

IN THE HEART OF A CLAUSE

THE VERB IN BARUYA (STEM, WORD, PHRASE)

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0. Introduction

0.0. General Introduction

This paper on verbs is the third and final one which presents the raw material (basically words) of Baruya discourse. The other papers are "Gender in a New Guinea Language - Baruya Nouns and Noun Phrases", Richard G. Lloyd, 1969; and "Bound and Minor Words in Baruya", Richard Lloyd, 1989, see Bibliography. The latter article covers some revision of nouns and noun phrases. Besides presenting verb structure I aim to give something of my view of language. I believe that grammar is a vehicle of meaning.

Words and phrases occur in Clauses, which generally occur in Sentences, which generally occur in Paragraphs, which generally occur in Discourses, which occur in life and society. These are all parts of **syntax**, the *arrangement* of grammatical items. Some linguists prefer *process*, or the *rules* of grammar.

The Baruya language (named after the largest dialect group or tribe) is spoken by 6,000 people in the Wonenara, Marawaka and Wugamwa areas of the Marawaka District of the Eastern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea. See "The Dialects of the Baruya Language", Language Data APS-12, 1981. The language belongs to the Angan family, see chapter 2 of "The Linguistic Situation in the Gulf District and Adjacent Areas, Papua New Guinea" K.F. Franklin editor, Pacific Linguistics, C-26, Canberra 1973.

0.1. Main Features of the Baruya verb

Stem – There are restrictions in object prefixes occurring with different single verb root classes and voice morphemes. Occurrence of voice morphemes produces derived stems. Compound verb stems are highly complex with two to five verb roots plus a directional in one example. Stems are described in the chapter called Section A.

Word - Verbs, ie words, are highly complex. They can occur with or without object prefixes showing forms of transitivity ¹. There are five major kinds of predications comprising identificational with four forms, non-future with eight tenses and/or aspects, future with two tenses, and subjunctive (irrealis) with three forms. Habitual is unusual in that the form is the same as one of the simultaneous dependent verbs. All verbs have positive and negative polarity. They also have mood appropriate to the verb. There are independent forms, and various kinds of dependent ones. These include embedded forms resulting in Relative and Subordinate Clauses. Despite the differences I use the traditional terms. Embedded forms are based on both independent and dependent verbs. These divisions are pertinent to the language and are defined in this paper. Independent forms have four moods, and sometimes combinations of these. Dependent forms always show subject and may predict a change of subject, and they have a restricted number of moods. Verbs are described in Section B of this paper.

Verb phrases are not extensive. There are infinitive, extended action, demonstrative manner, negative, unreal condition, mood, repetitive, immediate question and dubitative phrases. Two other phrases may alternatively appear as complex words, see C 8. Phrases are described in Section C.

Within Sections A, B, and C, the number following the capital indicates divisions pertinent to that section. In Section B, Words ie verbs, the first number indicates the kind of verb, then a second number indicates a subtype of that kind of verb. There are no subtypes in identificational verbs.

With some verbs a division indicates in lower case letters, (a) independent forms, (b) dependent forms, and (c) embedded forms. Further divisions of these are indicated by numbers. This will become evident in the presentation.

0.2. General approach

The analysis on which this paper is based follows the Tagmemic Theory as developed by Kenneth Pike in his book "Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behaviour", 1967, see Bibliography. Units are discovered and described according to what contrastive features they have, what varying manifestations they show, and what external distributions they have. Language forms and parts within them have specific functions, both form and function have meaning. The sound system (phonology), the arrangement of linguistic forms (grammar), and meaning (semantics, and especially lexicon) are considered to be three hierarchies, interlocking but partly independent. The theory also seeks to establish the full range of possibilities (etics) in each hierarchy.

The terms “etics” and “emics” are borrowed from phonology to make general terms. Phonetics and phonemics give us Etics – possibilities, first impressions; Emics – significant or pertinent features. A good example of this is the emic understanding of the Baruya subjunctive, R. Lloyd, 2012.

Tagmemics also presents a “grammatical” construction as a unit of syntax, see second paragraph of 0.0 General Introduction. A significant construction, a syntax-eme, ie a syntagmeme, is composed of construction points or constituents which are tagmemes.

Robert Longacre of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, SIL, developed and applied Pike’s ideas in his “Grammar Discovery Procedures,” and other works. He once likened a noun to an actor, eg Russell Crowe is Robin Hood in one movie and a sea captain in another; the same actor but in different roles. Similarly the same noun or noun phrase can occur in different roles or functions. Pike spoke of a tagmeme as a slot-class correlation, whereas Longacre prefers function-set. Pike’s use of “slot” covers more than distribution, but does suggest it. Traditional English Grammar also highlights function which I consider is an advantage.

The Dutch linguist S.C. Dik in his Functional Grammar, see Dik 1980, developed the idea of function in language. The author’s application of Pike’s insights reflect some facets of Dik’s approach. However Pike thought of the tagmeme as a unit combining function and set, while Dik considers them both as separate units, necessary but discrete. I follow Pike’s idea.

This paper covers aspects of what Longacre, 1972:xii, calls the Increment Calculus, which I equate with "the raw material of discourse". Here the function and the filler class / set which occurs in that function have a close relationship which is not found, for example, in Clauses except for verbs and verb phrases filling Predicate function ². Because of this I use lower case letters for words, and phrases, and capital letters for Clauses, Sentences etc.

Where possible similar or related structures are described in order, using a common approach and names which highlight their relationships. Whole structures and systems are given, rather than pieces. It should be possible to produce verb stems, verbs and verb phrases from the presentation. Regular morphophonemic changes are described in R. Lloyd 1981. Other changes are given in this paper.

0.3. Acknowledgements

Many people from Yanyi village near Wonenara have assisted in the research for this paper. These include **Saasa Nokaai**, **Saasa Yikaawiyai**, **Yiwaribaakya Lasiraawiyai**, **Kiwa'baakya Daawianaa** and **Baaruya Kwarikwai**. The latter three did the final checking of numerous constructions and are commended for their patience.

Research for this paper was greatly assisted by the use of a text concordance prepared by computer for the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute. The concordance was sponsored by the National Science Foundation of America, grant number GS 1605.

Stimulus from many authors, listed in the bibliography, is also acknowledged. Lecturers and consultants at a Grammar Workshop held at Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea, in July and August 1982, were stimulating and helpful. Ger Reesink made many suggestions in the stem section. Bernard Comrie made valuable comments, though he did not see the new Section 9 on certain dependent verbs.

0.4. Orthography

The Baruya examples in this paper are written in the practical orthography which is in use. In the following list, the main phonetic form or forms are given in brackets.

p, t, s(tš), k, '(?), b(mb), d(nd), j(ndž), g(ýg), v(ɸ), th(d), z(ž), h(g), m, n, ng(ý), l, r(r), w, y, i, e(e:), ɨ(i,ɨ,u), a(e,a,o), aa(a:), u, o(o:). See Lloyd and Healey, 1970:33-48, J.Lloyd 1981:17-24.

0.5. Abbreviations

Abbreviations are only used when necessary in literal translations. Only standard abbreviations in normal English use are used in the body of the paper.

		imm	immediate (future)
cause	causative		
		imp	imperative
C	consonant		
		interr	interrogative mood
cont	continuous aspect		
		loc	locative
CS	change of subject in a following Clause		
		masc	masculine gender
comp/ “have”	complete aspect	neg	negative/“not”
decl	declarative mood	obj	object case/marker
dest	destination	past	general past tense
dub	dubitative mood	phrase	phrase marker
dur	durative	pl/p	plural
D	prenasalized stop	poss	possessor
dep/ “with”	dependent marker	prev	previous tense
dl/d	dual	ref	reference
emb	embedder morpheme	reflex	reflexive
fem	feminine gender	respons	responsibility
fut	future	rhet	rhetorical question

seq	sequential	SS	same subject in a following Clause
sg/s	singular	undes	undesired
stat	stative aspect	V	vowel
		1	first person
subjunc	subjunctive	2	second person
		3	third person

A. Verb Stems (Stem Level)

A.0. Introduction

Stems with one root are **simple stems**, A.1. Some stems occur with *voice*³ *morphemes* and become **derived stems**, A.2. Both simple and derived stems may combine together to form **compound stems**, A.3. Simple and compound stems occur in the nucleus of verbs, or with the reference morpheme to form infinitives, or with an embedder to form gerunds (verbal nouns).

Verb roots may occur in compounds, and then produce **extended meaning stems**, A.5.

A.1. Simple (one root) Stems

Simple stems consist of one root. Different classes of verb roots either must occur, may occur, or do not occur with object prefixes. Some roots are intransitive. They do not occur with object (note the lower case letter) in the verb, word level, or an Object function (note the capital letter) in its Clause, Clause level. Other roots are transitive. They do occur with either object prefixes, or an Object in the Clause. The strongest form of transitive roots is marked by the occurrence of object prefixes.

See the first section of Chart A.2.3 for verb roots, and A.3 for examples and a further description of roots. For more details on transitivity, see B.0.1.

A.2 Derived Stems

When voice suffixes occur they make derived stems and also affect the transitivity¹ of the stem, ie they change the quality or inherent value of the root, see B.2.2.

A.2.1. Voice suffixes

A final voice suffix, of a maximum of two, has inherent transitivity properties and these replace the original transitivity of the root or derived stem. As in A.1 these occur with or without object prefixes. All of these factors are described below in order.

Voice suffixes are listed with the main distribution of object prefixes.

- hi** causative (obligatory occurrence of object prefixes)
- yi** benefactive (obligatory occurrence of object prefixes)
- ni** reflexive, reciprocal (obligatory absence of object prefixes)

A.2.2. Array - Structure of Derived Stems

In Arrays the features above the line are the functions that occur in that construction. The ones below the line are the filler class or set which manifest those functions. Read this array across.

core	voice (derivizer)
position stative verb root (see A.3.1.1.)	-hi causative
almost any root	-yi benefactive
derived stem (position root + causative)	
(dynamic root + reflexive)	
transitive root (in A.3.5.3)	-ni reflexive/reciprocal
derived stem (root + causative)	

A derived verb stem consists of a stem core function filled with certain verb roots or derived stems plus a voice or derivizer function which is filled with the appropriate voice morphemes as shown in A.2.1. See A.2.1 for distribution of object with voice, and more detail in the chart in A.2.3.

Object function is more a function of the whole *word*, but it also has a close relationship with the kind of root with which it occurs.

A.2.3. Chart - Distribution of object prefixes with Voice

This chart shows the effect of voice in an ordered way. The verb root classes established in this array are described in A.3. Simple stems (those in the first section of the chart) and derived stems (those in other sections) occur with voice and this has an effect on the occurrence of object prefixes.

verb type	occurrence of voice	occurrence of object prefixes
stative, class 1	nil	a. obligatory absence
class 2 roots	nil	b. optional occurrence
class 3 roots		(see discussion under class 3 roots, A.3.3)
experiential, class 4	nil	c. obligatory occurrence
class 5 roots		
dynamic ⁴ root	reflexive	nil occurrence
derived stem, ie		
position root + causative	reflexive	
(see below)		
position ⁵ root (class A.3.1.1)	causative	a. optional in third person
		b. obligatory occurrence
		with first, second person
verb root	benefactive	obligatory occurrence
derived stems, ie		
position root + causative	benefactive	
dynamic root + reflexive	benefactive	

A.2.4. Examples with Voice

The verb root classes are listed and described below in A.3 so only examples with voice are given here. Simple roots and derived stems are listed in their basic form, which does not occur in isolation. See Section B, Verbs, for full forms.

The order of these examples follows A.2.3, which is a chart of distributional restrictions.

yi - ni 'do to self'
do-reflex

A common usage is:

aalya yi - ni 'wash self/bathe'
water do-reflex

wari - hi - ni -> wakini 'put one's self'
lie-cause-reflex (See immediately below.)

wari - hi -> waki ⁶ 'put'
lie-cause

wi - mwaali - hi -> wimwaaihi ⁷ 'seat him' (cause him to stay)
him-stay-cause

This last example may sometimes occur without the object prefix when it refers to third person. The forms with the prefix give greater prominence to the object.

Example **waki** 'put' does not show the prefix because **wi** before **w** is lost.

gi - wari - yi -> gwaryi ⁶ 'sleep for you'
you-lie-do (**yi** 'do' is the marker for benefactive)

gi - wari - hi - yi -> gwakyi 'put it/him for you'
you-lie-cause-do

gi - yi - ni - yi -> gyinyi 'wash one's self for you'
you-do-reflex-do

A.3. Classes of Verb Roots

All verb roots end in **i**.

A.3.1. Class 1 - Stative Verb Roots

These occur with stative aspect to form stative verbs. They do not occur with object prefixes in the absence of voice morphemes.

A.3.1.1. Position Stative Roots

These are the only verb roots which may occur followed by the causative voice morpheme **-hi** ‘cause to be’, and thus occur with object prefixes.

wari	‘lie/sleep’ (inanimate / animate subject)
mwaali	‘stay/sit/live’ (animate subject)
daavi	‘stand’ (animate subject)

Causative constructions with other roots consist of a special use of an initial verb **yi** ‘do’ compounded with those roots, see compound stems, Section A.4.

A.3.1.2. Nature Stative Roots

waayi	‘be/live’ (of plants)
di’ni	‘be’ (pond/puddle)
pwa’ni	‘be’ (hair/grass)
tini	‘protrude’ (banana bunch, nut ball) (be protruding)

The last three examples were historically probably reflexive forms (see **ni** (reflexive), A.2.1) but, because there is no non-reflexive form in use now, they are included here. Many dynamic roots occur with the reflexive morpheme and then may occur in a stative verb, see B.3.1. Examples of derived stative stems are **manni**⁸ ‘be built’ (**madi** ‘build’) and **yi’ni** ‘be filled’ (**yiri** ‘fill (container)’), see A.2.2 Array.

A.3.2. Class 2 - Roots Which Never Occur with Object Prefixes when there is no voice.

These are mainly intransitive. Verbs, ie words, in reference to transitivity are discussed in B.2.

A.3.2.1 Process/condition roots

puri	‘shine/dawn’
giryi	‘grow’
bali	‘die’
buri	‘rot’
jihinya yi	‘(dark do), get dark’

A.3.2.2. Motion roots

wi	‘go’
bi	‘come’
yɪ'mavi	‘arrive there’

A.3.2.3. Unmarked transitive roots – no object prefixes occur

yɪ	‘do’
-----------	------

The form with benefactive voice is the same so the contrast is masked and object prefixes can occur.

yɪ'nagili	‘climb tree’
buridi	‘plant’
madi	‘build’
yɪmavi	‘become’

These last five roots occur with Object (note the capital letter) Function in the Clause, but do not occur with object (note the lower case letter) function in the verb, ie there are no object prefixes. That is: ‘climb’ (‘tree’, only in the Clause, etc), ‘plant’ (‘seeds’), ‘build’ (‘house’), ‘become’ (‘teacher, leader’). Note that position and nature and stative verb roots also belong to this wider class.

A.3.3. Class 3 - Roots which Optionally Occur with Object Prefixes

This happens when no voice morphemes occur.

When the referent for the object prefix is human the prefix always occurs. With other class 3 roots the prefixes which occur signal greater prominence to their referents. See Chart A.2.3 and note the distributional restrictions with causative voice.

pi	‘shoot (arrow)’ etc
-----------	---------------------

Note the different meanings:

- | | | |
|-----|--|-----------------------------|
| (1) | Wi - v - imo.
him-shoot-I-will | ‘I will shoot him (a man)!’ |
| (2) | P - imo.
shoot-I-will | ‘I will shoot it (a pig)!’ |

tami	‘hit’
davi	‘cut’
limwagi	‘hold’

yi	‘do’ (with adjuncts, rain or wind)
ya'mavi ¹⁰	‘leave a person’
yiri'maari	‘arrive at a person/visit’
yibwari	‘follow (footprints)’
tivaatavi	‘push’
ginyiwagi	‘turn it’
yawiri	‘think/consider’

A.3.4. Class 4 - Experiential Verb Roots

This small set of roots obligatorily occurs with object prefixes, usually referring to humans, but also animate things. The subject of the verbs in which these roots occur could be considered an emotion or experience but more likely there is no real subject, ie they are the same as impersonal constructions in English, ie in Baruya impersonal ‘it’ occurs as subject. The verbs occur with adjunct nouns. The list below is fairly exhaustive. The roots are listed with the object prefix **nyi-** ‘to me/me’. See B.2.1 for the full set of prefixes. The object prefix is adjusted here morphophonemically

(n) - yi	‘do to me’ (eg sickness does to me) Other possibilities are - heat, hunger, sadness, worry, envy (desire)
(nyi) - di	‘speak to me’ (eg warmth, heat, chill)
(nyi) - davi	‘cut to me’ (pain, ache, anger)
(nyi) - ni	‘burn me’ (literally “eat me”)
(n) - yini	‘(heat/fire = sexual desire) do(es) to me’
(nyi) - vini	‘hurt me/tire me’

This last verb root may be literally ‘shoot (reflexive)’, but this violates a current restriction that reflexive does not co-occur with object prefixes. It is analysed here as a root, not a derived stem. Similarly **yini**, the second to last example, although it is homophonous with ‘do to self’, see first example in A.2.4, must be a root because it occurs with object prefixes. For a long time I thought it meant ‘itself does heat to me’.

The following examples show how the stems are used in present complete verbs, cf B.3.3.

- (3) **Nalaaya n - yi - w - ako.** ‘I am sick.’ (it does sickness to me)
sickness me-do-comp-it The subject elsewhere can be “he, she, it (neuter)”.
- (4) **Yirila nyi - di - w - ako.** ‘I am cold.’ (it speaks coldness to me)
cold me-speak-comp-it

- (5) **Dika nyi - ni - w - ako.** 'The fire burnt me.' (ate me)/'I am burnt.'
 fire me-eat-comp-it 'It burnt (fire ate) me.'
- (6) **Dika n - yini - w - ako.** 'I desire her.' (it does fire/heat to me)
 heat me-do-comp-it

A.3.5. Class 5 - Roots Which Always Occur with Object Prefixes

- wi - jaavi** 'give to him/them'
wi - jiwaaki 'teach him/them'
(wi)wangani 'see him/them'
(wi)wi'ni 'hear him/them'

There is no overt object in the last two examples because **wi** - 'him/them' is lost before an initial **w**. The other person and number objects do occur.

- wi - di** 'speak to him/them'

This last root does occur without object prefixes, but the meaning is then usually 'think (say internally)'. The above roots occur with the reflexive, but retain their object prefixes in the third person (ie the most neutral form) which loses its basic meaning.

- (7) **Wi - jiwaaki - ni - w - ako.** 'He taught himself.'
 him-teach-reflex-comp-he

A.4. Compound Stems

Stems, as described in the previous section, can occur in compounds. Verb stems can be joined in five different ways. Three of these indicate: close knit or simultaneous actions, a series of actions, or responsibility for an action. The other two ways occur with motion roots and signal sequential (one action follows another) or simultaneous (the actions occur at the same time). These relationships can also be signalled by verb affixation on the word level as well as by a joining morpheme, see below. In the text concordance, see Section A.0, five such stems plus a directional have been recorded. The five ways can be contrasted with word level sequential/serial verbs versus simultaneous verbs, see B.9 Dependency.

The five joining morphemes are: zero, ie with nothing between two stems, or **a**, **e**, **aa**, or **ma**. The last two only follow a directional or verb root and occur before motion roots. Roots in the following examples are joined by the plus sign +.

A.4.1. zero linkage

These stems often merge together, see R. Lloyd 1981, especially page 117.

- yi + dikaavi** -> **yidikaavi**¹¹ 'wake someone'
 do wake

- wotavi + yiki** -> **wotayiki** 'pour out (of a packet) into a container'
 pour.out pour.into **vi** is lost before **yi**

Compounds with no overt link express a close knit sequence viewed as a single complex or simultaneous action. This corresponds well with Pike's conception of wave, Pike 1959. Compare B.9.6 Same Subject Simultaneous Verbs.

A.4.2. a linkage

wangani + a + jimaani + aa + bi -> wanganajima'naabi 'come, see and meet'
see meet after come

wil + a + pi + a + tingiri + a + maari + aa + wi -> wilaparingiramaraawi
up shoot break take after go **t -> r, maari plus aa -> maraa**
'go up and shoot it (with an arrow) and break (bones) and take it'

Compounds linked with a express a loose knit sequence, a series of actions. This corresponds well with Pike's conception of particles.

A.4.3. e linkage

maari + e + mwaali -> maremwaali 'rule/care for'
take respons live **aa becomes a before e (and aa)**

yi + e + dakuri + a + piraayi¹² + ni -> yedakurapire¹²ni
do respons cut cook reflex
'be responsible for cutting (the meat) then cooking it for themselves'

yi + e + mwaali -> yemwaali 'wait (be responsible for staying)'
do respons stay

Compounds linked with e indicate that the event expressed by the stem following e is the responsibility of the person or animal functioning as the Subject of the Clause. Both events are involved closely.

Other examples are:

bili + e + mwaali -> bilemwaali 'build (a bridge) and be responsible for it
build respons stay (guard it)'

maari + e + di -> maredi 'take responsibility for saying/intercede'
take respons speak **aa becomes a before e (and aa)**

A.4.4. aa linkage

The linkage aa 'after' occurs between a root and a motion root ('come', 'go') to indicate that the motion event occurs first in time.

wangani + aa + wi - eno -> wanganaaweno 'I went and (then) saw him.'
see after go I.past

wi - di + aa + bi - imo -> widaavimo 'I will come now and (then) speak to him'
him-say after come I.want
'I want my speech to come to him (without the speaker necessarily coming)'

(wika) **yil + yi + aa + bi - i - dero** -> **yilyaabidero** 'I will come up and (then) whistle'
whistle up do after come-I-will.be

(wika) **yi + aa + bi - i - dero** -> **yaabidero** 'I will come and (then) whistle'
whistle do after come-I-will.be

The **aa** linkage also occurs between a directional and a motion root to form a motion stem.

wal + aa + bi -> **walaabi** 'come down'
down motion come

wal + aa + wi -> **walaawi** 'go down'
down motion go

The *directionals* are **yil** 'up steeply', **wil** 'up gently', **wal** 'down steeply' and **waly** 'down gently'.

