a stack of shallow baskets made of *wɨhɨ* reed.

(174) *wɨi   gɨdareko-re   kɨ̃-yu-hu   ĩ*
       house   middle-o   put-INFER--3p 3ms
       They say that he put it down in the middle of the house.

5

Case

Barasano is a nominative-accusative language. The subject in Barasano bears no case marking whereas the object is generally marked when it is definite. Regarding word order, the subject is sentence initial when first introduced or in special focus and is sentence final elsewhere.

Barasano has four morphemes which mark case though not obligatorily: *-re* occurs on noun phrases in the roles of object, experiencer, benefactee, and manner; *rāka* occurs on noun phrases of accompaniment and instrument; *-hɨ* marks locations or times; and *ya* marks the genitive (see §4.8).

5.1–5.3 *-re*

The ending *-re* is used to mark the object, the experiencer, and benefactee. It is also used to mark manner, which is discussed in §11.9.

5.1. Object. *-re* marks definite objects and usually occurs with personal pronouns. In (175) it occurs on *bɨ* (2s), the object of the verb *sīa* 'to kill'; whereas in (176) and (177) the object is indefinite and therefore unmarked.

(175) *bɨ-re   sīa-gɨ-bī   yai*
     2s-O   kill-ms-3ms   wildcat
     The wildcat will probably kill you.

(176) *rase-a   sīa-to   bādi*
       toucan-p   kill--2IMPV li
       Let's kill toucans!

(177) *gãhe-rã   gaw-a   ãbo-a-ha   yɨa*
       otherₐₙ-anp nonindigenous-p want-PRES--3 1x
       We want other non-indigenous people.

In (178), compare the lack of case marking on *gũbu* 'log' (indefinite) with
the last entry *ti gũbu-re* 'that log' (definite) which is marked with *-re*:

(178) *kẽda gahe   gũbu   yoa-ri-kɨ   yu-ri-a*
       again another log   long-PTCPL-log   put^lengthwise-PTCPL--s

       gũbu wãbe kɨti-gũbu ²² *bāka-ka-bā īdā ti   gũbu-re bɨha . . .*
       log   name have-log   search-PST-3p 3p   that log-o find
       . . . again they search for another long log which is called the log
       which is caused to run lengthwise in the house. Finding that log . . .

Illustration (179) was taken from a discourse on the manner in which
kahi 'coca' is made. Thus, *kahi* 'coca' is definite and is marked with *-re*
(object).

(179) *tu-ri-a   gase-ro hubea-hɨ   kahi-re-bā   ya*
       put^against-PTCPL--s bark-s   inside-place coca-o-CONTR   NOW

       hio   sā . . .
       pour put^in
       Now (they) pour the coca into the bark bag attached (to a pole) . . .

When *-o* (causative) is suffixed to intransitive verbs, the subject of the
verb becomes the object of the causative and when it is definite, is marked
with *-re,* as in (180).

---

²²*kɨti* 'to have' does not conform to the general pattern of nominalized verbs in that *-ri*
(participle) does not follow it, preceding the suffixed nominalizer/classifier. Also, some
speakers drop the *-ti* in *kɨti* when nominalizing it with animate nominalizers. E.g., *kɨ-kɨ*
'one who has'.

(180) *ĩ-re   bēkʉ-o-se*
     he-o   drunk-CAUS-NOM
     that which causes him to be drunk

Causative forms of transitive verbs have two objects as in (181), where *dãhu* 'cassava bread' is the direct object, and *so* 'she' is the benefactee and both are marked with *-re*. (For further discussion on causatives see §6.8).

(181) *dãhu-re   so-re   base-yu-hu   ĩ*
     cassava^bread-o   3fs-o   rid^of^evil-INFER--3p   3ms
     ... they say that he rid the evil from the cassava bread for her.

While it is true that objects which are definite are marked with *-re*, there are some exceptions. With bi transitive verbs, the object is sometimes unmarked and the recipient is marked with *-re*. In (182) *gʉdahoa* 'uterus' is the object, and *yʉ* 'me' is the recipient of *ĩsi* 'to give'.

(182) *so   gʉdahoa yʉ-re-bã   ĩsi-ba   bʉ*
     3fs   uterus   1s-O-CONTR   give-FUT^IMPV   2s
     Give me (not them) her uterus.

5.2. Experiencer. *-re* marks experiencer as in (183) where *bʉ* (2s), is the experiencer of *bahi* 'to be':

(183) *bʉ-re   bahi-ria-ha   bʉ*
     2s-O   be-PST^CONJ--3   2s
     It happened to you.

When referring to one's body experiencing some sensation, the specific body part is generally unmarked and the patient (represented by a pronoun) is suffixed by *-re*. In (184) and (185), note that *yʉ* (1s), marked with *-re*, is the experiencer.

(184) *yʉ-re   ʉsʉ   wũa-a-ha*
     1s-O   hearts ache-PRES--3
     (My) heart aches (to me).

(185) *yɨa*   *wai*   *hua-rã*   *rĩhoro-a-yábi*   *yɨa*   *bahi*
   1x   fish   poison-anp   before-PERT-night   1x   be

   yã-ro-dẽ   *buto*   *yɨ-re*   *kãdi-rɨa-ka-hɨ*
   be-NOM-SPCR   very^much   1s-O   sleep-DESID-far^PST--3
   Our having been poisoning fish from the night before made me want
   to sleep very much.

5.3. Benefactee. *-re* marks the benefactee/malafactee of a verb to which
-bosa (benefactive) has been suffixed. In (186), *yɨ* (1s) is the benefactee of
the verb *ãbi* 'to pick up' which has the suffix *-bosa*.

(186) *yɨ*   *karta*   *yɨ-re*   *ãbi-a-bosa-ya*   *bɨ*
   1s   letter   1s-O   pick^up-MOT-BEN-PRES^IMPV   2s
   Take my letter for me.

With intransitive verbs, although the verbal suffix *-bosa* is not present,
when the sense of the benefactive/malefactive is implicit, the benefactee/
malefactee is marked by *-re*. Note the first person marked as malefactee in
(187) and (188).

(187) *kẽda-be-a-ha*   *ti*   *yɨ-re*
   good-NEG-PRES--3   3in   1s-O
   That's not good for me!

(188) *oko*   *kedi-ro*   *be*   *bãdi-re*
   water   fall-AVOID   oh   1i-O
   Oh no. Its going to rain on us (to our detriment)!

5.4. *rãka* 'with'. The postposition *rãka* 'with' indicates coparticipation
and instrument. In illustration (189), *rãka* follows *yɨ* (1s) indicating that I
am a coparticipant (in going) with you *bɨ* (2s).

(189) *yɨ*   *rãka*   *wa-rɨa-be-a-ti*   *bɨ*
   1s   with   move-DESID-NEG-PRES-Q   2s
   Don't you want to come with me?

In (190) *rãka* 'with' is used to mark the instrument *bĩsi-bedo* 'vine in the
shape of a ring'.

(190) *bīsi-bedo   rāka   gate   buto   asi   bahi-ro-dē*
      vine-ring   with   toast very^much   hot   be-NOM-SPCR

      hūa-ko-a-ka-hu   ti
      crisp-FF-MOT-PST--3   3p
      Toasting (the leaves) with a vine-ring, when they are very hot they
      become crisp.

5.5. -hu 'location' and 'time'. The morpheme *-hu* 'place, time' is used
in a variety of constructions with nouns and pronouns to indicate time or
location.

It is used as a nominalizer for deverbal nouns, as in (191).

(191) *busu-ri-hu*
      light-PTCPL-time
      time when it is light (dawn)

It is used with the demonstrative pronouns *adi* 'this', *ti* 'that', and *i* 'that'
to indicate place or time, as in (192). The demonstratives *ado* 'this' and *to*
'that', however, may refer to a place without the presence of *-hu* but when
-hu does occur with these demonstratives it is basically used for the same
purpose as when it occurs suffixed to nouns or nominalized constructions.

(192) *i-hu   yā-bu   ti*
      that-place be--3PST   that
      That was over there.

It is used to mark location when it is the new setting at which a
participant enters, i.e., the destination or goal of the participant. In
illustration (193) *īdā yā-ro* (they be-NOM) 'place where they live' occurs
with *-hu* to mark it as the destination of *eha* 'to arrive'.[23]

(193) *yai-a   bās-a   īdā   yā-ro-hu   eha-ri-o-bō   so*
      wildcat-p   human-p   3p   be-NOM-place   arrive-PST^CONJ-fs-3fs   3fs
      She arrived at the place where the wildcat people lived.

---

[23]In illustration (193), the wildcat people refers to what were considered to be people
and yet also animal.

It is used to mark destination or goal when referring to participants. For example, in (194) -*hʉ* marks *so* (3fs), the last of the women to try and get the baby to stop crying (all the others have been unsuccessful).

(194) *so-hʉ*   *tʉha-yu-hu*
      3fs-place   stop-INFER--3p
      With her (finally) he stopped (crying).

It is also used to mark source as in (195) where -*hʉ* occurs with *to* 'there' which is the source from where 'he led them'.

(195) *to*   *yi-koã-ri*   *to-hʉ-re*   *ĩdã-re*   *ʉbato*   *wadi*
      that   do-FF-PTCPL   there-place-o   3p-o   lead   come

      weo-ko-a-yu-bĩ   *ĩ*
      leave^CAUS-FF-MOT-INFER-3ms   3ms
      Having done that, he led them away from there toward here.

It is used to mark a location when it is first mentioned if it is not 'here'. For example, (196) is a title for a story. Thus, -*hʉ* occurs with the place *Buea Ahu*.

(196) *Buea   Ahu-hʉ*   *Bãdue*   *ĩ*   *yã-re*   *keti*
      Buea   Aju-place   Manuel   3ms   be-NOM   account
      The account of Manuel's living at Buea Aju

It is used to mark the first reference to time in the story, as seen in (197) where it occurs with *yãbi* 'night'. Although the main focus is on the participant, causing the pronoun referring to him to be fronted in the sentence and marked by -*dẽ* (spacer), the time is also significant to the story because the woman has not identified 'him' and the following discourse relates how she goes about to discover who he is, although he comes at night when she cannot see.

(197) *ĩ-dẽ*   *so-re*   *bãk-ʉ*   *sã-yu-hu*   *ĩ*   *yãbi-hʉ*
      3ms-SPCR   3fs-O   progeny-ms   put^in-I NFER--3p   3ms   night-time
      He (was the one who) impregnated her with a son at night.

It is used to highlight distance removed (in time or space). For example, in (198), -*hʉ* marks the participant *ĩ* (3ms) who has just disappeared from the scene.

(198) *ĩ-hu̶-re   ba-ru̶-u̶   yi-boa-yu-hu   yai*
3ms-place-O eat-DESID-ms say-BUT-IN FER--3p wildcat
The wildcat said that intending to eat him (he is not on the scene).
(But she had already let him go).

It is used to indicate the location to which an object is moved. For
example, in (199) *wĩi hoe-hu̶* 'on top of the house' is the new location
where the hero puts the tip of his blow gun (so that he might not breathe
the strong odor that would cause him to sneeze and reveal himself).

(199) *wu̶bu̶ yi-koã-ri   buhu-a   wĩi   hoe-hu̶   yũ*
stand do-FF-PTCPL blowguns-s house on^top-place extend

      rẽto-o   bu-koã-yu-hu   ĩ
      pass-CAUS exit^CAUS-FF-INFER--3p 3ms
Having stood up, he extended a blowgun beyond (the roof), outside
on top of the house.

In certain situations the use of *-hu̶* is not required to mark location. It is
not required when marking new locations that are 'entered' when the
speaker has a final destination in mind. Nor is it required with body parts,
spatial relators, and sections of entities (such as of a house). These are
considered specific settings within the general setting already defined.

The ending *-hu̶* 'place, time' does not occur with *to* 'there' when the
location or position is either not defined, highlighted but in a highly
specific location, or defined but not highlighted. By 'not defined' we mean
that an area in general is thought of rather than a specific location. For
example, in (200) the first speaker wants to know if the father of the
second speaker is 'at home' meaning anywhere near home so that he
would be found there at night rather than having gone off somewhere else.
The second speaker then replies in kind in (201) knowing that his father
is there.

(200) *to   yã-ri   bũ   hak-u̶*
there be-Q   2s   parent-ms
Was your father there?

(201) *to   yã-bĩ*
there be-3ms
He's there.

By stating that *-hʉ* does not occur when the location is highlighted but in a highly specific location, the implication is that the speaker has a particular place in mind on which he is focusing. For example, in (202), *to* 'there' is highlighted yet the place on which he is focusing is not ambiguous but defined to a particular spot, which in this context is inside the house, while he is outside.

(202) *to-dẽ*   *yã-koã-a-ti*   *bʉ*   *bãhi*
       there-SPCR   be-FF-PRES-Q   2s   not^NOW
       Are you still there?

A location that is 'defined but not highlighted' means that the location is referred to but the focus is elsewhere than on the location. For example, in (203), *to* 'there' occurs without *-hʉ* though the location has already been referred to in the story. Here *ʉhʉ* 'chief' is topicalized and the account goes on to tell of the various things he did on the scene.

(203) *ʉhʉ*   *to*   *eha-koã-ri*   *Pablo-re yẽa roti-yu-bĩ*   *ĩ*
       chief   there   arrive-FF-PTCPL   Paul-O   grab order-INFER-3ms   3ms
       The chief, having arrived there, ordered (them) to grab Paul.

6

Verb Phrase

The verb phrase carries many nuances of meaning in Barasano in its use of tense evidentials, aspect, and other modal suffixes. The obligatory elements in the verb phrase are the verb stem and a person-number-gender marker which is sometimes combined with a tense marker. The topics discussed in this chapter are: (a) agreement of subject and verb; (b) imperatives; (c) tense-evidentials; (d) aspect; and (e) the miscellaneous topics of causatives, motion, and contraexpectation. (Auxiliary verbs are discussed in §2.24.)

6.1. Agreement. Agreement of person, number, gender, and animacy between subject and verb is required, and is shown by subject agreement markers which occur in final position in the phrase. The basic set is given in (204).

(204) *-bõ*   (3fs)
      -bĩ   (3ms)
      -bã   (3anp)
      -ha   (3in,~3an)

There are several things to note about these subject agreement markers:
a. /b~ / is associated with third-person animate.
b. /o/ is associated with feminine, /i/ with masculine, and /a/ with plural; this is general throughout the language.

c. *-ha* is used for all inanimates, and for speech-act participants, i.e., first or second person, singular or plural.

d. All tenses occur with these markers (except the REALIS tense of REPORTATIVE, a subtype of INFERRED.

The irrealis tenses of conjecture and intention use the basic subject agreement markers preceded by additional forms which further specify gender and number. Nonpast conjecture forms are listed in (205).

(205) *-gobǒ*   (CONJ^3fs)   *-goha*   (CONJ^-3fs)
      -gubǐ   (CONJ^3ms)   *-guha*   (CONJ^-3ms)
      -rābā̆   (CONJ^3anp)   *-rāha*   (CONJ^-3p)
      -roha   (CONJ^3in)

Note in this set of markers that: /g/ is associated with animate singular (highly individuated) and /r/ with all others (see §3.2.); speech-act participants are now distinguished by gender-number, increasing the categories from four to seven; and animate plural and inanimate are additionally distinguished by /ã/ and /o/ respectively, following /r/.

The forms used for the intention tense are listed in (206).[24]

(206) *-ruokobǒ*   (INTENT^3fs)   *-ruokoha*   (INTENT^-3fs)
      -ruukubǐ   (INTENT^3ms)   *-ruuku ha* (INTENT^-3ms)
      -ruarābā̆   (INTENT^3anp)   *-ruarāha*   (INTENT^-3p)
      -ruaroha   (INTENT^3in)

In this set, *-rua* is the tense-mood marker for desiderative. The forms /u/ (masculine singular), /o/ (feminine singular), /rā/ (animate plural) and /-ro/ (inanimate) are the same as the forms which occur suffixed to nominals. The penultimate syllable pattern is the same as it is for nonpast conjecture except that /g/ of nonpast conjecture has been replaced by /k/, and /k/ is associated with nonproximate, /g/ with proximate for animate singular. This tense-aspect-mood is used for projections regarding the distant future.

The past-conjecture forms are listed in (207).

---

[24]Another form sometimes spoken for third-person masculine singular is *-rikibĩ*. The *Barasano* dialect of *Yeba Masa* and the *Taiwano* dialect of *Cawia Ñarã* also use *-ruotoha* for inanimate instead of *-ruaroha*.

(207) *-riobõ*   (PST^CONJ^3fs)   *-riaha* [25]   (PST^CONJ^-3s)
     -rüibí[26]   (PST^CONJ^3ms)
     -riarãbã   (PST^CONJ^3anp)   *-riarãha*   (PST^CONJ^-3p)
     -riaroha   (PST^CONJ^3in)

In this set *-ria* is the tense-aspect-mood marker; the person-marking inflection for animate plural and inanimate (non-individuated) is the same as for intention; and the inflection for the animate singular is similar to that of intention with the penultimate syllable dropped.

In the realis tense of reportative (a subtype of inferred), verbs agree with the subject only in number. These subject number markers are given in (208).

(208) *-harã*   (REPORT^3p)
     -hu   (REPORT^3s/2/3in)

6.2–6.4 Imperative

Imperatives are used for commands, although when used with rising intonation, they may function as questions. Imperatives utilize impersonal markers in place of tense-evidentials and subject-agreement suffixes. There are first-, second-, and third-person imperatives in which various features of distance in time and space are distinguished. These features are:
   a. person: distance from first-person exclusive to first person, second person and, furthest of all, third person.
   b. tense: difference between present and future.
   c. motion: whether toward or away from the location of the speech act.
   d. negation: nonemphatic versus emphatic.
   e. distance: happening here versus there.
The different types of imperatives are categorized according to person and number, and are discussed in the order of second person, then first, and finally third.

6.2. Second-person imperative. The second person imperative has the most distinctions of any of the imperatives. Hence, it is from the second person that the primary meanings of the suffixes which are used in the

---

[25]*Yeba Masa* dialect uses *-rüiha* for masculine and *-rioha* for feminine speech-act participants.

[26]/iʉ/ becomes /ii/.

other two persons are determined. Second-person imperatives are divided into two basic categories: simple imperative, and imperative of motion.

Simple imperative. The simple imperative may be either present or future and distinguishes motion versus nonmotion, and proximity versus nonproximity.

The simplest forms with *-ya* (present imperative) and *-ba* (future imperative) are illustrated in (209) and (210) with the nonmotion verb *goti* 'to tell'.

(209) *yu-re   goti-ya*   *bü*
      1s-O   tell-PRES^IMPV   2s
      Tell me!

(210) *ĩ-re   goti-ba*   *bü*
      3ms-O   tell-FUT^IMPV   2s
      You shall tell him!

In order to distinguish commands in the present that are intended to be executed other than in the presence of the speaker, imperatives of nonmotion verbs occur with *-a* (nonproximate). Example (211) illustrates how a Barasana would command another to pass on news to a neighbor. When the distance is considerable, the future imperative would be used. (Generally the content of the message follows this statement.)

(211) *ĩ-re   goti-a-ya*   *bü*
      3ms-O   tell--PROX-PRES^IMPV   2s
      Tell him there!

Imperative of motion. With verbs of motion, the suffix *-a* (motion) occurs immediately following the verb stem in both present and future tenses. In the present tense, *-a* (motion) is followed by *-di* 'toward here' or *-yá* (proximate imperative) to signify 'move towards here', or *-sa* (nonproximate imperative) to signify 'move away from here'. Compare (212) with (213) which illustrate present proximate imperative and present nonproximate imperative motion with *ruhi* 'to descend'. In (212) the context would be for a person to tell another to come down a tree,[27]

---

[27]*-ya* (present imperative) receives a strong accent when *-di* is dropped, which occurs when there is no suffix between the direction suffix and *-ya* (present imperative).

whereas in (213), the context could be that of telling one who has climbed a tree with the speaker to go down.

(212) *ruhi-a-yá*   *bũ*
    descend-MOT-PROX^IMPV   2s
    Come down!

(213) *ruhi-a-sa*   *bũ*
    descend-MOT-IMPV-PROX   2s
    Get down!

At first glance, it might appear that *-a* (nonproximate) and *-a* (motion) are actually the same suffix. However, they can be distinguished when used with verbs such as *ãbi* 'to pick up (one object)'. This verb is used both for motion (i.e., change of location), signifying 'to carry', or as a nonmotion action 'to pick up'. Thus, in (214)–(217) note the four possible forms of motion/nonmotion, with proximate/nonproximate.

(214) NONMOTION proximate
    ãbi-ya
    pick^up-PRES^IMPV
    Pick it up!

(215) NONMOTION nonproximate
    ãbi-a-ya
    pick^up--PROX-PRES^IMPV
    Pick it up there!

(216) MOTION proximate
    ãbi-a-yá
    pick^up-MOT-PROX^IMPV
    Bring it here!

(217) MOTION nonproximate
    ãbi-a-sa
    pick^up-MOT-IMPV-PROX
    Take it away!

Further note that when *-bosa* (benefactive) occurs in the present imperative form following *ãbi* 'to pick up', *-a* (motion) occurs following the verb root whereas *-a* (nonproximate) immediately precedes *-ya* (present

imperative). In (218), *ābi* 'to pick up' is followed by *-bosa* (benefactive) which is then followed by *-a* (nonproximate) and *-ya* (present imperative). In (219), *ābi* is followed by *-a* (motion), *-bosa* (benefactive) and *-ya* (present imperative).

(218) *yu-re   ābi-bosa-a-ya*
      1s-O   pick^up-BEN--PROX-PRES^IMPV
      Pick it up for me there!

(219) *yu-re   ābi-a-bosa-ya   bū*
      1s-O   pick^up-MOT-BEN-PRES^IMPV   2s
      Carry this away for me!

In the future tense, motion is indicated by the use of *-a* (motion) followed by either *-ba* (future imperative) which implies proximity, or *-ha* (future nonproximate imperative) which occurs only with *-a* (motion). Example (220) illustrates future imperative using *-a* (motion) and *-ba* (future imperative) with *ābi* 'to pick up', to indicate you are to bring the object here from another location sometime in the future. Examples (221) and (222) illustrate future nonproximate imperative, the latter occurring with the negative.

(220) *ti-re   ābi-a-ba   bū*
      that-O   pick^up-MOT-FUT^IMPV   2s
      You will bring it here!

(221) *īdā bue   suo-ri-rūbu   adi-tuti-re   ābi-a-ha*
      3p study begin-PTCPL-day this-stack-O pick^up-MOT-FUT^IMPV-PROX

      bū
      2s
      The day they begin studying, take this book!

(222) *busiyu   wa-a-be-ha   bū*
      tomorrow   move-MOT-NEG-FUT^IMPV-PROX   2s
      Don't go tomorrow!

The motion imperative markers, preceded by a nominalizer, are used to form purpose clauses signifying 'come/go in order to'. The nominalizers are *-gu* (masculine singular), *-go* (feminine singular) and *-ro* (animate plural).

One of the most common commands of purpose of motion is the call to eat as in (223).

(223) *ba-ro-a-yá*
        eat-anp-MOT-PROX^IMPV
        You (plural) come to eat!

An alternate way of stating this same purpose of motion is by nominalizing the verb which indicates the purpose with -*rã* (animate plural). This is followed by the verb *wa* 'to move' occurring either with -*a* (motion) and the imperative markers for nonproximate motion, -*sa* or -*ha*, or with the imperative markers for proximate motion, -*yá* or -*ba*.[28] Thus, (224) expresses the same idea as (223). For more on purpose clauses see §11.10.

(224) *ba-rã   wa-yá*
        eat-anp   move-PROX^IMPV
        You (plural) come to eat!

6.3. First-person imperative. First-person-imperative constructions are divided into present singular, present plural, and future.

Present singular. The first person, present, singular imperative -*ka* is used only with nonmotion verbs. This construction is used to express the speaker's immediate intention as seen in (225) with -*ãbi* 'to pick up'.[29]

(225) *abĩ-ka   yu*
        pick^up-IMPV1s   1s
        I will pick it up (now).

Present Plural. The present plural imperative construction may employ verbs of both motion and nonmotion to express hortatory commands by the use of -*to* (nonsecond person imperative). This is seen in (226) with

---

[28]The verb *wadi* 'to come' is irregular in that -*di* (proximate) is dropped in certain environments. In the present tense, the dropping of -*di* causes -*ya* (present imperative) to occur with a strong stress.

[29]Although the first person imperative for the present singular and future forms reflect a mood of intention, they are included here rather than in §6.6 because they have no subject-agreement markers.

the nonmotion verb *bue* 'to study', and in (227) with the motion verb *ruhi* 'to descend (as from a tree)'.

(226) *bue-to*   *bãdi*
     study-IMPV-2   1i
     Let's study!

(227) *ruhi-to*   *bãdi*
     descend-IMPV-2   1i
     Let's descend!

Alternatively, verbs of motion may express present plural imperative by the use of, -a (motion), -ha (nonproximate imperative) and -ro (nonsecond person) following the verb stem. This is illustrated in (228) with the verb *tudi/tudi* 'to return'.

(228) *tudi-a-ha-ro*   *bãdi*
     return-MOT-IMPV-PROX--2   1i
     Let's return!

Future. The future first-person imperative is formed by the use of -a (motion) (with motion verbs only), followed by a nominalizer, followed by -sa (nonproximate imperative). Nonmotion verbs take the proximate nominalizers -gu (masculine singular), -go (feminine singular), and -rã (animate plural). Motion verbs take the nonproximate nominalizers -ku (nonproximate, masculine singular), -ko (nonproximate, feminine singular), and -dã (nonproximate, animate plural).

Nonmotion verbs are illustrated in (229) and (230) in the plural and singular respectively. In (230), the context is that of an airplane pilot who has spoken of the many trips he has to make today and is now referring back to this.

(229) *to*   *ĩa-rã-sa*   *bãdi*
     there see-anp-IMPV-PROX   1i
     Let's see each other there!

(230) *bahi-kudi-gu-sa*   *yu*
     be-ITER-ms-IMPV-PROX   1s
     I will be in many places.

For motion verbs, (231) illustrates the singular future imperative, and (232) the plural, both with *ābi* 'to pick up'.

(231) *ābi-a-ku-sa*   *yu*
     pick^up-MOT--PROXms-IMPV-PROX   1s
     I will carry it there (later).

(232) *ābi-a-dā-sa*   *bādi*
     pick^up-MOT--PROXanp-IMPV-PROX 1i
     Let's carry it away (later)!

6.4. Third-person imperative. Third-person imperatives are divided into near-future and distant-future tenses.

Near future. The near-future imperative for third person is formed by the use of *-a* (nonproximate) and *-to* (nonsecond person imperative). This construction is employed for indirect commands and for adverbial clauses of purpose. An example of this construction with the nonmotion verb *kēda* 'to be good' is seen in (233).

(233) *kēda-a-to*   *so*
     good--PROX-IMPV-2   3fs
     May she be well! *or* I hope she is well!

With verb roots of motion, when a specific direction is being referred to, the suffix *-a* (motion) is used along with *-a* (nonproximate) and *-to* (nonsecond person imperative) as in (234).

(234) *tudi-a-a-to*   *ī*
     return-MOT--PROX-IMPV-2   3ms
     May he return!

This can be seen more clearly in nonmotion verbs which are made into motion verbs by adding *-a* (motion), as in (235), with *ābi* 'to pick up'.

(235) *ābi-a-di-a-to*   *ī*
     pick^up-MOT-here--PROX-IMPV-2 3ms
     May he bring it here!

In order to express motion further away from the speaker than where the hearer already is, the construction is *ãbi* 'to pick up' with *-a* (motion), *-ha* (nonproximate imperative) and *-ro* (nonsecond person), e.g., (236).

(236) *ãbi-a-ha-ro*   ĩ
       pick^up-MOT-IMPV-PROX--2   3ms
       May he carry it there (further away from me than he is now)!

Distant future. The distant future third person imperative is used only for expressing adverbial clauses of purpose (which may also be expressed by the mood of intention). This construction is formed by use of the suffix *-a* (motion) (with motion verbs only), followed by a regular nominalizer, then *-ha* (nonproximate imperative), and finally *-ro* (nonsecond person). The nominalizers are those listed in (122), §3.2. Examples (237) and (238) illustrate the distant-future-third-person imperative with verbs of nonmotion and motion respectively.

(237) *'kẽda-ro*   *bãsi-heo-koã-gɨ-ha-ro*   ĩ'   *yi-gɨ*
       good-NOM   know-all^CAUS-FF-ms-IMPV-PROX- MS-3ms   think-ms

       bɨ-re   *uka-gɨ*   *ya-ha*   *yɨ*
       2s-O   write-ms   do^PRES--3   1s
       I am writing to you thinking: May he know it all well.

(238) *to*   *bahi-ro*   ĩ   *yi-habã*   *'Wa-ko-a-dã-ha-ro'*
       that   be-NOM   3ms   do-COND   move-FF-MOT D-anp-IMPV-PROX--2

       yi-gɨ   *yi-ri-i-bĩ*
       think-ms   do-PST^CONJ-ms-3ms
       If that is what he did, he probably did it that they might be gone.

There is no imperative form for purpose clauses referring to the speech-act participant.

6.5–6.6 Tense and evidentials

Tenses are divided into two basic categories: realis and irrealis. The realis tenses are further divided into present and past. The irrealis tenses are avoidance, conjecture, and intention. The subjunctive mood is an option within the tenses of conjecture. The suffixes discussed here function

both as markers of tense and as evidentials, that is, as indicators of how the speaker came to know what he is saying. The tense-evidential suffixes are always followed by the basic subject agreement markers listed in (204), §6.1.

6.5. Realis tenses. The realis tenses, present and past, are those tenses which refer to events or states which are proveable, i.e., through one's cognitive senses one may prove the statement to be true or false. The simplest form of these tenses is a verb stem with a tense-evidential marker followed by a suffix for gender and number.

Present. In the present tenses, a distinction is made between proximate, nonproximate, and heard. The suffix *-a* (present) occurs in proximate constructions to indicate that the speaker is where the event or state is occurring. For example, in (239), *-a* (present) indicates that the rain is falling at the moment of the speech act in the presence of the speaker. In (240), a contracted form of present proximate *-a* (nonthird) is used. This occurs only in the first and second persons.

(239) *oko   kedi-a-ha*
      water fall-PRES--3
      It is raining.

(240) *bue-a   bũ*
      study--3   2s
      You study.

The present proximate construction is also used for making statements of current relevance which are considered to be uncontestable and in which distance is not relevant, e.g., (241).

(241) *bãdi-re   bãi-gu   yã-a-bĩ   Dio*
      1i-O   love-ms   be-PRES-3ms   God
      God is one who loves us.

With motion verbs, when direction of motion toward the point of reference is specified, the verb is followed by *-a* (motion) and *-di* 'toward here', along with *-a* (present). When the direction of the motion is away from the reference point, *-a* (motion) is followed by *-ha* (present nonproximate).

(242) *ruhi-a-di-a-bĩ*
      descend-MOT-here-PRES-3ms
      He is descending (in an airplane) toward here.

(243) *tʉdi-a-ha-bã*   *ĩdã*
      return-MOT-PRES-PROX-3p   3p
      They are returning (going away).

The suffix -*ha* (present nonproximate) is used in at least two other ways to indicate time and location from the speaker's point of view. It may follow -*ko-a* (fulfillment-motion) to indicate that change of state or location, though still in progress, is as good as completed from the speaker's point of view. For example, the context of (244) is that another person has asked over a two-way radio to continue to talk to a third-person male referent who (unfortunately) had just left the scene. The speaker replies in (244) as he watches that third person in the distance. In (245), it is used for immediate past which is pragmatically determined by the hearer. In this situation where the hearer is returning to his house, he may be asked 'Where did you go?' using -*ha* (present nonproximate).

(244) *hẽre*   *wa-ko-a-ha-bĩ*
      already   move-FF-MOT-PRES-PROX-3ms
      He already left (and is going in the distance). *or* He has just now left and is distant.

(245) *dõ*   *wa-ha-ri*   *bʉ̃*
      where   move-PRES-PROX-Q   2s
      Where are you going? *or* Did you go?

The suffix, -*s* (present nonproximate) indicates that the speaker views participant(s) of the event to which he is referring as visible yet removed from himself. Being removed means the actual spacial distance of those referred to in comparison with the speaker, i.e., 'those there', as in (246), or that the speaker feels a social distance to those about whom he is referring as in (247). (In this tense, the first consonant of the basic subject agreement suffix does not occur.)

(246) *wai*   *hua-beti-s-ã*   *ĩdã*
      fish   pick^up-NEG-PRES-PROX-3p   3p
      Those there aren't picking up any fish.

(247) *yʉ   yi-boa-rã,   yʉ-re   kʉdi-beti-s-ã   ĩdã*
    1s   say-BUT-anp   1s-O   respond-NEG -PRES-PROX-3p 3p
The ones I talked to aren't responding to me.

When the speaker hears what he is referring to, but does not see it, *-ro* 'heard' is used in place of any other present indicator. With verbs of motion (change of location), *-ro* (heard) becomes *-do* (toward here, heard) or *-to* (nonproximate heard) and is preceded by *-a* (motion) (except in the case of the irregular verbs *wa* 'to move' and *wadi* 'to come'). In (248) and (249), the speaker hears the pigs/airplane but does not see them.

(248) *yese-a   yã-ro-bã   ĩdã*
    pig-p   be-HEARD-3p   3p
I hear pigs there!

(249) *wʉ-ri-ka   ruhi-a-do-ha   ti*
    fly-PTCPL-hollow   descend-MOT-here^HEARD--3   3in
I hear an airplane landing.

To indicate that the information given was heard in tenses other than present, the verb root *ruyu* 'to be manifested' is used, generally in combination with other verbs, e.g., *rea rode ruyu* (move^down get^in^water hear) 'hear (them) getting into the water'.

Past. There are three basic past tenses for realis events: immediate past, far past, and inferred. Employing the immediate and far past tenses, the speaker considers himself as present when the event or state occurred. Employing the inferred tenses, the speaker bases his information either on the results he has observed on the scene after the state or event has occurred (direct inferred), or on what another has told him (indirect inferred, i.e., reportative). To refer to a time further back in the past, the marker *-bãsi* (distal) is used with any of the three basic past tenses. These three tenses and *-bãsi* (distal) are discussed in turn.

The immediate past tense is used to refer to events which happened 'just now' or 'earlier today'. This tense is indicated by the lack of *-a* (present proximate) and by the use of the nonthird person marker *-bʉ* rather than *-ha*. Thus, in illustration (250), the absence of *-a* before *-bʉ* (nonthird person past) yields the 'immediate past'. With motion verbs, *-a* (motion) immediately precedes the person and number markers of the immediate past, and the speaker is conveying that he has a specific reference point in regard to the motion (assumed away). The third person markers following

-a (motion) remain the same but the nonthird person marker loses its voicing and becomes *-hu* as in (251). However, when motion toward a point of reference is expressed, *-di* 'toward here' is dropped and the regular person number marker *-bu* is used, as in (252).

(250) *bũ-a-re   ĩa-go   bahi-bu   yu*
       2s-p-O   see-fs   be-PST-3   1s
       I was (arrived) in order to see you (pl).

(251) *ruhi-a-hu*   *ti*
       descend-MOT-PST-3-PROX   3in
       It descended going away.

(252) *adi-re   ābi-a-bu*   *yu*
       These-o   pick^up-MOT-PST-3   1s
       I brought these.

The far past tense refers to events that the speaker witnessed prior to 'recently', i.e., prior to the last few days. They may have occurred last week or a number of years ago. The suffix *-ka* (far past) is used with the same person markers as the immediate past except that the nonthird person marker is always *-hu*. There is no change for motion verbs. There are contracted forms for the far past tense which combine the tense marker and the subject agreement marker resulting in the forms: *-ku* (far past nonthird), *-kõ* (far past third feminine singular), *-kĩ* (far past third masculine singular) and *-kã* (far past third plural).

(253) *eha   wai   ba   roti-ka-bõ*   *so   bodeka*
       arrive   fish   eat   order-far^PST-3fs   3fs   type^of^fish
       (When we) arrived she ordered (us) to eat fish, (which was) *bodeka.*

(254) *bue-ku*[30]   *yua*
       study-far^PST-3   1x
       We studied.

In procedural texts or texts which deal with characteristics of animals (i.e., topics which the speaker knows about from experience in the past and assumes his statements about them to be uncontestable), the far past tense is often used but with a present tense meaning. For example, in

---

[30]*-ku* is a contraction of *-ka-hu.*

(255) the speaker is relating the customary food that the *tarobʉkʉ* 'species of toad' eats.

(255) *beko-a-re   ba-ka-bĩ   tarobʉkʉ*
      fly-p-o   eat-far^PST-3ms   toad
      The *tarobʉkʉ* toad eats flies.

The inferred past tense is used to mark a past event which the speaker infers on the basis of current evidence. This evidence may be what he personally witnesses (usually sees) which is called direct,[31] or it may be based on what another has told him, called indirect (reportative). This tense is indicated by *-yu* 'inferred' preceding the gender-number markers.

The gender-number markers for the direct inferred are the regular subject agreement markers. The contracted forms for direct inferred are *-yu-a* (inferred nonthird), *-yu-ĩ* (inferred third masculine singular), *-yu-õ* (inferred third feminine singular) and *-yu-ã* (inferred third plural). The gender-number markers for the indirect inferred distinguish it from the direct inferred in the third person plural by using *-harã* (third person plural) and *-hu* (nonthird person plural).[32]

With verbs of motion, *-a* (motion) is followed either by *-yu* (inferred proximate) to indicate 'towards here', or by *-su* (inferred nonproximate) to indicate 'away from here'.

Note the following illustrations using the inferred tense. The direct inferred is used in (257) where the context is that the speaker is relating to another what they (others) probably did before they met him. When the speaker arrived on the scene, they were sitting waiting for him. Thus in relating their actions prior to his arrival, he infers (by direct evidence) that they arrived and sat down.[33] The use of the indirect inferred is shown in (256), and direct inferred with a motion verb in (258).

(256) *bue-yu-hu   ĩ*
      study-INFER--3p   3ms
      He studied (someone told me).

---

[31]Direct inferred may also be used to refer to one's conviction of the truth regarding an incident in the past that occurred when the speaker was not present. For example, in affirming whose sib was the first to arrive where they now live (ancient history), one speaker used the direct inferred tense-evidential to express his conviction that what he was saying was true.

[32]Recall that 'nonthird person plural' signifies anything other than third-person plural.

[33]*nʉhi* 'to sit down' is used by Taiwanas. Barasanas use *huya* to convey this.

(257) *to   roha   eha-koã-ri   ruhi-yu-bã   ĩdã*
      there   descend   arrive-FF-PTCPL   sit^down-INFER-3p   3p
      Upon descending and arriving there, they sat down.

(258) *bũdi-a-su-bõ*   *so*
      move^upriver-MOT-INFER-PROX-3fs   3fs
      She had apparently gone upriver.

The suffix *-bãsi* (distal) may be used with any of the realis past tenses to indicate times further in the past than signalled by the tenses. The most productive use of *-bãsi* is with the immediate past tense to refer to events which occurred yesterday or a few days prior to yesterday as in (259).[34]

(259) *ũba-ko-a-bãsi-bĩ   ĩ*
      run-FF-MOT-DIST-3ms   3ms
      He ran away (occurred recently).

6.6. Irrealis tenses. The irrealis tenses are those in which the speaker is not able to prove through his senses that an event or state occurs. These tense-evidentials are avoidance, conjecture (which includes nonpast, past, and subjunctive), and intention. The tenses of conjecture and intention are formed by nominalizers added to the tense-evidential markers. [35] Thus, there is a double reference for subject agreement marking.

Avoidance. The tense evidential of avoidance is marked by *-ro;* the predicate generally ends with the interjection *be* 'oh' and may be followed by a pronoun referring to the subject. The gender-number markers for avoidance are regular for third person. For nonthird person there is no marking for gender and number. This tense evidential is generally employed for issuing warnings such as (260) and (261), where (261) shows the use of second person with no marker. Use of the first person is shown in (262) where the speaker uses an embedded clause to relate not a warning but rather what he would like to avoid.

(260) *kũdi-ro-bĩ   be*
      bite-AVOID-3ms   oh
      Watch out or he will bite you!

---

[34]*-koã* (fulfillment) plus *-a* (motion) (which is intrinsically oral) becomes *-ko-a.*

[35]The tense of nonpast conjecture is an exception in that the nominalizers also serve as the tense-evidential markers.

(261) *kedi-ro*   *be*
      fall-AVOID   oh
      Watch out or you will fall!

(262) *hai-ro*   *ābo-a-ha*   *yu*   *"kēda ado-re   găme*
      many-NOM   want-PRES--3   1s   again here-o   do^RECIP

        tudi   *sēdi-gu*   *eha-ro*   *be yu"*   *yi-gu*
        return   ask-ms   arrive-AVOID   oh 1s   think-ms
      I want a lot so that I won't have to return and ask for it again.

With verbs of motion, when *-a* (motion) occurs, *-ro* (avoidance) becomes
-to for motion 'away from here' and *-do* for motion 'toward here'. For
example, in illustration (263), *-to* (nonproximate avoidance) is used
following *roa-a* 'to move into water'.

(263) *"kedi   roka*   *roa-a-to*   *be"*
      fall   move^down   move^into^water-MOT-AVOID-PROX   oh

        yi-gu   *haa-koā hēa-bu*   *yu*
        think-ms   crawl-FF cross--3PST   1s
      Thinking, "Oh, I'm going to fall in the water (if I am not careful)!",
      I crawled across (the log).

Conjecture. A speaker employs the tense-evidential of conjecture to
refer to an event that he assumes occurred but for which he has no
cognitive evidence. This mood is used to imply uncertainty, especially for
future events. However, regardless of the degree of certainty, this
tense-evidential is employed in the present and past tenses when the
speaker focuses on the fact that he was not on the scene to experience
cognitively the event or state to which he is referring. (In relating folk
tales, the indirect inferred tense-evidential is employed except for those
areas where the speaker is uncertain of his details. He then lapses into the
tense-evidential of past conjecture.)
    The nonpast tense of conjecture is inflected differently from the past.
The nonpast conjecture inflects the verb for gender-number with a
nominalizer (which also serves as a tense-evidential marker), followed by
the appropriate gender-number suffixes. Both of these suffixes agree with
the subject of the sentence. The suffixes follow the pattern described in
the realis tense of present proximate. The nominalizers used are *-gu*
(masculine singular), *-go* (feminine singular), *-rā* (animate plural) and *-ro*

(inanimate). For example, in (264), *yã* 'to be' is first nominalized with *-gu*, (masculine singular) and then is followed by *-bĩ*, (third person masculine singular).

(264) *to   yã-gu-bĩ*
      there   be-ms-3ms
      He is (probably) there.

With verbs of motion, *-a* (motion) is followed by the nonproximate nominalizers to indicate motion away from a specific point of reference. To indicate motion 'toward here', *-a* (motion) is followed by the regular animate nominalizers, except for *-dã* (animate plural) and *-do* (proximate inanimate). Note illustration (265) where *tudi* 'to return' is followed by *-a* (motion) and *-ku* (nonproximate masculine singular), and illustration (266) where *ãbi* 'to pick^up' is followed by *-a* (motion) and *-gu* (masculine singular).

(265) *busiyu   tudi-a-ku-ha   yu*
      tomorrow   return-MOT--PROXms--3   1s
      I will probably go back tomorrow.

(266) *ti-re   ãbi-a-gu-bĩ*
      3in-O   pick^up-MOT-ms-3ms
      He will probably bring it.

The contracted forms of nonpast conjecture in the first and second persons are formed by dropping the consonant from the final suffix. Thus, *-gu-ha* becomes *-gu-a* (masculine singular nonthird), *-go-ha* is *-go-a* (feminine singular nonthird) and *-rã-bã* is *-r-ã* (third plural).

Past conjectures are inflected with *-ria* (past conjecture) plus a nominalizer indicating gender-number (agreeing with the subject), plus the basic subject agreement suffix. The /a/ in *-ria* (past conjecture) is dropped when followed by *-u* (masculine singular) or *-o* (feminine singular). For example, in (267), *hũdisĩdi* 'to be angry' is suffixed by *-ria* (past conjecture) and *-u* (masculine singular) to become *-ri-i* (/iu/ becomes /ii/); and then followed by *-bĩ* (third person masculine singular).

(267) *buto   hũdisĩdi-ri-i-bĩ*
      very   angry-PST^CONJ-ms-3ms
      He was probably very mad. (A conjecture made by a listener regarding someone referred to in an event of the past.)

With motion verbs which refer to a specific point of reference, the tense-evidential markers for past conjecture remain the same, i.e., *-a* (motion) and *-adi* (motion toward here) are used in all cases.

The contractions used for past conjecture are: *-ri-a* (PST^CONJ--3), *-ri-ĩ/ -rĩ* (PST^CONJ-3ms), *-ri-o* (PST^CONJ-3fs), *-ria-rã-ã* (PST^CONJ-anp-3p) and *-ria-ro-a* (PST^CONJ-in--3).

The tenses of conjecture are used with *-boo* (subjunctive) to express the subjunctive mood, i.e., that which would have occurred, but did not for some reason. In illustration (268), *-boo* (subjunctive) occurs with the tense evidentials for past conjecture to indicate that I would have given you some fish, (but did not because I did not catch any),[36] and (269) indicates that I would tell you (but cannot because no one told me).

(268) *bũ-re   ĩsi-boo-ria-ha   yu*
      2s-O   give-SUBJN-PST^CONJ--3   1s
      I would have given (them) to you.

(269) *bũ-re   goti-boo-gu-ha   yu*
      2s-O   tell-SUBJN-ms--3   1s
      I would tell you.

Intention. Intention is marked by *-rua* (desiderative) followed by a nominalizer.[37] It is employed when the speaker feels certain of his predictions (in contrast with nonpast conjecture). It is also the mood for expressing events in the distant future. The desiderative suffix *-rua* is followed by the gender-number suffixes for nouns which agree with the subjects: *-u* (masculine singular), *-o* (feminine singular), *-rã* (animate plural) and *-ro* (inanimate). This suffix is then followed by the appropriate verbal suffix for person-gender-number agreement with the subject as with all tenses and follow the pattern of the present proximate. For example, in (270), *-rua* (desiderative) is followed first by *-rã,* (animate plural) and then by *-ha* (nonthird person).

---

[36]Illustration (268) is of the *Jãnerã* dialect. The *Yeba Masa* distinguish gender in the nonthird person singular. Hence, depending on the gender, they use *-ri-i-ha* (-PST^CONJ-ms--3) (*-ria* plus *u* becomes *-rĩ*) or *-ri-o-ha* (-PST^CONJ-fs--3) in place of *ria-ha*.

[37]The /a/ in *-rua* is dropped when followed by either *-u* (masculine singular) and *-o* (feminine singular). The desiderative may be used in any tense generally signifying 'want to do (something)' where the something is expressed in the verb root preceding it.

(270) ĩ-re   yẽa-koã-rᵾa-rã-ha   bãdi
      3ms-O grab-FF-DESID-anp--3   1i
      We will persist and grab him (although he is tough to catch).

With verbs of motion which have -a (motion), the tense-evidential
markers for intention remain the same. The contracted forms for nonthird
person of the intention tense are formed by dropping *h* from -ha (nonthird
person), e.g., instead of -rᵾa-rã-ha as in (270), one says -rᵾa-rã-a
(DESID-anp--3). The form -rᵾo-ko-ha is contracted to -rᵾo-ko-a (DESIDfs-fs--3),
and for third person the *b* is dropped, as when -rᵾo-ko-bõ becomes -rᵾo-kõ
(DESIDfs-3fs). The third person masculine is irregular so that -rᵾᵾ-kᵾ-bĩ
becomes -ri-kĩ (DESIDms-3ms).

6.7. Aspect. In addition to the various tenses discussed above, there are
further constructions which denote aspect—fulfillment, progressive,
anticipatory, habitual, durative and iterative.

Fulfillment. The aspect of fulfillment expressed by -koã includes both
completive aspect (defined here as viewing an event from its end point),
as well as the related idea of fulfillment of an expectation. The illustrations
below show first of all the completive aspect with -koã, followed by a
discussion of the fulfillment aspect.
In (271), -koã (fulfillment) is followed by -ri (sequential participle) with
the motion verb *wa* 'to move'. Here the sense is that the act of going is
completed, which in this case, means that the participants arrived.

(271) *gahe-ro-hᵾ*   *wa-koã-ri,*   *yã-a-bã*   *ĩdã*
      other-NOM-place   move-FF-PTCPL   be-PRES-3p   3p
      Having gone to and arrived at another place, they live there.

In (272), -koã (fulfillment) is used in the completive sense in a polite
expression given at the end of eating a meal.

(272) *ba-koã-a-ha*   *yᵾ*
      eat-FF-PRES--3   1s
      I have eaten. *or* I have finished eating.

Another common expression used with -koã (fulfillment) signifying
completion of an event is in parting after visiting, to express that one is
finished with 'seeing, visiting', as shown in (273).

(273) *bŭ-a-re   ĩa-koã-a-ha   yu tudi-a-ko   ya-ha*
     2s-p-O   see-FF-PRES--3 1s return-MOT--PROXfs do^PRES--3
     I have seen you. *or* I have finished visiting with you. I am returning
     (home).

In (274) *-koã* (fulfillment) occurs with *riha* 'to be sick' and is followed by *-a*
(motion) to express 'to die' since the logical completion of 'be sick' is 'die'.

(274) *riha-ko-a-bĩ* [38]
     sick-FF-MOT-3ms
     He died.

Often *-koã* (fulfillment) is used to close off a narrative unit as in (275)
following where *so* 'she' gets rid of a participant (her first 'deer' son); (276)
begins a new unit.

(275) *so   rĩa   ĩdã   ĩa-beti-toye   ĩ-re   goti-yu-hu   so:*
     3fs young 3p   see-NEG-while--PROX   3ms-O   tell-INFER--3p   3fs

     "Wi-ri-re   bõa-tua-be-ku-dĕ   yã-koã-ru-ku-ha
     house-p-O   touch-poke-NEG-ms-SPCR   be-FF-DESID-ms--3

     bŭ"   ĩ-re   yi   bãkaroka-hu   ĩ-re   kõa-koã-yu-hu
     2s   3ms-O say forest-place   3ms-O   send-FF-INFER--3p
     While her children weren't looking, she said to him (the deer): "You
     will remain one who doesn't come near houses" saying to him, she
     sent him into the forest.

(276) *to   so yi-ria-ro   bero quĕda gãhi   bãk-u*
     that 3fs do-PTCPL-NOM after again otherm   progeny-ms

     kuti-yu-hu   so, yãba sŭ-u-re [39]
     have-INFER--3p 3fs deer red-ms-O
     After she did that, she had another son, a "Red" deer.

---

[38]*-koã* (fulfillment) plus *-a* (motion) (which is intrinsically oral) becomes *-ko-a*. Contrast
-koã (fulfillment) plus *-a* (present), which remains *-koã-a* in (272).

[39]*sŭa* + *u* becomes *sŭu* which is part of the name of the species of deer.

As has been said, -koã goes beyond the scope of completive aspect to express fulfillment of an expectation. The fulfillment may be the expectation or the opposite of the expectation, depending on the context. The opposite of the expectation is determined pragmatically and not marked.[40]

Illustration (276) is an often used expression for when a member of the household returns from having gone to do some known activity. Here the expectation was that the member would return and -koã marks the fulfillment of that.

(277) *bahi-koã-ri*   *bũ*
      be-FF-Q   2s
      Have you been? (You've done it, huh?)

Look at (278), a similar expression, and then contrast it with (279). Sentence (278) is only used immediately after a person has bathed; (279) is used at any time speaking of an earlier incident that day. In (279), the speaker is simply asking the question if the hearer has bathed, while in (278) the speaker presupposes that the hearer was bathing (having seen him bathing, or ascending from the water hole, or having been told by the hearer that he was going to bathe).

(278) *gua-koã-ri*   *bũ*
      bathe-FF-Q   2s
      Have you bathed? (You're done bathing, huh?)

(279) *hẽhʉ*   *gua-ri*   *bũ*
      earlier   bathe-Q   2s
      Did you bathe earlier?

In (280) -koã (fulfillment) occurs with the durative construction (verb plus *yã* 'to be') in order to indicate the fulfillment of an expectation. In this case, the reality is the opposite of the expectation implied by the use of the concessionary clause, viz., that 'I' will no longer care for the house.

---

[40]In related languages, this type of contraexpectation is expressed as a distinct morpheme. In Macuna the morphemes are -kã, which has been glossed 'emphatic' and -kõ, which has been glossed 'completive'.

(280) *yɯ-re   ĩdã   sĩa-rɯa-boa-ro-dẽ,   adi-wi-re   code-koã*
     1s-O   3p   kill-DESID-BUT-NOM-SPCR   this-house-O   care^for-FF

       yã-rɯ-kɯ-ha   yɯ
       be-DESID-ms--3   1s
       Even though they want to kill me, I will (continue to) care for this
       house.

In (283) *-koã* (fulfillment) is used with *gãdi* 'to circle' followed by the
stative verb *kãhi* 'to hang'. The speaker has fallen in an airplane. His initial
response is that he is okay (281). When he takes a good look (282),
however, he discovers a different condition culminated by his discovery in
(283); *-koã* relates the reality back to his expectation.

(281) "*yẽ   bahi-be-su-hari   yɯ*" *yi-ri   gu-ka-hɯ*
     what   be-NEG-INFER-Q-WIT   1s   think-PTCPL   sense-far^PST--3
     "Nothing happened to me" I thought.