A.4.5. **ma** linkage

The linkage **ma** 'while' occurs before a motion root or stem to indicate that the first action occurs at the beginning or during the motion action. Longacre 1983:94 has span-span, event-span, span-event, event-event, and the possibility of others.

wangani + ma + wawi - eno -> **wangamwaweno**

see while go-I

'I saw it (at the beginning of going) and went.'

'I saw him once while I was going.'

'I saw it (river) all the way along.'

'I saw it (river) intermittently while I was going.'

Note that this construction is similar to "I have gone and seen him". This meaning is made up of –

wanga - mw - aa - w - eno

see-comp-after-go-I

wangani + ma + bi - eno -> **wangamabeno** 'I saw him while coming.'

see while come-I

Compare the above two examples with the corresponding **aa** examples below in their final forms:

(8) **wangan - aa - w - eno** 'I went and saw him.'

see-after-go-I

(9) **wangan - aa - b - eno** 'I came and saw him.'

see-after-come-I(set3)

'I allowed the sight to come before me.'

Two more examples of **ma** are:

(10) **wika yi - ma - b - i - dero** 'I will whistle while coming.'

whistle do-while-come-I-will(be)

- (11) **wika yi - m - yil - aa - b - i - dero** 'I will whistle while coming up.'
 whistle do-while-up-motion-come-I-will(be)
 Note that 'come up' acts like a unit, see end of A.2.4.

The linkage **ma** is omitted before **w**, unless glottal or **i** or a nasal precedes it. See the first unnumbered example above where the nasal **n** occurs before **ma** and the **a** is elided before **w**.

- (12) **wika yi - waly - aa - b - i - dero** 'I will whistle while coming down a gentle slope.'
 whistle do-down.little-motion-come-I-will(be)
 Note it is not ***yimwalyaabidero**.

A.5. Extended Meanings of Some Roots

Verb roots may occur in compounds, but then have an extended meaning; eg one form of "die" following another stem adds a meaning of continuity to that stem, see A.5.1. Similarly other roots, which historically may have had one meaning, now have an idiomatic meaning or meanings in compounds. Some partials do not occur as a simple stem, ie they occur only as compounds. Section A.5.3 covers idiomatic meanings and A.5.4 covers recurring partials.

A.5.1. The root **bali**

Some stems occur with a root, zero linkage (no merging), the root **bali** 'die' and the reflexive voice morpheme. The combination gives an aspectual meaning of continuity or of an event which continues for a long time like death continues. The following examples are in the general past tense, see B.3.7.

- (13) **mwali - bai - n - ako** 'He stayed a long time.'
 stay-die-reflex-he.past **mwali** becomes **mwali**
- (14) **wi - jav - i - bai - n - ono** 'We gave (food) to them for a long time.'
 them-give-link-die-reflex-we.past **wijaavi** becomes **wijavi**

Other roots, besides **bali** 'die', also occur with extended meanings, but do not appear to be as aspectual. These are **daakwi** 'stand (like a post)', **wari** 'lie', **waki** 'put'.

- (15) **yili - daakw - ono** 'We made (an earth oven) and let it be.'
 make.earth.oven-stand-we
- (16) **b - a - mwada' - n - ar - ewo** 'They came and stayed surrounding (the fence).'
 come-link-surround-reflex-lie-they
- (17) **mad - ak - ono** 'we built (a house) and left it (for the newlyweds)'
 build-put-we

The above three examples involve stative or position roots, and all have roughly the same meaning 'be' or 'leave'. Probably the following form is similar:

- (18) **tam - ak - ono** 'we killed them (hit - leave (dead))'
hit-put-we

A.5.2. The verb root aasi 'cause to move/send'

This form occurs in many compounds.

- (19) **w - aas - imo** 'I will send him'
go-cause.move-I.imm
- (20) **wi - d - aas - imo** 'I will send him with a message'
him-speak-send-I.imm

A.5.3. Idiomatic Meanings

The meanings in examples 13 to 20 agree with the general thrust of the language that the subject (referent) controls the event. The following examples are more idiomatic, but the subject is still considered to be controlling the action, see Keenan and Comrie 1977.

- (21) **wangan - aas - eno** 'I saw him off (purposely).'
see-send-I.past
'I saw him go (incidentally).'
'I saw in every direction
(I caused the view to move before me).'
- (22) **wangan - as - aa - w - eno** 'I went and saw him off
see-send-after-go-I.past
(on an aeroplane).'

Besides the more literal meaning there is an idiomatic meaning. For comparison this and similar forms are repeated here.

- wanganaaseno** 'I saw him off.'
(example 21) 'I allowed the view to move before me.'
- widaavimo** 'I want to come and speak to him.'
(see aa linkage) 'I want my speech to come to him.'
- wanganaabeno** 'I came and saw him.'
(example 9) 'I allowed the sight to come to me.'

The following form also has a literal and a figurative meaning.

- (23) **mar - angan - ako** 'He took it and looked at it.'
take-see-he.past

It also means in context 'he looked up'. Probably this is equivalent to the English meaning 'he took a look (at the sky)'.

A.5.4. Recurring Partial

There are many recurring partials within verb stems, which may have been recognizable verb roots in the past, or which are recognizable as verb roots but carry an idiomatic meaning or meanings in the compound stem. These act like roots tonally. Where possible individual meanings are given.

A.5.4.1. The verb root or recurring partial mwagi

mwagi ‘make a mat’	pimwagi explode.hold	‘shoot (gun)’ ?shoot.(arrow).cause.hold
	ye'mwagi	‘join’
	yiri'mwagi	‘turn end for end’
	yiwagi do.hold	‘dress for ceremony’

The meaning 'make a mat' has no relationship with the general meaning above. It may mean “make/do (weave) with hands repeatedly.” The core meaning seems to be an action done principally by hand. Note **limwagimo** 'I will hold it,' and **mwannimo** 'I will feel myself', **mwanni** ‘feel self’.

A.5.4.2. The verb root pali

pali ‘make a fireplace’ ‘roost (of bird)’	jaapali give(?).divide	‘separate/share’
	dapali cut.divide	‘cut in halves’
	yekivali	‘disobey’
	baipali die.force	‘kill with foot’
	jaaihivali	‘kick (of cassowary)’
	giripali harden.force	‘press dirt with foot’
	yipalamaari do.force.take	‘take by force’

The meaning of the single root and some compounds seems to be ‘an action done with the foot or by force’. There is a second meaning of ‘to halve or divide’.

A.5.4.3. The verb root mavi

mavi	‘sprinkle (salt on food)’	lo' ¹³mavi	‘go through gap or hole’
	‘plant (sweet potato vines)’	yesimavi	‘cut vine or stalk/shorten speech’
	‘walk with a stick’ (put stick down repeatedly)	kihimavi	‘cut around’
		yikumavi	‘cut cane’
		yiri'mavi ¹⁴	‘come around/put logs around’
		gi'mavi	‘circle many times (aeroplane)’
		circle	
		taa'mavi	‘drop bag from head backwards’
		baazi'mavi	‘put on shirt’ ‘put one inside another’
		yi'mavi	‘arrive at place’
		wiraa'mavi	‘spit’

The basic meaning may be ‘do a little action’.

A.5.4.4. The verb root tavi

tavi	‘poke into ground’ ‘make hole to plant taro’	yiravi	‘light fire/stoke fire’ (t > r)
		do	
		gitavi	‘make a loop’
		circle	
		lilaatavi	‘comb hair’
		wiraatavi ¹⁵	‘open lock/open joint’
		kutavi	‘make food go down (in bamboo)’
		tivitavi	‘push animal out (of tree)’
		davitavi	‘cut backs off cowries’

yaatavi untie	‘release bonds/ handcuffs’
paatavi open	‘open tin’
titavi	‘touch to fire’
yeipiravi put (in armband)	‘put long things into bag/put to protrude’
wisiravi	‘crumble with stick’
yoviravi	‘prepare/collect’

The basic meaning may be ‘do a medium action’, perhaps ‘use a tool or thing’.

A.5.4.5. The verb root gali

gali ‘catch’	yamwaaigali do.stay	‘press salt down in a mould’
	yamingali do	‘sew on shells’
	yiri'gali	‘frighten’

No basic meaning has been found.

A.5.4.6. The verb root puri

puri ‘cut (rattan)’ ‘fray reed’ ‘rub on clay’	paaburi cut	‘cut raw vegetable’
	woripuri cut(many)	‘cut eel (or dog) across’
	yijipuri cut(small things)	‘cut cane’
	kiraapuri	‘split wood’
	bwapuri smooth	‘resharpen’

The basic meaning of the root in compounds may be ‘do a stronger action/cut or trim’.

A.5.4.7. The verb root wiri

wiri ‘defecate’	yesiwiri cut/sharpen.cease	‘cut vine off’
	pawiri ¹⁶ rain(?).cease	‘(rain) cease’
	paangwiri cut sweet potato	‘eat raw sweet potato’
	yiwiri do.cease	‘miss hitting’
	taakuri	‘unwrap/open parcel’
	miwiri	‘stick to/become part of’
	gi'diwiri circle.curve	‘cut and bend back’

The basic meaning may be ‘cease/finish’.

A.5.4.8. The verb root bwari

bwari ‘plane/smooth’ ‘get animals from trap’	yawibwari	‘divide/sort/judge’
	yi'bwari gather	‘gather things or people’
	tilaa'bwari pull(strips)	‘dehusk (betel nut)’
	jiri'bwari	‘spread out to dry’
	dihaa'bwari	‘stand(heavy post)’
	di'bwari curve/loop	‘pull down branch’
	jiwa'bwari	‘pull out sweet potato’

A meaning is ‘smooth’ or ‘straighten’.

A.6. Examples of Complex Stems in Verbs

(24) **Gi - thav - a - gi - mihaas - i - de - i - gin - yiro.**

you-cut-link-you-throw.in.river-I-will(emb)-masc-you-be

‘You are the one I will kill and throw into the river (if you misbehave).’

This form illustrates the maximum of two overt prefixes (the first and fourth morphemes) found in the text concordance. These prefixes almost always have the same referent.

(25) **B - wal - a - lik - war - e - ngwal - aa - k - e - ng - i.**

come-down-link-dig-lie-respons-stay-after-go.he.past-emb-they-be

‘They are (the pieces) that went and came down and dug (holes) and lying there are responsible for (the lakes) being there.’

This form of five roots and one directional contains zero, **a**, **e**, and **aa** linkages.

B. Verbs (word level)

B.0. Introduction

When a person speaks he usually makes a statement which is positive **polarity** (versus negative), declarative **mood** (versus interrogative etc), and nil **dependency**, ie independent (versus dependent, etc, and embedded).

In both English and Baruya *action* verbs the features, positive, declarative, independent, are all unmarked. There are no special parts of speech to indicate any of these. In the discussion on each kind of verb the following order will be followed. Identificational verbs B.1, subjunctive B.5, and habitual verbs B.6 are described fully in their own sections. With other verbs, nonfuture and future, the following factors are discussed in separate sections: polarity B.7, mood B.8, dependency B.9 and embedding B.10. Then other forms are discussed in B.11.

B.0.1. Transitivity ¹

Some verbs can have a transitive sense, ie object is relevant either in the Clause or in the word.

Transitivity is not relevant with identificational or descriptive verbs. Some transitive verbs are unmarked on the word level and Object (note capital letter) occurs in a Clause. Other verbs have the possibility that an *object* prefix occurs, ie a) no object prefix occurs, or b) an optional object prefix can be present one time and absent another time, or c) an obligatory object prefix always occurs.

This is pertinent to the word, Section B, but also to the stem level, Section A. These stems can be derived forms when they occur with voice morphemes. This is one way type a) transitive verbs occur. See Hopper and Thompson, 1980 for a general discussion of transitivity. This may be compared with English, R. Lloyd, July 2014, Section 6.

B.0.2. Kinds of Predication

All verbs have their special sets of subject as a distinguishing feature. The kinds of predication are:

a) Identification or Description with four forms. This does not show time or tense in the verb, see B.1. English does mark tense in a verb phrase. Identificational verbs have no transitivity factor.

- b) Nonfuture Tense and or Aspect with 8 forms, see B.3.
- c) Future Tense with 2 forms, see B.4.
- d) Subjunctive covers a fuzzy or irrealis idea and some can be marked with future. There are three forms, see B.5. Subjunctive parallels the tense forms of B.3 and B.4 rather than being a mood as in English. That is, it has its own set of subject suffixes as have nonfuture and future tenses.
- e) Habitual has a special distribution and is unusual, being related to a simultaneous dependent verb.

B.0.3. Negative or Polarity

Negative interacts with mood, and takes different forms with mood and the different kinds of predication.

B.0.4. Mood

- a) Identificational verbs have four forms which vary according to mood, see B.1.a. Negative (see B.0.3) also occurs with three of these moods, see B.1.a.5.
- b) Nonfuture verbs are generally unmarked for declarative mood, showing a statement. They have prefixes for dubitative mood (doubt), and interrogative mood (simple question), and occur with a question word to show content question mood. See B.8.1 for the discussion of mood.
- c) Future verbs show moods differently, see B.8.2 dubitative, interrogative and question.
- d) Subjunctives form mood differently, and have undesired and unrealizable result forms, see B.5.
- e) Habituals occur with the appropriate mood form of identificational verbs, see B.6.

B.0.5. Dependency

This also interacts with mood and polarity.

All the the verbs in B.0.4 are:

- a) Independent or nil dependency, see B.1 – B.4, and B.5 and 6. Independent forms, unless marked for dependency, often occur in Sentence final position.

Then there are:

- b) Dependent verbs based on independent verbs, see B.1.b, B.9.1 and B.9.2.
- c) Dependent verbs in their own right, see B.9.3 – B.9.9. These dependent forms are semantically main line (backbone) of a Discourse on the Sentence level but are marked with reference to another Clause. These verbs have such features as future versus nonfuture, dynamic versus stative, same subject versus different subject in a neighbouring Clause, and sequential versus simultaneous actions. They often occur in Sentence medial position.
- d) Embedded verbs of two kinds, see B.9.10. Both independent and dependent verbs form the bases of embedded verbs. These latter can be the Nucleus of a Sentence when they occur with identificational verbs. The same form can be:
 - (1) A subordinate verb, which occurs in a Dependent Clause (Sentence level), usually occurs with an Independent Clause. The status of such verbs is much the same as type c) verbs in this section.
 - (2) An embedded verb whose Relative Clause is included inside another construction, such as inside a noun phrase or another Clause.

The many different factors make verbs highly complex.

B.1. Identificational or Descriptive Verbs

These verbs occur with various nominal or nominal modifier forms to make Identificational Clauses and identify or describe participants, props, scenery and local colour in Narratives or Conversations, Longacre 1964, page 35.

Some also occur freely in the body of Hortatory and especially Expository Discourses.

The structure of Identificational Clauses consists of a Subject Function manifested by noun phrases, locational phrases or time phrases, etc and a Predicate Function manifested by identificational verbs.

Identificational verbs are briefly described in R. Lloyd 1989. Tense is not indicated in the verb. A time element is indicated by temporals occurring in the Identificational Clause.

Because identificational verbs are so different from all other verbs they are described as combinations of mood, polarity and dependency. Other verbs are described as transitivity, kinds of predication (these are independent), then polarity, then mood, then the various dependencies.

B.1.a. Independent Identificational Verbs with mood and negative

B.1.a.1. Declarative

This mood occurs with the positive polarity identificational bound word **-yiro** 'be'.

This bound word occurs after the following bound words as parts of phrases – subject (eg **-i/lo** 'he', short¹⁷ and long forms), object (eg **-ri/rino** 'him'), location (eg **-ba/bano** 'at/loc'), time (eg **-gaa'/gaako** 'time'), instrument &/or association (eg **-ji/jino** 'with them'), reference (eg **-rina/rinano** 'about him'), source (eg **-daa'nyi/daa'nyino** 'from [there]') and similarity (eg **-bi'/biko** 'like[him]'). These are items of *case* or in Tagmemic terms - function. The bound words themselves are case or function markers. See R. Lloyd, 1989, Sections 2.3 and 2.4.

The allomorph **-ero** 'be' replaces the final **a** of short forms ¹⁷ of certain morphemes, **-siro** replaces **-wo** 'she'; **-iro** replaces the **o** of morphemes ending in **ngo** or **ko**; and **-yiro** replaces the final **o** of forms not covered above.

anga - b - ero
village-loc-be

'It is a village.'

a'mwe - siro
person-she.be = is

'She is a woman.'

a'mwe - ng - iro
person-they.fem-be

'They are women.'

da - i - n - yiro
this-masc-I-be

'Here I (a man) am.'

anga - ban - yiro
village-loc-be

‘It is a village.’

A *colloquial form* of the allomorphs of the declarative identificational bound word **-yiro** occurs with **a** replacing **o**. A *short form* of all these allomorphs elides the syllable **ro**.

a'mwe - sira
person-she.is

‘She is a woman.’ (colloquial)

a'mwe - si.
person-she.is

‘She is a woman.’ (short form)

Note that this form is homophonous or the same as “with a woman”

B.1.a.2. Dubitative (positive) mood **dingako** ‘may be/might be’

Dubitative depicts doubt about the situation mentioned. When it occurs with a rising intonation on the last syllable it means that the speaker is leaving the question open. He is not sure of the situation and is expressing his interest or participation with the hearer. When dubitative occurs with a falling intonation on the last syllable the speaker indicates that he is not sure, but is not expecting or inviting a response. Falling intonation is indicated in the examples by full stops, rising intonation by a question mark.

A'mwe - ' dingako?
person-she may.be

‘Might it be a woman? (what do you think?)’

Anga - ba dingako?
village-loc may.be

‘Might it be a village?’

Da - i - nyi dingako.
this-masc-I may.be

‘I might be the one (but please do not ask me).’

A'mwe - ' dingako.
person-she may.be

‘It might be a woman.’

The short form is again **dinga'** and the colloquial **dingaka**. An alternative pronunciation is **dihako**, with **diha'** and **dihaka**.

B.1.a.3. Interrogative (positive) mood **daako** ‘be?’

Yes-no interrogatives occurring with a rising intonation on the last syllable require a response. When they occur with a falling intonation on the last syllable and usually strong articulation they are rhetorical questions. A rhetorical question usually asserts strongly and colourfully the opposite truth to the face value of the statement. Again falling intonation is indicated in the examples by full stops, rising intonation by a question mark.

Saaminya - wi daa.
long-dest / loc be?

‘It is not a long way!’

Saaminya - wi daa?

‘Is it a long way?’

Saaminya - win - yiro.

‘It is a long way.’

long-dest/loc-be

Interrogatives occur with the same bound words as occur with declaratives. These are subject, object, location, time, instrument &/or association, source, and similarity. Dubitative and question also occur with these.

Besides the location examples above:

A'mwe - ' daako?

‘Is it a woman?’

person-she be?

Anga - ba daako?

‘Is it a village?’

village-loc be?

Anga - ' - bi' daako?

‘Is it like a house?’

house-she-like be?

The colloquial form is daaka, but the short form is daa (note that there is no final glottal stop contrary to the regular morphophonemic rule where -ko becomes glottal).

B.1.a.4. Question (positive) mood with -ako ‘question.be’

An identificational question, or information interrogative, consists of a question root plus person, number, gender as appropriate, plus case and the identificational question morpheme -ako ‘question.be’. A comprehensive study of question words appears in R. Lloyd 1989:116-126. These question words in their long forms occur as *Question Clauses* or *Sentences* when -ako replaces the final o of long forms. The Clause structure consists of

Questioned Function, eg Subject, filled by a subject question word and a Predicate filled by -ako.

Two intonations occur with Question Clauses. A rising intonation requests information. A falling intonation expresses censure, anger or displeasure or makes a colourful or strong statement.

Some examples are:

Be - ri - v¹⁸ - ako?

‘What is it?/What is she?’

what-fem-she-question.be

Be - van - ako?

‘What place is it?/What village is it?’

what-loc-question.be

Aai - h - wa - i - ny - ako?

‘Who am I?’ (Can you remember my name?)

who-the-agree-masc-I-question.be

The short form of the question identificational morpheme is -a', the colloquial form is -aka.

The question form does not occur in negative.

When the short form of bound words **-na** (reference) and **-ba** (location) occur with **ako**¹⁸, the combination becomes **-neko** and **-beko**.

Be - ' - n - eko¹⁸?

what-she-about-question.be

‘Why is it?’

‘What is that for?’

Ga - ra ga - r - eko?

which-way which-way-question.be

‘How many are there?’

Note the parallel with the similar English “how” and “how many”.

The reduplicated phrase with **gara** ‘how’ occurs with **eko**, but the manner question word itself only occurs in the long form with **-ako**.

Ga - ran - ako?

which-way-question.be?

‘How is it?/How did it happen?’

Dubitative also occurs with question words, but not with a question word plus question identificational morpheme, see also R. Lloyd 1989:116 and following.

Be - ri - ' dingako?

what-agree-she may.be

‘What might it be?’

Be - ' - na dingako?

what-she-about might.be

‘Why might it be?’

what-she-about = why

B.1.a.5. Negative with Moods

B.1.a.5.1. Negative declarative mood **miko** ‘not be’

Negative declarative occurs after the same bound words as listed under declarative in B.1.a.1. These bound words are in short forms, see R. Lloyd 1989, Section 1.3.

a'mwe - ' miko

person-she not.be

‘It is not a woman.’

anga - ba miko

village-loc not.be

‘It is not a village.’

da - i - nyi miko

this-masc-I not.be

‘I am not this male’

(I am not the male who did it.)

The colloquial form of negative is **mika**, and the short form is **mi'**, (**ko** becomes glottal).

B.1.a.5.2. Negative dubitative **mi-dingako**.