(282) *to   kõ-ro-hɯ   kĕda-ro   ĩa-goda-ka-hɯ. . .*
     that   count-NOM-time   good-NOM   see-really-far^PST--3
     Then I really looked well (examining myself) . . .

(283) *rioho-dẽ   gãdi-koã   kãhi-ka-hɯ*
     straight-SPCR   circle-FF   hang-far^PST--3
     It was circling straight down hanging there.

The context of (284) is that the central character is small and very
elusive. *-koã* (fulfillment) relates the assertion that 'we will capture him'
back to the expectation, which is the opposite.

(284) *ĩ-re   yẽa-koã-rɯa-rã-ha   bãdi*
     3ms-O   grab-FF-DESID-anp--3   1i
     We will persist and grab him (although he is tough to catch).

Sentence (285) is a similar example with the imperative mood. In this
case *-koã* (fulfillment) relates the command to 'swallow the medicine' to
the child's act of resisting (with the expectation that he will avoid
swallowing it).

(285) *yu-koã-ya*
    swallow-FF-PRES^IMPV
    Swallow (it)!

In the following set of sentences, *-koã* (fulfillment) is used in both (288) and (289) to relate reality with the expectation given in (286)—that 'it' appeared to be a log.

(286) *gūbu   kūya-yu-hu*
    log   on^ground-INFER--3p
    There was a log on the ground.

(287) *ti-toti   hubea-hɨ-re   wai   sãya-yu-harã   īdã*
    that-hole   inside-place-o   fish   inside-INFER-3p   3p
    Inside the hole (of the log) there were fish.

(288) *gūbu   bĕhe-dĕ   bahi-koã-yu-hu.*
    log   NEG-SPCR   be-FF-INFER--3p
    It/he was actually not a log.

(289) *hīdo   bahi-koã-yu-hu*
    anaconda   be-FF-INFER--3p
    He was an anaconda.

Often *-koã* (fulfillment) is used in a conversation as in (290)–(291), especially where the reality is the opposite of the expectation. In (290) the expectation is that the turtle will say that he will let go (and do so), but the reality in (291) is that he won't.

(290) *"yɨ-re   hidi-ya   bɨ!" ī-re   yi-boa-yu-hu   wekɨ-hɨa*
    Is-O   release-PRES^IMPV   2s   3ms-O   say-BUT-INFER--3p   tapir-SEL
    "Release me!" the tapir, for his part said frustratingly to him (turtle).

(291) *"bɨ-re   hidi-be-kɨ-ha"   ī-re   yi-koã-yu-hu*
    2s-O   release-NEG-ms--3   3ms-O   say-FF-INFER--3p
    "I won't release you!" (he) said to him.

Progressive. Progressive aspect can be used in all of the tenses except for the avoidance mood. It consists of a verb root plus nominalizer,

accompanied by the verb *ya/yi* 'to do'[41] which bears the tense-evidential and subject-agreement inflection. [42] Sentence (292) is an example of the present proximate progressive form, and (293) the reportative progressive form.

(292) *kūbua   kēdo-gu   ya-bĩ*
      canoe   good^CAUS-ms do^PRES-3ms
      He is making a canoe.

(293) *bue-go   yi-yu-hu*
      study-fs do-INFER--3p
      They say that she is/was studying.

For the progressive aspect of states, *bahi* 'to be' is used in place of *ya/yi* 'to do'. (294) is an example of the past conjecture progressive of the state of dying. This example is a response given upon hearing an account of how a chicken was behaving:[43]

(294) *riha-a-ku   bahi-ri-i-bĩ*
      sick^MOT--PROXms   be-PST^CONJ-ms-3ms
      He was probably dying.

Anticipatory. Anticipatory aspect is used to explain an event by means of the action or state anticipated as the resultant event. This aspect consists of a nominalized verb accompanied by *ya/yi* 'to do' which bears the tense-evidential and subject-agreement inflection. The nominalized verb consists of a nominalizer plus *-a* (motion), plus another nominalizer, both agreeing with the subject. More specifically, the first set of nominalizers are *-gu* (masculine singular), *-go* (feminine singular) and *-ro* (inanimate/animate plural), followed by *-a* (motion). When *-a* signifies motion, the second nominalizer also indicates the direction of the motion, i.e., whether it is motion toward or away from the point of reference. See (295) for these nominalizers. (Also see §3.2.)

---

[41]*ya* 'to do' is used only in the present proximate tense; *yi* 'to do' is used elsewhere.

[42]The nominalizers are *-gu* (masculine singular), *-go* (feminine singular) and *-rā* (animate plural) for nonmotion verbs and their counterparts for motion verbs, which are listed in (295) in the following section on anticipatory aspect.

[43]In (294), *-a* (motion) followed by *-ku* (nonproximate masculine singular) changes the sense of *riha* 'to be sick' to 'to be dying', that is, leaving his natural state.

(295) Toward speaker   Away from speaker
        -gʉ   *-kʉ*   (masculine singular)
        -go   *-ko*   (feminine singular)
        -dã   *-dã*   (animate plural)
        -do   *-to*   (inanimate)

In (296), the speaker sees the plane circling the airstrip and explains the event by means of the anticipated resultant action, that of descending.

(296) *ruhi-ro-a-do*   *ya-ha*
      descend-in-MOT-PROX^NOM   do^PRES^PROX --3
      It is about to descend.

This construction is also used when there is no apparent motion or change of location. In (297), the speaker is explaining his actions of organizing his papers and books by stating the resultant event he anticipates, that of studying.

(297) *bue-gʉ-a-gʉ*   *ya-ha*   *yʉ*
      study-ms-MOT-ms   do^PRES^PROX--3   1s
      I am preparing to study. *or* I am about to study.

Habitual. Habitual aspect is indicated by *-rʉgu* (habitual) before the tense-evidential and subject-agreement inflection markers.

(298) *to-kã-rãka-rʉbʉ-ri*   *wa-rʉgu-bʉ*   *yʉa*
      that-count-with-day-p   move-HAB-PST-3   1x
      We went (there) every day.

(299) *hẽre*   *ĩa-heo-rʉgu-boa-ka-hʉ*
      already see-all^CAUS-HAB-BUT-far^PST--3
      (I) have continually looked all over there (and didn't find it).

Durative. Durative aspect is generally marked by *yã* 'to be' plus tense and subject-agreement inflection.

(300) *ti-hʉ*   *yoa-ro*   *hua*   *yã-ka-hʉ*   *yʉa*
      that-place long-NOM poison^fish be-far^PST--3 1x
      We were poisoning fish there for a long time.

Other ways of marking durative aspect include: -*rũgu* (habitual) when used with *yã* 'to be'; -*rũtu* (durative of progression); -*rũgu/o* (durative of upward progression); and *rũdʉ* 'to chase' with sensory verbs. Examples of these constructions are given below.

-*rũgu* (habitual) is used to signify durative aspect with *yã* 'to be' only when it is medial in the sentence. Also, -*boa* (contraexpectation) is frequently suffixed to this construction, indicating the end point of the state of being there as in (301).

(301) *to   eha   yã-rũgu-boa   tudi-a-ka-hʉ   yʉ kẽda*
      there arrive be-HAB-BUT   return-MOT-far^PST- -3   1s again
      Arriving there I stayed for a while (but no one came), and then returned back again.

-*rũtu* (durative of progression) expresses progression along some path (of motion) or some scale (e.g., relative size). In (302), the subject is viewed as 'loving her more and more'. In (303), the speaker views the walk as progression of motion from near the house to the half-way point in the path to the bathing hole, where the subject sits down and draws butterflies, creating their designs and colors.

(302) *so-re   bãi-rũtu-a-su-hu   ĩ*
      3fs-O   love-DUR-MOT--PROX^INFER-S~3p 3ms
      They say that he loved her more and more.

(303) *tʉdi   roha-rũtu,   hetaga   bãa gʉdareko-dẽ*
      return   descend-DUR bath^hole path middle-SPCR

      huya-koã-yu-hu, hogoro-a-re   uka-gʉ
      sit-FF-INFER--3p   butterfly-p-O   draw-ms
      ... turning back, descending further and further away, at the middle of the path to the bathing hole he sat down to draw butterflies.

The verb form *rũdʉ* 'to chase' is used with the sensory verbs *ia* 'to see' and *ahi* 'to hear' to indicate one of two senses distinguished by context. The first sense is that of seeing or hearing the same object from time to time, e.g., watching over a pot where one may leave the room for awhile but returns to make sure all is well. The second sense is to watch over or listen to something or someone from the begining to the end, with the implication that this is done carefully.

(304) ĩ   ya-wi-re   ĩa   rũdu-gu   yã-a-ha   yu
      3ms   GEN-house-O   see   chase-ms   be-PRES--3   1s
      I am the caretaker of his house.

(305) kẽda-ro   ĩ-re   ahi-rũdu-be-hu   yu
      good-NOM   3ms-O   hear-chase-NEG--3   1s
      I didn't follow what he was saying.

Iterative. Iterative aspect is expressed by a repetition of subordinate clauses or by the verb suffix *-kudi* (iterative). In (306), the subordinate clause *ũba eho tu* 'to carry to destination and put against (something)' is repeated twice and the clause *gahea ũbaadi tu* 'to bring another and put against' is repeated three times followed by a summary statement in the main clause to show the repeated action.

(306) ũba   eho   tu   ũba   eho   tu
      carry   arrive^CAUS   put^against   carry   arrive^CAUS   put^against

      gahe-a   ũba-a-di   tu   gahe-a
      other-sphere   carry-MOT-here   put^against   other-sphere

      ũba-a-di   tu   gahe-a   ũba-a-di
      carry-MOT-here   put^against   other-sphere   carry-MOT-here

      tu   ũba eho   heo   tu
      put^against   carry arrive^CAUS   all^CAUS   put^against

      heo-koã   tudi-ko-a-ka-bã
      all^CAUS-FF   return-FF-MOT-far^PST-3p

      Carrying them to the destination and leaning them against (something), carrying them to the destination and leaning them against (something), carrying another here and leaning it against (something), carrying another here and leaning it against (something), carrying another here and leaning it against (something), carrying them all to the destination, having leaned them all against (something), they returned.

The suffix *-kudi* (iterative) is used most frequently with *wa* 'to move' for hunting or travelling, or with *ĩa* 'to see' for visiting throughout the village or from place to place along one's way. Illustration (307) shows *-kudi* (iterative) occurring with *kẽa* 'to chop'.

(307) *gahe-rʉbʉ*   *bota-ri   kẽa-kudi-ka-bã*   *ĩdã*
      other-day   post-p   chop-ITER-far^PST-3p   3p
      The next day they went from place to place chopping down posts
      (for the new house).

6.8–6.10 Other verb morphology

The constructions which indicate causative, motion, and contraexpectation do not fit readily into the previous discussion of the verb phrase and thus are described below.

6.8. Causatives. Barasano forms morphological causatives by affixing *-o* to the verb root. Some examples of this are: *wʉbʉ-o* (rise-CAUS) 'to cause to arise', *yayi-o* (lost-CAUS) 'to cause to be lost', *bẽkʉ-o* (drunk-CAUS) 'to cause to be drunk', and *bãsi-o* (know-CAUS) 'to cause to know'. In (308) and (309), *kati* 'to be alive, well' is compared with *kati-o* 'to cause to be alive, well'.

(308) *kati-ya*   *bʉ*
      alive-PRES^IMPV   2s
      You be well!

(309) *ĩ-re*   *kati-o-ya*   *bʉ*
      3ms-O   alive-CAUS-PRES^IMPV   2s
      You cause him to be well!

Barasano also has lexical causative verbs derived historically from morphological causatives. Compare the following transitive verbs with their intransitive counterparts: *kedõ* 'to fix or make', *kedã* 'to be good'; *wʉo* 'to cause to be mixed', *wʉsa* 'to be mixed'; *tʉo* 'to cause to return', *tʉdi* 'to return'; *ĩo* 'to show', *ĩa* 'to see'; and *sõ* 'to cause to enter', *sãha* 'to enter'.[44]

In causative constructions, the causee (the subject of the embedded verb), when present, is marked by *-re* (object). Thus, the causative of a transitive verb may have two objects (both potentially marked by *-re*). (See §5.1–5.3 on the case marker *-re*.) Note that the direct object of the causativized clause precedes the causee.

---

[44]/sãha + o/ becomes /sõ/.

(310) *ti-re   yɨa-re   ĩo-ka-bĩ*
that-o   1x-o   see^CAUS-far^PST-3ms
He showed us that.

Causativized verbs showing the resultant state frequently follow other uninflected verbs, which indicate the means employed to cause the resultant state of the object. For example, in (311), the subject pounds down the toucan he cut up with the result that it becomes soft (in this case, edible). And in (312), in order to cause another person to enter a house, *sõ* 'to cause to enter' is preceded by the means used to make the person enter, i.e., by calling.

(311) *rase   ĩ   yihe-re-re   roka   abo-ka-bĩ*
toucan   3ms   cut--s-o   move^down   soft^CAUS-far^PST-3ms
He pounded down the toucan that he had cut up, making it into a mash.

(312) *ĩ-re   hi   sõ-yu-harã   ĩdã*
3ms-o   summon   enter^CAUS-INFER-3p   3p
They summoned him into (the house).

Such verb phrases also occur with *ĩa* 'to see' and *eka* 'to feed'. When the participant's gaze is perceived as changing location, it may simply be a change in direction such as *ĩa tɨo* (see return^CAUS) 'to look back'; or a change in the goal as with *ĩa hõ* (see enter^room^CAUS) 'to look into a room'.[45] The verb *eka*, with a causative suffix, may be preceded by various other verb roots to signify 'to cause to receive'.[46] In such cases, the subject commits an implicit action which causes him to receive the action stated by the verbal complement and committed by the nominal preceding it as in (313).

(313) *kotibaha toa   eko-yu-hu   so*
scorpion sting   feed^CAUS-INFER--3p   3fs
They say that she received a scorpion bite.

6.9. Motion. Motion verbs may occur with the regular tenses and generally imply motion away. However when the speaker has a specific point of reference in mind, *-a* (motion) occurs, followed by *-di* 'toward

---

[45]/hãha + o/ becomes /hõ/.

[46]/eka + -o/ becomes /eko/.

here' or the proximate tense-evidential markers to indicate that the motion is toward or away from this specific point of reference. For example, in the first sentence of (314) the speaker tells of 'going upriver' and 'returning' without any marker referring to motion, but in the next sentence he refers to motion toward a specific point of reference by employing *wadi* 'to come'.[47]

(314) *yeheasaga*   *waisika*   *būdi*   *tudi-ka-hʉ*   *yʉa*
      Yejeasaga   upriver   move^upriver   return-far^PST--3   1x

    Tudi   *yuha*   *wadi*   *roka*   *tu . . .*
    return   move^downriver   come   move^down   put^against
    . . . we went upriver of Yejeasaga, and returned. Returning going downriver we came and docked the canoe . . .

In (315) the motion verb *hẽa* 'to cross' is followed by -*a* (motion) and the proximate tense-evidential -*yu* (inferred) to show that the speaker has a specific point of reference in mind toward which the subject came.[48]

(315) "*kedi*   *roka*   *roa-a-to*   *be*"
    fall   move^down   move^into^water-MOT--PROX^AVOID   oh

    yi-gʉ   *haa-koã*   *hẽa-a-yu-hu*   *ĩ*
    think-ms   crawl-FF   cross-MOT-PROX^INFER --3p   3ms
    They say that he came crawling across (the log) lest he fall into the water.

In (316) -*a* (motion) with -*di* 'toward here' is used in a situation where the specific point of reference the speaker has in mind is the place where he was telling this story.

---

[47]*wadi* 'to come' could very possibly be interpreted to be *wa-a-di* 'move-motion-toward here'; *tudi* 'return' is used in all dialects except the *Yeba Masa* dialect of *Barasano* and an unnamed dialect of *Taiwano* which use *tudi*.

[48]In illustration (315) we may be sure of the presence of -*a* (motion) occurring following *hẽa* 'to cross' because it is an intrinsically oral vowel which makes -*yu* (inferred) also oral. Thus if -*a* (motion) were not there, the nasalization begun in *hẽa* would carry through causing -*yu* to be realized phonetically as -*yũ*.

(316) *ĩ   rãka yãgo-bɨsa-koã   gahadõ   tɨdi-a-di-ka-hɨ*
      3ms with talk-very^much-FF finish   return-MOT-here-far^PST--3

   yɨ kẽda
   1s again
   Talking with him for quite a while, finishing, I returned toward here.

When the tense-evidential markers (or imperative marker, or person-number markers) for the immediate past tense immediately follow -*a* (motion), then -*di* 'toward here' is dropped. This has been found to occur in the realis tenses of heard, avoidance, immediate past, and inferred, and the irrealis tenses of conjecture. For example, compare (317) where -*boa* (BUT) occurs between -*di* 'toward here' and the tense evidential and (318) where -*di* was dropped because -*bɨ* (nonthird past) immediately followed it.

(317) *adi-ɨ-re   ãbi-a-di-boa-bɨ*   *yɨ*
      this-pole-o   pick^up-MOT-here-BUT--3PST   1s
      I brought this pole (but it isn't needed).

(318) *adi-ɨ-re   ãbi-a-bɨ*   *yɨ*
      this-pole-o   pick^up-MOT--3PST 1s
      I brought this pole.

Nonmotion verbs may be changed into motion verbs by the use of -*a* (motion). For example, in (319) notice that the imperative of the nonmotion verb *ãbi* means 'to pick up (one object)' whereas in (320) the addition of -*a* (motion) causes it to mean 'to carry'.

(319) *ti-re   ãbi-ya*   *bũ*
      that-o   pick^up-PRES^IMPV   2s
      Pick that up!

(320) *ti-re   ãbi-a-sa*   *bũ*
      that-o   pick^up-MOT-IMPV-PROX   2s
      Carry that away!

6.10. Contraexpectation. Contraexpectation is expressed by -*boa:* to convey that an event or state occurred but that the results of it were not what the speaker desired or expected.

The ending *-boa* (contraexpectation) is used in concessionary clauses, see §11.3, and in temporal clauses of sequence where the medial verbs are infinitival, to show a sense of frustration when an act is committed without the desired or expected results. For example, in (321) *-boa* (contraexpectation) occurs following the medial verb *yuha* 'to move downriver' which, due to the prior context, is interpreted to mean that the subject went downriver to fish but did not catch any fish.[49]

(321) *gũtahoero roka   rẽto   yuha   wa*
     rapids   down pass^by move^downriver move

       yuha-boa   *tɨdi   bɨdi   wadi*
       move^downriver-BUT return move^upriver come

       bãha-kɨ   *yɨ*
       ascend^hill-far^PST-3   1s
       ... passing by the area below the rapids, going downriver, going downriver (without catching anything), returning and coming upriver I (got out of canoe) and came up the bank.

It may also occur with the main verb of the sentence. The sentence may not include a purpose clause but frustrated purpose is usually the reason for its occurrence in the main clause. Frequently the immediate context supplies the implied purpose as in (322).

(322) *hea rua-boa-bĩ   hua-hi   Sĩa-be-bĩ*
      fire take^out-BUT-3ms two-time kill-NEG-3ms
      He shot twice (but) he didn't kill him.

---

[49]Recall that *-kɨ* (far past, nonthird person) is the contracted form of *-ka-hɨ*.

[blank]

7

Sentence Structure

Sentences consist of one or more clauses. Nonfinal clauses may be marked for temporal or logical arguments, or be unmarked. The subordination markers occur at the end of the clause and are selected with reference to the subject of the final clause. Sentences are often connected sequentially or logically by a subordinate clause that begins with the pronoun 'that', accompanied by a verb which refers back to the preceding sentence. Adverbs of location and time generally occur initially in the sentence. When they co-occur, the adverb which is more in focus occurs initially and the other occurs at the end of the sentence. For example:

(323) *busiyu*   *wa-ruuku-ha*   *yu*   *bogotá-hu*
      tomorrow   move-DESIDms--3   1s   Bogotá-place
      Tomorrow I will go to Bogotá.

Adverbs of manner and degree generally precede the verb though they may occur at the end of the sentence. When they precede the verb they may precede or follow the object (when it occurs). For example, compare (324) with (325).

(324) *ĩ-re*   *kẽda-ro*   *bãsi-be-a-ha*   *yu*
      3ms-O   good-NOM   know-NEG-PRES--3   1s
      I don't know him well.

(325) *kẽda-ro   ti-re ahi-yu-hu   ĩ*
      good-NOM   3in-O hear-INFER--3p   3ms
      They say that he clearly understood it.

The subject need not be explicit other than to be indicated by the person and number marking on the main verb. The subject occurs before the verb when it is in special focus or in a frozen construction such as (326).

(326) *oko   kedi-a-ha*
      water fall-PRES--3
      It is raining.

7.1–7.4 Syntactically distinct clause types

There are intransitive, transitive, bitransitive and locative clause types. There is also an impersonal negative construction discussed in §9.2.

7.1. Intransitive clauses. Intransitive clauses consist of an obligatory intransitive verb, e.g., (327).

(327) *wa-ko-a-bĩ*
      move-FF-MOT-3ms
      He left.

7.2. Transitive clauses. Transitive clauses consist of an obligatory transitive verb but do not necessarily require an explicit direct object or subject. For example, in (328), *ĩdã* 'they' are already on the stage as main participants and the flow of logic makes it unnecessary to refer to them in the final clause as being 'those he didn't kill'. When the direct object is explicit, it precedes the verb as in (329).

(328) *rudi-ko-a-bã   ĩdã   sĩa-be-bĩ*
      flee-FF-MOT-3p   3p   kill-NEG-3ms
      They fled. He didn't kill (them).

(329) *ĩ-re   sĩa-ka-bĩ*
      3ms-O   kill-far^PST-3ms
      He killed him.

7.3. Bitransitive clauses. Bitransitive clauses consist of a verb and an obligatory object. Either the recipient or the patient object may occur depending on which is more in focus. In (320), the recipient *ĩ* 'he' is in focus and in (331), the patient *ti* (inanimate third person) is in focus. When two objects co-occur, generally the patient precedes the recipient, as in (332).

(330) *ĩ-re   ĩsi-ruoko-ha   yu*
      3ms-O   give-DESIDfs--3   1s
      I will give it to him.

(331) *ti-re   ĩsi-ruoko-ha   yu*
      3in-O   give-DESIDfs--3   1s
      I will give it.

(332) *keti   bũ-re   kõa-ruuku-ha   yu*
      letter   2s-O   send-DESIDms--3   1s
      I will send you a letter.

Nevertheless, indentification of the role of the objects seems to rely on the pragmatic interpretation of the listener. For example, illustration (333) could be interpreted in two ways. These two possibilities are given in the alternate translations. The context of the account leaves no question that the second alternative is the correct one in this situation.

(333) *ĩdã-re   goti-bosa   ĩa-ba*
      3p-O   tell-BEN   see-FUT^IMPV
      Speak for them (to x), to see x's reaction. *or* Speak (for me) to them
      to see their reaction.

7.4. Locationals. Predicate nominative, locative, existential, and possessive clauses often share the same constituents in many languages. This is true in Barasano, where all of these sentence types share the same verb, *yã* 'to be' and its negative counterpart *bã/bãdi* 'to not be'. The possessive construction may also occur with the verb *kuti/kuo* 'to have'.

Predicate nominative. The following illustrate the predicate nominative with the verb *yã* 'to be':

(334) *gaw-a*   *yã-a-bã*   *ĩdã*
      nonindigenous-p   be-PRES-3p   3p
      They are nonindigenous people.

(335) *haibẽ   ĩ   ya-tuti   yã-a-ha   ti*
      Jim   3ms   GEN-stack   be-PRES--3   3in
      That is Jim's book.

Locative. Locatives may be formed with *yã* 'to be', as in (336), or with several stative verbs which refer more specifically to the location of an entity, e.g., *hesa* 'to be on top of' and *sãya* 'to be inside'.

(336) *sũbe-ri-hata-ro   hubea-hu   yã-a-ha   ti*
      green-PTCPL-box-s   inside-place   be-PRES--3   3in
      It is inside the green box.

Existential. Existentials are formed with *yã* 'to be' and *bã/bãdi* 'to not be'. See (337) and (339). The participants of a discourse are usually first introduced as existing. For example, (338) introduces Sue's mother at the beginning of a narrative.

(337) *sita   ẽyaroka-hu   kõbe   yã-a-ha*
      ground   beneath-place   metal   be-PRES--3
      Metal is underground.

(338) *sũe   hak-o   yã-ri-o-bõ   so*
      Sue   parent-fs   be-PST^CONJ-fs-3fs   3fs
      Sue's mother lived.

(339) *bãs-a   bãdi-ka-hu   ti*
      human-p   not^be-far^PST--3   3in
      There were no people (there). *or* No one was there.

Possessive. The possessive clause may be formed with *yã* 'to be' or *bã/bãdi* 'to not be'. In these cases, the possessor is encoded as an object. For example, in (340) and (341), *yu* (1s) is encoded as an object.

(340) *hai-ro   yã-a-ha   ti   yu-re*
      many-NOM   be-PRES--3   3in   1s-O
      I have a lot.

(341) *gaheũdi* *bã-a-ha*   *yu-re*
   possessions not^be-PRES--3 1s-O
   I have no possessions.

The possessive clause may also be formed with *ku/kuti* or *kuo*, both meaning 'to have'; *ku/kuti* is generally used when the possessed is perceived as an inherent characteristic of the possessor, e.g., 'A head has hair', or 'I have the name John' as in (342).

(342) *hũa* *wãbe* *kuti-a-ha* *yu*
   John name have-PRES--3 1s
   I have the name John.

hai 'to be big' is often used in possessive clauses. In such cases, *hai* is generally nominalized with animate nominalizers which refer to the possessor. In (343) *hai-gu* 'one who has a lot of' is the possessor and *ue-ri* 'dirt' is the possessed:

(343) *ĩe-ri*   *hai-gu* *yã-a-bĩ*
   dirty-PTCPL big-ms be-PRES-3ms
   He is very dirty. (lit. He has a lot of dirt.)

7.5. Juxtaposition. Juxtaposition is defined as the ordering of phrases or clauses where there is no marking to show their relationship grammatically. There are at least two types of juxtaposition, that of verb phrases and that of noun phrases.

Juxtaposition of verb phrases is used to indicate a series of events in sequence all performed by the same subject. These verb phrases may consist of optional objects and may contain compound verbs [50] but there is no subject and no tense or person marking on the verbs. Illustration (344) has these juxtaposed verb phrases bracketed.

---

[50]Compound verbs are a group of verbs used to describe a series of actions which are either in close succession or which may be viewed as describing one action. For example, 'arriving by entering a field' and 'arriving by entering a house' are distinguished by separate verbs preceding the verb 'to arrive'.

(344) *gahe-rŭbŭ kĩ   rua-ro-a*   *[wese   hia   eha]   [kĩ*
       other-day cassava harvest-anp-MOT   field   enter   arrive cassava

       rua]   [hua   bĩo   kŭ]   [wŭra] [tŭdi-a-di]
       harvest pick^up together^CAUS put   peel   return-MOT-here

       [gua]   [bãha   eha]   bãdi *yĩoriha-habã   [ba   gahadõ]*
       bathe   ascend^hill arrive li   hungry-COND   eat   finish

       [kĩ   oe   gahadõ] [bihe] *[bihe   gahadõ] hea*
       cassava grate   finish   sieve   sieve   finish   firewood

       hua-ro-a   [yũka   hio] ti yãi-ro
       pick^up-anp-MOT   cassava^juice pour 3in cooked-NOM

       [wa   karua]   idi-re   yã-ka-hŭ   ti   ya
       scoop^up   pour^to^cool drink-NOM be-far^PST--3 3in   NOW
       Next day, going to harvest cassava, entering and arriving at a field,
       harvesting cassava, picking it up and gathering it together and
       putting it (in a certain spot), peeling it, returning toward here,
       bathing, ascending and arriving (at the house); if we are hungry,
       eating and finishing; grating cassava and finishing; sieving, sieving
       and finishing; going to pick up firewood, pouring the cassava juice
       (into a pot); when it is cooked, scooping up and pouring to cool, it
       is then a drink.

Juxtapostion of noun phrases generally occurs in listing items. Their
occurrence in apposition to one another, referring to the same thing or
person, is pragmatically interpreted by the hearer. In illustration (345), a
series of object noun phrases lists not only the subjects of the main verb
but also the objects in a series before the main verb. These noun phrases
are bracketed.

(345) *yukʉ ha sure   ʉse [yʉ idia-ro] [Sabído*
        tree hit cut^off^many weave 1s three-CL Sabino

    babari]   [Luka hʉa-ro] [Arike hʉa-se] ʉse-ka-hʉ
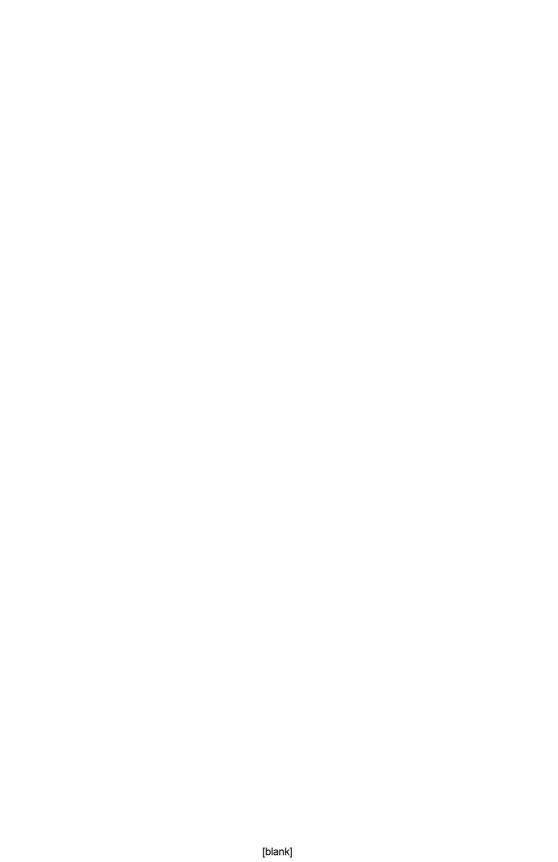   four (fences) Luke two-CL Eric two-CL weave-far^PST--3

    yʉa
    1x

Cutting down trees, weaving, I (wove) three (lengths of) fence, Sabino (wove) four, Luke (wove) two, (and) Eric wove two.

7.6. Subordinate clauses. Subordinate clauses generally precede main clauses. The basic word order for subordinate clauses is object-verb. This order accords with that of main clauses. However, when the subject of the subordinate clause is different from that of the main clause, the subject is generally an obligatory constituent of the subordinate clause and immediately precedes the nominalized verb (except in those cases where objects have been incorporated into verbs). Compare (346), where the subject of the subordinate clause is omitted because it is the same as the main clause, with (347) where the subject *ī* (3ms) of the subordinate clause occurs before the verb *yi* 'to say'.

(346) *ti-re   ahi-koã-ri   "I-be-a-ha   yʉ" yi-yu-hu   so*
        that-o hear-FF-PTCPL say-NEG-PRES--3 1s   say-INFER--3p 3fs
Hearing that, she said, "I didn't say anything (of consequence)."

(347) *to   ī   yi-se-re   ahi-koã-ri,   ado bahi-ro   ī-re   yi*
        that 3ms say-NOM-o   hear-FF-PTCPL this be-NOM 3ms-o   say

    kʉdi-yu-hu   so
    respond-INFER--3p 3fs
Hearing what he said, this is what she said, responding to him.

[blank]

8

Question Formation

Barasano questions are divided into three types: yes-no questions, question-word questions and other constructions which may serve as questions. Some distinctions of tense are lost in question formation. Thus, the occurrence of the question markers with the various tense-evidentials is discussed first, followed by a discussion of the three types of questions. A summary of all question constructions is given in the final section.

8.1. Question markers and tense evidentials. The question markers are *-ri*, *-hari*, *-di* and *-ti*, one of which occurs on the main verb in both yes-no questions and question-word questions. The choice of which question marker to use is dependent on the direction specified and the tense-evidential of the construction. The question marker takes the place of the person-marker-subject-agreement suffix, and person is indicated by means of a pronoun following the verb. In this section the choice of question markers for nonmotion verbs is discussed followed by instances where motion and direction markers on motion verbs affect the question markers. A summary of the question markers is then given in (359) and (360).

The question markers for verbs of nonmotion are *-ti*, *-ri*, and *-hari: -ti* occurs following the witnessed tenses of present proximate and far past, and the nonwitnessed tenses which are used for future events (intention and nonpast conjecture); *-ri* occurs following the witnessed tense of immediate past; and *-hari* follows the nonwitnessed tenses of inferred,

heard, and nonpast conjecture (when nonpast conjecture refers to the present).

The tense-evidential markers for questions are different from those for declarative sentences for some of the nonwitnessed tenses. To ask a question regarding the present for the nonwitnessed tenses, -*ro* (present nonwitnessed), followed by -*hari,* is generally used regardless of the gender of the subject. This means that there is no difference in inflection between a question posed regarding hearing something (heard) and a question asking for a guess on the part of the hearer (nonpast conjecture). For example, note that there is no difference in inflection for the verb in (348) in the tense of nonpast conjecture, and (349) in the present-heard tense.[51]

(348) *to*   *yã-ro-hari*   *ĩ*
      there   be-PRES-WIT-Q   3ms
      Where do you suppose he is?

(349) *rase*   *yã-ro-hari*   *ĩ*
      toucan   be-PRES-WIT-Q   3ms
      Is he a toucan?

Natural responses to the above questions are listed below, the first being in the tense of nonpast conjecture and the second in the tense of heard.

(350) *to*   *yã-gu-bĩ*
      there   be-ms-3ms
      He is probably there.

(351) *rase*   *yã-ro-bĩ*
      toucan   be-HEARD-3ms
      He is a toucan (I heard him).

For questions regarding the future there is no difference between nonpast conjecture and intention. The suffixes are the nominalizers used for nonpast conjecture followed by -*ti* (question). It may be said then, that the sense of intention is not used to ask a question. Thus, note in (352) that the question is in the future, while the answer in (353) is in the tense of nonpast conjecture to show that the speaker is not sure of himself.

---

[51]Some speakers differentiate the questions of nonpast conjecture from heard by retaining the tense-evidential markers for nonpast conjecture. See nonpast conjecture tense in §6.6.

Following that answer is an additional response in (354) in the tense of intention showing that the speaker is more certain of his action.

(352) *busiyu*   *bue-go-ti*   *bũ*
     tomorrow   study-fs-Q   2s
     Will you go tomorrow?

(353) *ba*   *bue-go-ha*   *yu*
     -CERT   study-fs--3   1s
     I don't know. I will probably study.

(354) *bue-ruoko-ha*   *yu*
     study-DESIDfs--3   1s
     I will study (tomorrow).

For questions regarding the past nonwitnessed tenses, there is no difference between inferred and past conjecture and no distinction between the inferred tenses of direct and indirect or reportative. The tense-evidential marker is *-yu* (inferred). Thus, *-yu-hari* (inferred question) in (355) indicates a question regarding the past in which the interrogator assumes that the hearer was not an eyewitness.

(355) *dõ*   *yã-yu-hari*   *ĩdã*
     where   be-INFER-Q   3p
     Where are they (said to be)?

Depending on the context, the hearer may interpret the above illustration to signify: (1) 'By the way they left from here, where/in what direction do you infer that they went?' (inferred direct), or (2) 'Where did they (impersonal) say that they went?' (inferred indirect/reportative). He then would answer in the inferred or past-conjecture tense.

With verbs of motion, the changes in tense-evidentials discussed in §6.5–6 occur also for questions. The question markers are generally the same as for verbs of nonmotion. The exception to this is the witnessed tense of immediate past, which is indicated by the lack of tense-evidential marking. Thus, the direction markers immediately precede the question markers resulting in one marker indicating both direction and question. Illustration (356) shows the two markers with the motion verb *wa* 'to move'. Note here the suffix *-di* (toward here question), and in (357) the suffix *-ti* (away from here question), and compare them with *-ri* (question) following the nonmotion verb *bue* 'to study' in (358).

(356) *wa-di*   *bũ*
      move-here^Q   2s
      You came? (A form of greeting)

(357) *yābika   dõ   bahi-ro   wa-ti   bũ*
      yesterday what   be-NOM   move-Q   2s
      How did you go yesterday? *or* How was your trip yesterday?

(358) *bue-ri   bũ*
      study-Q   2s
      Did you study?

A question in the witnessed-present-nonproximate tense of motion is indicated by *-ha* (which may also signal immediate past actions), followed by *-ri* as the question marker.

The direction, tense-evidential, and question markers in the order in which they follow the verb root are given in (359) and (360).

(359)   Direction   Tense-evidential   Question

Present proximate			
no direction specified		*-a*	*-ti*
toward here	*-adi*	*-a*	*-ti*
Present nonproximate of motion			
away	*-a*	*-ha*	*-ri*
Immediate past			
no direction specified		∅	*-ri*
toward here	*-a*	∅	*-di*
away	*-a*	∅	*-ti*
Far past			
no direction specified		*-ka*	*-ti*
toward here	*-a-di*	*-ka*	*-ti*
away	*-a*	*-ka*	*-ti*

(360)   Direction Tense-evidential Question

Present (heard and nonpast conjecture)
   no direction specified   *-ro*   *-hari*
   toward here   *-a*   *-do*   *-hari*
   away   *-a*   *-to*   *-hari*

Past (inferred and past conjecture)
   no direction specified   *-yu*   *-hari*
   toward here   *-a*   *-yu*   *-hari*
   away   *-a*   *-su*   *-hari*

Future (nonpast conjecture and intention)
   no direction specified   *-gu/-go/-rã/-ro*   *-ti*
   toward here   *-a*   *-gu/-go/-dã/-do*   *-ti*
   away   *-a*   *-ku/-ko/-dã/-to*   *-ti*

8.2. Yes-no questions. Yes-no questions are formed by adding one of
the question markers *-ri*, *-hari*, *-di*, or *-ti* to the tense-evidential suffixes
shown in the previous section. There are two types: neutral and leading
(expecting agreement). Neutral yes-no questions are formed by adding a
question marker to the verb, with a pronoun generally following it.

In (361) *-ti* (question) follows *-ka* (far past) and the pronoun *bũ* (you
singular) indicates person and number.

(361) *kahi   idi-re   idi-ka-ti   bũ*
      coca   drink-NOM   drink-far^PST-Q   2s
      Did you drink the halucinogenic drink?

In (362) *-ri* (question) follows the verb root (the lack of tense-evidential
marking indicating the immediate past tense), and *ĩ* 'he' indicates the
person and number.

(362) *to   yã-ri   ĩ*
      there be-Q   3ms
      Was he there?

In (363) *-hari* (question) follows *-yu* (inferred), and *so* 'she' indicates the
person and number.

(363) *kẽda-yu-hari   so*
      good-INFER-Q   3fs
      Is she well (according to what you heard)?

Leading yes-no questions are distinguished by *-da* 'agree' added to the verb which generally has a contracted form of tense-evidential and person marking. These constructions are not always interpreted as questions. Thus, they are discussed in §8.4.

8.3. Question-word questions. Question-word questions begin with an interrogative pronoun and may be formed in the same way as yes-no questions (with the question markers *-ti*, *-di*, *-ri*, and *-hari*). The interrogative pronouns have strong stress in relationship to the rest of the sentence, and generally the sentence has rising intonation.

The interrogative pronoun *dõ* 'where, what (for time, manner and quantity)' is the locative question word in (364).

(364) *dõ   wa-ha-ri   bũ*
      where   move-PRES-PROX-Q   2s
      Where are you going?

In (365), the interrogative pronoun *yĩb-u* 'who (male)' is the object marked by *-re* (object).[52]

(365) *yĩb-u-re   sĩa-ri   bũ*
      who-ms-O   kill-Q   2s
      Whom did you kill?

In (366) the interrogative pronoun *yẽ* 'what' is used as the predicate nominative.

(366) *yẽ   yã-a-ti   ti*
      what   be-PRES-Q   3in
      What is that?

The interrogative may be within a subordinate clause. In (367) *dõ* 'what' is contained within the subordinate clause *dõ bahi-ro* 'what is'.

---

[52] *yĩba* + *-u* becomes *yĩbu*.

(367) *dõ   bahi-ro   ti-re   kẽdo-ka-ti   ĩdã*
      what   be-NOM   those-o   good^CAUS-far^PST-Q   3p
      How do (what happens when) they make them?

In (368), the notion 'why' is conveyed by the nominalized clause *dõ yi-gu* 'in order to do what (why)' and functions as a question word. (Recall that the far past may be used with reference to the present; see §6.5.)

(368) *dõ   yi-gu   wa-ka-ti   bũ*
      what   do-ms   move-far^PST-Q   2s
      Why did you go?

In (369), the subordinate clause of reason *dõ bahi-ro bahi-koã-ri* 'what happened', functions as a question word.

(369) *dõ   bahi-ro   bahi-koã-ri   bahi-yu-hari   ti*
      what   be-NOM   be-FF-PTCPL   be-INFER-Q   3in
      What was said to be the reason for that happening? (lit. 'What having happened, happened?')

A question marker does not occur when the morpheme *-sa* 'forgot' occurs. This construction has the verb root, followed by the nominalizers *-gu/-ku* (masculine singular), *-go/-ko* (feminine singular), *-rã/-dã* (animate plural), or *-ro/-do/-to* (inanimate), followed by *-sa* 'forgot', followed by the immediate past or far past tense-evidential markers inflected for person, number, and subject agreement. It is used to indicate that the speaker at one time knew the information but has forgotten it. In (370) *yẽ* 'what' is the interrogative pronoun and the verb *ba* 'to eat' is inflected for the tense of far past.

(370) *yẽ-re   ba-gu-sa-ka-hu   bũ*
      what-o   eat-ms-forgot-far^PST--3   2s
      What was it that you ate?

In (371) the clause *dõ bahi-se* 'what be like thing' serves as the question word with *-rã-sa* indicating the question due to forgetfulness. No tense-evidential marker followed by the gender-number marking indicates the witnessed immediate past tense.

(371) *dõ*   *bahi-se*   *wãbe*   *kɨti-rã-sa-bã*   *ɨ̃dã*
      what   be-NOM   name   have-anp-forgot-3p   3p
      What were the names they had?

8.4. Other constructions which may function as questions. In this sec-
tion the question tags *ke* and *-da* are discussed along with intonation, and the
use of second person in the tense of indirect inferred (reportative).

The question tag *ke* (explain) follows the interrogative form of the verb
and precedes the pronoun. By using *ke* (explain), the speaker indicates
that he desires an explanation of the topic in question. For example, in
(372), the speaker thinks that he recognizes José's son but the boy's actions
seem to belie that.

(372) *josé*   *bãk-ɨ*   *yã-a-ti*   *ke*   *ɨ̃*
      José   progeny-ms be-PRES-Q   EXPL   3ms
      (What's happening?) Isn't he José's son?

ke (explain) is also used for rhetorical questions with the purpose of
scolding the hearer. In (313), the concessionary clause 'although you said
you didn't highly value wood', followed by the negated question with *ke*
(explain), indicates that the speaker believes that the hearers have no
response to clarify the discrepancy.

(373) *"yukɨ́*   *bãi-be-a-ha*   *yɨa"*   *yɨ-re*   *yi*   *goti-boa-ri-dẽ*   *ti-re*
      tree   love-NEG-PRES--3   1x   1s-O   say tell-BUT-PTCPL-SPCR   3in-O

      bãi-rã-re   *bero-dẽ*   *bahi-be-ti*   *ke*   *bɨ̃-a*
      love-anp-O   like-SPCR   be-NEG-Q   EXPL   2s-p
      Although you said, "We don't highly value wood, you acted just like
      those who do, didn't you?"

ke (explain) often occurs as the final element in sentence fragments.
These sentence fragments contain no verb form, but they function as
questions. In the context of (374), a person was supposed to arrive with
Cesar but does not. Upon arriving, Cesar fails to explain why the other
person is not accompanying him. Thus, the hearer wants an explanation,
and so he asks this question:

(374) *cesar-bã*   *ke*
      Cesar-CONTR   EXPL
      And what about Cesar? (I thought he was with you).

ke (explain) may also occur with the imperative when the speaker is attempting to prove a point. In the context of (375), the speaker has been stating a fact which is verifiable through reading a book, and so he says:

(375) *īa   īa-sa   ke   bū̃*
     see   see-IMPV-PROX   EXPL   2s
     Look and see that it is so.

Another construction which may function as a question involves the use of *-da* 'agree'. This construction may consist of a fully inflected verb in some tenses, but for the majority of the tenses it follows a contracted form of the tense-evidential and gender-number suffixes. (See §6.5–6 for the contracted forms.) The intonation falls as in declarative sentences. With such a construction, the speaker indicates that he expects that he and the hearer are equally knowledgeable or ignorant of a situation as well as in agreement. The speaker is not asking for agreement but is inferring that the hearer will agree. In the context of (376), one person has spoken of buying an item from a distant location some time ago. The second person realizes that today neither of them knows if that item would still be for sale and hence asks the question in (376). The context of (377), is of two people watching someone else work. One person makes the comment in (377), expecting agreement since he views the second person as being equally knowledgeable of the situation. The context of (378) is that the speaker has heard that a certain person is coming. He thinks that the hearer has heard the news also.

(376) *yā̃-ro-a-da   ti*
     be-in--3-agree   3in
     It is probably there, don't you think?

(377) *buto   bōa-s-ī-da   ī̃*
     very^much   work-PRES-PROX-3ms-agree   3ms
     He works hard, doesn't he.

(378) *wa-a-gu   yi-yu-hu-da   ī̃*
     move-MOT-ms   do-INFER--3p-agree   3ms
     I've heard that he is coming. (You've heard of his coming also, right?)

-da 'agree' may also be used in reproving another as in (379).

(379) *rioho   goro bũ goti-habã bũ-re ha-beti-boo-ri-a-da*   *yu*
      straight truly 2s tell-COND 2s-O hit-NEG-SUBJN-PST^CONJ--3-agree 1s
      If you had told the truth, I wouldn't have hit you, right?

As we have seen with question word questions, it is possible to convey the idea of a question without using the normal interrogative suffixes on the verb— *-ti, -ri, -di* or *-hari.* Rising intonation by itself may also indicate the interrogative mood. First person singular imperative without rising intonation can indicate a decision has been made. However, with rising intonation, the expression changes moods, signifying that the speaker is asking for permission. For example, in (380), two alternate meanings are possible.

(380) *ĩa-ka   yu*
      see-IMPV1s   1s
      I will see it. (with falling intonation), *or* May I see it? (with rising intonation)

One other way to indicate that a question is being asked is by using the reportative tense in the second person. In (381), the speaker states that others have said that 'you hit her'. By using this form, he implies the question, 'Was what they said true?'

(381) *so-re   ha-yu-hu   bũ*
      3fs-O   hit-INFER--3p 2s
      It was reported that you hit her. (Is that so?)

8.5. Summary. Five ways of forming questions have been discussed.

1. Both yes-no questions and question-word questions are generally formed by suffixing the question markers *-ri, -ti -di* or *-hari* to the end of the verb following the tense-evidential suffixes.

2. Question-word questions which convey that the speaker has forgotten something do not occur with question markers but rather with the nominalizers *-gu/-ku, -go/-ko, -rã/-dã, -ro/-do/-to,* and *-sa* 'forget', followed by the inflection for the immediate and far-past tenses and person-number markers.

3. *ke* (explain) and *-da* 'agree' are special markers which indicate certain attitudes of the person who asks the question.

4. The indirect inferred tense (reportative) can be used with the second person to convey a question.

5. The first person imperatives may function as questions when they occur with rising intonation.

9

Negation

Negation may be expressed by any one of the following: the verb suffix *-beti* (negative), the negative verb *bãdi* 'to not be', the tense-evidential of avoidance, or the negative particle *bẽhe* *(J)* / *bẽ* *(E)* (negative). In this chapter we discuss negation under the topics of standard negation, the negative verb, the negative particle, quantifier negation, and adverb negation.

9.1. Standard negation. The suffix *-beti* (negative) is used to express standard negation, i.e., negation as expressed in the most simple and basic sentences (cf. Payne 1978). A shortened form, *-be,* occurs according to the following pattern: whenever a gender-number suffix immediately follows, whether the suffix is a nominalizer, a subject agreement suffix, or an imperative suffix; and when followed by *-a* (present) and *-yu* (inferred). Sentence (382) illustrates *-beti* (negative) with the transitive verb *buha* 'to find' in the far past tense, and (383) illustrates *-be* followed by *-a* (present).

(382) *wai   buha-beti-ka-hu   yua*
      fish   find-NEG-far^PST--3   1x
      We didn't find any fish.

(383) *wa-be-a-ha*
      move-NEG-PRES--3
      I am not going.

Negative *-beti* is used in all tenses and moods, in subordinate clauses as well as main clauses. In (384), *-beti* (negative) is employed in the participle constructed from the compound verb *īsi tuo* 'to give back', and in (385), both the subordinate and main clause are negated.

(384) *yu-re ī   īsi   tuo-beti-habā   ī-re   ēba-ruuku-ha   yu*
     1s-O 3ms give return^CAUS-NEG-COND 3ms-O take^from-DESIDms--3 1s
     If he doesn't return that to me, I will take it from him.

(385) *sutiriti-beti-koã-ri   tuo   īa   wasoa-be-ku-bī*
     sad-NEG-FF-PTCPL return^CAUS see change-NEG--PROXms-3ms
     Not being sad, he won't change his mind.

Negation of imperatives is for the most part regular. In the second person, *-beti* (negative) is suffixed to the verb root and followed by the appropriate nonproximate endings as in (386). The construction used for emphasizing a negative command in the second person is also that for negating commands in the first and third persons. In this construction *-beti* (negative) is suffixed to the verb root and followed by *-koã* (fulfillment) and the regular markers for indicating person as in (387).

(386) *yi-be-sa*   *bũ*
     do-NEG-IMPV-PROX   2s
     Don't do that!

(387) *wa-beti-koã-to*   *bãdi*
     move-NEG-FF-IMPV-2   1i
     Let's not go.

The negative *-beti* may also be used to negate an adverbial clause of purpose (§11.10), but an equivalent nonnegative form is more common. In (388), *-beti* (negative), a nonproximate nominalizer, *-ha* (nonproximate imperative), and *-ro* (nonsecond person) combine to produce 'may he not find it'. A more common means of expressing this idea is to use the mood of avoidance, e.g., ' "*Buharobī ī,*" *yigu*' 'lest he find it', as in (389).

(388) *ru-koã-bu*   *yu 'buha-be-ku-ha-ro'*   *yi-gu*
     hide-FF-PST-3 1s   find-NEG-ms-IMPV-PROX--2   think-ms
     I hid (it), so that he would not find it. (lit. 'thinking, may he not find it.')

(389) *ru-koã-bu*   *yu*   *'buha-ro-bĩ*   *ĩ'*   *yi-gu*
      hide-FF-PST-3   1s   find-AVOID-3ms 3ms think-ms
      I hid (it), lest he find it.

9.2. Negative verb. *bãdi* 'to not be' is the negative verb whose lexical counterpart is *yã* 'to be'. [53] This verb is used in existential and possessive clauses (§7.4) for an impersonal construction.

bãdi 'to not be' and *yã-beti* (be-NEG) 'to not be' are not synonymous. With *yã-beti* the speaker infers existence of the subject whereas with *bãdi* he does not. For example, in (390), *bã* 'to not be' cannot be used in the concessionary clause in place of *yã-beti* for the main clause clearly states that she does exist.

(390) *hai-go*   *yã-beti-boa-ri-dẽ*   *kedã-ro*   *bõa-a-bõ*   *so*
      big-fs   be-NEG-BUT-PTCPL-SPCR   good-NOM   work-PRES-3fs   3fs
      Although she is not big, she works well.

The negative verb *bã* is also used to negate nominalizations, as well as sentences, in which there is no explicit subject. This construction consists of a verb root suffixed by the nominalizer *-a* (nonsubject) as the predicate complement of *bã* 'to not be'. In (391), *-a bã* occurs with the intransitive verb *budi* 'to leave (from inside)'. If a subject were used, it would be the dummy subject *ti* 'it' (meaning the subject agreement marking really agrees with nothing).[54]

(391) *budi-a*   *bã-a-ha*
      exit-s   not^be-PRES-3
      There's no way to leave (lit. There is no leaving it).

In this impersonal construction, when *bã* 'to not be' is nominalized and the complement verb is transitive, the nominalization refers to the patient of the action expressed by the verbal complement. For example, in (392), *-di* (inanimate plural) refers to food which had not yet been eaten when the speaker was present.

---

[53]*bãdi* 'to not be' drops *-di* according to the following pattern: *-di* is dropped whenever a gender-number suffix immediately follows, whether the suffix is a nominalizer, a subject agreement suffix, or an imperative suffix; and also when followed by *-a* (present) and *-yu* (inferred). This is the same pattern found in the dropping of *-ti* from *-beti* (negative).

[54]*-ya bã* is used by the *Eduria* dialect instead of *-a bã*.

(392) *ba-a*   *bã-di*   *yã-ka-hɨ*   *bãhi*
eat--s   not^be-inp   be-far^PST--3   not^NOW
It had not been eaten yet.

In (393), the impersonal construction suppresses mention of the subject, and *bã* 'to not be' is fully inflected. The subject of the sentence is the understood object of 'hear (understand)'. The corresponding active construction, would be 'I didn't understand her.'