The two intonations occur with each.

A'mwe - ' mi - dingako.

person-she not-may.be

‘It may not be a woman.’

A'mwe - ' mi - dingako?

person-she not-may.be

‘May it not be a woman?’

B.1.a.5.3. Negative interrogative mi-daako

Some speakers pronounce the first part mi', which is then the same as the short form of negative mood (miko), ie mi'daako instead of midaako. The two intonations occur with each.

A'mwe - ' mi - daako?

person-she not-be?

‘Is it not a woman?’

A'mwe - ' mi - daako.

person-she not-be?

‘Surely it is a woman!’

B.1.b. Dependent Identificational Verbs

B.1.b.1. A noun phrase as a dependent identificational verb

In tail-head linkage within Paragraphs of Narratives, and perhaps Procedures, nominals ie minimal phrases, occur as subordinate identificational forms.

...nyivaalyarero. Nyivaalyara...

same.men.are the.same.men

‘... (they) are the same. Being the same they’...

B.1.b.2. Dependent identificational verbs with -ji dependent marker

In compound sentences, when a dependent quoting verb is elided, the quoted construction then occurs with the dependent morpheme -ji. The quoting verb and -ji are mutually exclusive. The combinations of identificational verbs plus -ji are:

-yiraji

be.with

be (am/are/is) (dependent)

myiraji

not.be.with

not be (am/are/is) (negative.dependent)

dingakaji

may.be.with

might be (am/are/is) (dubitive dependent)

midingakaji

may.not.be.with

might not be (am/are/is) (neg.dub.dependent)

daakaji

be?with

be? (am/are/is) (interrogative dependent)

midaakaji

not.be?with

not be? (am/are/is) (neg.interrogative dependent)

berivakaji

what.be.question.with

‘After you think “What is it?” (you)’

(question dependent)

This last one is based on the first example in B.1.a.4.

The dependent negative second example above appears as a more basic form than the expected ***mikaji**. This gives some support to the idea that the recurring partial **-ko** was historically a morpheme. Before **-ji** the final **o** becomes **a**. There is an alternative form for **-ji** which is **-ri**. This alternative form occurs with declarative, some negative forms (eg “ghost”), interrogative, but not with negative interrogative. It occurs with positive and negative dubitative, but not with question. The **-ri** with non-identificational verbs gives a stronger meaning, a necessary connection between the two Clauses and perhaps has the same meaning here.

The quoting verb is compared below with the dependent identificational verb.

"A'mwe'nyi daaka," dena wiramwa. 'I thought "I'm not a woman!" and (so)
I.a.woman be?.rhet I.said.and.I I.hit.him I hit him.'

A'mwe'nyi daakaji wiramwa. 'As I am not a woman I hit him.'
I.a.woman be?.rhet.with I.hit.him 'After I thought "I am not a woman," I hit him.'

Dependent identificational verbs occurring with independent identificational verbs

The dependent identificational verbs can also occur with the positive and negative declarative identificational verb to make an independent form. They usually occur in response to a question.

a'mwe - l - yira - jin - yiro 'It was after I thought "He is a man," (ie good)'
person-he-be-with-be

a'mwe - l - yira - ji miko 'It was not after I thought "He is a man."'
person-he-be-with not.be

I didn't test all possibilities here, but I recorded the following.

a'mwe - i myira - jin - yiro 'It was after I thought "He is not a man."'
person-he not.be-with-be

B.1.b.3. Unreal conditional word kwaji 'if (it) had been'

This is described in B.5.3.b (a subjunctive form), but because it occurs with nouns or noun phrases it is also an identificational verb, though a dependent one.

a'mwe - i - nyi kwaji 'If I had been a man....'
person-masc-I if.it.had.been

a'mwe - ' - nyi mwi kyaji 'If I had not been a woman...'
person-fem-I not.to.go if.it.had.done (This is not ***mikwaji**. See B.5.3.b.)

be - ri - ' kwaji 'If it had been what? ...'
what-agree-she if.it.had.been

These dependent constructions also occur with the independent identificational verbs, Section B.1.a.

a'mwe - i - nyi kwajin - yiro	‘It is, if (only) I had been a man’
person-masc-I if.it.had.been-be	(how I wish I had been a man)

Compare the following exclamatory form (R. Lloyd 1989, Section 2.7.1).

a'mwe - i - nyi kwajin - e	‘Oh, if I would have been a man!’
person-masc-I if.it.had.been-exclam	

be - ri - ' kwajin - ako	‘What would she have been?’
what-fem-she if.it.had.been-question.be	

be - ri - ' kwajin - yiro	‘It is, she would have been what?’
what-fem-she if.it.had.been-be	

These independent identificational verbs also occur with **-ji**, the dependent marker.

a'mwe - i - nyi kwajin - yira - ji	‘after I thought "It is, if I had been a man," ...’
person-masc-I if.it.had.been-be-with	

B.1.c. Embedded Identificational Verbs

Embedded quoted forms

Embedded identificational verbs occur in Quotes and co-occur with an optional quoting verb.

"A'mwelyir - e - va," (diwano)	‘(I thought) "He is a man".’
he.is.a.man-emb-she.quoted (I.thought)	

Other forms are:

a'mwei mikeva (diwano)	‘(I thought) "He is not a (real) man."'’
a.man not.be.quoted (I.thought)	

a'mwei dingakeva (diwano)	‘(I thought) “Maybe he is a man.”’
a.man may.be.quoted (I.thought)	

a'mwei midingakeva (diwano)	‘(I thought) " He may not be a man."'’
a.man may.not.be.quoted (I.thought)	

a'mwei daakeva (diwano)	‘(I thought) "Is he a man?"’
a.man be?quoted (I.thought)	

a'mwei midaakeva (diwano)	‘(I thought) "Is he not a man?"’
a.man not.be?quoted (I.thought)	

This construction gives a sense of the English “.....,” that is what I thought.’

B.2. Object (marked) Verbs or the Transitivity Factor

From the Verb Introduction, B.0.1 Transitivity, we find that verbs are influenced by the particular stem which occurs. The significant factors in stems are: object prefixes described in B.2.1, voice suffixes described in A.2.1., structure of derived stems in A.2.2, distribution of object prefixes with voice in A.2.3, and the classes of verb roots that occur, see A.3. From A.3 we see that class 3, class 4, and class 5 roots are pertinent to transitivity. From the Clause paper, R. Lloyd, 1986, we see that the etics (see the first paragraph of 0.2) or semantics of Object covers *patient*, *recipient*, *beneficiary*, and *experiencer* and probably others. I was still thinking of such items and case (including position) as function when Charles Fillmore, 1968 wrote his "The Case for Case". The particular Clause in which they occur also affects the verb as shown in the Clause paper. The occurrence of the object prefixes marks the verb as being used transitively. In English, position in relation to the verb (Predicate) marks Object and even Subject. In Baruya, human referents especially in first then second person occur as object prefixes ahead of other referents, compare B.2.1.

B.2.1. Object prefixes

These can denote experiencer, patient, goal, means (eg "through John"), origin (human source), recipient, beneficiary, or contrabeneficiary (against benefit), and substitute when embedded. These prefixes are in accordance with a hierarchy of person, there being three contrasts in first person, two in second person, and only one in third person.

Chart of Object Prefixes

		<u>number</u>		
		singular	dual	plural
<u>person</u>	first	nyi-	nehi-	ne-
	second	gi-	yih-	(yih-)
	third	wi-	(wi-)	(wi-)

The following arrays show the maximum number of tagmemes that can occur in the structure of verbs. Negative and mood and dependency will be expanded in later sections.

B.2.2. General Array 1 for nonfuture Transitive verbs

[neg/mood]	object	nucleus	[neg.aux]	tense &/or aspect	subject
<hr/>					
ma- / # decl	nyi- I	transitive	-yi do	-g / -h stat	subject morphemes
da- interr	nehi- we.dl	verb stem		-manig/-vanig cont	with person and
daha- dub	ne- we	(Section A)		-mw / -w comp	number distinctions
	gi- thee.2s			-yawaaih night	Sets 1- 4
	yih- you.2d,2p			-mwa'd/-wa'd near	
	wi- 3s,3d,3p			-yawalyaad prev	
				-ag / # past	
				-y far past	

Nonfuture verbs consist of a negative or mood function filled respectively by the negative morpheme or declarative (zero) or interrogative or dubitative mood morphemes, plus an object function filled by one of the object prefixes listed in the above array, plus a nucleus function filled by a transitive verb stem from Section A. Also occurring with negative function there is then an auxiliary negative function filled by the verb root ‘do’. Then a tense-aspect or tense function occurs filled by nonfuture tense-aspect or tense morphemes, plus a subject function filled by the appropriate subject person-number morphemes, sets 1-4. For these latter see the individual nonfuture tense verbs, B.3.

Occurrence of object function depends on the particular class of verb stem occurring as nucleus, see A.2.3, and A.3. Reflexive occurs instead of same person forms occurring in both object and subject.

B.2.3. General Array 2 Nonfuture verbs: Negative with interrogative and dubitative moods

negative	object	nucleus	neg.aux	mood	aux	(aspect)-tense	subject
ma-	nyi- etc	verb stem	-yi ‘do’	-da interr -jih dub	-yi ‘do’	General Array 1	General Array 1 according to tense

A negative verb in interrogative or dubitative mood consists of a negative function filled by **ma-** ‘not’, plus an object function filled by object prefixes B.2.1 [object occurs with certain stems], plus a nucleus function filled by verb stems, plus a negative auxiliary function filled by **-yi** ‘do’, plus a mood function filled by **-da** interrogative / **-ji** interrogative or **-jih** dubitative, plus an auxiliary function filled by **-yi** ‘do’, plus a tense function which can have aspect and is filled by the same forms as in General Array 1, plus a subject function which is filled by the appropriate subject affix set.

Interrogative and auxiliary becomes **-ji** and could be **-da** interrogative plus **-yi** ‘do’ (auxiliary), or **-ji** interrogative plus **-yi**. The morphophonemics produce the same form.

I illustrate the unmarked positive, declarative and independent forms, using present complete examples.

nyi - mwaai - hi - w - ako

‘He put me here.’

me-stay-cause-comp-he

g - yi - n - yi - w - ako

‘He washed himself for you.’

you-do-reflex-do = ben-comp-he

wi - vi - w - ako

‘He shot him/her with an arrow.’

him-shoot-comp-he

nalaaya n - yi - w - ako

‘I am ill (it does illness to me).’

illness me-do-comp-it

See examples 3-6 in Section A.

nyi - jaavi - w - ako

‘He gave it to me.’

me-give-comp-he

I seek to not only give the structure of these verbs, but also to reveal the genius or distinctives of the language in the examples.

I expect that the simplification which happened in the English language, Old to Modern English, will eventually happen in the Baruya language – the speakers will keep the forms in B.3.1, B.3.2, B.3.3, probably B.3.4, and definitely B.3.7 but drop the rest, and use temporals instead. That is a reason for having a record of the full original grammar.

B.2.4. Transitivity (Quality of Verbs and functions with which they occur)

B.2.4.0. Introduction

Another angle which is only covered indirectly in Stem, Section A, is the effect inherent qualities of stems, voice morphemes and object prefixes have on verbs. To some degree this is reflected in the order of presentation of the verbs. This section is an expansion of B.0.1.

B.2.4.1. Identity and State

Verbs are given as identifying qualities, and various inanimate things, animate things and people, B.1. Then the state of a thing, animal, or person is described, B.3.1.

B.2.4.2. Aspect and Tense

Verbs are then described as the aspects, continuous and complete, in Sections B.3.2 and B.3.3.

Then the verbs where *time* is more important are given, B.3.4, B.3.5, B.3.6, B.3.7, B.3.8, B.4.1, B.4.2. Then fuzzy, contingent “unreal” verbs are described, B.5.

Habitual (customary) verbs with their link to mainline dependent verbs are given in B.6.

Then more of such dependent or interdependent forms occur in B.9.

B.2.4.3. Discussion

The identificational or descriptive verbs, where transitivity is not relevant, and present stative verbs do not occur with object prefixes. For full details see A.3.1, and compare A.3.3, A.3.4, and A.3.5.

An ascending order of transitivity can be observed. The different kinds of stative verb roots (class 1) have no transitivity, A.3.1. Then class 2 roots have none or low transitivity. These include such roots as ‘shine, grow, die, rot’. Motion roots occur with Source and Destination functions. Then other roots which have Objects (Clause level) which are manifested by inanimate items, and occur in the Clause but are not marked on the verb, such as ‘build (a house), plant (seeds, etc), climb (a tree),’ and the following which can also have an animate Object – ‘become (a leader).’ Then class 3 has roots which can occur with object prefixes, and experiential roots class 4, and class 5 which must occur with them.

All these factors of transitivity affect not only the verb, but also the Clause, see my “Thoughts or the Clause in Baruya” originally analysed in 1986. There the roll of Object function in the Clause can be seen and compared with its absence. The object function in the verb covers undergoer or patient (eg I see him), experiencer (tiredness does to me), recipient (I gave it to him), means (He sent it through me), beneficiary (He did it for me/my benefit).

The two main affix sets in the verb are subject which occurs in almost every verb, and object function which occurs with some roots and stems.

Subject function covers doer or acter or agent (I see him), causer (I put it), ?ambulator (I go), existent (I stay/live), and probably others. The meaning of experiencer (I feel sick), as subject function is true for English, but not Baruya. In Baruya there is no Subject function in such a Clause and the subject of

the verb is the impersonal “it” as distinct from “it” neuter. This is the equivalent of an unmarked subject, see discussion under A.3.4, experiential verb roots.

Subject function brings its item into main view or prominence. Another term for this is perspective. Philippines languages have the idea of focus and trace a function or role or an item or participant throughout a Discourse. I thought their “object focus” was similar to a passive idea. Other Philippines linguists call this TOPIC, ie subject-as-topic, object-as-topic etc, Longacre 1964, pages 50,51.

Object function is a second view or perspective. Baruya has marking on the items in both Subject and Object function in the Clause, and Object usually follows the Subject. Clause level function is shown by the capital letters in the preceding sentence. In word level we have subject and sometimes object marked in the verb. These functions are shown in lower case letters. If there is an Indirect Object or recipient function it is the one that is marked by the object prefix in the verb.

Some linguists talk of deep and surface structure. I believe that instead of talking about deep structure we should search out further functions not only in grammar, but in meaning or semantics.

B.3. Non-future Verbs (of Kinds of Predication, see B.0.2)

There are eight verbs in this set which form the various moods in the same way and which basically have the same distribution. Moods are described in B.8. These verbs occur in Conversation and in Narrative. Independent forms, B.3, typically mark the end of a Paragraph in Narrative. Other distributions are given where appropriate. Stative verbs are the first ones described so will be presented more fully. Dependent, ie those based on independent forms, B.9, and also embedded forms are presented later, B.10.

The basic structure (ie positive, declarative, independent) for all nonfuture verbs is given in General Array 1. Declarative mood, positive and independent are unmarked.

B.3.1. (Present) Stative Aspect Verb

Stative verbs do not occur with object prefixes, see array below. They often occur in the setting of Narratives or Narrative Paragraphs and in Descriptive Discourse. Only stative stems, see Section A, and **yi** ‘do’, when it occurs with a stative infinitive or gerund, occur as stative verbs. They describe a state of being, either a natural state, as **waayi** ‘be/live (of vegetation)’, or a derived state, as **manni** ‘be built’. Stative verbs are somewhat noun-like and often occur as embedded forms with identificational verbs. They can often be translated naturally by existential forms in English, compare Baruya Existential Clauses under Identificational Clauses, R. Lloyd 1986.

Stative does not occur with the object function unless causative or benefactive voice occurs.

B.3.1.a. Independent Declarative Stative Verbs

Array 1 : Independent stative verb

nucleus	aspect	subject (set 1)

stative stem class 1	-g	-eno ‘I’
(A.3.1.1 & 2)	-h	-olo ‘we dual’
and yi ‘do’	(stative)	-ono ‘we’
		-ino ‘you (sing)’
		-ilo ‘you dual,they dual’

-awo ‘you all, they all’

#

-iko ‘he, she, it’

An independent stative verb consists of a nucleus function filled by stative stems, plus an aspect function filled by the stative morpheme (three allomorphs), plus a subject function filled by subject suffixes set 1.

The three forms of the stative morpheme occur as follows:

unmarked	with third person singular, otherwise
-h	with stems ending in vi , ri , or li ⁷
-g	elsewhere

Wari - iko. - > Wariko.

‘It is there./It lies there.’

be/lie-stat.it (i - > i)

Mwaali - h - eno. - > Mwaiiheno.

‘I am here./I stay.’

stay-stat-I (li - > i non-syllabic)

Note that the filler of subject is ‘I’, but it belongs to set 1 suffixes. This ‘I’ must be understood to mean ‘I, set 1’. The subject suffix is always appropriate to the particular verb in which it occurs. This applies to all the verbs hereafter.

Daavi - h - eno. - > Daakeno.

‘I stand here./I stand.’

stand-stat-I (vi + h - > h - > k)

(Aalya) yi - ni - g - eno.

‘I wash myself.’ (water do to self)

water do-self-stat-I

Human and dog subjects obligatorily occur and other animate subjects optionally occur in singular, dual and plural forms. Inanimate subjects are always marked in the verb for singular number.

Yisa waayiko.

‘There are trees there.’

trees it.stands

Yisai waayiko.

‘There is a (large) tree there.’

a.tree it.stands

Remember that stative roots by themselves do not occur with object function in the verb, A.3.1.

B.3.2. (Present) Incomplete Aspect Verb

Incomplete verbs describe a continuous action or process going on at the time of utterance. They also describe an incomplete action or process, not being done at the time of utterance, but which will be continued in the future. There are some actions the speaker can decide to view as complete, see B.3.3, or incomplete (this section). Thus, for the same situation, he could say **yiwano** ‘I have finished work (for the day)’ (complete), or **yivanigeno** ‘I am working on my garden (incomplete)’ (but the speaker is not in the garden at the time).

Incomplete verbs usually occur in Conversations, and sometimes in Narratives of daily happenings.

B.3.2.a. Independent Incomplete/Continuous Verbs

Array 2 : Independent continuous verb			
(object)	nucleus	aspect	subject (set 1)
See B.2.1 and B.2.2	(any) stem	-mani - g	Set 1 - Please see B.3.1.a
See Chart A.2.3 for occurrence with different roots		-vani - g -mani with he/she -vani with he/she (continuous)	

When the object function occurs it is nuclear to the word. Its occurrence depends on the specific verb root which occurs, see A.2.3 and A.3.

The independent continuous verb consists of an object function which occurs with certain verb stems and is filled by object prefixes B.2.1, followed by a nucleus function filled by a verb stem, plus an aspect function filled by the continuous morpheme consisting of four allomorphs plus a subject function filled by subject suffixes set 1, the same as in B.3.1.

The form of the incomplete/continuous morpheme without final **g** occurs with third person singular. The forms beginning with **m** occur with morphemes ending in **vi** or **ri** (which become glottal) and **li** (which becomes **i** non-syllabic) and polysyllabic stems ending in **b**, **d**, **g**, **m**, and **n** (which phonemes are lost). The forms beginning with **v** occur elsewhere. An exception to these rules is the stem **wijaavi** 'give to him' which occurs with **-vanig** after the **vi** of the stem is lost. The hyphen between the first two forms indicates that the continuous aspect occurs in two parts with motion stems and directionals. The **g** partial seems to be related to the stative aspect morpheme, see B.3.1.a. Some of these possibilities are illustrated here.

yi - vanig - eno 'I am doing it.'
do-cont-I

In parallel with B.3.1 we have **wa' - manig - eno** lie-cont-I 'I am lying down.' (**wari** 'lie'), **mwaaimanigeno** 'I am staying.' (**mwaali** 'stay'), **wangamanigeno** 'I am seeing it.' (**wangani** 'see'), **wijaavanigeno**, 'I am giving it to him.' (**wijaavi** 'give to him').

yi - van - iko 'He is doing it.'
do-cont-he

Directionals with continuous motion verbs Compare with the complete form in B.3.3.

Directional	aspect	motion	motion.nucleus	aux.aspect	subject
wil- up gently	mani-	aa-	wi 'go'	-g	set 1 suffixes
yil- up steeply	vani-		bi 'come'		
wal- down steeply	See				
walyi- down gently	Array 2				

wi - man - aa - wi - g - eno	‘I am going up a gentle slope.’ (wilaawi ‘go up’)
up.gently-cont-motion-go-cont-I	The directional wil becomes wi before m (wil -> wi).
The directional yil - becomes yi , and wal - becomes wai before the aspect morpheme with initial m .	
walyi - van - aa - bi - h - e	‘I am coming down a gentle slope.’
down.gently-cont-motion-come-cont-I	

B.3.3. (Present) Complete Aspect Verb

Complete verbs, in their basic use, describe an action or process as completed. They are a kind of immediate past as they refer to actions and processes completed, usually on the day of utterance. They also describe an active or perfective situation. These verbs occur freely in Conversation and Narratives of a day’s events.

Complete verbs with **yi** ‘do’ in interrogative and dubitative moods compound with immediate future to show immediate future interrogative and immediate future dubitative, and also these with question mood – see B.8.2. These are similar in form to negative interrogative and dubitative complete verbs, compare General Array 2. A declarative complete verb is also used in a future sense eg ‘I’ve gone (so you will have to do something in a hurry to change the situation).’

A complete verb with **yi** ‘do’, in an embedded form, preceded by a Quote in first person immediate future gives a meaning of frustrated or unfulfilled intention eg ‘I, who intended to cut wild cane, am going to Wonenara instead.’ See Unfulfilled Sentences in ‘The Sentence in Baruya’, R. Lloyd 1987.