(393) *ahi-a*   *bãdi-ka-bõ*
hear--s   not^be-far^PST-3fs
She was not understood.

9.3. Negative particle. *bẽhe* *(J)* / *bẽ* *(E)* (negator) follows nouns, pronouns, postpositional phrases, adjectives, and adverbs. It always occurs somewhere before the verb. The scope of negation is limited to the item which it follows (except for negated quantifiers discussed below).

In (394), *bẽhe* (negator) is used with the noun *bãsa* 'people'.

(394) *yeba*   *bãs-a*   *bẽhe*   *yã-a-bã*   *ĩdã*
Yeba   human-p   NEG   be-PRES-3p   3p
They are not Yeba's people.

In (395), *bẽhe* (negator) is used with the noun *bɨkɨ* 'old male'.[55]

(395) *bɨkɨ*   *bẽhe*   *yã-a-bĩ*
growms   NEG   be-PRES-3ms
He is not old.

In (396), *bẽhe* (negator) precedes *-aka* (diminutive) in negating the adverb *yoaro* 'long' (*-aka* emphasizes the shortness).

(396) *yoa-ro*   *bẽhe-aka*   *wa-a*   *riha-ko-a-su-hu*   *ĩ*
long-NOM   NEG-DIM   move-MOT   sick-FF-MOT-INFER-PROX--3p   3ms
Travelling a very short distance, he died (lit. Going not far, he died).

In (397), *bẽhe* (negator) follows a postpositional phrase where the scope of negation is 'on top of the table', implying that 'I put it somewhere else'.

---

[55]The verb for 'to grow' is actually *bɨkɨa* but the /a/ is dropped to form *bɨkɨ* when it is nominalized by *-ɨ* (masculine singular), *-o* (feminine singular), or *-rã* (animate plural).

(397) *ti-kasabo   hoe   bēhe-re   ti-re   heo-bu   yu*
     3in-platform on^top   NEG-O   3in-O   on^CAUS--3PST   1s
     I didn't put that on top of the table (lit. I put it not on the top of
     the table).

In (398), *bēhe* (negator) precedes the objective case marker *-re*.[56]

(398) *so   bēhe-re   ābo-a-bī*
     3fs   NEG-O   want-PRES-3ms
     He doesn't want her (lit. He wants not her).

The fact that the scope of negation is limited to the construction which
it follows holds true for subordinate clauses.

In (399) *bēhe* (negator) negates the reason clause signifying 'not because he
hit me'. This meaning is clarified by the context of the following sentence.
Compare also (401) and (402), where *sīa* 'to kill' is negated expressing standard
negation in (401), whereas in (402) the negative particle, *bēhe* (negator) lessens
the scope of negation to that of the reason clause.

(399) *yu-re   ī   ha-ro   bēhe   ī-re   huaroka   wa-bu   yu*
     1s-O   3ms hit-NOM   NEG   3ms-O kick   strike^against-PST-3 1s
     I didn't kick him because he hit me (lit. I kicked him not because he
     hit me).

(400) *so-hua-re   ī   ha-hare   to   ī-re   yi-bu   yu*
     3fs-SEL-O   3ms hit--PROX   that   3ms-O do-PST-3   1s
     I did that because he hit her.

(401) *dō   yi-gu   ī-re   sīa-beti-ruuku-ha   yu*
     what   do-ms   3ms-O kill-NEG-DESIDms--3   1s
     I will not kill him since I have no reason to do so.

(402) *dō   yi-gu   bēhe   ī-re   sīa-bu   yu*
     what   do-ms   NEG   3ms-O kill-PST-3   1s
     I killed him for no reason.

In (403), *bēhe* (negator) negates the purpose clause signifying 'not
thinking that he might give it to me for free'.

---

[56]*ābo* 'to want' is used in the *CM* and *ŪÑ* dialects. *YM* and *E* use *boha* 'to want'.

(403) *'Waha   bā-do   yu-re   īsi-a-to   ī'   yi-gu*
      value   not^be-NOM   1s-O   give--PROX-IMPV   3ms   think-ms

      bẽhe   to   bahi-se   bũ-re   yi-bu   yu
      NEG   that   be-NOM   2s-O   say-PST-3   1s
      I didn't say that to you in order that you give it to me for nothing.

In (404), *bẽhe* (negator) negates the reason clause signifying 'not because
I love her'.

(404) *so-re   bāi-gu   bẽhe   ti-re   kẽdo-bu   yu*
      3fs-O   love-ms   NEG   that-O   good^CAUS-PST-3   1s
      I didn't make that because I love her (lit. I made that not because I
      love her).

In (405), a temporal clause is negated.

(405) *yu-re   ī   ha-ro   bẽhe   ī-re   huaroka   wa-bu   yu*
      1s-O   3ms   hit-NOM   NEG   3ms-O   kick   strike^against-PST-3   1s

      Yu-re   ī   ha-ro   hudo roho-se   yu-re   ī
      1s-O   3ms   hit-NOM   after bad-NOM   1s-O   3ms

      yãgo-ro-dẽ   ī-re   huaroka   wa-bu   yu
      talk-NOM-SPCR   3ms-O   kick   strike^against-PST-3   1s
      I didn't kick him when he hit me. It was after he hit, when he said bad
      things to me, that I kicked him (lit. I kicked him not when he hit me).

9.4. Quantifier negation. Inherently negative quantifiers do not exist in
Barasano. Instead, a deverbal noun phrase is negated by *bā* 'to not be'
showing its nonexistence. For example, (406) means 'No one will help me'
(more literally: 'The one who will help me, he is not').

(406) *yu-re   eharebõ-ro-ku   bā-a-bĩ*
      1s-O   help-FUT--PROXms   not^be-PRES-3ms
      No one will help me.

The concept of 'not all' may be expressed by using either the negated
quantifier *hediro bẽhe* (all negative) 'not all' as in (407), or by a compound
verb using *hedi* 'to be all' plus *-beti* (negative).

(407) *hedi-ro   bēhe   wa-a-su-harā*
　　　all-NOM NEG move-MOT-INFER-PROX-3p
　　　Not all went (i.e., some went, but not all).

(408) *wa   hedi-be-su-harā*
　　　move all-NEG-INFER-PROX-3p
　　　Not all went.

The concept of 'none' may be expressed either by using *hediro* 'all' with standard negation as in (409), or by a compound verb form in which *hedi* 'to be all' is the main verb and the complement is a verb root followed by *beti* (negative) as in (410).

(409) *īdã   hedi-ro-dē   bāsi-be-a-bā*
　　　3p   all-NOM-SPCR   know-NEG-PRES-3p
　　　None of them know it. (They all do not know it.)

(410) *bāsi-beti   hedi-ko-a-a-bā*
　　　know-NEG   all-FF-MOT-PRES-3p
　　　None of them know.

In (411), the quantifiers, with their negated counterparts and their meanings are listed.

(411) Quantifier　　　　　　　　　　Negated quantifier

　　　bōhoroaka, 'few, some (an)'[57]
　　　bōhoroaka 'few, some (in)'　　　*bōhoroaka bēhe* 'many (in)'

　　　hārā 'many (an)'　　　　　　　*hārā bēhe* 'few/some (an)'
　　　hairo 'many (in)'　　　　　　　*hairo bēhe* 'few/some (in)'

　　　hediro 'all'　　　　　　　　　*hediro bēhe* 'most (an)'

Expressions such as 'no one', 'nothing', and 'nowhere' are formed by interrogative pronouns and *bã* 'to not be'. Examples (412)–(414) illustrate this use for 'who', 'what', and 'where' respectively. When the interrogative pronouns are objects of the clause, standard negation is used, as in (415).

(412) *yīb-u-hua-dē   bāsi-gu   bã-a-bī*
　　　who-ms-SEL-SPCR know-ms not^be-PRES-3ms
　　　There is not anyone who knows.

---

[57]For other dialects, see (156) in §4.5.

(413) *yẽ-hua-dẽ*   *roho-se*   *bã-a-ha*
      what-SEL-SPCR   bad-NOM   not^be-PRES--3
      There is nothing bad.

(414) *dõ-hua-dẽ*   *wẽa-ri-a-ro*   *bã-a-ha*
      where-SEL-SPCR   hang^hammock-PTCPL--S-NOM   not^be-PRES--3
      There is no place to hang a hammock.

(415) *dĩ-hua-re-dẽ*   *bãsi-be-a-ha*   *yu*
      whoms-SEL-O-SPCR   know-NEG-PRES--3   1s
      I don't know anyone.

9.5. Adverb negation. Three adverbs which commonly occur with *bẽhe* (negative particle) are *koho-hi-ri* 'few times' negated to express 'many times'; *yoa-ro* 'a long time/far'; and *sõhu* 'far'. These are illustrated in (416)–(418).

(416) *koho-hi-ri*   *bẽhe wa-rũgu-a-bĩ*
      one-time-p   NEG   move-HAB-PRES-3ms
      He goes frequently.

(417) *yoa-ro*   *bẽhe*
      long-NOM   NEG
      A short time *or* a short distance.

(418) *sõhu*   *bẽhe*
      far   NEG
      Not far.

10

Coordination

Coordination may be between two or more equivalent entities, called AND COORDINATION or between alternative items, called disjunction. Each of these is discussed in turn.

10.1. And coordination. In Barasano AND COORDINATION is employed for nouns and nominalized constructions. A conjunction or connector of some form may occur although often there is no conjunction nor suffix to indicate coordination. The intonation begins high and remains high with pauses between the constructions and then gradually descends to the end of the sentence.

The conjunction employed to coordinate nouns and nominal constructions is *kẽde* 'and'. It is used at times to connect each noun phrase, but is said to be most correctly used when it occurs only once, following the last entry in the list—see (419).

(419) *ũbɨ-a   rõbi-a   dake-rã   kẽde yã-ka-bã   ĩdã*
       male-p female-p young-anp and   be-far^PST-3p 3p
       There were men, women and children there.

Another form used in a sequence in tallying up the number of participants in an account is *to-kã-rãk-ɨ* 'that number'. It refers back to the list immediately preceding it as in (420).

133

(420) *yɨ   kak-ɨ   Pauru   to-kā-rāk-ɨ   yā-bɨ   yɨa*
    1s   parent-ms Paul   that-count-with-ms be-PST-3 1x
    Myself, Dad and Paul, that's how many of us there were.

Another specific method of coordinating nominalized constructions is used when describing the various characteristics within a group. In such cases, *yā* 'to be' occurs uninflected at the end of each nominalized construction; and the main verb of the sentence is *bahi* 'to be', which refers to the manner in which entities exist—see (421).

(421) *gāhe-rā   rāka   warikēda-be-dā   yā soka hai-rā   yā*
    otheran-anp with happy-NEG-anp be lie many-anp be

        bahi-ka-bā   īdā
        be-far^PST-3p   3p
    There were ones who didn't get along with others and ones who lied a lot.

In (422) the two predicate complements are coordinated by juxtaposition without a conjunction. For other examples of coordination of items without the use of grammatical markers see §7.5.

(422) *hɨaroka   ahe-ri-a-a   ābo   ahe-ri-a-a*
    kick^away play-PTCPL-~s-sphere hand play-PTCPL-~s-sphere

        ahe-ka-hɨ   yɨa
        play-far^PST-~3 1x
    We played football and basketball.

10.2. Disjunction. Disjunction is defined as the coordinating of alternative nominals or clauses. Such an expression begins with *ba* (uncertainty), which is an interjection that signifies that the speaker is uncertain of what he is about to say. (It may occur by itself as a response indicating that the speaker is uncertain as to how to respond.)

Alternatives are often coordinated by first expressing a limitation before proceeding with the alternatives. Once the limit has been determined in the general context, the interjection *ba* (uncertainty) is the only construction necessary to indicate that alternatives are being considered. For example, in the conversation beginning with (423) the speaker declared that he wanted one piece of cloth. He was then asked what sort of cloth (color) it was that he desired and (424) was his response. Notice

that there is no object marker on either of the alternatives. This also indicates that the speaker does not have a specific piece of cloth in mind.

(423) *koho-hãi*   *sübe-ri-hãi*   *süa-ri-hãi*   *ãbo-a-ha*
      one-flat^thin green-PTCPL-flat^thin red-PTCPL-flat^thin want-PRES--3

      yü
      1s
      I want one piece of cloth, either a green one or a red one.

(424) *ba*   *sübe-ri-hãi*   *süa-ri-hãi*   *ãbo-a-ha*
      -CERT green-PTCPL-flat^thin red-PTCPL-flat^thin want-PRES--3
      I don't know. I want either a green cloth or a red one.

Following *ba* (uncertainty), when other than the present proximate tense is used, the tense of the main verb is generally either past or nonpast conjecture. Also, the two alternatives are often inflected with *-hua* (selective focus), which reflects that the speaker is considering them as parts of a domain he has set in his mind.

In (425), the two nominals Jim and Bob are coordinated and the markers for the tense-evidential of nonpast conjecture is used. Or, the same meaning will result by repeating a nominalized form of the main verb after each alternative, and ending the sentence with an auxiliary verb inflected for the tense of past or nonpast conjecture. In (426), *kõa-gu* 'send' is repeated, separating the two clauses and *yi* 'to do' is the auxiliary verb referring back to both of the clauses.

(425) *ba*   *Haibé-hua-re,* *Roberto-hua-re* *kõa-gu-ha* *yü*
      -CERT Jim-SEL-O   Bob-SEL-O   send-ms--3 1s
      I don't know. I will probably send either Jim or Bob.

(426) *ba*   *Haibé-hua-re kõa-gu* *Roberto-hua-re kõa-gu* *yi-gu-ha* *yü*
      -CERT Jim-SEL-O   send-ms Bob-SEL-O   send-ms do-ms--3 1s
      I don't know. I will probably either send Jim or I will send Bob.

A conditional clause is frequently added following the main clause, e.g., *yü yi-habã* 'if I do it' in order to emphasize even more the uncertainty of the speaker. By adding this clause to (426), the expression could be translated, 'I don't know. If I send someone, I will either send Jim or I will send Bob.'

An extra cue that the speaker is considering alternatives is that he hesitates between the alternatives, as English speakers often do, making the sound *ũ̃ũ̃* as he thinks of the other alternative. Some speakers have borrowed *o* 'or' from Spanish to use for this construction.

11

Subordination

Subordination in Barasano falls into three categories: nominalizations, adverbial clauses, and sentential complementation. Before discussing each of these in turn, it is necessary to consider the verb forms in subordinate clauses, and the switch reference markers.

11.1. Verb forms in subordinate clauses. Verbs in subordinate clauses may be finite or nonfinite. Nonfinite verbs may be infinitives, participials or nominalizations. An infinitive construction is illustrated in (427), where the infinitive *bõa* 'to work' is subordinated to *roti* 'to order', which takes a sentential object. Similar to this is (428), where the absence of marking on *ahi* 'to hear' in the first clause indicates subordination to the main clause.

(427) *yɨa-re   bõa   roti-bãsi-bĩ*
     1x-O   work   order-DIST-3ms
     He ordered us to work.

(428) *"hɨ   hɨ   hɨ"   ĩdã   yi-se-re   ahi,   "Yese-a   yã-ro-ba,"   yi*
     hɨ,   hɨ,   hɨ,   3p   do-NOM-O hear pig-p   be-HEARD-3p say

     wa-su-harã   ĩdã
     move-INFER-PROX-3p   3p
     Hearing the noise they were making, "There are pigs (here)," they said and went.

The subject of such a subordinate clause in the above examples must be the same as that of the main clause. This is true also in participial clauses with *-ri* (participle). [58] Note (429) which is a description of procedures in building a house. With *-ri* (participle), the speaker subordinates the clauses of (1) cutting down trees, (2) dragging them into the yard, and (3) sticking them upright into holes.[59]

(429) *yuku-dẽ   ha   sure   yi-ri   weha   hio*
       tree-SPCR   hit   cut^off^many   do-PTCPL   drag   enter^CAUS

       yi-ri   koa   hu   rũg-o   yi-koã-ri   yũ
       do-PTCPL   dig   pierce stand-CAUS   do-FF-PTCPL   extend

       bũo-ka-bã   ĩdã
       rise^CAUS-far^PST-3p   3p
... cutting down trees, dragging them into the yard, upon digging holes and sticking the poles in the ground, they extended other poles from them.

11.2–11.3 Switch reference

Switch reference of the subject is expressed either by overt markers or by no markers. In the second case, the construction is pragmatically interpreted by the hearer based on the lexical content of the verbs and the general context. The overt markers are employed only with adverbial clauses.

11.2. Switch reference morphemes. The same-subject switch reference morphemes are the animate nominalizers listed in (122) in chapter 3. These nominalizers show agreement in gender and number with the subject of the main clause. In (430), the nominalizer *-gu* (masculine singular) identifies the subject of the dependent clause as also the subject of the main clause.

---

[58]An exception to this is in the case of subordinate clauses which link with preceding sentences or are used in switching topics. In such cases *-ri* (participle) most frequently occurs with *bahi* 'to be' and seems to refer to the situation in general (event or state-oriented rather than subject-oriented).

[59]The verb *sure* 'to cut off many' in (429) is a verb which agrees in number with its object.

(430) *to   bahi-ri   "Ĩa-boa-a-ha"   yi-gʉ   "yʉ   hãdabi   yã-gʉ-bĩ"*
      that be-PTCPL   see-BUT-PRES--3 say-ms 1s   grandson   be-ms-3ms

      yi-yu-hu   ĩ
      say-INFER--3p 3ms
      And so, thinking, "I can't see well," they say that he said, "He is
      probably my grandson."

The same-subject referent, when the subject is inanimate is the
nominalizer *ro*. For example, in (431), *-ro* (nominalizer) is used in a
concessionary clause to refer to the subject of the main clause *ti* 'that', and
in (432) *-ro* (nominalizer) added to *yi* 'to say' is used in an adverbial clause
of purpose to agree with the subject of the main clause *yukʉ́dē* 'tree'.

(431) *yoa-ri-huria   ti   yã-boa-ro-dē   bʉti-be-a-ha   ti*
      long-PTCPL-cut^off^part 3in   be-BUT-NOM-SPCR hard-NEG-PRES--3 3in
      Although that is a long pole, it isn't hard (wood).

(432) *to-kã-rãk-ʉ   yukʉ́-dē   rika   kʉti   hoo   bate-a-ha*
      that-count-with-tree   tree-SPEC fruit   have   expand   split-PRES--3

      gahe   yukʉ́-ri hudi   bʉkʉa-a-a-to   yi-ro
      other   tree-p   pierce   grow-MOT--PROX-IMPV-2   say-NOM
      Every tree has fruit that expands and splits in order that other trees
      might sprout and grow.

The switch reference morphemes for different subject for animates are
-ro (nominalizer), *-do* (proximate nominalizer) and *-to* (nonproximate
nominalizer). They indicate a different animate subject than the one in the
main clause. In (433), *-ro* (nominalizer) indicates that the one who toasted
the coca leaves was other than the one who pounded them:

(433) *kahi   gate   hʉo   ĩ   yi-ro   kahi roka   ha*
      coca   toast   crisp^CAUS 3ms   do-NOM   coca   move^down   hit

      kahi   ha yi-koã   yã-ka-hʉ   yʉ
      coca   hit   do-FF   be-far^PST--3 1s
      As he toasted the coca leaves, I was pounding and then hitting them.

Although the above illustrations indicate what is generally found to be
true, examples do occur where switch reference markers for a different

subject occur even though followed by the same subject in the main clause. When this occurs, a pronoun referring to the subject of the main clause always immediately precedes the verb suffixed by the switch reference marker (according to the rule for dependent clauses with switch reference markers for a different subject reoccurring in the main clause).

The overt markers for switch reference may express various temporal or logical relationships. These are discussed in the upcoming sections.

11.3. Subordinate clauses unmarked for switch reference. When there are no markers to indicate switch reference, it is pragmatically interpreted (Longacre: 83). Following are examples of the use of such unmarked clauses in temporal succession, with a list of participants, in an embedded quote, and in dialogue.

In (434) and (435), temporal succession is illustrated with a switch in reference in (434) between the visitors arriving, and the wife of the host asking the visitors to eat; and in (435) between the traveller and that for which he was searching.[60] This pattern is also used in travel stories to introduce a new location.[61]

(434) *eha   wai   ba   roti-ka-bõ   so   ĩ   bãdah-o*
      arrive fish   eat   order-far^PST-3fs   3fs 3ms spouse-fs
      Arriving, his wife ordered us to eat fish.

(435) *wa   to-dẽ   yã-ka-hʉ   ti*
      move   there-SPCR   be-far^PST-ɜ   3in
      Going, there it was.

When listing participants present at some event, often *yã* 'to be' follows each participant and has no switch referent marker. In this case, however, the final verb *yã* 'to be' refers to all of the participants of the list as in (436).

(436) *Ãtudi   yã Luka yã Arike yã to-kã-rãk-ʉ   yã-yu-bã   ĩdã*
      Anthony be Luke be Eric   be that-count-with-ms be-INFER-3p 3p
      Anthony, Luke and Eric, they were that many.

---

[60]In narratives of travel, unmarked verbs of motion which form subordinate clauses are lengthened considerably.

[61]We have found no clear instances where temporal overlap is conveyed without the use of switch reference markers.

Embedded quotes in a dialogue may also be found without explicit switch reference markers. In (437), the assumption is that when one arrives at a home, it is the host who initiates the dialogue. It is also assumed that dialogue involves alternating speakers. In (438), the logical interpretation is that one who sees, understanding everything, does not ask the question, 'What is happening?' but rather answers that question.

(437) *eha   "dõ   wa-go   bahi-ri bũ"   yi-yu-hu*
      arrive what move-fs   be-Q   2s   say-INFER--3p
      Arriving (visitor), she (host) said, "What are you up to?"

(438) *to-dẽ   ĩa   bãsi   heo   "dõ   bahi-ro   bahi-a-ti   ti"*
      there-SPCR see know all^CAUS what be-NOM   be-PRES-Q   3in

      "bãs-a   eha-a-bã   ĩdã" yi-yu-hu   ĩ-hɨa   ĩ   ya-rã-re
      human-p arrive-PRES-3p 3p say-INFER--3p 3ms-SEL 3ms GEN-anp-O
      Seeing everything there (wildcat 1), "What is happening?' (other wildcats asked). "People are arriving," he (wildcat 1) said to his kinsmen.

11.4–11.7 Nominalizations

Nominalized verbs form two basic categories: those which refer to general or nonspecific items and beings and those which refer to specific items and beings. In addition, one must take into account the areas of animacy, subject or nonsubject of the verb, negation, and the tense-evidential marking for nominalizations. The next section discusses those markers which are not bound to any specific time, i.e., they have no tense-evidential marking and are interpreted to signify the tense of current relevance (present). Following that is a discussion of the negated forms of the nominalizers not bound by time, then the tense-evidential markers for nominalizers, and finally nominalizations in apposition.

11.4. Nominalizations not bound by time. The nominalizers which refer to general or nonspecific items and beings are the same as those listed in (122) in chapter 3. They occur immediately following the verb and indicate animacy and number. The animate nominalizers distinguish masculine, feminine and plural—see (439). The inanimate nominalizers -*ro*/-*do*/-*to* are used for quantities, places, times and manner—see (440)–(442); -*ro* may also be used immediately following a verb root to refer to a single but general object—see

(443); and it may be used for referring to either the subject or nonsubject. For example, with the nominalization *gũba-ro* (wrap^around^oneself-NOM) 'something to wrap around oneself' *-ro* refers to the nonsubject item that might be used to do the wrapping (not the wrapper). However with the time word *yoa-ro* (long-NOM) *-ro* refers to the subject 'time'.

(439) *bõa-gu*
    work-ms
    a male worker

(440) *hũbu-ro*
    full-NOM
    full

(441) *ĩ   yã-ro*
    3ms be-NOM
    when/where he is

(442) *so   wa-a-do*
    3fs move-MOT-PROX^NOM
    when she comes

(443) *gũba-ro*
    wrap^around^oneself-NOM
    something (anything) to wrap around oneself

In addition, the inanimate nominalizers *-se* and *-re* are used: *-se* occurs when the nominalization is the subject of the verb—see (444)–(446); *-re* with a nominalization which is anything other than the subject of the verb—see (447)–(448); they are also used to refer to nonindividuated items or abstractions which refer to the action or state itself rather than the subject of the action, see (449)–(451).

(444) *kati-se*
    alive-NOM
    things which are alive

(445) *sũbe-se*
    green-NOM
    green (things)

(446) *oko   kedi-se*
     water fall-NOM
     rain

(447) *hea bū   heo-re*
     fire put^under on^CAUS--s
     fire which is put under and up (inside) on top of a shot gun shell
     (firing caps)

(448) *yāgo-re*
     talk--s
     two-way radios

(449) *wʉ-se*
     fly-NOM
     flying things

(450) *ha-re*
     hit--s
     hitting

(451) *kati-re*
     alive--s
     (experiences in) living

The nominalizations used for referring to specific items or persons all contain *-ri* (participle) immediately following the verb, followed by either another nominalizer, a noun, a gender-number marker, or a classifier. This is used for both animate and inanimate—see (452)–(453); with animate humans the nominal *bās-* 'human' is required following *-ri*. Nominalizers which follow *-ri* are *-ro* and *-se* (depending on the dialect). The subject of the verb may be a noun or pronoun preceding the nominalization which is not marked for subject—see (454). Nominalizations which refer to items or persons that are anything other than the subject of the verb have *-a* (nonsubject nominalizer) following *-ri* (participle)—see (455)–(456). [62] A special case where one animate is referred to as being food for another

---

[62] *-to* (classifier for many manufactured items) may be used both as a nominalizer referring to the subject or nonsubject of the verb, e.g., *wea-ri-to* (paddle-PTCPL-made^thing) 'a paddle' and *kēda-ri-to* (good-PTCPL-made^thing) 'a nice paddle'.

animate in a predicate nominative construction has -*a* (nonsubject nominalizer)' followed by -*ʉ* (masculine singular), -*o* (feminine singular) or -*rã* (animate plural)—see (457).[63]

(452) *bõa-ri   bãs-o*
      work-PTCPL   human-fs
      a woman/girl worker

(453) *sʉbe-ri-hʉ*
      green-PTCPL-place
      a green spot

(454) *ʉba-ri-bedo*
      run-PTCPL-ring
      running ring (bicycle)

(455) *gʉba-ri-a-ro*
      wrap^around^oneself-PTCPL--S-NOM
      something used for wrapping around oneself

(456) *kahi   gate-ri-a-bedo*
      coca   toast-PTCPL--s-ring
      (vine) ring with which one toasts (coca leaves)

(457) *ba-ri-a-rã*
      eat-PTCPL--S-anp
      ones who are eaten

11.5. Negated nominalizers not bound by time. Negation takes a different form for nominalizers which refer to the subject of the verb versus those which refer to nonsubject.

When referring to the subject of the verb, -*be* (negative) is used. It follows the verb root and precedes a nonproximate nominalizer. For animates the nonproximate nominalizers are -*kʉ* (masculine singular), -*ko*

---

[63]In the singular constructions -*a* (nonsubject) is dropped, i.e., /ri + a + o/ becomes /rio/ and /ri + a + ʉ/ becomes /-rí/. This is also the case for inanimates which have -*ʉ* as a classifier.

(feminine singular) and -dā (ananimate plural)—see (458). For inanimates the nonproximate nominalizer is ti. This is the negative counterpart of -se (nominalizer). Thus, when -ti occurs alone (with no noun or pronoun preceding it to indicate subject), it refers to the subject of the negated verb. For example, the positive form with the stative verb aba 'to be soft' is aba-se 'that which is soft' and the negated form is seen in (459).[64] A classifier follows -ti for nominalizations which refer to specific man-made items as in (460).

(458) *bʉha-be-ko*
     find-NEG--PROXfs
     female who doesn't find (something)

(459) *aba-be-ti*
     soft-NEG-NOM-PROX
     that which is not soft

(460) *bʉti-be-ti-bedo*
     hard-NEG-NOM-PROX-ring
     a ring that is not hard

When referring to anything but the subject, the negated form of the general nominalizer is -a (nonsubject), followed by the negative verb bā 'not be', which is inflected by the animate nominalizers -gʉ (masculine singular), -go (feminine singular), -dā (animate plural), and the inanimate nominalizer di.[65] Examples of this are (461) and (462), where the latter refers to those animals which are not food, nor used for anything. (For more on the use of -a bā- (nominalizer not^be) see §9.2.)

(461) *ĩa   bʉha-a bā-di*
     see find--s not^be-NOM
     that which is not seen (the spirit world)

(462) *yi-a   bā-dā*
     do--s not^be-anp
     ones to whom nothing is done

---

[64]The negation for -ro (nominalizer) which refers to quantity, time, and place as well as singly to items which are nonspecific is also -be (negative) and the nominalizer becomes -to (nonproximate nominalizer).

[65]Taiwanas use -ya instead of -a for (nonsubject).

11.6. Time-bound nominalizations. Nominalizations which are bound to a specific time are formed from verbs (unmarked for gender-number) by suffixing a tense-evidential suffix, a nominalizer, and in some cases a classifier. The tense-evidential markers are listed in (463).

(463) Animate   Inanimate
        -rua (INTENT)   *-ri* (PRES/PST)
        -ka (far^PST)   *-ka-ti* (far^PST-NOM~PROX)
        -ria (CONJ^PST)   *-ria* (CONJ^PST)
        -ro (FUT)   *-ro-ti* (FUT-NOM~PROX)

There are two things to take note of here:

(a) For the animates, the absence of marking indicates present and immediate past tense, except in the case of agentive nominalizations where *-ri* (participle) is used before the generic noun, *bãs-* 'human'. This construction is discussed under nominalizations which are not time-bound, along with other nominalizations which refer to present tense.

(b) When a nominalization with *-ti* (nonproximate nominalizer) (inanimate for nonindividuated items, actions or abstractions) refers to some individuated object, a classifier follows, and has the effect of signaling that the referent is more highly individuated. (It serves the same function as *-ri* (participle) which is discussed in the previous section.) For example, compare (464) with (465).

(464) *ĩ   sua-ka-ti*
        3ms   weave-far^PST--PROX^NOM
        things he wove

(465) *ĩ   sua-ka-ti-bu*
        3ms   weave-far^PST-NOM-PROX-basket
        the basket (I saw) him weave *or* his woven basket

The nominalizers for animates which follow the tenses listed in (463) are derived from the set listed in (122) by choosing the consonants *-g, -k, r,* or *d* and suffixing the appropriate gender-number markers *-u* (masculine), *-o* (feminine), and *-ã* (plural). (The exception to the above is that the nominalizers for past conjecture and intention have no consonants.)

Examples (466)–(468) illustrate the use of these nominalizers as they refer to nonindividuated or nonspecific items: (466) shows the nominalizer *-ku* referring to the subject of the verb *sĩa* 'to kill', and the object *ĩ-re* 'him' preceding the nominalization; (467) demonstrates the nominalizer *-ku*

referring to the object of the verb *sĩa* 'to kill', and the subject *ĩ* 'he' preceding the nominalization; and in (468) the nominalizer -*go* refers to the subject of the intransitive verb *eha* 'arrive'.

(466) *ĩ-re   sĩa-ka-kʉ*
      3ms-O   kill-far^PST--PROXms
      one (male) who killed him

(467) *ĩ   sĩa-ro-kʉ*
      3ms   kill-FUT--PROXms
      the one whom he will kill

(468) *ado   eha-go*
      here   arrive-fs
      one (female) who just arrived

The nominalizers for inanimates, are -*se*, -*re* and -*ro* which are suffixed to verb roots to refer to a particular event, and -*ti* which is used for past and future tense. As a time-bound nominalizer, -*se* indicates the present tense for nonindividuated items or actions. In (469), -*se* indicates that she heard what he said when he said it.

(469) *ti   ĩ   yi-se-re   ahi-boa-ri-dē*
      3in   3ms   say-NOM-O   hear-BUT-PTCPL-SPCR

      kʉdi-be-su-hu   so
      respond-NEG-INFER-PROX--3p   3fs
      Although she heard what he said, she didn't respond.

-*ro* is also used for the present tense but in contrast to -*se* (often used for actions), -*ro* is used for a quantity, place, time, or a general/nonspecific thing. Note (470), where -*se* (nominalizer) refers to the action of picking up and -*ro* (nominalizer) refers to the object that was being picked up (which could be anything). For more on -*ro*, see §11.8.

(470) *bũ*   *abĩ-se-re*   *ĩa-boa-ri-dẽ*   *bũ*   *abĩ-ro-re*
      2s   pick^up-NOM-O   see-BUT-PTCPL-SPCR   2s   pick^up-NOM-O

    ĩa-be-hu   *yu*
    see-NEG-PST-3-PROX   1s

    Although I saw you picking up (something), I didn't see what you
    picked up.

-re is used for the tenses of past conjecture and reportative signifying
that the speaker did not witness the event. The referent of these
nominalizations is nonsubject. For example, if *-re* were used in illustration
(469), *yi-se-re* would become *yi-re-re* and the translation would be:
'Although she heard about what he had said . . .' indicating that she got her
information regarding what he said secondhand.

-ti is used for the remaining tenses, far past and future, illustrated in
(471) and (472) respectively.

(471) *ĩ-re*   *yu*   *ĩsi-boa-ka-ti-re*   *rea-koã-yu-bĩ*
      3ms-O   1s   give-BUT-far^PST-NOM-PROX-O   move^away-FF-INFER-3ms
      He threw away what I had given him.

(472) *bũ-re*   *yu*   *ĩsi-boo-ro-ti-re*   *rea-koã-bĩ*
      2s-O   1s   give-SUBJN-FUT-NOM-PROX-O   move^away-FF-3ms
      He threw away what I was going to give you.

Classifiers are added to the nominalizers for nonspecific items to make
them refer to single inanimate items. Following are examples of the
classifier *-bu* used with the various tenses—present, past conjecture tense
(speaker did not see him weave the basket), far-past witnessed tense
(speaker saw him weave the basket), and future.

(473) *ĩ*   *sua-ri-bu*
      3ms   weave-PTCPL-basket
      the basket he is weaving

(474) *ĩ*   *sua-ria-bu*
      3ms   weave-PST^CONJ-basket
      the basket he wove

(475) ĩ   sua-ka-ti-bʉ
       3ms   weave-far^PST-NOM-PROX-basket
       the basket he wove

(476) ĩ   sua-ro-ti-bʉ
       3ms   weave-FUT-NOM-PROX-basket
       the basket he will weave

Among the numerous classifiers, two general classifiers, -ʉ (classifier for trees, torsos, hammocks, nets and mountains), and -a (classifier for hollow objects, objects with holes, spherical objects and appendages) are preceded by -k in the present tense. For example, compare (477) with (478) and (479).[66]

(477) ĩ   bʉ̃ha-ri-kʉ
       3ms   ascend^vertically-PTCPL-tree
       the tree he is ascending

(478) ĩ   bʉ̃ha-ri-i
       3ms   ascend^vertically-PST^CONJ-tree~PRES
       the tree he ascended (I didn't witness his ascent)

(479) ĩ   bʉ̃ha-ka-ti-i
       3ms   ascend^vertically-far^PST-NOM-PROX-tree~PRES
       the tree he ascended (I saw his ascent)

11.7. Nominalizations in apposition. There seem to be no relative clauses in Barasano just as there are no relative pronouns. What might normally appear to be a relative clause is analyzed as a nominalized clause in apposition to a noun, pronoun, proper name, or noun phrase in a subject position. Or the nominalized clause may occur in apposition to an object as a kind of modifier, or with a free noun form used as a classifier. In each case, the nominalization alone can carry the meaning which is understood with or without the noun or phrase to which it refers. Examples of this phenomena follow.

Illustration (480) appears to have a relative clause following the head noun hʉ̃ʉ 'hammock'. The problem with such an analysis is that the clause

---

[66]In (478), -ria + -ʉ becomes -rii. The dropping of the consonant also occurs for nominalizer -gʉ (masculine singular). Thus bʉ̃ha-ria-ʉ can refer to 'one who ascended vertically'. To a few speakers -ria + -ʉ becomes -riʉ. Also, in (479), -ti + -ʉ becomes -tii.

is nominalized and nominalizations may occur in the absence of a head noun. We have already shown that nonfinite verbs may have -*ri* (participle) followed by a classifier to form nominalizations in which the nominalizer refers to a specific item. Thus, the head noun *hũ* 'hammock' does not need to be in the sentence to make it grammatically acceptable. Where the topic of hammock has already been established there is no need for beginning the sentence with *hũ* and the natural way of stating (480) is seen in (481).

(480) *hũ*   *õ*   *kãhi-ri-kʉ*   *ãbo-a-ha*   *yʉ*
      hammock   there   hang-PTCPL-hammock   want-PRES--3   1s
      I want that hammock which is hanging there.

(481) *õ*   *kãhi-ri-kʉ*   *ãbo-a-ha*   *yʉ*
      there   hang-PTCPL-hammock   want-PRES--3   1s
      I want that hammock which is hanging there.

This construction is parallel to the nominalization *ado eha-go* 'she who just arrived', given in the previous section for nominalizations, especially if we put it into a sentence like (482).

(482) *ado*   *eha-go-re*   *bãsi-be-a-ha*   *yʉ*
      here   arrive-fs-o   know-NEG-PRES--3   1s
      I don't know the one who just arrived here.

In (483), again there seems to be a restricting clause and a head noun *sĩg-ʉ* 'one'. However, the sentence is grammatically acceptable without *sĩgʉ* 'one' and the clause is simply a nominalization in apposition to *sĩgʉ* 'one'. This same type of nominalization is in (484) with the more active verb *sua* 'to weave' in the nominalization.

(483) *sĩg-ʉ*   *ado*   *eha-bãsi-ri-i*   *bʉto*   *riha-a-bĩ*   *ĩ*
      oneₐₙ-ms here   arrive-DIST-PST^CONJ-ms   very^much   sick-PRES-3ms   3ms
      One, he who arrived here recently (I didn't witness his arrival), is very sick.

(484) *sĩg-ʉ*   *ti-bʉ-re*   *sua-bãsi-gʉ*   *wa-ko-a-bĩ*   *ĩ*
      oneₐₙ-ms that-basket-o   weave-DIST-ms   move-FF-MOT-3ms   3ms
      One, he who recently wove that basket, he left.

Another illustration similar to the previous two is (485) which has the
proper noun *Emilio* which appears to be the head of the clause. However,
Emilio was known by the speaker as well as the hearer and the focus is
not on which Emilio but rather that Emilio had come from *Buea Aju.*

(485) *ti-rǔbu-re*   *eha-ka-bǐ*   *Ibǐdiu* *Buea* *Ahu-hua*
     that-day-o   arrive-far^PST-3ms Emilio Buea   Ahu-SEL

      wadi-ri-i
      come-PST^CONJ-ms
      On that day Emilio, who had come from Buea Aju, arrived.

In (486), the speaker summarizes his account of all the women involved
in dirtying the water to help scare the fish into going downstream. Again,
the sentence would be grammatically acceptable without the supposed
head of the clause *rōbia* 'women' and the clause *ue-o-rā* 'ones who made
(the river) dirty' is simply a nominalization.

(486) *to* *kō-ro*   *yā-ka-bā*   *rōbi-a*   *ue-o-rā*
     that count-NOM be-far^PST-3p female-p dirty-CAUS-anp
     There were that many women, they who were causing the (river) to
     be dirty.

Illustration (487) is somewhat more problematic in that there does not
appear to be an agreement marker on the nominalization *sēdi-ka-ti* in the
clause 'what I asked you for'. However, since the two noun phrases
preceding the clause are plural (the classifier for sudi, *-ro*, is a singularizer
and thus does not occur in this example, and *tēdi* is a borrowed word), the
expected nominalizer is *-ti* (nonproximate nominalizer) Also, once again,
the sentence would be grammatically correct without the first two noun
phrases.

(487) *gubo* *sudi* *tēdi*   *bū-re* *yu* *sēdi-ka-ti*
     foot   clothes tennis^shoes 2s-o   1s   ask-far^PST-NOM-PROX

      hua-ri   *bū*
      pick^up-Q   2s
      Did you get the tennis shoes that I asked you for?

Some of the embedded clauses appear to be prenominal relative clauses
because the regular, free noun form is used as the classifier for the

nominalization. In this sense some nouns serve as their own classifier, that is, the same form is used, rather than a shorter suffix. Such nouns follow adjectives and nominalized clauses just as a classifier suffix would. In (488) and (489) *gūbu* 'log', which can occur alone, here functions as a classifier referring to a log on which bundles of *bōhi* leaves for roofing are set.

In (490), *gūbu* 'log' is serving as the classifier for the nominalization 'that which is (to rest) on the end of poles which are caused to be crosswise' rather than as a head noun for a relative clause.[67] The same is true in (491), in which *gūbu* 'log' functions twice as a classifier, once on the nominalization 'that which is caused to run lengthwise in the house' and once on the nominalization 'that which is called *yuria gūbu*':

(488) *gahe   gūbu   yoa-ri   gūbu*
       other   log   long-PTCPL   log
       another long log

(489) *bōhi   gūbu*
       bōhi   log
       bōhi leaf log (log on which bundles of *bōhi* are set)

(490) *kēda   tē-o-ri-a-huri-ri*   *gaha hesa-ri*
       again   crosswise-CAUS-PTCPL--S-cut^off^part-p   end on-PTCPL

       gūbu-ri-re   hua-ka-bā   īdā
       log-p-O   pick^up-far^PST-3p   3p
       Again they get logs which are (to rest) on the end of poles which are caused to be crosswise.

(491) *yu-ri-a*   *gūbu wābe kɨti gūbu bāka-ka-bā   īdā*
       put^lengthwise-PTCPL--S   log   name have log   search-far^PST-3p 3p
       ... they looked for a log which is called the *yuria gūbu*[68]

Illustration (492) is the reverse of what is seen in the previous examples in that the nominalization occurs first, followed by the noun. Here the

[67]*-huriri* is the plural form for *-huria* 'part (of a cylinder)'.

[68] *yuriagūbu* is considered to be the name of the log and the speakers deny that it signifies anything other than a name. However, the fact that much of the language used in river travel is used for moving in a house, that *yu* is 'to take downriver' and that *tē-o-ri-a gūbu-ri* 'logs which are caused to run crosswise across the house', leads to the definition given.

nominalization *eha-rã-re* 'at the ones who arrive' is in apposition with the noun *beko-a-re* 'at the flies'. Notice that both of the nominalizations are marked as object. This sentence also would be grammatically acceptable without *bekoare* 'at the flies'.

(492) *ĩ   yĩk-ʉ   ĩ   weherihoa   eha-rã-re   beko-a-re*
     3ms   grandparent-ms   3ms   testicles   arrive-anp-o   fly-p-o

     huti-yu-hu   ĩ
     blow-INFER--3p   3ms
     They say that he shot at the flies, at those which were arriving at his grandfathers testicles.[69]

11.8–11.15 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses generally precede the main clause and express time, manner, purpose, intention, means, concession, condition, and reason. They have infinitival or nominalized verbs.

11.8. Time clauses. Adverbial clauses of time may express temporal overlap or temporal succession.

Temporal overlap. Temporal overlap is generally expressed by the switch reference nominalizers, as shown by the following examples.
    In (493), the nominalizer *-gʉ* (masculine singular) indicates temporal overlap, i.e., the subject's arrival and his scolding the people happened at the same time.

(493) *to-hʉ-re   eha-gʉ-dẽ   bʉto   ĩdã-re   tudi-ka-bĩ   ĩ*
     there-place-o   arrive-ms-SPCR   very^much   3p-o   scold-far^PST-3ms   3ms
     As he arrived, he really scolded them.

In (494), the two actions are simultaneous but with a switch in subject reference expressed by *-do* (proximate nominalizer).

---

[69]*weherihoa* appears to consist of *wehe-ri-hoa* (pull^off-PTCPL-bag). However, speakers say that it doesn't mean this but is simply the word for testicles.

(494) *wɨ-ri-ka*   *wa-do-dẽ*   *yãgo kõa-ri-a-ro*
     fly-PTCPL-hollow move-PROX^NOM-SPCR   talk   send-PTCPL--S-CL

     roho-ko-a-hɨ   *ti*
     bad-FF-MOT-PST-3^-PROX 3in
     While the airplane was coming the radio went bad.

Example (495) illustrates how progressive aspect (along with lexical content of the verbs) indicates temporal overlap between the dependent and independent clauses. Progressive aspect is expressed by the verb *bõa* 'to work' acompanied by *yã* 'to be' which is followed by the same-subject switch reference nominalizer, *-go* (feminine singular):

(495) *bõa   yã-go-dẽ   basa-ka-bõ   so*
     work   be-fs-SPCR   sing-far^PST-3fs   3fs
     She sang while she worked.

Temporal succession. Temporal succession is generally expressed: (1) by the lack of switch reference nominalizers (which most frequently indicates that there is no switch in the subject of the clauses); (2) by employing *-ri* (participle) to mark the dependent state/event; or (3) by *-ro* (nominalizer) followed by *hɨdo* (J) / *bero* (E) 'after', or *-ro-to* (future nonproximate nominalizer) followed by *rĩhoro* 'before'. An example of each of these constructions follows: (496) has no switch reference nominalizer; (497) uses *-ri* (participle); and (498) employs *-ro-to rĩhoro*.

(496) *to   ĩ   yi-se   ahi   wa   to-hɨ   eha   kãdi*
     that 3ms say-NOM hear move there-place arrive sleep

     gahe-rɨbɨ   wadi-bãsi-bɨ   yɨ   ĩdã-re   sã-gɨ
     other-day   come-DIST-PST-3 1s   3p-O   put^in-ms
     Hearing him say that, going, arriving there, sleeping, the next day I came in order to get them in (the canoe).

(497) *to   yi-hare   ti-hoa-re   yihe   ta   ãbi   yi-ri*
     that say--PROX that-bag-O cut   cut^off pick^up do-PTCPL

     ĩsi-yu-hu   ĩ   hak-o-re
     give-INFER--3p 3ms   parent-fs-O
     Because (she) said that, cutting off the bag and picking it up, he gave it to his mother.

(498) *basa   tɨha   gahadõ   tɨdi   basa   busu-ro-to*
      dance   stop   finish   return   dance   light-FUT-NOM-PROX

  rĩhoro-dẽ   so-re   gɨbo   roka   ta-yu-hu   ĩ
  before-SPCR   3fs-O   foot   move^down   cut^off-INFER--3p   3ms
  Dancing, stopping, finishing, again dancing, before it got light out, he
  pounded off her foot.

11.9. Manner clauses. Adverbial clauses of manner contain the copular
verb *bahi* 'to be, be like' which is adverbialized by *-ro* (nominalizer) or *bero (J)*
'like' (which is used in Taiwano to mean 'after'). The object (thing compared)
is obligatorily marked by *-re* (object). In (499), *bero* 'be like' has as its object
the future notion of 'my heart's jumping out and leaving my body'.

(499) *yɨ   ɨsɨ   hati   budi-ko-a-ro-ti-re   bero   bahi-ka-hɨ*
      1s   hearts   jump   exit-FF-MOT-FUT-NOM-PROX-O   like   be-PST--3
      (In spite of that), my heart acted like it would jump out.[70]

11.10. Purpose clauses. Adverbial clauses of purpose have a clause-final
nonfinite verb which takes a nominalizer agreeing in number and gender with
the subject of the clause to which it is subordinate. This is basically the same
form as that for temporal overlap clauses. In (500), *ĩa* 'see or visit' is marked
by *-rã* (animate plural) to express the purpose of the main clause 'we arrived'.

(500) *ĩa-rã   eha-bɨ   yɨa*
      see-anp   arrive-PST-3   1x
      We arrived in order to visit (you).

When the purpose of the speaker is that others undergo change, the
most common way to express this is to embed indirect commands which
state the purpose, ending the clause with a nominalized form of *yi* 'to do,
say, think'. The nominalizer agrees in gender and number with the subject
of the clause to which it is subordinate and seems to be a time overlap
clause. In (501), the writer tells his reader his purpose in writing by
expressing his thoughts in the form of an indirect command, 'that he might
know it all well'.

---

[70]*ɨsɨ* 'hearts' is often used for the singular although there is a singular form *ɨsɨ-a*
(hearts-CL).

(501) *kĕda-ro*   *bãsi-heo-koã-a-to*   *ĩ*   *yi-gu*   *bũ-re*
       good-NOM   know-all^CAUS-FF--PROX-IMPV-2   3ms   think-ms   2s-O

       uka-gu   *ya-ha*   *yu*
       write-ms   do^PRES--3   1s
       I am writing to you that you might know all about (it) (lit. Thinking:
       "May he know it all well," I am writing to you).

11.11. Intention clauses. Adverbial clauses of intention are marked
with -*rua* (desiderative) plus nominalizers for gender and number which
agree with the subject of the main clause. In (502), a previous statement
by a wildcat is explained by showing his intentions: [71]

(502) *ĩ-hu-re*   *ba-rua-u*   *yi-boa-yu-hu*   *yai*
       3ms-place-O   eat-DESID-ms   say-BUT-INFER--3p   wildcat
       The wildcat said that, intending to eat him (who wasn't present).

11.12. Means clauses. Adverbial clauses of means are marked by the
phasal verb *suo* 'to begin' plus -*ri* (participle). This construction is preceded
by a nominal which is the subject of the subordinate clause. In (503), the
topic subject *ẽho, bãsa ĩdã rihase* 'people's colds' is followed by *yu suorine*
'I being first' to indicate that it was by means of my cold that people are
sick.

(503) *ẽho*   *bãs-a*   *ĩdã*   *riha-se*   *yu*   *suo-ri-dẽ*   *bahi-a-ha*   *ti*
       cold   human-p   3p   sick-NOM   1s   begin-PTCPL-SPCR   be-PRES--3   3in
       It is my fault that the people have colds.

11.13. Concessionary clauses. Concessionary clauses are marked by the
verbal suffixes -*boa* (but), plus -*ri* (participle) for clauses which have the same
subject as the clause to which they are subordinated, or -*ro* (nominalizer) for
clauses with different subject, plus -*dẽ* (spacer).[72] Compare examples
(504)–(505), which have the same subject in both clauses and thus use -*ri*, with
(506) where *ĩ* (3ms) is subject of the main clause and *so* (3fs) is subject of the
concessionary clause, and thus requires -*ro*.

---

[71]/rua + u/ becomes /ru/ (masculine singular) and /rua + o/ becomes /ruo/ (feminine
singular). The animate plural form as well as inanimate form are regular: /rua + rã/
becomes /ruarã/ and /rua + ro/ becomes /ruaro/.

[72]The *Yeba Masa* dialect uses -*ha kĕde* (-PROX and) instead of -*ro-dẽ* (NOM-SPCR).

(504) *gãhe-rã*   *bãs-o*   *yã-boa-ri-dē*   *kedã-ro*   *yãgo*
other_{an-anp} human-fs be-BUT-PTCPL-SPCR good-NOM talk

    bãsi-a-bõ
    know-PRES-3fs
    Even though she is of another people (language group), she knows
    well how to speak (this language).

(505) *yoa-ri-huria*   *yã-boa-ri-dē*   *buti-be-a-ha*   *ti*
long-PTCPL-part be-BUT-PTCPL-SPCR hard-NEG-PRES--3 3in
Although it is a long (pole) it isn't hard.

(506) *bãk-u*   *kuo-go-a-go*   *so yã-boa-ro-dē*   *ĩ*
progeny-ms have^CAUS-fs-MOT-fs 3fs be-BUT-NOM-SPCR 3ms

    bãdah-o-re   *wadi*   *weo-yu-bĩ*
    spouse-fs-O come leave^CAUS-INFER-3ms
    Although she was about to have a son, he left his wife and came
    here.

Another type of concessionary clause (generally occurring sentence final) is formed from *bahi* 'to be', plus a gender and number marker which agrees with the subject of the main clause, plus *-hu* 'time or place', plus *-bã* (contrastive focus). In (507), the speaker states 'They don't know what happened in the beginning.' This statement is contrary to what might have been assumed by the listener concerning those to whom the speaker is referring. Aware of this, the speaker adds *bahi-rã-hu-bã* 'ones who at the same time behave unexpectedly'.

(507) *ĩdã* *bãsi-be-a-bã*   *rēbo*   *bahi-re-re* *bahi-rã-hu-bã*
3p know-NEG-PRES-3p beginning be-NOM-O be-anp-time-CONTR
They don't know what happened in the beginning, however.

11.14. Conditional clauses. The predicates of conditional clauses are usually marked by *-habã* 'if, whenever'. In (508), *-ka* (far past witnessed) indicates what people have customarily done in this type of situation. The

condition is 'if there are few'. If there are few trees, they finish cutting them all down on the day the speaker has in mind.[73] (509) is a similar construction except that *ĩdã* (3p) is subject of both the condition and the conclusion.

(508) *ha   sure   to   kõ-ro   bõho-ro   ti   yã-habã*
      hit   cut^off^many   that   count-NOM   little-NOM   that   be-COND

       ha   sure   heo-ka-bã   ĩdã
       hit   cut^off^many   all^CAUS-far^PST-3p   3p
       Chopping down (the small trees with a machete), if there are few, they (have time to) chop them all down.

(509) *ĩdã   bota-ri   buha-be-ti-habã   yoa-ro   bãka-ka-bã*
      3p   post-p   find-NEG-NOM-PROX-COND   long-NOM   search-far^PST-3p

       ĩdã   bota-ri   bãka-rã
       3p   post-p   search-anp
       If they don't find (logs to be) posts, they search a long time for them.