B.3.3.a. Independent Complete Verbs

Array 3 : Independent complete verb

(object)	nucleus	aspect	subject (set 2)
nyi - I	(any) stem	-mw	-ano ‘I’
nehi - we.2			-olo ‘we 2’
ne - we		-w	-ono ‘we’
gi - thee.2s			-aano ‘you’
yih - you.2d.2p		(complete)	-aalo ‘you/they 2’
wi - 3s.3d.3p			-aawo ‘you all/they’
			-ako ‘he/she/it’
			Set 2

The independent complete verb consists of an object function filled by object prefixes which occur with certain stems, plus a nucleus function filled by verb stems, plus an aspect function filled by the complete morpheme, see above, and a subject function filled by subject suffixes set 2, as listed above. The complete aspect parallels the continuous aspect, B.3.2.a. The complete morpheme **-mw** occurs with stems ending in **vi**, **ri** (which become glottal), **li** (which becomes non-syllabic **i**), and polysyllabic stems ending in **bi**, **di**, **gi**, **mi**, **ni** (which are lost). The form **-w** occurs elsewhere. These changes parallel the

incomplete forms, B.3.2.a. Some speakers pronounce the velar nasal **ng** before **w**. There are changes with directionals and motion roots.

yi - w - ano 'I did it/I have done it.'
do-comp-I

yi - w - ako 'He did it (today).'
do-comp-he

ny - anga - mw - ako 'He saw me.' (**wangani** 'see')
me-see-comp-he

In parallel with this word there are: **mwaai - mw - ako** stay-comp-he 'he stayed' (**mwaali** 'stay'), **maa'-mw-ako** take-comp-he 'he took it' (**maari** 'take').

Directionals and motion roots **bi** 'come' and **wi** 'go' with complete aspect

Take special note that these occur with subject affixes set 1, except that 'you all/they' are the same as set 2. This modified set 1, called set 1a, occurs also with near past and mid past tenses. Compare the parallel structure as given in B.3.2, except that the auxiliary aspect/tense does not occur.

wi - mw - aa - b - eno 'I came up gently.'
up-comp-motion-come-I

wi - mw - aa - b - iko 'He came up gently.'
up-comp-motion-come-he

wi - mw - a - b - aawo 'They came up gently.'
up-comp-motion-come-they

An **aa** in a syllable preceeding an **aa** becomes **a** (**aaCaa** -> **aCaa**).

Compare the above with:

bi - w - ano 'I came.'
come-comp-I

B.3.4. Last Night Past Tense Verb

The last night past verb describes a situation or event which happened the previous night or the previous afternoon, often the time when people return to the village. It occurs freely in Conversation and Narrative.

B.3.4.a. Independent Last Night Verb

Array 4 : Independent last night verb

(object)	nucleus	tense	subject 1
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General Array 1	(any) verb stem	-yawaaih	See stative
		-yawaal	verb, B.3.1.a

occurs with 'he'

(last night)

Perhaps the **h** of the tense morpheme is related to the stative morpheme.**Yawaaih - eno**

'I did it last night.'

do.night-I

wangan - yawaal - iko

'He saw them yesterday afternoon.'

see-night-he

wil - aa - b - yawaal - iko

'He came up last night.'

up-motion-come-night-he

There are no special forms here, compare continuous aspect, B.3.2, complete B.3.3, etc.

B.3.5. Near Past Tense Verbs

The near past verb describes a situation or event which happened the previous morning to as long ago as a week, or possibly two. It occurs freely in Conversation and Narrative.

B.3.5.a. Independent Near Past

Array 5 : Independent near past verb

(object)	nucleus	tense	subject 1a

See Gen.Array 1	(any) verb	-mwa'-d	same as set 1 except
	Stem	-wa'-d (near past)	-aawo 'you all/they'

The two forms of the near past morpheme have the same distribution as the two forms of the complete aspect morpheme, see array in B.3.3.a. The only difference between subject suffixes set 1 and 1a is that 'you all' and 'they' are both **-aawo** (not **-awo**). The hyphen between the first two forms indicates that the near past morpheme occurs in two parts with motion stems and directionals as in B.3.2 and B.3.3. For the structure of this latter see B.3.2.a.

yi - wa'd - eno

'I did it last week.'

do-near-I

wanga - mwa'd - iko

'He saw it last week.'

see-near-he

Directionals and motion roots have the following form in near past.

wi - mwa'd - aa - v - ad - iko

'He came up last week.'

up-near-motion-come-near-he

(DV**b** -> DV**y**; D is a prenasalized stop.)

The repeated part of the near past morpheme behaves the same way and has the same form as the durative morpheme, which it historically may have been. The directional and the motion root trigger the partial reduplication, compare the structure in B.3.2.a, and B.3.3.a.

B.3.6. Previous Tense Verbs

The previous verb describes a situation or event which happened before or prior to another situation or event. Compare English pluperfect (past perfect) verbs. It occurs in Conversation and Narrative, but is not as common as other tenses. Nine occurrences of this tense/aspect occur in the text concordance compared with 31 of near past. In six of these occurrences the verb is embedded. It is described here because it usually occurs with either near past or general past verbs. One speaker treated this form as another tense between near and general past, and it could be called **recent past**.

B.3.6.a. Independent Previous Verbs

Array 6 : Independent previous verb			
(object)	nucleus	tense	subject 1a
See Gen Array 1	(any) verb stem	-yawalyaad (previous)	same as set 1 except -aawo 'you all/they'

The **yawal** of the "previous" morpheme with a regular morphophonemic change is probably the same partial as **yawaai/yawaal** of the last night tense morpheme.

yawalyaad - eno 'I did it previously (to that.)'
do.previous-I

wangan - yawalyaad - iko 'He did it previously.'
see.previous-he

wil - aa - b - yawalyaad - iko 'He came up previously.'
up-motion-come-previous-he

Note that there is no reduplication here as there is in some other forms, eg B.3.3.

B.3.7. General Past Tense Verbs

The general past verb describes a situation or event which happened about a month to a year or more before the time of utterance. It occurs freely in Conversation and Narrative:

B.3.7.a. Independent General Past Verbs

Array 7 : Independent general past verb			
(object)	nucleus	tense	subject 3
See General Array 1	(any) verb stem	-ag/# -ag/# -ag/# -ag -ag -ag/# # (general past)	-eno 'I' -olo 'we 2' -ono 'we' -ino 'you' -ilo 'you/they 2' -ewo 'you all/they' -ako 'he/she/it'

The past tense morpheme is unmarked with 'he', **-ag** with **-ino** 'you' and **-ilo** 'you 2/they 2', and is **-ag** or unmarked with other subject suffixes.

y - ag - eno or **y - eno**
do-past-I do-I.past

'I did it.'

wangan - ako
see-he.past

'He saw it.'

wil - aa - b - ah - ino
up-motion-come-past-you

'You came up.' (DV_g -> DV_h)

The same subject sequential non-future verb (B.9.3) parallels this form; though, where the tense morpheme is optional with the general past verb, it is obligatorily absent with the sequential verb.

B.3.8. Far Past Tense Verbs

The far past verb describes a situation or event which happened several years ago or in mythical times. It can occur in Conversation but is more common in Myths and other Narratives.

B.3.8.a. Independent Far Past Verbs

Array 8 : Independent far past verb			
(object)	nucleus	tense	subject 4
See General	(any) verb stem	-y	-aano 'I'
Array 1		(far past)	-aawolo 'we 2'
			-aawono 'we'
			-eno 'you'
			-elo 'you/they 2'
			-aawo 'you all/they'
			-aako 'he/she/it'

Some subject suffixes have a recurring partial **aa** or **aaw**.

y - aano
do.far-I

'I did it long ago.'

wangan - y - aako
see-far-he

'He saw it long ago.'

wil - a - b - y - aako
up-motion-come-far-he

'He came up long ago.'

B.4. Future Tense Verbs

There are two future tenses and these occur with the same set of subject suffixes. They occur with

different systems of mood than nonfuture moods do. Future tenses occur mainly in Conversation and Hortatory Discourse and rarely in Narrative. In future verbs, second person dual and plural subjects are the same. In nonfuture verbs, B.3, second and third person dual subjects are the same, and second and third person plural are the same.

B.4.1. Immediate Future Verbs

(hortative, desiderative, obligative, optative, and with second person, imperative).

An immediate future verb has a wide range of meanings as given above. The context and intonation govern which particular meaning the hearer understands. Hortative is usually first person dual or plural. Optative is often third person.

B.4.1.a. Independent Immediate Future Verbs,

Array 9 a: Positive non-imperative (declarative) immediate future verb

(object)	nucleus	tense-subject 5 (non second person)

nyi- me	(any) verb stem	-mo / -imo 'I'
nehi- us.2		-ako 'we 2'
ne- us		-aano 'we'
gi- thee		-ano 'he'
yih- you2.all		-yiko 'they 2'
wi- him.them		-piko 'they'

Objects occur according to the kind of stem, see A.2.3 and A.3.

Array 9 b : Imperative verb

imperative	(object)	nucleus	subject 5 (second person)

di-	See Array 9a.	(any) verb	-ko, -o, -yo, -amo, -mo 'you'
(command)		stem	-ano, -no, -ono 'you'
			-yilo 'you 2/you all'

The subject suffix **-ko** replaces stem final **ri** or **vi** (except **wijaavi** 'give to him', which occurs with **-mo**); **-o** replaces the **i** of stems ending in **li, mi, ji, si, yi** and polysyllabic stems with **-ni** or **-wi**; **-yo** replaces the **i** of stems ending in velars plus **i** and **pi**; **-amo** replaces the **i** of **bi** 'come'; **-mo** replaces **bi** of polysyllabic stems; **-ano** replaces the **i** of monosyllabic stems **ni, di**; **-no** replaces the final syllable of polysyllabic stems ending in **di**; **-ono** replaces the **i** of **wi** 'go' (monosyllabic). This last form probably derives from **wawi** plus **-ano** -> **wono**. The imperative prefix is optional if object prefixes occur.

Examples of non-imperative forms

y - i - mo 'I will do it now. / Let me do it! / I want to do it.'
do-I-imm.fut This can also be : do-I-imm.fut .

mwaai - biko **mwaali** 'stay' 'let them stay'
stay-they.imm.fut

Other speakers pronounce this **mwaaiipiko**. After **i**, **p** optionally becomes **b**.

Full stems occur before **-piko** when they end with **yi, hi, ki, ji, pi, si, wi, bi** ‘come’, **vi** (if **wijaavi** ‘give’) or **ngi**. One example is **yi - piko** ‘let them do it.’

The final syllable is lost when it is **ri** or **vi** (not **wijaavi** ‘give’). The final syllable becomes fused to **-biko** when it is **bi** (not **bi** ‘come’) **di, gi, mi**, or **ni**.

When a stem ends in **li** this becomes nonsyllabic **i** and either **-biko** or **-piko** follows it.

wa - piko	wari ‘lie’	‘Let them lie (sleep).’
lie-they.imm.fut		

wanga - biko	wangani ‘see’	‘They want to see it.’
see-they.imm.fut		

wi - jaavi - piko	wijaavi ‘give’	‘Let them give (it) to him.’
them-give-they.imm.fut		

Imperative forms See Array 9b.

j - o	di plus y -> j	‘Do it!’
imp.do-you		

di - thaa - ko	daavi ‘stand’	‘Stand up!’
imp-stand-you		

DV**d** -> DV**th** D is a prenasalized stop. V is a vowel.

di - limwag - yo	limwagi ‘hold’	‘Hold it!’
imp-hold-you		

di - v - amo	bi ‘come’	‘Come!’
imp-come-you	DV b -> DV v	

di - n - ano	ni ‘eat’	‘Eat it!’
imp-eat-you		

di - vuri - no	buridi ‘plant’	‘Plant them!’
imp-plant-you		

di - w - ono	wi and wawi ‘go’	‘Go!’
imp-go-you		

di - w - ilo		‘You all go!’
imp-go-you.all		

nyi - d - ano

me-speak-imm.fut.you

‘Speak to me!/ Tell me!’ (Also dinyidano.)**B.4.2. Future Verbs**

Future verbs cover time in the future from one day onward. The occurrence of feminine singular and plural in embedded forms sometimes signals stages of time for future verbs. Feminine singular signals several days ahead; plural signals many days ahead or far future (ie “time” or “times” in the future).

B.4.2.a. Independent Future Verbs

Array 10 : Positive future declarative (and imperative) verb

imperative (object)	nucleus	subject 5	future	identity-mood
See	(any) verb	#!/i ‘I’	-d	-ero
Array 9a	stem	-aka ‘we 2’ -aa ‘we’		declarative ‘be’
di-	Occurrence	-,i,ya,#,a,o ‘you sing’		
di-	of object	-yi ‘you.dl/you all’		
command	depends on	-a ‘he’		
	what verb	-yika ‘they dl’		
	stem occurs.	-pi’ ‘they’		

Future verbs are thus immediate future forms with the addition of dero.

The changes in subject morphemes before **-d** (future morpheme) are shown. These are according to fairly regular rules. It will be noted that the ko of certain morphemes becomes **ʼ** (glottal) in second person singular and third person plural, but ka in first person dual and third person dual. This maintains contrasts of the latter with certain verbs in second person singular. In second person singular, see B.4.1.a, **-ko** becomes glottal, as above, **-o** becomes ya, forms which are or end in mo and no lose these forms, producing **#**, **a**, or **o**.

Y - i - d - ero

do-I-will-declarative

‘I will do it./It is I will do it.’ (**yi** ‘do’)**mwaai - bi’ - d - ero**

stay-they-will-declarative

‘They will stay./ It is they will stay.’ (**mwaali** ‘stay’)

[The equivalent second meaning also occurs below.]

wa - pi’ - d - ero

lie-they-will-declarative

‘They will sleep.’ etc (**wari** ‘lie’)**j - i - th - ero**

imp.do-you-will-declarative

(DVd -> DVth)

‘You will do it.’ etc

di - thaa’ - d - ero

imp-stand.you-will-declarative

‘You will stand.’ etc (**daavi** ‘stand’)

di - limwag - ya - th - ero imp-hold-you-will-declarative	‘You will hold it.’ etc (limwagi ‘hold’)
di - v - a - th - ero imp-come-you-will-declarative (Also divadero occurs.)	‘You will come.’ etc (bi ‘come’)
di - vur - i - d - ero imp-plant-you-will-declarative	‘You will plant.’ etc (buridi ‘plant’)
di - w - o - d - ero imp-go-you-will-declarative	‘You will go.’ etc (wi / wawi ‘go’)
di - w - i - d - ero ild -> iid -> id imp-go-you.all-will-declarative	‘You all will go.’ etc.
(daata) d - aka - d - ero song speak-we.dl-will-declarative	‘We two will sing.’ etc (di ‘speak/sing’)

B.5. Subjunctive Verbs

All subjunctives occur with the same set of subject suffixes and describe a situation or event as nebulous, fuzzy, or hypothetical/contingent on something else. The presentation follows that of the identificational verbs, B.1, ie combining negative, mood, dependency and embedding. Some forms occur in dependent and/or embedded forms without occurring as the expected independent forms. Probably at first certain forms were preferred, then later only these were used. The degree or reality of the situation is in focus, not the time element. Like the habitual and simultaneous verbs, subjunctives do not occur with the change of subject morpheme **ka-**.

Subjunctive in English is a mood, but in Baruya it parallels the tense verbs, having its own set of subject morphemes as they do. Mood can occur with subjunctives.

B.5.1. Simple Subjunctive Verbs

The numbering does not fully parallel that of the identificational nor the tense verbs.

B.5.1.a.1. Independent Positive Question Simple Subjunctive

All subjunctives have degrees of unreality, but the simple subjunctive has the least.

The positive subjunctive only occurs in independent form with question mood. See below for negative.

The structure of the positive question is:

Array 11 Independent positive simple subjunctive question

(object)	nucleus	subject	simple	mood

See A.2.3, A.3	(any) verb stem	-mwi/-wi ‘I’ -aka ‘we 2’	-na (full form is	-ako (question)

-**aan** 'we' -**nano**)
 -**din/n** 'you'
 -**yika** 'you/they 2'
 -**pi** 'you all/they'
 -**an** 'he/she/it'

Set 6

An independent simple subjunctive question verb consists of an object function which occurs with certain verb stems and is filled by the object morphemes listed in B.2.1, plus a nucleus function filled by verb stems, plus a subject function filled by subject set 6 as listed, plus a simple aspect function filled by the morpheme **-na** 'simple subjunctive', plus a question mood marker function filled by **-ako** question identificational bound verb.

Only the short form **-na** occurs with mood. It may be the referent morpheme, but if so, simple subjunctives are the only verbs it occurs with in independent form.

A question word must occur with the subjunctive in question mood.

Be - ri - ' yi - n - n - eko? na + ako -> neko 'What should you do?'
 what-fem-she do-you.subjunct-simple-question.be

Because negative, mood, and dependency are tied in with subjunctive these are treated together.

B.5.1.a.2. Negative Simple Subjunctive

Array 12 Negative subjunctive (declarative)

negative	(object)	nucleus	subject	simple	mood
ma- (negative)	See A.2.3, A.3	(any) verb stem	- mwi/-wi 'I' - aka 'we 2' - aan 'we' - din/n 'you' - yika 'you/they 2' - pi 'you all/they' - an 'he/she/it'	- na	- ero = "be" (declarative)

Set 6

A negative declarative subjunctive verb consists of a negative function filled by **ma-** negative prefix, plus an object function which occurs with certain verb stems and is filled by object prefixes B.2.1, plus a nucleus function filled by verb stems, plus a subject function filled by set 6 subject suffixes, plus a simple subjunctive marker function filled by the simple morpheme **-na**, plus the declarative mood function filled by **-ero**.

*The negative subjunctive does not occur with **yi** 'do' following the stem, compare General Array 1, in Section B.2. The construction can occur without **-ero** (declarative). This gives more force to the suggestion, and the form seems dependent though it works as an independent. Perhaps it is exclamatory. Speakers of the Baruya language rarely use the negative imperative, ie prohibitive. The second person negative subjunctive is used instead.*

The first alternative of subject suffixes in the above array, occurs with stems ending in **vi**, **ri**, **li** and polysyllabic stems ending in **bi**, **di**, **gi**, **mi**, and **ni**. The second alternative occurs elsewhere, for details compare B.3.3.a.

m - yi - wi - n - ero 'It is the case that I should not do it.'
not-do-I.subjunc-simple-be

m - yi - wi - na 'I should not do it!'
not-do-I.subjunc-simple

m - wanga - mwi - n - ero 'It is the case that I should not see it.)
not-see-I.subjunc-simple-be (wanganì 'see')

m - wanga - din - n - ero 'It is the case that you should not see it.'
not-see-you.subjunc-simple-be
No other moods in independent forms are acceptable to the speakers of the language.

B.5.1.b. Dependent Simple Subjunctive

Change of subject morpheme **ka-** does not occur.

B.5.1.b.2. Simple subjunctive with dependent marker -ji

This only occurs with the independent question form. The allomorph **-ri** does not occur, see B.5.1.

be - ri - ' yi - wi - n - eka - ji 'after (I thought) "What should I do?" ...'
what-fem-she do-I.subjunc-simple-question.be-with

Identificational verbs occur with this form, see the possible moods under B.1.a.

beri' yiwinekajin - yiro 'It was after I thought, "What should I do?"'
what I.should.do?with-be

B.5.1.b.3. Dependent conditional subjunctive

This is a **conditional** form of subjunctive and it only occurs as an *embedded form*, see B.5.1.c.2. The likely full dependent form would have had the structure:

stem - subjunctive subject suffixes - dependent marker

***yi - wi - ji** 'If I should do it.../After I should do it ...'
do-I.subjunc-with

This form does occur in the unrealizable condition, see 5.3.b.4. See B.5.1.c. for the embedded form.

B.5.1.c. Embedded Simple Subjunctives

yi - wi - n - e - i - nyi 'I, a man who should do it ...'
do-I.subjunc-simple-emb-masc-I

B.5.1.c.1. Embedded independent subjunctives

These occur with identificational bound words or verbs after the embedder morpheme. There is a bigger range of moods in embedded forms.

yi - wi - n - e - i - ny - iro

‘I am the man who should do it.’

do-I.subjunc-simple-emb-masc-I-be

These verbs carry the additional element of ability eg ‘I am the man who can do it.’ = ‘Because I should do it means that I can.’

m - yi - wi - n - e - i - ny - iro

‘I am the man who should not do it.’

not-do-I.subjunc-simple-emb-masc-I-be

be - ri - ' yi - wi - n - e - i - ny - ako?

what-fem-she do-I.subjunc-simple-emb-masc-I-question.be

‘What should I, a man do? (What should a man like me do?) (What should the man I am do?)

yi - wi - n - e - i - nyi

miko

‘I am not the man who should do it.’

do-I.subjunc-simple-emb-masc-I not.be

Myiwineinyi

miko.

‘I am not the man who should not do it.’

I.who.should.not.do.it not.be

yi - wi - n - e - i - nyi

dingako.

‘I may be the man who should do it.’

do-I.subjunc-simple-emb-masc-I may.be

m - yi - wi - n - e - i - nyi

dingako.

‘I may be the man who should not do it.’

not-do-I.subjunc-simple-emb-masc-I may.be

yi - wi - n - e - i - nyi

daako?

‘Am I the man who should do it?’

do-I.subjunc-simple-emb-masc-I be?

m - yi - wi - n - e - i - nyi

daako?

‘Am I the man who should not do it?’

not-do-I.subjunc-simple-emb-masc-I be?

be - ri - ' yi - wi - n - e - i - nyi

‘I, a man who should do what? ...’

what-fem-she do-I.subjunc-simple-emb-masc-I

B.5.1.c.2. Embedded conditional subjunctives

These occur as the basis of Subordinate Clauses, Relative Clauses, and Identificational Clauses. Compare B.5.1.b.2.

yi - wi - ja - '

‘If I should do... / It I should do...’

do-I.subjunc-with.emb-she/it

m - yi - wi - ja - ' 'If I should not do...'/ 'It I should not do...'
not-do-I.subjunc-with.emb-she

be - ri - ' yi - wi - ja - ' 'What should I do?'
what-fem-she do-I.subjunc-with.emb-she 'If I should do what?...'

be - ri - ' m - yi - wi - ja - ' 'What should I not do?'
what-fem-she not-do-I.subjunc-with.emb-she 'If I should not do what?...'