When expressing alternative conditions, the second condition, which is generally the negation of the first, bears -*ha* 'if' (*habã* loses -*bã* when followed by *kẽde* 'and') on the main verb of that clause, followed by *kẽde* 'and'. In (510), condition one is 'if he goes' and condition two is 'if he doesn't go'.

(510) *ĩ   wa-habã   ĩ   wa-be-ti-ha   kẽde   dõ*
      3ms   move-COND   3ms   move-NEG-NOM-PROX-COND   and   what

       yi-be-a-ha
       do-NEG-PRES-~3
       It doesn't make any difference whether he goes or not.

When the subject of the main clause is the same as that of the conditional clause and is limitative, nominalizations referring to the subject are formed to express what would in English be a conditional clause. For

---

[73]Both illustrations (508) and (509) are examples of the far past tense used with a present tense sense. This is often used in procedural texts to show that the procedure is what has been done (or was as a state) and is done now as well (or is in the same state now). For another example, see (255) in chapter 6.

example, in (511), the nominalization *huaruará* 'those desiring to take (something)' is used to express 'if they want to take something'.

(511) *hua-rua-rā* *hua-rua-rā-bā* *īdā*
  pick^up-DESID-anp pick^up-DESID-anp-3p 3p
  Those who want to take them will take them. *or* If they want to take
  them, they will.

11.15. Reason clauses. Reason clauses generally occur at the beginning of the sentence. There are different markers depending on whether or not the subject of the reason clause is the same as the subject of the main clause expressing result.

When the reason clause has a different subject than the main clause, it is marked by *-hare* 'because'. Note the first clause of (512) where the speaker refers to a probable reason (because of their relationship to a tree called *yebau*) for the people choosing to call themselves *Yeba bāsa* in the main clause.

(512) *yukú* *yeba-u* *ti* *wābe* *kuti-hare* "*Yeba* *bās-a*
  tree yeba-tree 3in name have--PROX Yeba human-p

  yā-a-ha *yua*" *yi-rā-bā* *īdā*
  be-PRES--3 1x say-anp-3p 3p
  Because the tree has the name *yebau*, they refer to themselves as
  Yeba's people.

When the subject of the reason clause is the same as that of the main clause, the verb in the reason clause is nominalized to agree in person and number with the subject of the main clause, and is followed by *yā-ri* (be-PTCPL). In (513), the reason for his being very angry is given first with a nominalized verb *bāi-gu* 'one (masculine) who loves', followed by *yā-ri* 'being one who loves', followed by the main clause.

(513) *so-re* *bāi-gu* *yā-ri* *buto* *hūdisīdi-yu-hu* *ī*
  3fs-O love-ms be-PTCPL very^much angry-INFER--3p 3ms
  Because he loved her, he was very angry.

When the main clause sets the theme for a stretch of discourse, it occurs first in the sentence with the reason clause following it. In (514) the main clause 'yesterday we went' establishes the theme of relating the events of a trip.

(514) *yābika   wa-hu   yua   kak-u   rāka Pauru*
      yesterday   move-PST-3-PROX   1x   1sˆparent-ms   with Paul

    ĩ   hohia   ba-rua-hare
    3ms   hohia   eat-DESID--PROX
Yesterday we went with dad because Paul wanted to eat *hohia.*

11.16–11.21 Sentential complementation

There are sentential complements for cognition and utterance verbs, phasal verbs, sensory verbs, the verb for commands or requests, and the verb for sending.

11.16. Cognition verbs. The two verbs *bāsi* 'to know' and *seyo* 'to seem' are the most frequently used verbs of cognition.

bāsi 'to know' is used with an infinitival complement expressing 'know how to' or with a nominalized clause as its complement. Note the following examples. In (515), it is preceded by *ahi* 'to hear' to express 'understand'. In (516), it is preceded by *yi* 'to say' to express 'We know that'. In (517), it is preceded by *tēbu* 'to shoot with a bow' to express 'know how to'. And in (518), it occurs in the negative with the nominalized clause *wurika ti eharoti* 'the plane's future arrival' as the object, and *-re* the object marker.

(515) *bŭ-re   ahi   bāsi-a-ha   yu*
      2s-O   hear   know-PRES--3   1s
      I understand you.

(516) *"kĕda-gu   yā-a-bĩ"*   *yi*   *bāsi-a-ha*   *bādi*
      good-ms   be-PRES-3ms   say   know-PRES--3   1i
      We know that he is a good man.

(517) *tēbu   bāsi-be-a-bā   gaw-a*
      shootˆbow   know-NEG-PRES-3p   nonindigenous-p
      Nonindigenous people don't know how to shoot with a bow.

(518) *wu-ri-ka   ti   eha-ro-ti-re   bāsi-be-a-ha   yu*
      fly-PTCPL-hollow   3in   arrive-FUT-NOM-PROX-O   know-NEG-PRES--3   1s
      I don't know when the plane is to arrive. *or* I don't know whether the plane will arrive or not.

seyo 'to seem' refers to a speaker's thoughts concerning a situation in which he is present or is viewing the results. When the speaker uses *seyo* 'to seem', he is emphasizing that the statement is from his viewpoint. This verb has no subject of its own but pulls up the subject of the embedded clause (subject raising), and is followed by a pronoun referring to that subject. In (519), *Pasu, Ēdeto, Sabidō* is the subject which is 'raised' by *seyo* 'to seem', and *īdā* 'they' follows it referring to them. In (520), the speaker states that he thinks what happened was just the way she wanted it to happen.

(519) *Pasu   ēdeto   sabidō   to   kō-ro   yā-ri   seyo-yu-bā   īdā*
      Frank   Ernest   Sabino   that count-NOM   be-PTCPL seem-INFER-3p   3p
      Frank, Ernest, and Sabino seemed to have been there.

(520) *so   boha-ro-re   bero-dē   bahi-ri   seyo-ka-hu   ti*
      3fs   want-NOM-O   like-SPCR   be-PTCPL   seem-far^PST--3   3in
      It seemed that it happened just as she wanted it to.

11.17. Utterance verbs. The verb *ya/yi* 'to say, think' takes quotative complements and can stand alone. It is often used in its infinitive form with other verbs to form such compounds as *yi goti* 'saying spoke' and *yi wa* 'saying move'.

(521) *"uge   yīb-u   yu-re   bõa   īa-a-ti"*   *yi*
      !   who-ms   1s-O   touch   see-PRES-Q   say

      uka-ko-a-su-hu   *so*
      surprised-FF-MOT-INFER-PROX--3p   3fs
      Saying, "Oh! Who touched me?" she jumped (in surprise).

11.18. Phasal verbs. The verbs *suo* 'to be first', *tusa* 'to be last', and *tuha* 'to stop' are used with infinitival verbs. These are illustrated in (522)–(524). In (522), *ruhea* 'to be born' is the complement of *suo* 'to begin' in a story regarding one who gave people all that they would need to live (including creating writing). In (523), *kēdo* 'to make' is used with *tusa* 'to be last' or 'be latest' to express the latest report in the process of making a canoe.

(522) *ti-hu   uka-re   ruhea   suo-ria-ro-ha   ti*
      that-time   write-NOM   born   begin-PST^CONJ-in--3   3in
      At that time writing began to exist.

(523) *ti-re* *ahi*   "*dŏ*   *bahi-ro*   *kĕdo*   *tusa-a-ha-ri*"
      that-o hear   what   be-NOM   good^CAUS last-MOT-PRES-PROX-Q

      yi-gu   *ĩa-gu*   *wa-ka-hu*   *yu*
      think-ms   see-ms   move-far^PST--3   1s
      Hearing that, wondering how he was getting along making (the canoe), I went to take a look.

(524) *oti*   *tuha-be-su-hu*   *ĩ*
      cry   stop-NEG-1NFER-PROX--3p   3ms
      He didn't stop crying.

11.19. Sensory verbs. The verb *ĩa* 'to see' is used with other verbs to express touch, taste, smell, or various other senses. In (525), *ba* 'to eat' is the complement of *ĩa* to express 'to taste', i.e., 'eat to find out'; and in (526) *bŏa* 'to touch' is the complement of *ĩa* to express 'to touch to find out', i.e., 'to experience by touching'.

(525) *ba*   *ĩa-ka*   *yu*
      eat   see-1MPV1s   1s
      I will taste it.

(526) *ti-re*   *bŏa*   *ĩa-koã-ri*   "*ĩ-dĕ*   *ya-a-ha*   *bŭ*"   *yi*
      that-o   touch   see-FF-PTCPL   3ms-SPCR be-PRES--3   2s   say

      bāsi-ko-a-su-hu   *ya*
      know-FF-MOT-1NFER-PROX--3p   NOW
      Touching that, he then knew to say who he was.

11.20. Verb for commands. The verb *roti* 'to order or request' is used with infinitival verbs as complements or with a verbal complement. When used with an infinitive to express 'in order to', the subject of the infinitive is the same as the object of *roti* which is marked by *-re* (object). The order is object/subject, infinitive (embedded verb), and *roti* 'to order or request'—see (527). The embedded verb may have its own object in which case it also is marked with *-re* (object) as in (528). Note the negated form of *roti* in (529) signifying 'to order not to'.

(527) *ĩ-re*   *kĕda*   *roti-gu-a-ku*   *yā-a-ha*   *yu*
      3ms-O   good   order-ms-MOT-ms   do-PRES--3   1s
      I am going in order to wish him well (lit. to order him to be good).

(528) *so-re   īdā-re   sīa   roti-bī*
      3fs-O   3p-O   kill   order-3ms
      He ordered them to kill her.

(529) *būa-re   sāha   roti-be-a-ha   yu*
      2s-O   enter   order-NEG-PRES--3   1s
      I am ordering you not to enter.

11.21. Verb for sending. The verb *kōa* 'to send' is used with infinitival verbs as verbal complements. The subject of *kōa* 'to send' and the embedded clause are the same. For example, in (530) *roti* 'to order' is the infinitival verb, with the subject of both clauses being *ī* (3ms). In (531), *kōa* 'to send' occurs with *hi* 'to summon' as its infinitival complement, to express the fact that Sabino is not within calling distance but has sent his summons by a messenger who is the speaker. In (532), *kōa* 'to send' has *roti* 'to order' as its verbal complement, which in turn has its verbal complement *bu* 'cause to leave'.

(530) *īda-re   roti   kōa-yu-hu   ī*
      3p-O   order   send-INFER--3p   3ms
      He sent them orders.

(531) *būa-re   hi   kōa-a-bī   Sabidō*
      2s-O   summon send-PRES-3ms   Sabino
      Sabino sends summoning you.

(532) *so-re   bu   roti   kōa-bī*
      3fs-O   exit^CAUS order send-3ms
      He sent ordering that she be made to leave.

[blank]

12

Pragmatic Structure

This chapter discusses subject and object ellipsis, topicalization of the subject and of the object, *-dẽ* 'spacer', expanding focus, general contrastive focus, restrictive focus, selective focus, parallel focus and a brief discussion of the use of the aspect of fulfillment to indicate change of settings as well as choice of participants.

12.1–12.2 Ellipsis

Nominal elements (subject and object) may be absent in a variety of contexts.

12.1. Subject ellipsis. Subject ellipsis may occur in either main clauses or subordinate clauses. In main clauses, the listener is left to pragmatically determine the referent, which is usually unambiguous because of the context. In subordinate clauses, subject ellipsis is in most cases obligatory when the subject is the same as that of the main clause, with the verb of the subordinate clause marked for agreement of gender and number. However, when there are a series of subordinate clauses, only the first verb may be marked, and in some cases, none at all. (See §11.1.)

Subject ellipsis in subordinate clauses is illustrated in (533)–(535). In (533), the subordinate clause *guhi bãgu yãri* 'because (he) has no teeth' has no explicit subject and this indicates that the subject of the subordinate clause is the subject of the main clause. The main verb of the subordinate

clause *bã* 'to not be' is marked to agree in gender and number with the subject of the main clause. In illustration (534) there is marking for gender-number on the first subordinate clause but the following subordinate clauses have no inflection on the verbs. Again there is no explicit subject in the subordinate clauses and this indicates that the subject *yu* 'I' is the same as that of the main clause. In illustration (535) there is neither an explicit subject nor gender-number marking in the subordinate clauses, again indicating that the subject of the subordinate clauses is subject of the main clause at the end of the sentence.

(533) *guhi   bã-gu   yã-ri   buto   bohodẽ-a-bĩ*   *ĩ*
      teeth   not^be-ms   be-PTCPL very^much   embarrassed-PRES-3ms   3ms
      He is very embarrassed because (he) doesn't have any teeth.

(534) *ĩ-re   ĩa-gu   "bũ-re   ĩa-gu   bahi-bu   yu"   ĩ-re   yi   eha*
      3ms-O   see-ms   2s-O   see-ms   be--3   1s   3ms-O say   arrive

      yã-boa   tudi-ka-hu   yu   kẽda
      be-BUT   return-far^PST--3   1s   again
      When (I) saw him, (I) said to him, "I was (came) in order to see you," then (I) arrived, (I) was there for a while and then I returned again.

(535) *wadi   yuha   bãha   eha-ko-a-di-ka-hu*
      come   move^downriver   ascend^hill   arrive-FF-MOT-here-far^PST--3

      yu   ado   wĩi-hu
      1s   here   house-place
      (I) came, (I came) downriver, (I) ascended, and I arrived here at the house.

Subject ellipsis in main clauses is illustrated in (536)–(538). The first sentence, (536), follows a discussion between 'they' and their father. The subject of the sentence is pragmatically interpreted to be 'they' (excluding their father). The choice is limited due to the person-number marking on the main verb *-harã* (3p).

(536) *to   baji-ri   ya,   gua-rã   roha-a-su-harã*
      that be-PTCPL NOW   bathe-anp   descend^hill-MOT-INFER-PROX-3p
      And so, now (they) went down hill to bathe.

Illustration (537) has two sentences, neither of which has an explicit subject. The subject of the first sentence is understood from the context. The verb of the second sentence is marked with the same inflection as the first sentence but the subject is interpreted to be different. The understood subject of the second sentence is the participant whom the understood subject of the first sentence expected to see when he arrived.

(537) *wa   eha-boa-yu-hu.   bã-yu-hu*
    move arrive-BUT-INFER--3p not^be-INFER--3p
    Going (he-1) arrived. But (he-2) was not (there).

Illustration (538) gives another context in which a nonlinguistic cue provides the listener with the information necessary to deduce the indentity of the subjects of the two clauses. The context prior to this sentence is that 'she' arrived (at a house), followed by a statement introducing her as the new participant. Having given the background, her arrival is brought back into focus by beginning the sentence with *eha* 'arrive' (without an explicit subject). This clause is then followed by a question by the other participant whose identity also is not explicitly stated. Because the question is a general question asked of people when they arrive at a location, there is no problem identifying which participant asked the question.

(538) *eha   "dõ   wa-go   bahi-ri   bũ"   yi-yu-hu*
    arrive, what move-fs be-Q   2s   say-INFER--3
    When she arrived, (the jaguar's mother) said, "What have you come to do?"

12.2. Object ellipsis. Object ellipsis is very common. This is especially noticeable in texts regarding procedures for making things. Since the object is the thematic element, the speaker has no need to repeat the object but only to state the actions performed. For example, note the juxtaposition of verb clauses in (539). This sentence was extracted from a text about making cassava cakes. The verb clauses which have an understood object are bracketed.

(539) *gahe-rŭbŭ*   *kĩ*   *rua-ro-a*   *wese* *hia*   *eha*
       other-day   cassava   harvest-anp-MOT   field   enter   arrive

       kĩ   *rua*   *[hua*   *bĩo*   *kŭ]*   *[wŭra]*
       cassava   harvest,   pick^up   together^CAUS   put   peel

       tŭdi-a-di   *gua*   *bãha*   *eha*   *bãdi*   *yĩoriha-habã*
       return-MOT-here   bathe   ascend^hill   arrive   li   hungry-COND

       [ba   *gahadõ]*   *kĩ*   *oe*   *gahadõ*   *[bihe]*   *[bihe*   *gahadõ]*
       eat   finish   cassava   grate   finish   sieve   sieve   finish

       hea   *hua-ro-a*   *yŭka*   *hio*   *ti*   *yãi-ro*
       firewood   pick^up-anp-MOT   cassava^juice   pour   3in   cooked-NOM

       [wa   *karua]*   *idi-re*   *yã-ka-hŭ*   *ti*   *ya*
       scoop^up   pour^to^cool   drink-NOM   be-far^PST--3   3in   NOW

Next day, going to harvest cassava, entering and arriving at a field,
harvesting cassava, picking it up and gathering it together and
putting it (in a certain spot), peeling it, returning toward here,
bathing, ascending and arriving (at the house); if we are hungry,
eating and finishing; grating cassava and finishing; sieveing, sieveing
and finishing; going to pick up firewood, pouring the cassava juice
(into a pot); when it is cooked, scooping up and pouring to cool, it
is then a drink.

Other object-type ellipsis occurs with certain verbs where the instruments
used to perform certain acts are not expressed overtly because they are
predictable. For example, *ha* 'to hit', in a context of making something
from wood, implies a machete is used; *kẽa* 'to hit', in a context of clearing
a field, implies that an axe is used. In another context both of these verbs
could refer to hitting with one's hands as in fighting, again without making
explicit the instrument.

With other verbs which are frequently used with certain goals, the goal
is often left implicit. For example, in a text regarding travelling, *eha* 'to
arrive' implies the participant arrived at the house; *roka tu* 'to hit against'
is to hit against the shore in landing a canoe; and *bãha* 'to ascend' is used
for ascending hills.

12.3–12.4 Topicalization

When a speaker desires to reinforce or clarify the topic under discussion, the subject or object is fronted to sentence-initial position. Some of the illustrations in this section begin with a question to help define the context in which the topicalized constituent occurs. This constituent is capitalized in the translation.

12.3. Subject. The subject is generally sentence final but when topicalized is fronted, as in (541).

(540) *yĩb-ʉ*   *yã-ri*   *bũ-re*   *ha-gʉ*
      who-ms   be-Q   2s-O   hit-ms
      Who was it that hit you?

(541) *tomás*   *yʉ-re*   *ha-bĩ*
      Thomas   1s-O   hit-3ms
      THOMAS hit me.

In a topicalized construction, it is not infrequent for a pronoun referring to the subject to follow the main verb. Note (542), where there is a fronted subject noun phrase in a main clause with a pronoun occurring after the verb.

(542) *bãs-a*   *eha-bã*   *ĩdã*
      human-p   arrive-3p   3p
      People have arrived.

12.4. Object. When humans are introduced and in focus as grammatical objects, the topicalization pattern is for the name of the person to occur sentence initial, followed by an anaphoric pronoun inflected with *-re* (object marker), as in (544).

(543) *yĩb-ʉ-re*   *ha-ri*   *bũ*
      who-ms-O   hit-Q   2s
      Whom did you hit?

(544) *tomá,*   *ĩ-re*   *ha-bʉ*   *yʉ*
      Thomas   3ms-O   hit--3PST   1s
      I hit TOM. *or* It was Tom that I hit.

There is no distinct grammatical means for topicalizing nonhuman animate or inanimate objects except in content questions where the object is fronted before the question word.

(545) yɨ   ya-tuti-re   dõ   yi-yu-hari   ĩ
      1s   GEN-stack-O   what   do-INFER-Q   3ms
      MY BOOK, what did he do to it?

Topicalization may be applied to an entire clause, as in (546), where the main clause which sets the theme for a stretch of discourse is fronted.

(546) yābika   wa-hɨ   yɨa   kak-ɨ   rāka Pauru
      yesterday move-PST-3^-PROX   1x   1sˆparent-ms with Paul

      ĩ   hohia ba-rɨa-hare
      3ms hohia eat-DESID--PROX
      Yesterday we went with Dad, because Paul wanted to eat *hohia* (jungle fruit).

12.5–12.10 Focus

Focus in Barasano can be divided into contrastive and noncontrastive types. Noncontrastive focus includes the use of the spacer clitic *-dē* and expanding focus. Contrastive focus includes general contrastive focus, restrictive focus, selective focus, and parallel focus.

12.5. Separating material of unequal importance. In Taibano *-dē* is a clitic that occurs on nouns, pronouns, nominalizations, and postpositions, as well as on certain nonfinite verbs. It is a 'spacer' (Dooley, 1990:457) used to divide sentences (or groups of sentences) into two parts of unequal importance. The order of constituents may be from 'less important to more important' or 'more important to less important'.

Less important to more important. In sentences which conform to Werth's 'Topic-Comment Articulation' (TCA) Constraint that anaphoric material precede non-anaphoric (1984:220), *-dē* (spacer) separates the less important anaphoric information which begins the sentence from the more important nonanaphoric information which follows. The effect of using *-dē* is to make the anaphoric information which precedes it into the 'ground' for the following 'figure'.

Following are examples of various kinds of constructions which use -*dẽ* in this way.

Comparing (547) to (548), note that in (548) -*dẽ* (spacer) separates the source or origin of the product (the anaphoric topic) from the nonanaphoric comment about the product. The source or origin may be thought of as the ground, and the comment about the product the figure.

(547) *biti, wewo,   yũkabuti,   ĩdã hua-roti-re-dẽ   kẽdo-yu-harã*
      biti panpipes palm^fibers 3p   pick^up-order-o-SPCR make-INFER-3p
      From the *biti* seeds, the panpipes and the palm fibers that they ordered brought, they made (things).

(548) *biti-dẽ   ĩdã   ãbua-ri,   wewo-dẽ   ĩdã   keruhu-ri,   ĩdã*
      biti-SPCR   3p   neck-p   panpipes-SPCR   3p   wing-p   3p

      gõa-re   kẽde, yũkabuti-dẽ   ĩdã   wabã-ri-ro-ti
      bones-o   also   palm^fibers-SPCR 3p   vein-p-FUT-NOM

      kẽdo-yu-harã
      make-INFER-3p
      From the *biti* seeds they made their necks, from the panpipes their wings and their bones, (and) from the palm fibers their veins.

In (549), -*dẽ* (spacer) is used in a concessive sentence to separate the anaphoric concessionary clause (the ground) from the nonanaphoric main clause (the figure).

(549) *so   yũka   yi-boa-hake-dẽ,   ĩ   rĩdẽ   kẽda-se*
      she   cassava^juice do-BUT-NOM-SPCR   3ms only   good-NOM

      yi-bosa-rũgu-yu-hu
      do-BEN-HAB-INFER--3p
      Although she made cassava juice, she made the good juice for only him.

In (551), the dependent clause ending with -*dẽ* (spacer) refers back to (550). It effectively makes (550) into the ground for the following nonanaphoric figure (the woman saying "It is cooked").

(550) *"ka suri suri, ka suri suri" so-re   yi-yu-hu   ĩ*
     ca suri suri ca suri suri 3fs-O   say-INFER--3p 3ms
     "Ka suri, suri, ka suri suri," he said to her (meaning 'It is still raw').

(551) *to   ĩ   yi-ro-dẽ,   "Saha aha" yi-yu-hu   so-hua kẽde*
     that 3ms say-NOM-SPCR saja saja say-INFER--3p 3fs-SEL also
     When he said that, she for her part also spoke saying "Saja, saja"
     (meaning 'It is cooked'.)

The above set of examples contrast with the following set in which *-dẽ*
(spacer) is not used. To reiterate, in (551) the dependent clause refers
back to (550) and *-dẽ* (spacer) separates it, marking it as the ground for
the nonanaphoric figure (the woman saying "It is cooked"). In (553),
although the dependent clause refers back to (552), (what the man said),
this is NOT the ground for (553) (the woman's seeing that what he had
brought was not good food for humans).

(552) "Here is food. Singe off the outside. Let's eat," he said (to her).

(553) *to   ĩ   yi-ro,   ĩa-boa-yu-hu   so ãya-a, sũhu-a,*
     that 3ms say-NOM see-BUT-INFER--3p 3fs snake-p snail-p

     gu-a   sãya-yu-harã
     turtle-p inside-INFER-3p
     When he said that, she saw (that) snakes, snails and turtles were inside.

In (555) *-dẽ* (spacer) is used as a spacer on a higher level in the
discourse than previously noted. (554) ends a narrative paragraph and
(555) begins a new one in which *-dẽ* (spacer) separates the setting
(ground) from the main events (figure) (beginning with the arrival of the
central character).

(554) *to   bahi-ri   ĩdã   ĩa-beti-hare,   ĩdã-re ri-dẽ*
     that be-PTCPL 3p see-NEG-because 3p-O   meat-SPCR

     wo-hua-yu-hu,   ĩdã-re eka-ru-o
     tear-pick^up-INFER--3p 3p-O   feed-DESID-fs
     Therefore because they didn't see (what was going on), she tore off
     some of the meat in order to feed them (it).[74]

---

[74]See the following section for a further description of the function of *-dẽ* in this instance.

(555) *to-kā-rāka-rŭbu-dē*   *rãio-ro*   *bero rīdē*
      that-count-with-day-SPCR   dark^CAUS-NOM   after only

    eha-koã-rūgu-yu-hu.
    arrive-FF-HAB-INFER--3p
    He arrived everyday after it got dark.

In contrast, (556) is an example of the use of the same time word *tokãrãkarŭbu* 'that number of days' used in illustration (555), but not marked by *-dē* (spacer) because the time word is not the setting (ground) for the following main events. Rather, the sentence is a summary sentence at the end of a paragraph.

(556) *to*   *bahiri*   *to-kā-rāka-rŭbu-ri*   *to-kā-rāka*   *wãbe ĩdã*
      that   be   that-count-with-day-p   that-count-with   name 3p

    yi-ro,   *kĕda-ro*   *uye*   *budi-a-ha*   *ĩdã*   *rioa-re*   *ya*
    do-NOM   good-NOM   oil   exit-PRES--3   3p   face-o   now
    So, when they do all of these things everyday, then a lot of oil emits from their faces.

More important to less important. Werth claims that sentences which do not conform to his TCA Constraint are 'emphatic' (1984–220). In such sentences, the information flow is from nonanaphoric to anaphoric or from anaphoric to anaphoric. The clitic *-dē* (spacer) is used in these sentences to separate the more important information which precedes it from the less important anaphoric information which follows. (The function here may be compared with that of the cleft sentence in English, 'It was x that y.')

In (558), *-dē* (spacer) separates the nonanaphoric information 'bad drink' from the following anaphoric information 'she gave them to drink', implied in sentence (557). The effect of using *-dē* (spacer) is to highlight 'bad'.

(557) *so*   *yūka*   *yi-boa-hake-dē,*   *ī*   *rīdē*   *kĕda-se*
      3fs   cassava^juice do-BUT-NOM-SPCR   3ms   only   good-NOM

    yi-bosa-rūgu-yu-hu
    do-BEN-HAB-INFER--3p
    Although she made cassava juice, she made the good juice for only him.