Some examples from Discourses:

di - wi - ja - ' nayaa dinyu'nyila! 'If I speak listen well!'
say-I.subjunc-with.emb-she well you.all.listen 'Listen well to what I should say.'

ta - mwi - ja - i - nyi kalavuz'a mwaalideinyi.
hit-I.subjunc-with.emb-masc-I jail I.am.the.one.who.will.stay
'If I should be a man to fight I am the one who will stay in jail.'

Identificational verbs can occur in the following moods.

yi - wi - ja - i - ny - iro 'I am a man who should do it.'
do-I.subjunc-with.emb-masc-I-be (would like to)

m - yi - wi - ja - i - nyi dingako 'I may be a man who should not do it.'
not-do-I.subjunc-with.emb-masc-I may.be

yi - wi - ja - i - nyi daako? 'Am I a man who should do it?'
do-I.subjunc-with.emb-masc-I be?

be - ri - ' yi - wi - ja - i - ny - ako? 'What is it I, a man, should do?'
what-fem-she do-I.subjunc-with.emb-masc-I-question.be 'It is I should do what?'

be - ' - na m - y - a - ja - l - ako? 'Why is he the man who should not do it?'
what-she-about not-do-he.subjunc-with.emb-he-question.be
Only this question word occurs with negative in this subjunctive construction.

B.5.1.c. Embedded quoted forms

yi - wi - ja - i - ny - ir - e - va 'What it was, "I am the man who should do it," ...'
do-I.subjunc-dep.emb-masc-I-be-emb-she 'What I thought (was) "I am a man who should do it."'

B.5.2. Undesirable Subjunctive (Undesired Result) Verbs

B.5.2.a. Independent Undesirable Subjunctive

This describes a situation or event which the speaker regards as undesirable or will lead to an undesired result. The undesirable subjunctive occurs in Conversation and Hortatory Discourses. It may be used as a Warning. It is an independent form.

Array 13 Independent Undesirable Subjunctive

undesired	(object)	nucleus	subject	result
<hr/>				
na-	See B.2.1, A.2.3, A.3	(any) verb stem	See 5.1. set 6	-diko

An independent undesirable subjunctive consists of an undesired function filled by **na-** undesired prefix, plus an object function which occurs with certain verb stems and is filled by object prefixes B.2.1, plus a nucleus function filled by verb stems, plus a subject function filled by set 6 subject morphemes, plus a result function filled by the result morpheme **-diko**.

n - yi - wi - diko 'The result would be bad should I do it.'
undes-do-I.subjunc-result

na - maa' - di - thiko 'It would not be good should you take it.'
undes-take-you.subjunc-result

The following subject form with certain stems also occurs with only the **-ko** of the result morpheme.
na - maa' - mwi - ko 'It would not be good for me to take it.'
undes-take-I.subjunc-result

na - maa' - di - ko 'It would not be good for you to take it.'
undes-take-you.subjunc-result

na - maa - pi - ko 'It would not be good for them to take it.'
undes-take-they.subjunc-result

n - yi - pi - ko 'It would not be good for them to do it.'
undes-do-they.subjunc-result

na - di - wi - ko 'It would not be good for me to think it.'
undes-speak-I.subjunc-result

Negative and one question word occur, beside positive forms.

These are similar to those which occur with dependents.

ma - n - yi n - yi - wi - diko 'It would be bad if I didn't eat.'
not-eat-do undes-do-I.subjunc-result

be - ' - na n - y - a - diko

what-she-about undes-do-he.subjunc-result

‘Why would it be bad should he do it?’

be'na manyi nyadiko

why not.eat undesired.should.he.do

‘Why would it be bad should he not eat it?’

The independent form may be preceded by an independent or embedded future sequential Clause, an embedded conditional subjunctive Clause or an embedded future Clause.

B.5.2.b. Dependent Undesirable Subjunctive.

Only the following form occurs.

B.5.2.b.2. Undesirable subjunctive with dependent marker -ji

Allomorph -ri does not occur, see B.1.b.2. Allomorph -ji occurs with any of the forms under B.5.2.a.

n - yi - wi - dika - ji

undes-do-I.subjunc-result-with

‘After (I thought) "The result would be bad should I do it,"...’

be - ' - na n - y - a - dika - ji

what-she-about undes-do-he.subjunc-result-with

‘After (I thought) "Why should the result be bad if he does it?"...’

Identificational verbs can occur with the above

n - yi - wi - dika - jin - yiro

undes-do-I.subjunc-result-with-be

‘It was after I thought "It would be bad if I do it."’

be - ri - ' m - yi n - y - a - dika - jin - ako?

what-fem-she not-do undes-do-he.subjunc-result-with-question.be

‘What was (it) that you thought he should not do?/‘It was after you thought “What should he not do?”’

B.5.2.c. Embedded Undesirable Subjunctive

Independent forms, as such, do not occur in embedded Clauses. The following form occurs in the text concordance. It occurs with de (future).

na - maa' - di - ' - de - ' - nan - yiro

undes-take-you.subjunc-result-fut-she-about-be

‘It is because it will not be good should you take (steal) it (in the future).’

The following forms are also possible, but not others.

ma - n - yi n - y - i - di - ' - de - ' - nan - yiro

not-eat-do undes-do-you.subjunc-result-fut-she-about-be

‘It is because it will not be good should you not eat it (in the future).’

be - ' - na n - y - i - di' - de - ' - nan - yiro

what-she-about undes-do-you.subjunc-result-fut-she-about-be

‘Why will it not be good should you do it (in the future)?’

Identificational verbs occur with dependent embedded forms

n - yi - wi - dika - jin - ya - i - ny - iro

undes-do-I.subjunc-result-with-emb-masc-I-be

‘I am the one who thought, "It would not be good if I do it."’

n - yi - wi - dika - jin - ya - i - nyi miko

undes-do-I.subjunc-result-with-emb-masc-I not.be

‘I am not the one who thought, "It would be bad if I do it."’

Embedded quoted form, similar to the future

n - y - a - dika - jin - yir - e - va

undes-do-he.subjunc-result-with-be-emb-she.quoted

‘It (is), after I thought, "It would not be good for him to do it," ...’

B.5.3. Unrealizable Subjunctive (Unrealized Result) Verbs

The unrealizable subjunctive describes an unreal situation which cannot be. It usually occurs with a past sense, though present and future senses also occur. It occurs in Conversation mainly, but also in Narrative as explanatory background material. It has also been called Counterfactual. In one sense this is an independent verb, but it is interdependent with an unrealizable condition verb, B.5.3.b. It can also occur with a future sequential verb.

B.5.3.a. Interdependent Unrealizable Subjunctive Verbs

This interdependent form is between the status of a fully independent verb and a dependent verb.

Array 14 Unrealizable subjunctive

unrealizable	(object)	nucleus	subject	result
ka-	See A.2.3, A.3 See B.2.1	(any) verb stem	See 5.1 set 6	-diko

An unrealizable subjunctive verb consists of an unrealizable marker function filled by the unrealizable morpheme **ka-**, plus an object function which occurs with certain verb stems and is filled by the set of object prefixes in B.2.1, plus a nucleus function filled by verb stems, plus a subject function filled by set 6 subject suffixes, plus a result function filled by **-diko**.

The unreal **ka-** is homophonous with the change of subject morpheme. The unrealizable subjunctive usually co-occurs with the unrealizable conditional, and also with the future sequential. It is thus interdependent rather than independent, though described here because there is no other independent form. That it is a kind of dependent verb is shown in that it occurs with identificational verbs, without embedding as dependent forms do, see below.

k - yi - wi - diko

unreal-do-I.subjunc-result

‘...I would have done it.’

ka - maa' - di - ko

unreal-take-you.subjunc-result

‘You would have taken it, only...’

The negative also occurs.

ma - n - yi k - yi - wi - diko

not-eat-do unreal-do-I.subjunc-result

‘I would not have eaten it, only...’

Identificational verbs occur with these interdependent verbs, as above, just as dependent verbs do. This means that it is more dependent than independent. It then *becomes independent with identificational*s.

k - yi - wi - dik - ira

unreal-do-I.subjunc-result-be

‘It is, I would have done it.’

Be - ri - ' k - y - i - dik - ako?

what-fem-she unreal-do-you.subjunc-result-question.be

‘What is it you would have done?’

Ma - n - yi k - yi - wi - di'

not-eat-do unreal-do-I.subjunc-result not.be

miko.

‘It is not the case that I would not have eaten it.’

B.5.3.b. Dependent Unrealizable Result Subjunctive (based on interdependent forms)

These occur with the dependent marker **-ji**. Compare with B.3.1.b.2, note the same final number.

k - wangan - a - dika - ji

unreal-see-he.subjunc-result-with

‘after (I thought) “He would have seen it,” ...’

Negative and question mood also occur, and these *with identificational verbs*, see above, and compare with B.5.2.b.2.

m - yi k - y - a - dika - ji

not-do unreal-do-he.subjunc-result-with

‘after (I thought) “He wouldn’t have done it,” ...’

be - ri - ' k - y - i - dik - aka - ji

what-fem-she unreal-do-you.subjunc-result-question.be-with

‘after (I thought) “What is it you would have done?” ...’

be - ri - ' m - yi k - y - i - dik - aka - ji

what-fem-she not-do unreal-do-you.subjunc-result-question.be-with not.be

miko

‘It is not after (I thought) “What wouldn’t you have done.”’

B.5.3.b. Conditional Dependent Unrealizable Subjunctive

No divisions are given here numbering 1-4 as these do not apply. The full form of an unrealizable condition is a phrase and a Clause; the simple conditional subjunctive or the future sequential or a noun phrase precedes the unrealizable conditional **kwaji**.

Array 15 Unrealizable conditional subjunctive

unreal	nucleus	subject	dependent
k-	w 'go'	-a 'it'	-ji

An unrealizable conditional subjunctive consists of an unreal function filled by the unreal morpheme **ka-** which becomes **k** before **w**, plus a nucleus function filled by the root **wi** 'go', plus the morpheme **-a** 'she/it' of set 6 subject suffixes, plus a dependent function filled by **-ji**, dependent morpheme.

Note that no object function occurs with this form.

k - w - a - ji 'had it gone/been'

unreal-go-it.subjunc-with

The *phrases*, see C.5, are:

maa' - mwi - ji kwaji 'If I had taken it...'

take-I.would-with should.it.go/be

tam - a' - mwi - ji kwaji 'If I will (would) fight (I don't intend to)...'

hit-seq-I.fut-with should.it.go/be

The implication is that if the speaker had thought he would fight (agreed to fight) then (he would have ended up in jail). The subject set is different in the future sequential.

Noun phrases etc occur with the unrealizable conditional **kwaji**

a'mwe - i - nyi kwaji 'If I had been a man...'

person-masc-I should.it.go/be

Negative and question mood

m - yi - wi - ji kwaji 'If I had not done it...'

not-do-I.subjunc-with should.it.go/be

be - ri - ' m - y - a - ji kwaji 'If he had not done what...?'

what-fem-she not-do-he.subjunc-with should.it.go/be

B.5.3.c. Embedded Unrealizable Subjunctive

k - wangan - a - dik - e - ri

unreal-see-he.subjunc-result-emb-him

'...to the one who would have seen it (if he had done something)'

Identificational verbs can occur

k - yi - wi - dik - e - i - ny - iro

unreal-do-I.subjunc-result-emb-masc-I-be

'I am the one who would have done it (if I had not been tired).'

k - yi - wi - dik - e - i - nyi miko 'I am not the one who would have done it.'

unreal-do-I.subjunc-result-emb-masc-I not.be

be - ni k - y - i - dik - e - ban - ako? ‘What would you have done (planted) there
 what-fem.them unreal-do-you-result-emb-loc-question.be (if you had not let it grow again)?’

ka - maa' - di - k - e - ' - nan - yiro ‘It is because you would have taken it.’
 unreal-take-you-result-emb-she-about-be (a reason form)

Embedded quoted forms also occur.

k - yi - wi - dik - ir - e - va
 unreal-do-I.subjunc-result-be-emb-she.quoted
 ‘(I said) "It (is) what I would have done (if things had been different).”’

B.6. Habitual Verbs

B.6.0. Introduction

The habitual construction describes a situation or event that was true in the past, is still true, and is expected to be true in the future. It describes a situation or event as customary and habitual. It appears quite noun-like in that the similarity morpheme **-biko** ‘like’ and the identificational verbs occur with it. Habitual occurs with the identificational verbs which indicate mood. Independent forms typically occur at the end of Paragraphs in Procedural texts. In Conversation habitual usually appears as an Identificational Clause based on an embedded construction, eg ‘I am the one who always does it.’ As with subjunctives negative, mood, dependency and embedding will be described in order here and not in separate sections.

The status of these verbs is complex because habitual forms are connected to special dependent forms that are described in Section 9, particularly B.9.6.

Early on I found what I thought were habitual forms. These were common and were embedded verbs as in the following expression.

y - ad - aan - ya - i - ne - ra ‘We are the people (men) who always do that.’
 do-hab-we.hab-emb-masc-we-be [The morpheme **-ad** is usually glossed durative.]

A further complication is that the underlying form behaves in different ways in different Discourses. In Procedural Discourse the form is a definite habitual and functions as a sequential verb. However in Narrative Discourse it is a definite same subject simultaneous verb as in Section B.9.6. This means that the translation of the original form of the verb was likely “We are the men while we do that.” Then it probably gradually shifted to “We are the men who always do that.”

B.6.1. Forms of Habitual Verbs

As indicated in the Introduction above there are different forms which function in different ways.

mwaai - d - ivi' daako

stay-dur-they be?

'(Is it/ Do) they always stay?'

['Is it while they stay there?']

Directionals and motion roots with habitual verbs

Compare the parallel structure in B.3.3.a.

directional - durative - motion - motion root - durative - subject 7 - mood

wi - d - aa - w - ad - ivik - ira

up-dur-motion-go-dur-they-decl.be

'(It is) they (always) go up.'

Positive and negative polarity occur with habitual. The positive form is given in Array 16. The negative consists of the structure, **ma-** (negative) plus stem plus **-yi** 'do'. This negative stem then occurs as the nucleus in the habitual and other verb constructions, except subjunctive.

Ma - mwaal - y - ad - ivik - iro.

not-stay-do-dur-they-be

'It is, they do not always stay there.'

M - w - i - ad - ivik - iro.

not-go-do-dur-they-be

'It is, they do not always go.'

*Negative polarity also occurs with negative identificational verbs.***M - wi - jaa - y - ad - ivi' miko.**

not-him-give-do-dur-they not.be

vy -> y

'It isn't (that) they do not always give to him.' '(It is they always give to him. How could you think otherwise!).'

Be - ri - ' m - y - ad - ivik - iro.

what-fem-she not-do-dur-they-be

'What do they not always do?'

A question word occurs with declarative mood as above, the question mood (with the morpheme **-ako** [identificational question bound word]) and with dubitative mood.

Be - ri - ' y - ad - ivik - iro.

what-fem-she do-dur-they-be

'It is they always do what?'

Be - ri - ' m - y - ad - ivik - ako?

what-fem-she not-do-dur-they-question.be

'What is it they don't always do?'

Be - ri - ' y - ad - ivi' dingako.

what-fem-she do-dur-they might.be

'What might they always do?'

B.6.1.b. Dependent Habitual Verbs

The following two examples are taken from a Procedural Discourse labelled ND: Procedure for Building Marriage-houses.

Yika - bi - na y - ad - ivi' anga - ' madi - na.

gather-come-about do-dur-they house-she build-about

‘They (always) gather (and) they build the house.’

Because of the structure of this kind of Discourse the independent habitual verb is elided at the end of the Sentence. This would have had the form of the verb in Array 16 in B.6.1.a.

Yika - bi - na yi - na y - ad - ivi' a'mwe - waal - yi wari - na.

gather-come-about do-about do-dur-they person-dl.fem-with lie-about

‘(The children) (always) keep gathering (and) they sleep with the newlyweds.’

Moods which occur with dependent habituais are declarative positive, as illustrated above, negative and question (also with negative).

m - y - ad - ivi'

not-do-dur-they

‘They do not always do that and they ...’

be - ri - ' y - ad - ivi'

what-fem-she do-dur-they

‘They do what? and they ...’

be - ri - ' m - y - ad - ivi'

what-fem-she not-do-dur-they

‘They don’t always do what? and ...’

*A dependent habitual occurs with **kwaji** the unreal conditional word.*

A'mwe - ra sara y - ad - ivi' kwaji kayaa'na kamwaaibithika.

person-they.masc thus do-dur-they it.had.gone badly they.would.have.stayed

‘If the men had always done that they would have lived badly.’

The similarity morpheme **-biko** ‘like’ occurs in the following example.

biyaai n - ad - ivi' - bi'

beer eat-dur-they-like

‘like (what happens when) they always drink beer’

Identificational verb forms also occur with habituais with **-ji** (dependent), but again the combinations are restricted, compare B.1.b.

yadivikiraji

they.always.do.dep/with

‘After (I think) “They always do it,” ...’

yadivi'

they.always.do not.be.dep

myiraji

‘After (I think) “They do not always do it,” ...’

Note – it is not **mikaji**.

yadivi'

they.always.do may.be.dep

dingakaji

‘After (I think) “They may always do it,” ..’

yadivi'	daakaji	'After (I think) "Do they always do it," ...'
they.always.do	be?dep	
myadivi'	dingakaji	'After (I think) "They may not always do it," ...'
they.don't.always.do	may.be.dep	
myadivi'	daakaji	'After (I think) "Do they not always do it," ...'
they.don't.always.do	be?dep	
beri' yadivikakaji		'After (I think) "What do they always do?" ...'
what	they.always.do.question.be.dep	

B.6.1.c. Embedded Habitual Verbs

As mentioned in the introduction above, these verbs occur often in Conversation as an embedded construction. They are also described here. These often are the base for Identificational Clauses.

Habitual embedded verbs with exactly the same morphemes, can be either in a Subordinate Clause, ie on the Sentence level, or in a Relative Clause within another Clause. These terms closely parallel the terms subordinating conjunction and relative pronoun respectively in traditional English grammar.

Traditionally in English "embedding" is used to cover more than pure embedding. Some subordinate constructions such as "if I go" as in the sentence "If I go I will see him," have been labelled embedding. There is some interdependency here, but no inclusion although the Clause minus the auxiliary remains the same declarative form. The main possibilities for embedding are noun phrase in noun phrase, Clause in noun phrase, Sentence in noun phrase, Clause in Clause, Sentence in Clause, and Sentence in Sentence.

Relative Clauses usually have a head noun or an appositive noun. However sometimes the head noun is deleted. Some head nouns which are often deleted are **a'mwe** 'person', **kwaaka** 'ground, land', and **anga** 'village'. First and second person subjects usually occur with the deleted head noun **a'mwe** 'person'. Sometimes the context suggests whether it is a Relative or Subordinate Clause. The intonation reveals to the native speaker the status of the construction. For further details see 'The Clause in Baruya', R. Lloyd, 1986.

A good range of Relative Clauses is given below. The subordinate use of the verb and Clause may be gleaned from R. Lloyd, 1989; Section 12.

Except for Subject it is difficult or impossible for the head noun to be the same case within the Relative Clause as it is in the main Clause. This restriction does not apply to equational like Clauses. In the Baruya language Object may so occur and the case is marked on the verb, but the hearer usually interprets it as the Subject of the Relative Clause unless the persons are different. The same words are ambiguous, meaning in one instance 'I saw the man who hit him' (the usual interpretation), and in

another instance 'I saw the man whom he hit.' That the meaning 'man' is taken as Subject agrees with Keenan and Comrie 1977, who place Subject highest in their Hierarchy, then Object, then others.

Embedded habitual forms usually occur with the embedder allomorph **-ya**. However, habitual forms ending in **-ko** occur with the embedder form **-ta**. Minimal forms with **-ta** also may occur with the phrase marker **-ya** which then merges to become **-sa** (R. Lloyd, 1989, Section 1.2.4). In Relative Clauses the head noun usually occurs first.

Y - ad - in - ya - i - n - yi **nyangamwako.** 'He saw me who always does that.'
do-dur-I-emb-masc-I-object he.saw.me.complete

Yirika **pu' - d - e - haa'** **nalaaya nyadeinyi.**
day(light) shine-dur-it.emb-time sickness it.always.does.to.me
'I am sick (all) the days which come.'
'((On) the days which always dawn sickness always does to me).'

Wawinya wapaaya nawi'nya wa' - d - e - va - daa'nyi biwa.
garden food good lie-dur-it.emb-at-from I.came
'I have come from the garden which has good food.'

wawinya sa - vi **y - ad - e - r e - i** **bai - mwa'd - i'.**
garden that-her do-dur-he.emb-poss-he die-near.past-he
'The man who always works in that garden's boy died.'

A'mwe wawinya savi **y - ad - e - i** **ange' madathelyi.**
person garden in.that do-dur-he.emb-he house he.will.build
'The man who always works in that garden is the one who will build his house.'

A'mwe wawinya savi **y - ad - e - l - yi** **sainai wawakadeinaalyi.**
person garden in.that do-dur-he.emb-he-with we.dl.masc we.will.go
'I and the man who always works in that garden are the two who will go.'

A'mwe wawinya savi **yadelyi** **wideinyi.**
person garden in.that with.him.who.works I.will.go
'I am the one who will go with the man who always works in that garden.'

Wawinya wapaaya nawi'nya wa' - d - e - win - na **wideinyi.**
garden food beautiful lie-dur-it.emb-place-to I.will.go
'I am the man who will go to the garden which always has good food.'

A'mwe wawinya savi **y - ad - e - ri - na** **githima.**
person garden in.that do-dur-he.emb-him-about I.will.tell.you
'I will tell you now about the man who always works in that garden.'

Identificational verbs with embedded habitual verbs

N - ad - ak - ta - ya - i - naal - yiro. -> Nadasainaalyiro.

eat-dur-we.2-emb-phrase-masc-we.dl-be

‘We are the two men who always eat it.’

Y - ad - ivik - ta naang - e - r - ero. -> Yativita naangerero.

do-dur-they-emb big-phrase-they.masc-be

‘They are the big men who always do that.’

The phrase marker, see R. Lloyd, 1989, Section B.1.2.4, if it occurs as in the immediately preceding example, must occur on any phrase final modifier and not the embedded verb (or Clause). That is, it is a bound word.

The embedded forms of B.1.c, but not the combinations, also occur.

yadivikir - e - va

‘It what (I thought was) “They always do it.”’

they.always.do-emb-she.quoted

yadivi' mikeva

‘It what (I thought was) “They do not always do it.”’

they.always.do not.be.quoted

There are other derived forms based on different cases, see R. Lloyd, 1989, Section 2.6. One of this kind is illustrated here.

Da - haa - sa - i mwaai - d - e - i nemi - re mebaaya - i yima'n - ana!

this-time-emb.phrase-he stay-dur-he.emb-he we-poss politician-he become-he.will

‘Let a man who always stays in this era (progressive) become our member of parliament!’

Embedded Quoted Habitual Verb

y - ad - in - ya - i - ny - ir - e - va

‘What (I thought was) “I am the man who always does it.”’

do-dur-I-emb-masc-I-be-emb-she.quoted

B.7. Polarity (negative versus unmarked positive)

Negative occurs in identificational verbs as in B.1.a.5, in both General Arrays of B.2, various places in Subjunctive, and several places in Habitual verbs. We now look at negative with nonfuture and future verbs. There are also negatives with dependent and embedded verbs.

B.7.1. Negative nonfuture verbs

Negative and mood occur in the same slot or position in these verbs, so I could have considered them together. I didn't, but acknowledge that others might like to do that. Below negative is illustrated with each of the eight nonfuture tense forms. All these forms are independent declarative ones. Negative is

commonly formed with the negative prefix **ma-** ‘not’ occurring first in the word and a negative auxiliary **-yi** ‘do’ following the verb stem.

B.7.1.1. Stative

m - war - yi - g - eno.

‘I do not lie/sleep.’

not-lie-do-stat-I

(**maw** -> **mw**) (**riy** -> **ry**)

‘I am not asleep.’

m - war - y - iko

‘He is not asleep./It is not there.’

not-lie-do-he

B.7.1.2. Continuous

m - wangan - yi - van - iko

‘He is not looking at it.’

not-see-do-cont-he

B.7.1.3. Complete

m - wangan - yi - w - ako

‘He hasn’t seen it.’

not-see-do-comp-he

B.7.1.4. Last night past

m - wangan - yawaal - iko

‘He didn’t see it last night.’

not-see-do.night-he

B.7.1.5. Near past

m - wangan - yi - wa’d - iko

‘He didn’t see it last week.’

not-see-do-near-he

B.7.1.6. Previous or recent past

m - wangan - yawalyaad - iko

‘He didn’t see it previously.’

not-see-do.previous-he

B.7.1.7. General past

m - wangan - y - ako

‘He didn’t see it.’

not-see-do-he.past

B.7.1.8. Far past

m - wangan - y - aako

‘He didn’t see it long ago.’

not-see-do.far-he

B.7.2. Negative future verbs

As with nonfuture, negative occurs with both future forms. Again each example is independent declarative. Note also that both negative future forms are phrases not words.

B.7.2.1. Immediate future

Most speakers do not freely use negative declarative immediate future. No speaker uses it with second person, see negative subjunctive B.5.1.a.2, which they use instead.

ma - n - yi y - i - mo

not-eat-do do-I-imm.fut

‘I don’t want to eat it./I won’t eat it.’

B.7.2.2. Future

m - yi y - i - d - ero

not-do.neg do-I-will-declarative

‘I will not do it./It is I will not do it.’

B.8. Mood

The preceding verbs are all declarative mood and independent. Besides declarative there are dubitative, interrogative and question moods. Mood has already been described in identificational, subjunctive and habitual verbs because in those verbs mood is more a part of the word.

B.8.1. Mood with nonfuture verbs See B.8.2 for mood with future verbs.**B.8.1.1. Dubitative mood**

Dubitative expresses doubt about a situation. There is a definite situation but the speaker doesn’t know what it is. When dubitative occurs with a rising intonation on the last syllable it means that the speaker is leaving the question open. He is not sure of the situation and is expressing his interest or participation with the hearer. When dubitative occurs with a falling intonation on the last syllable the speaker indicates that he is not sure of a situation but is not expecting or inviting a response. The dubitative prefix is **daha-** ‘doubt’.

The structure of the positive dubitative verb is: dubitative - stem – tense.etc – subject

Negative dubitative is: negative – stem – neg (‘do’) – dubitative (**-jih**) – ‘do’ – aspect.etc - subject

B.8.1.1.1 Stative Dubitative

Positive

daha - waay - iko.

may-live-stat.it

‘It (a tree) may be there.’

Negative

m - war - yi - jih - y - iko.

not-lie-do-may-do-stat.it

‘It may not be there.’

B.8.1.1.2. Continuous

daha - wanga - man - iko

may-see-cont-he

He might be looking at it.’

m - wangan - yi - jih - yi - van - iko

not-see-do-may-do-cont-he

‘He might not be looking at it.’

B.8.1.1.3. Complete

daha - wanga - mw - aka

may-see-comp-he.colloquial

‘He may have seen it.’

m - wangan - yi - jih - yi - w - ako

not-see-do-may-do-comp-he

‘He may not have seen it.’

*B.8.1.1.4. Last night past***daha - wangan - yawaal - iko**

may-see-night-he

‘He may have seen it last night.’

m - wangan - yi - jih - yawaal - iko

not-see-do-may-do.night-he

‘He may not have seen it last night.’

*B.8.1.1.5. Near past***daha - wanga - mwa'd - iko**

may-see-near-he

‘He may have seen it last week.’

m - wangan - yi - jih - yi - wa'd - iko

not-see-do-may-do-near-he

‘He may not have seen it last week.’

*B.8.1.1.6. Previous or recent past***daha - wangan - yawalyaad - iko**

may-see-previous-he

‘He might have done it previously.’

m - wangan - yi - jih - yawalyaad - iko

not-see-do-may-do.previous-he

‘He might not have done it previously.’

*B.8.1.1.7. General past***daha - wangan - ako**

may-see-past-he

‘He might have seen it earlier.’

m - wangan - yi - jih - y - ako

not-see-do-may-do-he

‘He might not have seen it earlier.’

*B.8.1.1.8. Far past***daha - wangan - y - aako**

may-see-far-he

‘He might have seen it long ago.’

m - wangan - yi - jih - y - aako

not-see-do-may-do.far-he

‘He might not have seen it long ago.’

B.8.1.2. Interrogative mood

The interrogative prefix **da** denotes a simple question, that is a yes-no question. Yes-no interrogatives occurring with a rising intonation on the last syllable require a response. When they occur with a falling intonation on the last syllable and usually strong articulation they are rhetorical questions. A rhetorical question usually asserts strongly and colourfully the opposite truth to the face value of the statement. Falling intonation is indicated in the examples by full stops, rising intonation by a question mark.

B.8.1.2.1. Stative interrogative

Positive

d - waayi - iko. -> daayiko

?-live-stat.it (daw -> dw -> d)

‘Is there (a tree) there?’

Negative

m - waayi - ji - iko.

not-live.do-interrogative.do-stative.he

‘Isn’t (a tree) there?’

m - war - yi - ji - iko?

not-lie-do-?do-stat.it

‘Is it not there?’

*B.8.1.2.2. Continuous***d - anga - man - iko**

?-see-cont-he

‘Is he looking at it?’ (daw -> dw -> d

m - wangan - yi - ji - van - iko

not-see-do-interrogative.do-cont-he

‘Is he not looking at it?’

*B.8.1.2.3. Complete***d - anga - mw - aka**

?-see-comp-he.colloquial

‘Has he seen it?’

m - wangan - yi - ji - w - ako

not-see-do-interrogative.do-comp-he

‘Hasn’t he seen it?’

*B.8.1.2.4. Last night past***d - angan - yawaal - iko**

?-see- last.night-he

‘Did he see it last night?’

m - wangan - yi - jawaal - iko

not-see-do-interrog.do.last.night-he

‘Didn’t he see it last night?’

B.8.1.2.5 – B.8.1.2.8 parallel the preceding forms.

B.8.1.3. Question mood

This covers an information question and occurs with a question word like ‘what’, etc. The question word precedes the declarative or dubitative verb, ie a word. The two intonations occur as with interrogative, but the rising intonation is more common.

B.8.1.3.1. Stative question based on declarative and dubitive

Positive

Be - va mwaal - iko?

what-place stay-stat.he

‘Where is he?’

Negative

Be - va ma - mwaal - y - iko?

what-place not-stay-do-stat.he

‘Where isn’t he?’

Beva daha - mwaal - i’?

what.place may-stay-stat.he

‘Where might he be?’

beva ma - mwaal - yi - jih - y - i’

what.place not.stay-do-may-do-stat.he.

‘Where might he not be?’

*B.8.1.3.2. Continuous question***be - ri - ' wanga - man - iko**

what-fem-she see-cont-he

‘What is he looking at?’

be - ' - na m - wangan - yi - van - iko

what-reason-about not-see-do-cont-he

‘Why is he not looking?’

be - ri - ' daha - wanga - man - iko

what-fem-she may-see-cont-he

‘What might he be looking at?’

be’na m - wangan - yi - jih - yi - van - iko

why not-see-do-may-cont-he

‘Why mightn’t he be looking at it?’

*B.8.1.3.3. Complete question***be - ri - ' wanga - mw - ako**

what-fem-she see-comp-he

‘What has he seen?’

be’na m - wangan - yi - w - ako

why not-see-do-comp-he

‘Why hasn’t he seen it?’

?be'na daha - wanga - mw - ako

why may-see-comp-he

‘Why might he see it?’

B.8.1.3.4. Last night past

be - ri - ' wangan - yawaal - iko

what-fem-she see-last.night-he

‘What did he see last night?’

beri ' daha - wangan - yawaal - iko

what.thing may-see-last.night-he

‘What might he have seen last night?’

?be'na m - wangan - yi - jih - yi - w - ako

why not-see-do-may-do-comp-he

‘Why mightn’t he have seen it?’

be - ' - na m - wangan - yawaal - iko

what-she-about not-see-do.night-he

‘Why didn’t he look last night?’

?be'na m - wangan - yi - jih - yawaal - iko

why not-see-do-may-do.last.night-he

‘Why mightn’t he have seen it last night?’

Sections B.8.1.3.5 – B.8.1.3.8 parallel the preceding forms.

B.8.2. Mood with Future verbs

Mood will be discussed as dubitative B.8.2.1, interrogative B.8.2.2, and question B.8.2.3 as were nonfuture verbs.

B.8.2.1. Dubitative mood

Dubitative immediate future has the structure: stem – subject (5) – dubitative – do – comp– subject (3)
The dubitative morpheme is **-jih**, compare the same form which occurs with nonfuture negative dubitative.

B.8.2.1.1. Immediate future

Positive

n - i - jih - yi - w - ano

eat-I-may-do-comp-I

‘I might eat it.’

Negative

ma - n - yi y - i - jih - yi - w - ano

not-eat-do do-I-may-do-comp-I

‘I may not eat it.’

B.8.2.1.2. Future dubitative

Positive

y - i - de - i - nyi dingako

do-I-fut.emb-masc-I may.be

‘I might be the man who will do it.’

Negative

m - yi y - i - de - i - nyi dingako

not-do do-I-fut.emb-masc-I may.be

‘I might be the man who won’t do it.’

Only declarative, see B.8.2.1.1, and question moods, see below, occur with future dubitative. The only way we can have dubitative with future is as an embedded form, see example above, and Section B.10.

B.8.2.2. Interrogative mood

In immediate future the interrogative morpheme is **-ji**, and occurs in the middle of a complex verb. Compare the same form which occurs with nonfuture negative interrogative.

The structure is: positive: stem – subject (5) – interrogative – “do” – complete – subject (3)

The negative form is: negative infinitive plus interrogative immediate future of “do”. The latter is: “do” – subject (5) – interrogative. “do” – complete – subject (3)

B.8.2.2.1. Immediate future interrogative

Positive

n - i - ji - yi - w - ano

eat-I-interrogative-do-comp-I

‘Will I eat it?’

Negative

ma - n - yi y - i - ji - w - ano

not-eat-do do-I-interrogative.do-comp-I

‘Will I not eat it?’

*B.8.2.2.2. Future interrogative***n - i - de - i - nyi daako**

eat-I-fut.emb-masc-I be?

‘Am I the man who shall eat it?’

ma - n - yi y - i - de - i - nyi daako

not-eat-do do-I-fut.emb-masc-I be?

‘Am I the man who shall not eat it?’

This is the only way to ask a future simple question, ie interrogative, see Section B.10.

B.8.2.3. Question mood

This occurs with a question word.

B.8.2.3.1. Immediate future question

Question mood occurs with the corresponding interrogative or dubitative. Compare with nonfuture forms, eg B.8.1.3.

Immediate future interrogative question

be - ri - ' y - i - ji - w - ano

what-fem-she do-I-?do-comp-I

‘What shall I do?’

Negative

be - ri - ' myi yijiwano

what-fem-she not.do shall.I.do?

‘What shall I not do?’

be - ' - na y - i - ji - w - ano

what-she-about do-I-?do-comp-I

‘Why shall I do it?’

be - ' - na m - yi yijiwano

what-she-about not-do shall.I.do?

‘Why shall I not do it?’

The question word above is literally “what she about”, but means “why”. Note glosses below.

A negative gerund may also occur.

m - ya ga - va yijiwano

not-do.emb which-loc shall.I.do?

‘Where shall I work? (There is no room)’

(At which nonworking place shall I work?)

be'na j - i - zi - w - aano

why imp.do-you-?do-comp-you

‘Why will you do it?’

be'na m - yi j - i - zi - w - aano

why not-do imp-I-?do-comp-you

‘Why won’t you do it?’

In this construction ‘you’ is always *i*. In isolation ‘Do it!(command)’ is *jo*, *ja* or *ji*.

Immediate future dubitative question

be - ri - ' y - i - jih - yi - w - ano

what-fem-she do-I-may-do-comp-I

‘What might I do?’

be - ri - ' m - yi y - i - jih - yi - w - ano

what-fem-she not-do do-I-may-do-comp-I

‘What might I not do?’

be'na j - i - zih - yi - w - aano

why imp.do-you-may-do-comp-you

‘Why might you do it?’

be'na m - yi j - i - zih - yi - w - aano

why not-do imp-do-you-may-do-comp-I

‘Why mightn’t you do it?’

B.8.2.3.2. Future question

Positive

Negative

be - ri - ' ji - d - ero

what-fem-she do.you.dl-will-declarative

‘What will you two do?’

The following is preferred.

be - ri - ' ji - d - eko?

what-fem-she do.you.dl-will-question.be

‘What will you two do?’

be - ri - ' m - yi ji - th - eko?

what-fem-she not-do do.you.2-will-question.be

‘What won’t you two do?’

be'na m - yi j - i - th - eko

why not-do imp-you-fut-question.be

‘Why won’t you do it?’

B.9. Dependency

The verbs in the main sections above are independent, ie with nil dependency.

B.9.0. Introduction

There are different kinds of dependent verbs. The whole system of dependent verbs is given here.

All these forms occur in Conversation, Narrative and Procedural Discourses.

Non-future

Sequential

Change of Agent as Subject (usually in the following Clause) CS (Change of Subject):

ka- with nonfuture independent verb. These are described in B.9.1.

Independent verbs with dependent marker **-ji**. These are described in B.9.2.1.

Same Agent as Subject (usually in the following Clause) SS (Same Subject):

same subject nonfuture sequential verb, see B.9.3. These are both dynamic and stative.

Simultaneous

Change of Agent as Subject

This is unmarked in the verb, even though the Subject in a following Clause is different.

In simultaneous forms dynamic contrasts with stative.

Dynamic:

change of subject nonfuture dynamic simultaneous verb, see B.9.4.

Stative:

change of subject nonfuture stative simultaneous verb, see B.9.5.

Same Agent as Subject (usually in the following Clause)

Dynamic/Stative There is no contrast between these two.

same subject nonfuture simultaneous verb, see B.9.6.

This is also same subject future simultaneous.

Future

Sequential

Change of Agent as Subject (usually in the following Clause):

ka- (future sequential verb) see B.9.7. This does not parallel the nonfuture verbs.

Independent verbs with dependent marker **-ji**.

These future forms are parallel to nonfuture and are described in B.9.2.2.

Same Agent as Subject (usually in the following Clause):

same subject future sequential verb, described in B.9.7.

Simultaneous

Change of Agent as Subject (usually in the following Clause)

Dynamic:

change of subject future dynamic simultaneous verb, see B.9.8.

Stative:

change of subject future stative simultaneous verb, see B.9.9.

Same Subject (in the (usually) following Clause)

Dynamic/Stative:

same subject simultaneous verb, see B.9.6. The same form as nonfuture.

In parallel with the nonfuture verbs, the change of subject future sequential verb is listed first under future above, but note it is based on the same subject future sequential dependent verb. If the structure had paralleled the nonfuture it would have been based on the future independent verb.

B.9.1. Independent verb with **ka-** 'change of subject' - Non-future Sequential Verb

The change of subject prefix **ka-** (CS) can occur with any nonfuture verb. Stative and other non-future verbs occur with declarative and question mood with question words only, compare B.3.2-3.8. The short form of verbs occurs, see R. Lloyd, 1989:1.3. Some linguists call this procedure switch reference, which is a good term. I use change of subject because of the contrast with same subject.

The structure of these verbs is: **ka-** (change of subject morpheme) + short form of nonfuture independent verb with stative or dynamic root or stem.

Sections B.3.1- B.3.8 cover the nonfuture verbs. Section B.3.1 covers stative verbs and will be described as change of subject in B.9.1.1. Section B.3.3 covers present complete verbs which will be described in Section B.9.1.2. These are typical of nonfuture verbs.

Note on same versus different subject in Baruya

As expected, when the subject of one verb is exactly the same as the subject in a following Clause those two verbs have the same subject. However this is not the only situation where a same subject verb may precede another verb. The speaker may decide to describe other situations as basically the same subject. Many such combinations are possible if the speaker considers that the referents of the two subjects were a group or become a group and there is some continuing factor. A change of subject verb can thus highlight a breakdown of a group or the formation of a contrasting group. A subject

with singular in one grammatical person, eg first person, may not occur as same subject verbs with a subject of another grammatical person, eg third person. These factors reduce to the following two ordered rules for the possibility of same subject marking.

- a) First person singular can only follow or be followed by first person.
- b) Second person singular can not follow or be followed by third person.

These rules show change of subject sequences to be: 1s and 2s, 2d, 2p, 3s, 3d, 3p; 2s and 1s, 3s, 3d, 3p; 2d and 1s; 2p and 1s; 3s and 1s, 2s; 3d and 1s, 2s; 3p and 1s, 2s. In the above 1 is first person, 2 is second person, 3 is third person, s is singular, d is dual, and p is plural.

B.9.1.1. Examples of stative change of subject dependent verbs in positive and negative

ka - mwaai - h - e

CS-stay-stat-I

‘After I am here (he)...’

ma - mwaal - yi k - yi - g - e

not-stay-do CS-do-stat-I

‘After I am not here (he)...’

This form is a phrase, for further details see Section C.4.

Question mood also occurs, compare with declarative in B.8.1.3.1.

be - va ka - mwaal - i'

what-place CS-stay-he

‘After he stays where? (you)...’

be - va ma - mwaal - yi k - y - i'

what-place not-stay-do CS-do-he

‘After he doesn’t stay where? (you) ...’

B.9.1.2. Examples of change of subject complete dependent verbs

Compare with declarative in B.8.1.3.3, and above B.9.1.1..

ga - va ka - mwaai - mw - a'

which-place CS-stay-comp-he

‘After he was where? (you)...’

ga - va ma - mwaal - yi k - yi - w - a'

which.place not-stay-do CS-do-comp-he

‘After he wasn’t where? (you)’

B.9.1.3. Features of all dependent verbs including B.9.2, B.9.3, B.9.4, etc.

All dependent verbs occur with identificational verbs and form the basis of Subjectless Identificational Clauses. This is one way of knowing that a particular verb is dependent. With identificationals these can become independent forms of verbs though the underlying form was dependent.

Dependent verbs occur only with declarative and question moods, and some are restricted in that.

Such forms are not always common with statives, compare *complete verbs* B.3.3 and B.9.1.2.

Ka - mwaai - h - in - yiro.

CS-stay-stat-you-be

‘It was after you are elsewhere.’

Ma - mwaal - yi k - yi - g - in - yiro

not-stay do CS-do-stat-you-be

‘It was after you weren’t there.’

Ka - nyi - di - w - ak - iro.

CS-me-speak-comp-he-be

This form is very common in explanations of actions in Conversations.

‘It is after he told me (to do it).’

(Tense isn’t shown in identificationals.)

Ma - n - yi k - yi - w - ak - iro.

not-eat-do CS-do-comp-he-be

‘It was after he didn’t eat it (I brought it back).’

Ga - va k - wi - w - a' dingako.

which-place CS-go-comp-he may.be

‘It might be after he went where (that you can’t tell me)?’

K - yi - w - a' daako?

CS-do-comp-he be?

‘Is it after he did it?’

B.9.2. Independent verbs with dependent marker -ji

Because **ka-** is a prefix, the prefix moods do not occur. The number of prefixes in any word is limited to two.

B.9.2.1. Examples of stative independent verbs with -ji

The dependent marker **-ji** ‘with’ and its alternative **-ri** ‘with’ occur with statives, ie independent forms. For a discussion of **-ji** and **-ri** see B.1.b.2 after the list of forms.

mwaai - h - ena - ji

stay-stat-I-with

‘After I thought “I am (only small),” (I didn’t do it).’

ma - mwaal - yi - g - ena - ji

not-stay-do-stat-I-with

‘After I thought “I am not (small),” (I did it).’