(558) *so   rĩa-hua-re-bã,   roho-se-dẽ   ĩdã-re*
      3fs   children-SEL-O-CONTR bad-NOM-SPCR   3p-O

yi-io-rũgu-yu-hu
do-drink^CAUS-HAB-INFER--3p
However, for her children, it was the bad (drink) that she always
made and gave.[75]

In (559), all the information of the conditional clause is anaphoric, in the
sense that the previous actions have been based on the assumption that
the participants are relatives. The effect of using *-dẽ* (spacer) within the
conditional clause is to highlight the information which precedes it ('my
relative').

(559) *"to   bahi-ro   yi-ya   bũ   kẽde,   yu   hak-o*
      that   be-NOM   do-PRES   2s   also   1s   parent-fs

      bãk-u-dẽ   bũ   yã-ha-bã,"   ĩ-re   yi-yu-hu.
      progeny-ms-SPCR   2s   be-if-CONTR   3ms-O   say-INFER--3p
"You (will) do that too, if you are my relative," (he) said to him.

The flow from more important to less important information may also be
marked by *rĩdẽ* 'only, just' in which the sense of *-dẽ* (spacer) appears to be
inherent. This word is used for conveying no change in a situation or
event, or for conveying the limit of number of persons or things. In (560),
rĩdẽ occurs in a recapping of the description of what the formerly dead
husband said when he arrived again at the house.[76] (See also §12.8.)

---

[75]The *-hua* (selective focus) in *rĩa-hua-re-bã* is used to show that there is a switch in
participants, in this instance in the objective case (marked by *-re*) and followed by *-bã*
(contrastive focus) which signifies that what was done to the previously mentioned object is
not done to this object. *-bã* (contrastive focus) and *-dẽ* (spacer) are mutually exclusive.
Sentence (554) is similar. The effect of using *-dẽ* (spacer) is to highlight 'meat', the food
referred to in (553) which was not good food for humans.

[76]The presence of *rĩdẽ* following *ĩ* 'he' in (557) is similar to the use of *-dẽ* in (554) as it
highlights 'him' over against 'she made the good juices for'.

(560) *"kãdi,   kãdi,"   sore   yi-yu-hu,   "Kãdi-ko-a-boa-ri   ĩdã?"*
      sleep   sleep   3fs   say-INFER--3p   sleep-FF-MOT-BUT-Q   3p

      yi-gu.   to   bahiro   rĩdẽ   yi-koã-rũgu-yu-hu,   ĩ   eha-habã.
      say-ms   that   way   ONLY   do-FF-HAB-INFER--3p   3ms   arrive-if
      "Sleep, sleep" (he) said to her meaning "Have they gone to sleep?"
      It was just that that he always said whenever he arrived.

12.6. Expanding focus. Expanding the focus is to correct a statement by adding more information. This can be done either by first negating the proposition and then restating it with the addition; or, in a more precise way, by including *kẽde* 'and' after each new entity that is added. These two ways are shown in (561) and (562) where the statement that James and Anthony were there, is corrected to include John and George as also being there.

(561) *bahi-be-su-bã   haibẽ   ãtudi   hũadi   horehe   yã-yu-bã*
      be-NEG-INFER-PROX-3p   James, Anthony, John, George   be-INFER-3p
      They were not in that situation. James, Anthony, John and George were there.

(562) *Haibẽ   ãtudi   hũadi   kẽde   horehe   kẽde   yã-ka-bã*
      James   Anthony   John   and   George   and   be-far^PST-3p
      James, Anthony, and John, and George were there.

12.7. General contrastive focus. When a set of entities is presupposed and a part of that set is separated from the rest, giving it a point of contrast, that part is inflected with *-bã* (contrastive focus). For example, the prior context of (563) is that a participant assumes what he is looking at is *wuhu* 'a type of reed'. The other participant negates this and says that *wuhu* has long sections whereas the reed he is looking at has small sections to it. Thus, from the set of reeds, the part *wuhu* 'type of reed' is contrasted by *yoesebã* 'the long stuff'.

(563) *to-re   yã-ka-hu   wuhu   yoe-se-bã*
      there-o   be-far^PST--3   wuhu   long-NOM-CONTR
      There there was the *wuhu* reed, the long stuff.

Another example of how *-bã* (contrastive focus) is employed is (564). Here the context is that *yaia* 'wildcats' have been introduced into the discourse. Arriving, the narrator selects one of them and gives the point of

contrast as *gudarekoagu* 'one in the middle', introducing him as a main participant.

(564) *gudareko-a-gu*   *yã-ri-i-bĩ*   *ĩ-bã*
      middle-PERT-ms   be-PST^CONJ-ms-3ms   3ms-CONTR
      HE was the middle one.

12.8. Restrictive focus. The form *rĩdẽ* (restricting focus) occurs with nouns, pronouns, and postpositions to restrict the focus in some way. When referring to participants, *rĩdẽ* either restricts the number of participants, or all of them, to an exclusive set. The context of (565) is that it was assumed more would have come to work since they were invited. The subject *yua* 'we (exclusive)', being topic, is fronted in the sentence:

(565) *yua* *rĩdẽ*   *bõa-ka-hu*   *yua*
      1x   ONLY   work-far^PST--3   1x
      We were the only ones who worked.

The context of (566) is that some people have claimed that their group is not called *Jãnerã*. The speaker, relating this to a non-Indian, contradicts them, stating that all those who speak the same language are called *Jãnerã* and nothing else.

(566) *bahi-boa-ri-dẽ*   *koho*   *oka*   *yãgo-rã-re*   *Hãderã*   *rĩdẽ*
      be-BUT-PTCPL-SPCR   one   language   talk-anp-O   Jãnerã   ONLY

      yã-koã-a-ha   *yua*
      be-FF-PRES--3   1x
      Although that is so, concerning those who speak the same language, we are in fact *Jãnerã* and are not called anything else.

When *rĩdẽ* refers to location, it signifies the exclusiveness of the location.

(567) *adi-tũkuro*   *rĩdẽ*   *yã-a-ha*   *yua*
      this-area   ONLY   be-PRES--3   1x
      We live only in this area.

When *rĩdẽ* refers to time, it may imply durative aspect.

(568) *wa-a-dã*   *rĩdẽ*   *eha-ko-a-ka-hɨ*   *ya*
move-MOT-anp ONLY   arrive-FF-MOT-far^PST--3 NOW
Just going (not stopping) on and on, we now arrived there.

12.9. Selective and replacive focus. The form *-hɨa* (selective focus) occurs with nouns, pronouns, and postpositions to indicate which referent of a set is in focus. In (569), *-hɨa* occurs with the nominal question word *di-ka* to signify 'which airplane'. A plausible response to this is (570), where *-hɨa* follows *rãka* 'with' to indicate the selected airplane in which he probably left.

(569) *wɨ-ri-ka-ri*   *di-ka-hɨa*   *rãka* *wa-su-hari*   *ĩ*
fly-PTCPL-hollow-p what-hollow-SEL with move-INFER-PROX-Q 3ms
By means of which airplane did he go?

(570) *boti-ri-ka*   *rãka-hɨa*   *wa-ri-i-bĩ*
white-PTCPL-hollow   with-SEL   move-PST^CONJ-ms-3ms
He probably went with the white airplane.

-hɨa (selective focus) is also used as a replacive focus marker. In (571), a statement is made that they went to *Sonaña*. This is corrected in (572), where the statement is first negated and then the correct location is given with *-hɨa* (selective focus).

(571) *sõda-ya-hɨ*   *wa-su-harã*   *ĩdã*
cashew-river-place move-INFER-PROX-3p 3p
They went to Cashew River *Sonaña*.

(572) *bahi-be-su-ha*   *oko*   *Sũa-ya*   *hode-hɨa*
be-NEG-INFER-PROX--3 water red-river headwater-SEL

     wa-su-bã
     move-INFER-PROX-3p
It wasn't that way. They went to Red Water River.

12.10. Parallel focus. To express parallel focus, *-hɨa* (selective focus) marks the first entity of the group selected, and each entity selected after the first one occurs with *-bã* (contrastive focus) following *-hɨa* to indicate that a point in contrast is being made with the other entities of the group. The predicate refers to all the entities of the set. In (573), 'I' and 'James' are the selected entities which make up the group. We both buy, but James

buys something different. Therefore James occurs with *-bā* (contrastive focus) and 'we bought' includes us both in the set.

(573) *yɨ-hɨa   gɨbo   sudi-re   haibẽ-hɨa-bā   wai   wehe-re-re*
      1s-SEL   foot   clothes-o James-SEL-CONTR fish pull^away^many--s-o

      waha   yi-bɨ   yɨa
      value   do--3PST 1x
      I bought footwear and James bought fish hooks.

12.11. Change of setting. *-koā* (fulfillment) occurs with *-a* (motion) to indicate a change of setting. For instance in (574) *-koā* plus *-a* is used to exit *ĩ* (3ms) from the stage.

The speaker at this point may choose to continue the story with the other participant (who is still in the house) or to follow the participant who has left, beginning a new setting. To begin the new setting, often *-koā* is used following a repetition of the main verb in the previous sentence, as in (575).

(574) *budi-ko-a-su-hu*   *ĩ*
      exit-FF-MOT-1NFER-PROX--3   3ms
      He left the house.

(575) *budi-koā-ri* . . .
      exit-FF-PTCPL
      Having left . . .

In (576) the speaker has chosen to follow the the participants *ĩdā* (3p). Thus, though he uses a motion verb in changing the setting from 'here' to *gaherohɨ* 'another place', he employs *-koā* to indicate that he is going to pursue a discussion of them.

(576) *gahe-ro-hɨ*   *wa-koā-ri*   *yā-a-bā*   *ĩdā*
      other-NOM-place   move-FF-PTCPL   be-PRES-3p   3p
      Having gone to another place, they live there.

In (577), the speaker has chosen to not follow the participants. Thus he uses *-koā* with *-a* (motion) followed by *-ti* (nonproximate nominalizer) (here used like the participial *-ri*). He maintains his perspective of 'them' as being distant from the setting by employing the tense-evidential of

nonpast conjecture, expressed by the nominalizer -*rã* (animate plural), in the main verb.

(577) *budi-ko-a-ti*   *yã-rã-bã*
      exit-FF-MOT-NOM-PROX   be-anp-3p
      Having left, they are probably there.

12.12–12.13 Discourse in Taibano

This section is a discussion of how action continuity and discontinuity are signaled in Taibano. Givón defines action continuity as follows: "Action continuity pertains primarily to *temporal sequentiality* within (a) thematic paragraph, but also to temporal *adjacency* therein ... actions are given primarily in the natural sequential order in which they actually occurred, and most commonly there is small if any temporal gap ... between one action and the next." (1983:8)

Action continuity and discontinuities within the paragraph are generally signaled by means of participles. Participles are defined here as nonfinite verbs which function as dependent clauses. Participles are categorized into two classes: those which have no gender-number marking and those which do. In this discussion we distinguish these two types simply as 'unmarked participles' and 'marked participles' (with reference only to gender-number marking). Unmarked participles are used to maintain action continuity. Marked ones are those which signal divisions within paragraphs. Unmarked participles are subdivided into those which have a switch reference marker and those which don't. Hence, we make the following equations where ' > ' signifies 'signaled by':

ACTION CONTINUITY > unmarked participle =
                            verb root +/- switch reference marker
                                    (glossed NOM)

ACTION DISCONTINUITY > marked participle =
                            verb root + gender-number marker

12.12. Action continuity. Action continuity is maintained by the use of unmarked participles and by juxtaposition of clauses in reported conversation in the context of (1) tail-head linkage, or (2) by being pragmatically the next event in a chain of events.

The second sentence of (578) is an example of a participle used in tail-head linkage without the need for a switch reference marker.

(578) *"Ĩ-re   bãdi   buha-habã,   ĩ   rãka   ahe-rã-sa"*   *yi-yu-harã*
      3ms-O   1x   find-COND   3ms with   play-anp-IMPV-PROX   say-INFER-3p

      ĩdã.   To   yi,   ĩ-re   ãbi,   sohe-ri-re   kẽda-ro
      3p   that   say   he-o   pick^up   door-p-o   good-NOM

      erea-bibe   yi-koã-ri,   ĩ   rãka   ahe-yu-harã.
      mend-closing   do-FF-PTCPL   3ms   with   play-INFER-3p
      "If we find him, let's play with him" they said. Saying that, picking him up, mending the door shut well, having done that, they played with him.

Maintaining action continuity while changing participants in an episode is done by the use of an unmarked participle in a tail-head linkage construction plus a switch reference marker. Illustration (579) is an example of this with *yi* 'say' having the suffix *-ro* (nominalizer) used as a switch reference marker in the fourth sentence.

(579) *To   yi,   "Ba-re   yã-a-ha.   Soe-ya*   *bũ.   Ba-to*
      that   do   eat--s   be-PRES--3 burn-PRES^IMPV   2s   eat-IMPV-2

      bãdi" so-re   yi-yu-hu.   To   ĩ   yi-ro   ĩa-boa-yu-hu
      1i   3fs-O   say-INFER--3p   that 3ms   say-NOM   see-BUT-INFER--3p

      so. Ãya-a,   sũhu-a,   gu-a   sãya-yu-harã.
      3fs snake-p   snail-p   turtle-p   inside-INFER-3p
      Doing that, "Here is food. Singe off the outside. Let's eat" he said to her. When he said that, she saw (that) snakes, snails and turtles were inside.

Action continuity is maintained across sentence boundaries through pragmatically defined sequences of events expressed by the use of unmarked participles. Illustrations (580)–(581) are an example of this type. This is a kind of stimulus-response relationship in which there is a switch in participants. The first sentence (580) conveys a participant giving a pig's heart. The second sentence (581) begins with a verb which is used to express antonymous reciprocal actions *boka,* coupled with the verb *ãbi* 'pick up' to mean 'take (what is given)'.

(580) *To   ĩ   yi-ro-dě,   "Hau,"   ĩ-re   yi,   ĩ   yihe-ri-a-se*
       that 3ms say-NOM-SPCR fine   3ms-O   say   3ms   cut-PTCPL--S-NOM

      ãbi,   yese   usu-a-re   yihe-ta-ãbi-koã-ri,   ĩ-re
      pick^up   pig   hearts-s-O cut-cut^off-pick^up-FF-PTCPL   3ms-O

      ĩsi-yu-hu,   wãti-hua-re,   bãs-u-hua.
      give-INFER--3p   bad^spirit-SEL-O   human-ms-SEL
      When he said that, "Fine," saying to him, taking his knife, and
      having cut out (one of) the pig's hearts, the man gave (it) to the bad
      spirit.

(581) *Boka   ãbi,   ba-koã-yu-hu   ĩ   yuha,   wãti-hua.*
      ANT^RECIP pick^up eat-FF-INFER--3p 3ms NOW   bad^spirit-SEL
      Taking (it from him), the bad spirit ate it up then.

Action continuity is maintained in the flow of a reported conversation by juxtaposition of clauses. The juxtaposed clauses are the speech acts of dialogues which may also be categorized as a type of stimulus-response relationship. Illustrations (582)–(583) are an example of this. The first sentence (582) is a command. The second sentence (583) is the negative response given by the other participant:

(582) *"Yure hidi-ya   bu!" ĩ-re   yi-boa-yu-hu   weku-hua.*
      1s-O release-PRES^IMPV 2s   3ms-O   say-BUT-INFER--3p tapir-SEL

(583) *"Bu-re   hidi-be-ku-ha"*   *ĩ-re   yi-koã-yu-hu.*
      2s-O   release-NEG--PROXms--3 3ms-O   say-FF-INFER--3p
      "Release me!" the tapir said to him. "I won't release you" (he) said
      to him.

12.13. Action discontinuity. Discontinuities in the action within episodes of a narrative are signaled by marked participles, the time phrase *to kõ-ro* (that count-NOM), and juxtaposed clauses.

Marked participles. A marked participle signals: (1) a change in the type of action (from conversation to action or vice versa), (2) a change in action (such as from setting to body, body to comment, body to climax), or (3) a new initiative by a participant.

Marked participles are often used in a tail-head linkage construction. Illustrations (584)–(591) are the end of a text which was chosen because it

has quite a few divisions that we discuss, two of which are tail-head linkage. Immediately prior to this section of the story, the bad spirit had been woken up by the man. Note the gender-number marking *-gu/-ku* (masculine singular) that occurs on sentences (586) and (588), marked with an asterisk to distinguish it from other nominalizers. In (586) there is a change from conversation to action (as well as possibly from setting to body). In (588) there is a change from body to climax.

(584) *"hak-o   bak-u,   kãdi-ko-a-su-ha   yu*
      parent-fs progeny-ms   sleep-FF-MOT-INFER-PROX--3   1s
      "Mother's-son (special relative), apparently I slept.

(585) *kẽda-ro   yu-re   yuhi-o-a-ha   bũ," ĩ-re   yi-yu-hu,*
      good-NOM   1s-O   wake^up-CAUS-PRES--3   2s   3ms-O   say-INFER--3p

      bãs-u-re,   wãti-hua.
      human-ms-O   bad^spirit-SEL
      You woke me up well," the bad spirit said to him.

(586) *to   yi-gu-dẽ   ĩ-re   rũdu-gu   yi-yu-hu,   to*
      that   say-ms*-SPCR   3ms-O   chase-ms   do-INFER--3p   that

      kõ-ro-hu-bã.
      count-NOM-time-CONTR
      When he said that (masculine singular)*, as soon as he had done that, he was chasing him.

(587) *yoa-ro   ĩ-re   rũdu-yu-hu.*
      long-NOM   3ms-O   chase-INFER--3p
      He chased him a long (time).

(588) *ĩ   rũdu-se-re   kehe-a-ku,   to   kõ-ro-dẽ   bia*
      3ms   chase-NOM-O   tired-MOT-ms*   that   count-NOM-SPCR   chili

      bague-koã-ri,   ĩ-re   huti-gu-yu-hu.
      chew-FF-PTCPL   3ms-O   blow-spray-INFER--3p
      Becoming tired (masculine singular)* of his chasing him (man), having done that, having chewed hot peppers, he spit (the juice) on him (bad spirit).

(589) *to   kõ-ro-dë   dõ   yi-beti-koã-yu-hu.*
     that   count-NOM-SPCR   what   do-NEG-FF-INFER--3p
     That having been done, he (bad spirit) could not do anything.

(590) *sok-u-dë,   "Yu-re   yu-ya,   hak-o   bãk-u"*   *ĩ-re*
     lie-ms*-SPCR   1s-O   wait-PRES^IMPV parent-fs progeny-ms   3ms-O

       yi,   suya-boa,   bahi-koã   tuha-a-su-hu.
       say   follow-BUT   be-FF   stop-MOT-INFER~PROX--3p
     Lying, "Wait for me, mother's-son," saying to him (man), following
     (him) unsuccessfully, having done that, he (bad spirit) stopped.

(591) *to   kõ-ro-dë   yã-a-ha*
     that   count-NOM-SPCR   be-PRES--3
     That is the amount (to the story).

A discontinuity in the action at the same time there is a switch in
participants is also signalled by a marked participle. The marked participle
functions to signal both the discontinuity of action as well as to help
identify that the object of the previous sentence is now the subject.
Illustration (592) is the end of a man's speech referring to what he has
done (supposedly cut out his hearts). In (593) the climax of the episode is
marked by the participle *yi-koã-gu*. This participle, in conjunction with the
pronoun *ĩ* (3ms) prior to it, signals that the object of the previous sentence
has now become the subject at the same time as the discontinuity in the
action takes place (the transition from body to climax).

(592) *"to   bahi-ro   yi-ya   bũ   këde,   yu   hak-o*
     that   be-NOM   do-PRES^IMPV   2s   also   1s   parent-fs

       bãk-u-dë   bũ   yã-habã"   ĩ-re   yi-yu-hu.
       progeny-ms-SPCR   2s   be-COND   3ms-O   say-INFER--3p
     "You do it that way also, if you are my relative," (he, the man), said
     to him (bad spirit).

(593) *To   ī   yi-koã-gɨ,   yihe-ri-a-se   ãbi,*
      that   3ms   say-FF-ms*   cut-PTCPL--S-NOM   pick^up

       tɨa-hɨ-koã-yɨ-hɨ.
       poke-pierce-FF-INFER--3p
       The one to whom he said that, taking a knife, he stuck (it) in
       (himself).[77]

Marked participles are not restricted to being employed in tail-head linkage to convey discontinuities in the action. See (590) which contains the marked participle *sok-ɨ-dē* which is not involved in tail-head linkage. This participle marks a discontinuity of action in the climax. The climax, which is stated in (589), is a collateral statement of what the bad spirit couldn't do as a result of the previous event (the man's spitting on him with hot pepper juice). The writer then states in (590) what it was the bad spirit actually did. Because this sentence does not describe the next event in the sequence of actions, action continuity is broken according to the definition on which we are basing this analysis (Givón 1983:8).

The time phrase. Discontinuities in the action of an episode are also signalled by the time phrase *to kõ-ro* (that count-NOM). This construction is used at a higher level than that of marked participles. One of its uses is to mark the climax of a drama. Illustration (589) is an example of this.

to kõ-ro is also used at the last point of discontinuity of action in texts, the closure. Look again at (591), which is a closing statement. This expression (or a similar one) is used to close all types of discourses. Its referent is not to the time line but rather to the amount of information the narrator has given.

to kõ-ro is also used to reinforce or clarify an initial marked participle which already indicates discontinuity. In sentence (586) *to kõ-ro-hɨ-bã* is used as a point of clarification or reinforcement regarding the initial marked participle *yi-gɨ-dē* 'saying' which refers back to the speech made by the bad spirit ending with (585). At the same time it introduces the chase which is terminated in (588) with the marked participle *kehe-a-kɨ* 'become tired of'. This marked participle is followed by *to kõ-ro-dē* which reinforces action discontinuity and sets the hearer for the final initiative of the man—that of spitting hot pepper juice on the bad spirit.

---

[77]Note that in English we render the initial phrase here as though it were basically a relative clause re-introducing the participant. An alternative rendering would be: 'When he said that to him, taking a knife, (he, whom he spoke to) stuck it into (himself)'.

Because *to kō-ro* is a higher level signal of discontinuity, unlike the phrases with marked participles, it does not change when there is a switch in participants. Compare (588) and (589). In (588) there is no switch of participants and in (589) there is a switch in participants.

Juxtaposed clause. Discontinuities of action may also be signalled by certain types of juxtaposed clauses which are a type of paraphrase or amplification. Note sentences (586) and (587) where (587) has a repetition of the main verb with an adverb of time *yoa-ro* 'long' which further describes the same event.

Another example of this type is (594) where the first sentence makes a statement with a transitive verb which lacks a direct object. The second sentence follows with the expression *Ado-kā-rāka* 'this amount' and repetition of the main verb, specifying what the object was.

(594) *To   so   yi-koā-ri-a-rā,   īdā   bede-o-re   hua-roti-yu-harā.*
     that   3fs   do-FF-PTCPL--S-anp   3p   sibling-fs-o   pick^up-order-INFER-3p

     Ado-kā-rāka   wābe: Wewo,   yūkabuti,   biti,   sore
     this-count-with   name   reeds   palm^fibers   seeds   3fs

     hua-roti-yu-harā.
     pick^up-order-INFER-3p

When she had done that to them, they ordered their younger sister to get (things). They ordered her to get these things: panpipes, strands of *ñucabuti* (palm fibers) and *biti* seeds.

[blank]

References

Abbot, Clifford. 1981. Here and there in Oneida. International Journal of American Linguistics, 47:50–57.

Comrie, Bernard. 1981. Language universals and linguistic typology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———— and Norval Smith. 1977. Lingua descriptive series questionaire. Lingua 42(1).

Dik, Simon. 1981. On the typology of focus phenomena. In Hoekstra Jeun, Harry Van der Hulst, and Michael Moortgat (eds.), Perspectives on functional grammar, 4–74. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.

Dixon, R. M. W. 1982. Where have all the adjectives gone? Berlin: Mouton.

Dooley, Robert A. 1990. The positioning of nonpronominal clitics and particles in lowland South American languages. Amazonian Linguistics: Studies in lowland South American languages, 457–93. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Fillmore, Charles J. 1975. Santa Cruz lectures on deixis, 1971. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Givón, Talmy. 1981. Topic continuity in discourse: the functional domain of switch reference. In Haiman and Munro, 51–82.

————. 1984. Syntax, a functional-typological introduction. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

————, ed. 1983. Topic continuity in discourse: Quantitative cross-language studies. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Haiman, John and Pamela Munro, eds. 1981. Switch reference and universal grammar. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Hopper, Paul and Sandra Thompson, eds. 1982. Syntax and semantics: Studies in transitivity. New York: Academic Press.

Hugh-Jones, Christine. 1979. From the Milk River: Spatial and temporal processes in Northwest Amazonia. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Longacre, Robert E. 1983. Switch-reference systems in two distinct linguistic areas: Wojokeso (Papua New Guinea) and Guanano (Northern South America). In Haiman and Munro, 185–208.

Payne, Doris L. 1986. Noun classification in Yagua. In Craig Collette (ed.), Noun classes and categorization, 113–131. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Payne, John. 1978. Negation. ms.

Schachter, Paul. 1984. Parts-of-speech systems. ms.

Smith, Richard D. 1972. Resumen de la gramática: barasano del sur. Colombia: Ministerio de Gobierno, República de Colombia.

———. 1976. Una gramatica tagmemica del Barasano del Sur. Colombia: Ministerio de Gobierno, República de Colombia.

——— and Connie Smith. 1969. Côriatuti (Libro para contar). Colombia: Ministerio de Gobierno, República de Colombia.

——— and Connie Smith. 1971. Southern Barasano phonemics. Linguistics 75:80–85.

——— and Connie Smith. 1973. Southern Barasano grammar. (Language Data Amerindian Series 3). Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Werth, P. 1984. Focus, coherence and emphasis. Kent, England: Croom Helm.

Index

Studies in the Languages of Colombia 2

Publications in Linguistics Number 101

Barasano Syntax is the second in a series of studies of Colombian languages produced by SIL members under the tutelage of Dr. David Weber at a workshop held for that purpose in the fall of 1984. The series is edited by Dr. Paul Frank, who also authored the first volume of the series—*Ika Syntax*.

These sketches are based on a typological, functional perspective which provides an excellent framework for writing broadly useful, descriptive grammars. Linguists and nonlinguists alike can derive a helpful understanding of what these languages are like without the heavy demands of a rigorously theoretical orientation.

Barasano is a member of the eastern Tucanoan language family and is closely related to Taiwano. However, the Barasana and Taiwana people are of different ancestry and thus form two distinct social groups. These peoples live in southeastern Colombia just above the equator along the Piráparaná River and, at the present time, number about 250 speakers.

Wendell Jones and Paula Jones have worked with the Barasana and Taiwana since March of 1977 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the ministry of Government of Colombia. They concentrated on studying three closely related dialects, collecting the data which is the basis for the analysis found in this volume.

SUMMER
INSTITUTE OF
LINGUISTICS

UNIVERSITY
OF TEXAS AT
ARLINGTON