In parallel with this there are **mwaaihinaji** ‘After he thought “You are there,” ...’, **mwaaihavaji** ‘After he thought “You all/they all are there,” ...’, **mwaalikaji** ‘After he thought “She is there,” ...’.

The **o** of the subject affixes becomes **a** before **-ji** and **-ri**. In the form for ‘you/they all’ the **w** of the subject becomes **y** when occurring with the dependent marker.

B.9.2.2. Examples of complete independent verbs with -ji

ny - angam - w - aka - ji

me-see-comp-he-with

‘After he has seen me ...’

(the second and third morphemes could be

anga and **mw** or **angamw**: they inter-react.)

ma - ny - angan - yi - w - aka - ji

not-me-see-do-comp-he-with

‘After he hasn’t seen me ...’

be’na ny - anga - mw - aka - ji

why me-see-comp-he-with

‘After I thought “Why didn’t he see me?” ...’

be - ri - ’ ma - ny - angan - yi - w - aka - ji

what-fem-she not-me-see-do.ben-comp-he with

‘After I thought “What didn’t he see for me” ..’

Dependent Verbs not based on Independent verbs – Introduction

These are dependent verbs in their own right. They exhibit nonfuture versus future, sequential versus simultaneous, same subject versus change of subject, and some exhibit dynamic versus stative, see B.9.0. They are extensive and can apply to all the nonfuture verbs of Section B.3 and both future verbs of Section B.4. These are the Papuan verbs that other linguists call Medial Verbs. I describe them here

because they are a form of dependent verb, see discussion in R. Lloyd, 1992, revised 2010, Section 3, especially 3.8.

In Section B.9 this paper concentrates on the special dependent forms whose basic structure is totally different from the independent ones, which is why they have been called *medial verbs* and by some “*coordinate dependent*”, ie a combination of coordinate and dependent, see Section 3.8 in R. Lloyd, 2010. This is not coordination of dependent Clauses as in “If he comes and if he is hungry ...”.

B.9.3. Same Subject Nonfuture Sequential Dependent Verbs

Array 17 Same subject nonfuture sequential dependent

(object)	nucleus	subject (set 3)	dependent SS sequential
object	(any) stem	-en ‘I’	-ano
prefixes	A.3	-ol ‘we 2’	(same subject sequence = SS seq.)
B.2.1		-on ‘we’	-a (short form)
		-agin ‘you’	
		-agil ‘you 2/they 2’	
		-ev ‘you all/they’	
		-ak ‘he’	

A dependent same subject nonfuture sequential verb consists of an object function which occurs with certain verb stems (A.3) and is filled by the set of object prefixes (B.2.1), plus a nucleus function filled by verb stems (A.3), plus a subject function filled by set 3 suffixes, plus a same subject sequential function filled by the same subject sequential morpheme in short form.

Subject affixes, set 3, are the same as subject affixes of general past verbs. The last vowel in the latter is dropped before **-ano**.

Note that the past tense morpheme **-ag** does not occur with most subject morphemes.

Stative examples in declarative, negative and question mood are:

Declarative positive

mwaal - en - a

stay-I-SS.seq

‘I stay and I...’

Declarative negative

(se) **m - war - y - en - a**

sleep not-lie-do-I-SS.seq

‘I did not sleep and I...’

Negative of **mwaalena** is **mamwaalyena** ‘I did not stay and I ...’

be - ri - ' war - ak - a

what-fem-she lie-he-SS.seq

‘who slept and she...’

beri' m - war - y - ak - a

what.(she) not-lie-do-he-SS.seq

‘who did not sleep and she...’

Identificational verbs with same subject nonfuture sequential verb

Identificational verbs occur directly with the long form of the same subject sequential verb. The construction occurs in Conversation.

Mwaal - en - an - yiro.

stay-I-SS.seq-be

‘It was after I stayed (there and did something else).’

Ma - mwaal - y - en - an - yiro.

not-stay-do-I-SS.seq-be

‘It was after I didn’t stay (there).’

Negative and other moods with identificationals **miko** ‘not.be’, **dingako** ‘may.be’, **daako** ‘be?’, occur, and dubitative and question forms are illustrated.

Mwaal - en - a dingako.

stay-I-SS.seq may.be

‘It might be after I stay.’

Ma - mwaal - y - en - a dingako.

not-stay-do-I-SS.seq may.be

‘It might be after I didn’t stay.’

Ga - va mwaal - en - an - ako?

which-place stay-I-SS.seq-question.be

‘It was after I stayed where?’

Ga - va ma - mwaal - y - en - an - ako?

which-place not-stay-do-I-SS.seq-question.be

‘It was after I didn’t stay where?’

The form **mwaaleneko** occurs with the short form of the sequential morpheme, ie **a + ako** -> **eko**. Most speakers prefer the negative phrase, C.4, rather than the negative words.

Ga - va mwaal - en - a dingako?

which-place stay-I-SS.seq may.be

‘It might be after I stayed where?’

Ga - va ma - mwaal - y - en - a dingako?

which-place not-stay-do-I-SS.seq may.be

‘It might be after I didn’t stay where?’

The dynamic forms behave exactly the same as these but the stems here are stative ones.

B.9.4. (Change of Subject) Non-future Dynamic Simultaneous Verb

The stative, described further in B.9.5, as well as the dynamic is presented in the array for ease of comparison. Examples are given separately. Change of subject is an inherent feature in B.9.4 and B.9.5 although there is no change of subject marker.

Array 18 Nonfuture dynamic and stative simultaneous verbs

(object)	nucleus	simultaneous	voice	subject (set 8)	dependent
object	(any)	-d	-aaw	(subtracts w) ‘I’	-zi or -ri
prefixes	stem	-ad	(dynamic)	-kwoihi ‘we 2’	-ji -ri
with		(durative)	-aw	-o ‘we’	-zi(stat) -ri
certain			(stative)		-ji(dyn) -ri
stems				-gi ‘you sg.’	-zi -ri
				-ki ‘you,they 2’	-lyi -ri
				-pi ‘you all,they’	-ji -ri
				nil ‘he’	-si -nyi

A nonfuture simultaneous verb, dynamic and stative, consists of an object function which occurs with the stems in A.3 and is filled by the set of object prefixes (B.2.1), plus a nucleus function filled by a dynamic or stative stem, plus a simultaneous marker function filled by the durative morpheme, plus a

voice function filled by a dynamic or stative voice morpheme, plus a subject function filled by set 8 subject suffixes, plus a dependent marker function filled by a dependent morpheme.

The morphophonemic changes of the dependent marker are shown above and illustrated below. The w of the voice morphemes is lost before k, p, and s and becomes ' (glottal) before g. The stative morpheme does not occur before 'he', but i then occurs before -si and -nyi dependent markers. The stative morpheme occurs with stative stems but is unmarked before o 'we'.

y - ad - aa - kwoihi - ji

do-dur-dyn-we.dl-with

'While we two did it he...'

y - ad - aaw - o - ji

do-dur-dyn-we-with

'While we did it he...'

y - ad - aa' - gi - zi

do-dur-dyn-you-with

'While you did it he...'

y - ad - aa - si

do-dur-dyn-he.with

'While he did it someone...'

Dynamic examples (see B.9.5 for stative ones):

y - ad - aa - zi

do-dur-dyn.I-with

'While I did it he...'

m - y - ad - aa - zi

not-do-dur-dyn.I-with

'While I did not do it he...'

be - va yadaazi

what-place while.I.did

'Where did I do it (while) he...'

beva myadaazi

what.place not.while.I.did

'Where didn't I do it ? (while) he...'

There is another alternative form of the dependent marker, ie -yi. This only occurs with the following subject forms.

yadaakwol - yi

while.we.dl.did-with

'While we two did it he...'

This occurs with a shortened form of the subject, ie kwoihi less hi.

yadaa'g - yi

while.you.did-with

'While you did it he...'

yadaak - yi

while.you.dl.they.dl-with

'While you/they two did it he...'

yadaap - yi

while.you.all.they.did-with

'While you/they all did it he...'

Motion and directional morphemes with simultaneous verbs

These dynamic verbs, Section B.3.3, B.9.4 etc, occur with a repeated durative morpheme. Compare B.3.2.a, and note negative here.

wi - d - aa - w - ad - aa - zi

up-dur-motion-go-dur-dyn.I-with

‘While I went up he...’

m - wil - aa - w - i - ad - aa - zi

not-up-motion-go-do-dur-dyn.I-with

‘While I didn’t go up he...’

Identificational verbs with simultaneous dynamic verbs

This combination, with no embedding morphemes, is an independent construction. It makes a minimal Subjectless Identificational Clause, R. Lloyd, 1986, Section 9. The construction occurs in Conversation.

y - ad - aa - zin - yiro.

do-dur-dyn.I-with-be

‘It was while I did it.’

m - y - ad - aa - zin - yiro.

not-do-dur-dyn.I-with-be

‘It was while I didn’t do it.’

Yadaazi miko.

while.I.do not.be

‘It was not while I did it.’

Myadaazi miko.

while.I.didn’t do not.be

‘It was not while I didn’t do it.’

Forms with **dingako** ‘may be’, and **daako** ‘be?’ occur.

Myadaazi dingako.

while.I.didn’t do may.be

‘It might be while I didn’t do it.’

Myadaazi daako?

while.I.did.not.do be?

‘Is it while I didn’t do it (that you don’t pay me?)’

ga - va y - ad - aa - zin - ako?

which-place do-dur-dyn.I-with-question.be

‘It was while I did it where?’

gava m - y - ad - aa - zin - ako?

which.place not-do-dur-I.dyn-with-question.be

‘It was while I didn’t do it where?’

The dubitative identificational verb occurs with the basic question form.

Gava yadaazi dingako?

which.place while.I.did may.be

‘It might be while I did it where?’

Gava myadaazi dingako?

which.place while.I.didn’t.do may.be

‘It might be while I didn’t do it where?’

B.9.5. (Change of Subject) Non-future Stative Simultaneous Verb

Although this verb normally requires a different subject in a following Clause it never occurs with **ka-** change of subject morpheme.

The structure is given in the array in B.9.4. These two forms, in B.9.4 and B.9.5, though contrastive, are very similar and may be compared readily.

mwaai - d - a - zi (or by some **mwaaidezi**)

stay-dur-stat.I-with

‘While I stayed (he...)’

mwaai - d - a - kwoih - ji
stay-dur-stat-we.2-with

‘While we two stayed (he...)’

mwaai - d - i - si
stay-dur-stat-he.with

‘While he stayed (someone...)’

The alternative form of the dependent marker occurs also.

mwaaidakwol - yi
while.we.2.stayed-with

‘While we two stayed (he...)’

mwaaida'g - yi
while.you.stayed-with

‘While you stayed (he...)’

Negative and Moods

mwaaidazi (positive declarative)
while.I.stayed
‘While I stayed (he...)’

ma - mwaal - y - ad - a - zi (neg. declarative)
not-stay-do-dur-stat.I-with
‘While I did not stay (he...)’

be - va mwaaidazi (question)
what-place while.I.stayed
‘Where did I stay while (he...)?’

beva mamwaalyadazi
where while.I.didn't.stay
‘Where didn't I stay while (he...)?’

Identificational verbs with simultaneous verbs form minimal Subjectless Identificational Clauses.

mwaai - d - a - zin - yiro
stay-dur-stat.I-with-be
‘It was while I stayed (elsewhere).’

ma - mwaal - y - ad - a - zin - yiro
not-stay-do-dur-stat.I-with-be
‘It was while I didn't stay.’
‘It was while I wasn't here.’

mwaai - d - a - zi miko.
stay-dur-stat.I-with not.be

‘It was not while I stayed.’

Mwaaidazi dingako.
while.I stayed may.be
‘It might be while I stayed (elsewhere).’

Mamwaalyadazi dingako.
while.I didn't stay may.be
‘It might be while I didn't stay’

Mwaaidazi daako?
while.I.stayed be?
‘Was it while I stayed?’

Mamwaalyadazi daako.
not.while.I.stay be?
‘Is it that I am not there (that you don't visit me)!’

The speaker uses this rhetorical question to reproach his hearer.

ga - va mwaai - d - a - zin - ako
 which-place stay-dur-stat.I-with-question.be
 ‘Where was it I stayed (simultaneous)?’

gava ma - mwaal - y - ad - a - zin - ako
 where not-stay-do-dur-stat.I-with-question.be
 ‘Where was it I didn’t stay (simultaneous)?’

gava mwaai - d - a - zi dingako
 where stay-dur-stative.I-with may.be
 ‘It might be while I stayed where?’

gava ma - mwaal - y - ad - a - zi dingako
 where not-stay-do-dur-stat.I-with may.be
 ‘It might be while I didn’t stay where?’

B.9.6. Same Subject Non-future (and Future) Simultaneous Verb

There is no contrast between dynamic and stative except in the stems themselves. Nonfuture and future forms are also the same. This verb is described in some detail because the minimal Subjectless Identificational Clauses formed when the verb occurs with identificational verbs, see B.6, is the standard way of describing habitual or customary states or actions. Also, embedded forms are typical habitual expressions, see B.6.c.

Array 19 Same subject simultaneous verb (Compare the array in B.6.)

(object)	nucleus	simultaneous/aspect	subject (set 7)
object	(any) verb stem	-ad	-imo/-ino ‘I’
prefixes occur		-d	-ako ‘we 2’
with certain		(durative)	-aano ‘we’
stems			-ino ‘you’
			-yiko ‘you/they 2’
			-iviko ‘you all/they’
			-ano ‘he/she’
			these occur in short forms

A same subject simultaneous verb consists of an object function which occurs with the appropriate verb stem and is filled by any object prefix of B.2.1, plus a nucleus function filled by verb stems, plus a simultaneous or aspect function filled by the durative morpheme, plus a subject function filled by set 7 suffixes.

The durative morpheme occurs in the simultaneous verbs described in B.9.4. and B.9.5.

The form durative **-d** occurs following morphemes ending in **l** or **li**, which become non-syllabic **i**; or in **ri**, **vi**, which become glottal, and polysyllabic stems ending in **bi**, **di**, **gi**, **mi** or **ni**, which are lost. The form **-ad** occurs elsewhere, and following **wijaavi** ‘give to him’.

The change of subject prefix **ka-** does not occur with simultaneous verbs. In Narratives these verbs occur in the body of the text functioning as same subject simultaneous forms. In Procedural Discourse they occur as sequential forms, usually with same subject. In that Discourse they must act as dependent *habitual* verbs working in conjunction with independent *habitual* verbs and the embedded *habitual* forms in Section B.6.c.

ba - zi - wo - d - ivi' da' - n - yaasa - ng - iro

come-cry-go-dur-they cut-refl-far.past.emb.phrase-they.fem-be

'They are the ones who while they continually wail, cut (scrape) their foreheads.'

da' - d - ivi' ne - jaav - e'

cut-dur-they us-give-they.past

'While they cut (the meat) they gave it to us.'

y - ad - ivi' tinna wanga - bi' - d - e - ng - i

do-dur-they eye see-they-fut-emb-they.fem-be

'They are the women who will see it while they work.'

A directional and a motion root occurring with a same subject simultaneous verb has the structure:

directional - durative - motion - motion root - durative - subject 7 - mood

wi - d - aa - w - ad - ivi'

up-dur-motion-go-dur-they

'While they go up...'

Moods which occur with same subject simultaneous verbs are declarative positive, as illustrated above, declarative negative, and question positive and negative.

The negative consists of the structure, **ma-** (negative), stem, plus **-yi** 'do'. This negative stem then occurs as the nucleus in the simultaneous and other verb constructions, except subjunctive.

ma - mwaal - y - ad - ivi'

not-stay-do-dur-they

'While they do not stay they ...'

m - y - ad - ivi'

not-do-dur-they

'While they do not do that they ...'

be - ri - ' y - ad - ivi'

what-fem-she do-dur-they

'While they do what? they ...'

be - ri - ' m - y - ad - ivi'

what-fem-she not-do-dur-they

'While they don't do what? they ...'

Identificational verbs occur with simultaneous verbs.

In the first examples below I give the habitual meanings as well.

waw¹⁹ - ad - ivik - iro

go-dur-they-be

'It is while they go there.'

'They always go (level).'

wi - jaav - ad - ivik - iro

him-give-dur-they-be

'It is while they give it to him.'

'They always give to him.'

mwaai - d - ivi' daako

stay-dur-they be?

'Is it while they stay there?'

'Do they always stay?'

ma - mwaal - y - ad - ivik - iro

not-stay-do-dur-they-be

'It is while they do not stay.'

m - w - i - ad - ivik - iro
not-go-do-dur-they-be

‘It is while they do not go.’

Negative polarity also occurs with negative identificational verbs.

m - wi - jaa - y - ad - ivi' miko **vy - > y**
not-him-give-do-dur-they not.be

‘It isn’t while they do not give to him. (It is while they give to him. How could you think otherwise!)’

be - ri - ' m - y - ad - ivik - iro
what-fem-she not-do-dur-they-be

‘It is while they don’t do what?’

The question mood morpheme **-ako** ‘question be’ occurs with a question word. Question words occur with declarative, as above, and dubitive, as below.

be - ri - ' m - y - ad - ivik - ako
what-fem-she not-do-dur-they-question.be

‘What is it while they don’t do it?’

be - ri - ' y - ad - ivi' dingako
what-fem-she do-dur-they may.be

‘What might it be while they do it?’

The following dependent form occurs with **-kwaji** the unreal conditional word.

a'mwe - ra sara y - ad - ivi' kwaji kayaa'na kamwaaibithika
person-they.masc thus do-dur-they it.had.gone badly they.would.have.stayed
‘If while the men had done that they would have lived badly.’

The similarity morpheme **-biko** ‘like’ occurs in the following example.

biyaai n - ad - ivi' - bi' ‘like (what happens) while they drink beer’
beer eat-dur-they-like

The dependent identificational verb forms, with **-ji** (dependent), also occur with simultaneous, but again the combinations are restricted, compare B.1.b. This is true for all simultaneous forms.

yadivikiraji ‘After (I think) “It is while they do it,” ...’
it.is.while.they.do.dep

yadivi' myiraji ‘After (I think) “It isn’t while they do it,” ...’
while.they.do not.be.dep

yadivi' dingakaji	myadivi' dingakaji
while.they.do may.be.dep	while.they.don't do may.be.dep
‘After (I think) “It may be while they do it,” ..’	‘After (I think) “It may be while they don’t do it,” ..’

yadivi' daakaji	myadivi' daakaji
while.they.do be?dep	while.they.don't.do be?dep
‘After (I think) “Is it while they do it,” ...’	‘After (I think) “Is it while they don’t do it,” ...’

beri' yadivikakaji

‘After (I think) “What is it while they do it?” ...’

what while.they.do.question.be.dep

B.9.7. Change of Subject and Same Subject Future Sequential Verb

The prefix **ka-** signals a change of subject in the next clause. When the prefix does not occur the two clauses have the same subject.

Array 20 Future sequential verb

change subject	(object)	nucleus	sequence	subject (set 9)	dependent
ka-	object	(any) verb	-aw	-mwi ‘I’	-ji or -ri
	prefixes	stem		-kwoihi ‘we 2’	
	occur			-aa ‘we’	
	with			-gi ‘you’	-zi
only occurs	certain			-ki ‘you/they 2’	-lyi
to mark change	stems			-pi ‘you all/they	-ji
of subject				-o ‘he/she/it’	

A future sequential verb consists of an optional change of subject function filled with the change of subject morpheme **ka-**, plus an object function which occurs with certain verb stems and is filled by the prefixes of B.2.1, plus a nucleus function filled by verb stems, plus a sequence marker function filled by the sequence morpheme **-aw**, plus a subject function filled by set 9 suffixes, plus a dependent marker function filled by the dependent morpheme.

The sequence marker is homophonous with the stative morpheme which occurs with simultaneous verbs, B.9.4, 9.5, 9.6 and B.9.8 and 9.9. The allomorph **-aw** occurs before **-aa** ‘we’; **-a** occurs before **-mwi** ‘I’, **-gi** ‘you’, unmarked with **-o** ‘he’, and **-a** elsewhere.

n - a' - mwi - ji

‘After I (will) eat it I...’

do-seq-I-with

y - o - ji

‘After he (will) do it he...’

do-seq.he-with

*Negative and question forms occur.***ma - n - yi y - a' - mwi - ji**

‘After I will not eat I...’

not-eat-do do-seq-I-with

See positive declarative above.

be - ri - ' y - a' - gi - zi**beri' m - yi y - a' - gi - zi**

what-fem-she do-seq-you-with

what not-do do-seq-you-with

‘After you will do what? you ...’

‘After you won’t do what? you will...’

Identificational verbs occur with future sequential verbs

The following identificational verbs occur with or without change of subject and with or without negative.

y - a' - mwi - jin - yiro

do-seq-I-with-be

‘It is after I will do (that).’

y - a' - mwi - ji miko

do-seq-I-with not.be

‘It is not after I will do that.’

ya'mwiji dingako

after.I.do may.be

‘It might be after I will do that.’

ya'mwiji daako?

after.I.do be?

‘Is it after I will do that?’

(also as a rhetorical question)

be - ri - ' y - a' - mwi - jin - eko?

what-fem-she do-seq-I-with-question.be

‘It is after I will do what?’

beri' m - yi ya'mwijineko?

what not-do I.will.do.question.be

‘It is after I will not do what?’

Examples with dependent change of subject future sequential verbs. These are the equivalent of change of subject forms based on independent nonfuture verbs, see B.3.1 – B.3.8.

k - y - a - ki - lyi

CS-do-seq-they.dl-with

‘After they two will do it someone...’

beri' m - yi k - y - a' - gi - zi

what not-do CS-do-seq-you-with

‘after you won’t do what he...?’

Identificational verbs with change of subject sequential verbs

k - y - a' - mwi - jin - yiro

CS-do-seq-I-with-be

‘It is after I will do that (and someone does something else).’

k - y - a' - mwi - ji miko

CS-do-seq-I-with not.be

‘It is not after I will do that ...’

k - y - a' - mwi - ji dingako.

CS-do-seq-I-with may.be

‘It might be after I will do that he will do something else.’

k - y - a' - mwi - ji daako?

CS-do-seq-I-with be?

‘Is it after I will do that ...’

(This can occur as a rhetorical question.)

be - ri - ' k - y - a' - mwi - jin - eko
 what-fem-she CS-do-seq-I-with-question.be
 'What is it after I will do it (and)
 (he will do something else)?'

beri' m - yi k - y - a' - mwi - jin - eko
 what not-do CS-do-seq-I-with-question.be
 'What is it after I won't do it (and)
 (you will do something)?'

B.9.8. (Change of Subject) Future Dynamic Simultaneous Verb

The structure of both dynamic and stative forms is very similar and are included in Array 21. For examples of stative verbs see B.9.9.

Array 21 Future simultaneous verbs

(object)	nucleus	simultaneous	voice	subject (set 9)	dependent
object	(any) verb	-d	-aaw	-mwi 'I'	-ji / -ri
prefixes	stem	-ad	(dynamic)	-kwoihi 'we 2'	
occur with		(durative)	-aw	-aa 'we'	
certain stems			(stative)	-gi 'you'	-zi / -ri
				-ki 'you/they 2'	-lyi / -ri
				-pi 'you all/they	-ji / -ri
				-o 'he/she/it'	

A future, change of subject, simultaneous verb, dynamic and stative, consists of an object function which occurs with certain verb stems, A.3, and is filled by object prefixes, B.2.1, plus a nucleus function which is filled by a dynamic or stative verb stem, plus a simultaneous marker function filled by the durative morpheme, plus a voice function filled by the appropriate dynamic or stative voice morpheme, plus a subject function filled by set 9 subject suffixes, plus a dependent marker function filled by the appropriate dependent allomorph.

The forms of the durative have the same distribution as given in B.9.5. The voice morphemes parallel the sequence morpheme, see B.9.7, and compare with nonfuture simultaneous B.9.4. and B.9.5.

Before **-aa** 'we', **-aaw** (dynamic) becomes **aw** (**aawaa** -> **awaa**).

y - ad - aa' - mwi - ji 'While I will do it (he...)'
 do-dur-dyn-I-with

y - ad - aa' - gi - zi 'While you will do it (I...)'
 do-dur-dyn-you-with

y - ad - aaw - o - ji 'While he will do it (I...)'
 do-dur-dyn-he-with

This form is homophonous with nonfuture simultaneous first person plural, see B.9.4.

y - ad - aw - aa - ji 'While we will do it (he...)'
 do-dur-dyn-we-with

The morphophonemic rule as given above neutralizes the dynamic - stative contrast. Compare **mwaidawaaji** 'While we will stay (he...)'.
 Compare **mwaidawaaji** 'While we will stay (he...)'.

Alternative forms of the dependent marker are given in the array of Section B.9.3.

Directional morphemes and motion roots occur with future simultaneous, compare B.9.3 and B.3.2.a.

wi - d - aa - w - ad - aa' - mwi - ji 'While I will go up (he...)'
up-dur-motion-go-dur-dyn-I-with

m - wi - aa - w - i - ad - aa' - mwi - ji 'While I will not go up (you...)'
not-up-motion-go-do-dur-dyn-I-with

Mood: only declarative mood and question mood occur in positive and negative.

m - y - ad - aa' - mwi - ji 'While I will not do it (he...)'
not-do-dur-dyn-I-with

This can also occur as:

m - yi y - ad - aa' - mwi - ji 'While I will not do it (he...)'
not-do do-dur-dyn-I-with

be - va y - ad - aa' - gi - zi 'While you will do it where (he...?)'
what-he do-dur-dyn-you-with 'Where will you do it while (he ...?)'

be - ri - ' m - y - ad - aa' - gi - zi 'While you will not do what (he...?)'
what-fem-she not-do-dur-dyn-you-with 'What won't you do while (he ...?)'

Identificational verbs with simultaneous future verbs.

Compare B.9.3 for a similar independent construction with the same range of moods. Stative and dynamic forms occur with identificational verbs. Negative and positive simultaneous verbs occur with all moods of identificational verbs.

Y - ad - aa' - gi - zin - yiro. 'It will be while you will be working.'
do-dur-dyn-you-with-be

Y - ad - aaw - o - ji miko. 'It will not be while he will be working.'
do-dur-dyn-he-with not.be

Be - ri - ' m - yi y - ad - aa' - mwi - jin - eko? 'What will it be while I won't do it?'
what-fem-she not-do do-dur-dyn-I-with-question.be

B.9.9. (Change of Subject) Future Stative Simultaneous Verb

See B.9.8 for the array of the structure.

mwaai - d - o - zi 'While he will stay (I...)'
stay-dur-stat.he-with

wa' - d - a' - gi - zi
lie-dur-stat-you-with

‘While you will lie (sleep) (he...)’

Negative Polarity and Mood

As usual with dependent verbs only declarative and question mood occur.

ma - mwaal - y - ad - a' - mwi - ji
not-stay-do-dur-stat-I-with

‘While I will not stay (he...)’

This can also occur as:

ma - mwaal - yi y - ad - a' - mwi - ji
not-stay-do do-dur-stat-I-with

‘While I will not stay (he...)’

be - va mwaai - d - a' - gi - zi
what-loc stay-dur-stat-you-with

‘While you will stay where (he...?)’

‘Where will you stay (simultaneous) (while he ...?)’

Identificational verbs occur with change of subject future stative simultaneous verbs.

Mwaai - d - a - kwoihi - jin - yiro.
stay-dur-stat-we.two-with-be

‘It will be while we two will be elsewhere.’

Wa' - d - a' - gi - zin - yiro.
lie-dur-stat-you-with-be

‘It will be while you are asleep.’

Be - va ma - mwaal - yi y - ad - i - 'nyin - eko?
what-loc not-stay-do do-dur-stat.he-with-question.be

‘Where will it be while he doesn’t stay there?’

Be - va mwaai - d - i - 'nyi dingako
what-loc stay-dur-stat.he-with may.be
‘It might be while he did it where?’

Beva ma - mwaal - yi y - ad - i - 'nyi dingako
where not-stay-do do-dur-stat.he-with may.be
‘It might be while he didn’t do it where?’

B.10. Embedding

B.10.0. Introduction

We need to consider the definition of embedding. The following quote comes from R. Lloyd, 2010. “Foley 1986, calls ‘subordination, the embedding of one Clause into another,’ p.198.6.” This seems to be the traditional approach. However one of his subordinate examples covers more than that definition does. In a three way contrast in Iatmul he glosses the example, come-3s.masc (he)-unreal-if ‘if he comes’. I see this as subordination in a Sentence, ie a Subordinate Clause which occurs with a Main Clause. If so, this is not embedding. A category of Relative Clause should be added to the traditional analysis, especially a Relative Clause in a noun phrase. The main possibilities for embedding are a noun phrase in a noun phrase, a Clause in a noun phrase, a Sentence in a noun phrase, a Clause in a Clause, a Sentence in a Clause, and a Sentence in a Sentence.

Baruya does not usually differentiate in form a Subordinate Clause from an Embedded / Relative Clause, but the former occurs in a Sentence and the latter in a Clause or phrase.

I will first give the subordinate use on the Sentence level in Baruya, Section B.10.1, then the truer embedded forms on the word level, Section B.10.2.

B.10.1. Embedded Verbs, ie Subordinate, on the Sentence Level.

This section covers subordination, defined as occurring on the Sentence level, and not true embedding as in a Relative Clause. This is despite both usually having the same overt form in Baruya.

Subordination is a form of dependency and may not need to be differentiated. The function marker bound words are somewhat different between subordinate verbs and embedded verbs but the main difference is in distribution and intonation.

Subordinate or Dependent Verbs which occur in Sentences

The following examples are like Subordinate Clauses and verbs in other languages.

yi - w - ak - e - ' ' (being) that he worked ...'
do-comp-he-emb-she/it (circumstance)

In the appropriate context, and especially with a head noun **a'mwe** 'person', this can mean 'the woman who did it', a Relative Clause.

yi - w - ak - e - ' - na 'because he worked ...'
do-comp-he-emb-it-ref '**na** (it/she.reference) = 'because' (cause)

This may also mean 'she indeed who did it,' a form of highlighting.

yi - w - ak - e - ' - ne - ' - na 'for the reason he worked ...'
do-comp-he-emb-it-ref.emb-it-ref (reason/strong cause)

One Baruya language consultant said that two forms, eg **-ne'na**, as in this example, were enough to mark a strong reason, but when he got excited he used three or four **'na** cause morphemes himself.

yi - w - ak - e - vi 'in that he worked ...'
do-comp-he-emb-her/in.it (sphere)

This may also mean '(I saw) the woman who worked'.

yi - w - ak - e - ya - ba 'at that, ie because, he worked ...'
do-comp-he-emb-her.emb-place This is similar to the above.
[Compare **a'mwe - ya - ba** 'at/over the woman = because of the woman (they fought)']
person-her.emb-place

yi - w - ak - e - vi - daa'nyi 'from the fact that he worked ...'
do-comp-he-emb-her-from (ground or basis)

This may also mean '(give it to) the woman first / her first who worked '[ablative].

These are just a sample of the forms that occur, compare the connectives in J. A. Lloyd, 1992, chart 34, and the affixes in Section 12.2 of R. Lloyd, 1989.

A conundrum or “What does the language speaker mean?”

While working on simultaneous verbs I was surprised that my Baruya language consultant wouldn't accept some embedded forms of simultaneous verbs in certain contexts. For example:

Y - ad - aa - zi - ya - i - nyi mwaai - h - e.

do-dur-I-dep-emb-masc-I.subj stay-stat-I

This should mean 'I who while I work stay there,' but it doesn't. This is because this kind of simultaneous verb must have a different subject in the following Clause in the same Sentence. Being embedded does not obviate this. The above example has 'I' as subject in the verbs in both Clauses, which is contrary to the requirement in B.2.1.b.1. As I worked with the speakers they seemed to accept a subordinate meaning, ie 'Given I am a man who worked, simultaneous, I stayed.' I followed this understanding because it was their language, although I could not understand why they did not accept a Relative meaning although they appeared to accept a Subordinate meaning. Now I think that what they meant was a closeknit Explanatory Paragraph in a Conversation. The meaning would then be: – 'I am a man who while I do that (someone does something else), and I (continue to) live well.' There are two Sentences in the Baruya but the thrust of the language suggests this meaning. The **-nyi** morpheme is then not 'I as subject', but 'I am.' The two morphemes are homophonous.

Y - ad - aa - zi - ya - i - n - yi(ra). Mwaai - h - e. 'I am a man who while I do that (someone does do-dur-dyn.I-dep-emb masc-I-be stay-stat-I. something else). I stay/live.'

In this context Baruya speakers wouldn't pronounce the longer form of the morpheme, in brackets. Being a closeknit Paragraph the intonation would be close to that of a Sentence and I must have missed the difference.

Note that in English a question word as a modifier as in "which dog" affects the whole Sentence - "Which dog bit my child?". So we must expect that a Relative Clause will affect the Clause or Sentence in which it occurs, most likely in question form.

Note that the embedder morpheme with simultaneous verbs does not merge with the dependent marker. In a subjunctive these morphemes do merge.

B.10.2. Embedding of independent and dependent verbs on word level

See B.10.0 for discussion on subordinate in embedded verb forms versus the verbs in this section.

A Relative Clause based on a simultaneous verb is:

Y - ad - aa - si - ya - l - yiro.

do-dur-dyn-he.with-emb-he-be

'He is the one who while he worked (I saw him).'

'He is the man who while he worked (it happened).'

A common form, with complete aspect, compare below, is:

wi - w - ak - e - ri - n - ero

go-comp-he-emb-him-reference/about-be

'He has gone and I saw him do it.'

Literally – "It is about him who has gone."

Some Relative Clauses

All the terms in the following headings are pertinent to all verbs below in Relative Clauses, ie independent vs dependent, nonfuture vs future, stative vs dynamic, sequential vs simultaneous, and same subject vs different subject.

Independent nonfuture stative, embedded

Mwaai - h - e - i - n - yi nyangamani'.

‘He is looking at me who am here.’

stay-stat-I.emb-masc-I-obj he.is.looking.at.me

Independent future dynamic, embedded

j - i - th - e - i - gin - yi

‘...to you who will do it.’

imp.do-you-will-emb-masc-you-obj

Independent nonfuture stative with change of subject prefix, embedded

ka - mwaal - ik - e - i

‘he who after he lives there someone (does something)...’

CS-stay-stat.he-emb-he

Independent nonfuture stative with dependent suffix (- **ji** ‘with’), embedded

mwaal - ika - ji - ya - i

‘he whom I thought “He lives there,” ...’

stay-stat.he-with-emb-he

Dependent future dynamic, same subject, embedded, not based on an independent

y - a' - mwi - ji - ya - i - nyi

‘I who after I will do it will do something else...’

do-seq-I-with-emb-masc-I

Question form of above in second person subject, embedded

be - ri - ' y - a' - gi - zi - ya - i - gi

‘you, who after you will do what?...’

what-fem-she do-seq-you-with-emb-masc-you

Dependent nonfuture dynamic, different subject, simultaneous first and second person, embedded

y - ad - aa - zi - ya - i - n - yi

m - y - ad - aa - zi - ya - i - n - yi

do-dur-dyn.I-with-emb-masc-I-obj

not-do-dur-dyn.I-with-emb-masc-I-obj

‘(he spoke) to me who was working
(simultaneous)’

‘(he spoke) to me who was not doing that
(simultaneous) = he unjustly accused me’

be - ri - ' y - ad - aa' - gi - zi - ya - i - gin - yi

beri' m - y - ad - aa' - gi - zi - ya - i - gin - yi

what-fem-she do-dur-dyn-you-with-emb-masc-
you-obj

what not-do-dur-dyn-you-with-emb-masc-
you-obj

‘(He spoke) to you who were doing (sim) what?’

‘(He spoke) to you who was not doing what?’

‘What were you doing (sim) when (he spoke) to you?’

‘What were you supposed to be doing (sim)
when (he spoke) to you?’

This last example, positive and negative, is homophonous with the corresponding Identificational Clauses, ie **-yi** ‘object’ is the same as **-yi** ‘be’ short form = ‘are’. This gives the meaning – ‘You are the man who while you were doing what? he spoke to you.’ ‘You are the man who while you weren’t doing what? he spoke to you.’

Dependent future stative, different subject, simultaneous, embedded

Mwaai - d - a' - mwi - ji - ya - i - nyi wawinya yidero. (Note the full future verb here.)

stay-dur-stat-I-with-emb-masc-I garden I.will.do

‘Given while I, a man will stay I will work.’

This again must be -

Mwaai - d - a' - mwi - ji - ya - i - n - yi. Wawinya yidero.

stay dur-stat-I-with-emb-masc-I-be garden I.will.do

‘I am the man while I stay (and someone does something) and I will garden.’

‘I am a man who while I stay someone does something else, and (it is) I will garden.’

Dependent nonfuture and future, same subject, dynamic and stative, simultaneous, embedded

wi - d - aa - w - ad - ivi - sa - r - era m - wi - d - aa - w - i - ad - ivi - sa - r - era

up-dur-motion-go-dur-they-emb-they.masc-be not-up-dur-motion-go-do-dur-they-emb-they.masc-be

‘They are the men who while they go up do it.’ ‘They are the men who while they don’t go up do it.’

B.11. Infinitives, Gerunds and Irregular Imperative Verbs

B.11.0. Introduction

The basic forms of stems end in **i** as shown in Section A. However stems do not occur in isolation though some verbs in a short form are homophonous with certain verb stems.

B.11.1. Infinitives

An infinitive is the simplest verb form that occurs in isolation. It consists of a stem, simple or compound, plus the reference morpheme **-nano** ‘about/to’ which is usually shortened to **-na**. The number of syllables in the stem affects its shape before **-nano**. A verb stem of two syllables, not compounded, does not contract, but in a compound it does, see below.

mwaali - na ‘to stay’
stay-about

wil - a - mwaai - na ‘to stay inside’
inside-link-stay-about

Negative infinitives are the only other kind of infinitive, compare C.4.

ma - mwaal - yi - na ‘to not stay’
not-stay-do-about

Stems ending in **'ni, -ni** 'reflexive' or **ni** 'eat' occur with **yi** 'do' preceding **-na** 'to/about'.

n - yi - na 'to eat'
eat-do-about

B.11.2. Gerunds

These occur with the embedder morpheme **-ya** on the verb stem, but in Discourse they must also occur with bound words.

b - ya - haa' 'the time of coming'
come-emb-time (DyVg -> DyVh) (of the government officers)

ma - b - ya - haa' 'the time of not coming'
not-come-do.emb-time

mwaal - ya - i 'a staying one/a resident'
stay-emb-he

mara - divi - div - ya 'taking and repeatedly curving'
take-curve-curve-emb

This gerund is a repetitive word, similar to a gerundival phrase, C.7. The linkage here is different from zero linkage in stems, A.4.1. This older speaker uses **yy** combinations.

B.11.3. Irregular imperative verbs

These do not occur with the imperative prefix (second person), and most do not occur as immediate future in first and third person, see B.4.1.a. Also their stems do not occur as negative, or with other tenses, moods or aspects, see Section B. They occur commonly in everyday conversation.

Mano. 'Take it!'
(The short form is **ma**. With this meaning **ma** occurs in many unrelated languages of Papua New Guinea.)

Man - yilo. 'Take it!' (dual and plural)
take-you.two/you.all

Gaano. 'Give it to me!'
(The short form is **gaa**.)

Gaan - yilo. 'Give it to me!' (dual and plural)
give-you.two/you.all

Gano. 'Get out of my way!'
(The short form is **ga**.)

Gan - yilo.

clear-you.two/you.all

‘Get out of my way!’ (dual and plural)

Kavaayo.(The short form is kavaa.)

‘Be quiet!/Wait!’

Kavaa - yilo.

wait-you.two/you.all

‘Be quiet!/Wait!’ (dual and plural)

Yithaano.(The short form is yithaa)

‘Behold!’

Yithaan - yilo.

Behold-you.two/you.all

‘Behold!’ (dual and plural)

Kaajo.

‘Come!’

This verb is irregular, but first and third person subjects occur in a related form, ie they occur in the same paradigm:

Kaan - y - imo. ‘I will come.’

move-do-I

Kaan - y - ano. ‘He will come.’

move-do-he

If this was a regular verb ‘Come!’ would perhaps be ***Dihaanyo**.

It appears that **kaajo** could be **kaan - d - yo**, a contraction of two original words, probably **kaanna jo**. ‘to.move do.(command)’. If so, this is the only instance of the imperative morpheme occurring within a word.

Kaajilo. ‘Come!’ (dual and plural)

This form also has an infinitive form **kaan - na** ‘move-about’ ‘to move’. A gerund form **kaanya** ‘moving’ also means ‘door’.

C. Verb Phrases

C.O. Introduction

Verb phrases in Baruya are not as extensive as either stems, see Section A, or verbs, see Section B. However they occur commonly, especially in Narrative. Verb phrases are various combinations of verbs, but verb phrases do not include (manner) adverbs because they occur almost anywhere within the Clause.

Verb phrases include infinitive phrases C.1, extended action phrases C.2, demonstrative adverb phrases C.3, and negative phrases C.4. Others are unreal conditional phrases C.5, and mood phrases C.6, repetitive phrases C.7, and immediate future phrases with question, interrogative and dubitative moods C.8. The latter have both a phrase and a word form. The word forms are preferred by the Baruya tribe, see 0.0.

Manner adverbs and adjuncts, which include gerunds, occur before the Predicate function of Clauses. Adjuncts are briefly described in Section 2.7, Quality Nouns in R. Lloyd, 1969. Manner adverbs or adverbs are described in Chapter 10 in R. Lloyd, 1989. Baruya speakers permit any order of (manner) adverbs or adjuncts with any Clause function except a Questioned Clause function. However in the concordance most adverbs do occur etically before verbs. Adjuncts, if they occur, usually occur preceding adverbs. Neither of these need be considered as part of a verb phrase.

Question words affect the whole sentence, even when they are in a modifying function within a phrase, as in English ‘What dog?’, see second last paragraph in Section B.10.1. They often have a special distribution; in English and many languages this is sentence initial. In Baruya when a function within a phrase is manifested by a question word, where necessary the structure of the phrase changes to place the question word in phrase final position. Here and with question words manifesting Clause functions, the Questioned Clause function must immediately precede the Predicate function. Instead of incorporating the Questioned Clause function into a question verb phrase it is treated as a separate function on the Clause level. The Response/ Answer to the Question highlights that function. Special distributions for question forms are common so one immediately preceding the Predicate is possible as is analysed here. Bernard Comrie commented that many occurred there especially in SOV languages. See Baruya Question Clauses and Question Sentences, presented in “The Clause in Baruya”, R. Lloyd, 1986 and “The Sentence in Baruya”, R. Lloyd, 1987.

C.1. Infinitive Verb Phrases

Infinitive verb phrases occur at the end of a Paragraph in Narrative Discourse. Infinitives also occur at the ends of Sentences within Paragraphs, but here an accompanying finite verb is elided. Infinitive verb phrases also occur within Sentences. The verb phrase has two forms, a regular and an extended one. The latter covers an action considered to take some time, from less than a minute to about an hour. Below the function is called “head” because it carries the main meaning.

Infinitive verb phrase

head	auxiliary

infinitive verb	finite verb ‘do’

mwaali - na y - ad - a - p - yi ‘while they stayed’
 stay-about do-dur-stat-they-with

ya - miha - mak - wi - na y - ev - e - ra
 do-put.in-carry-go-about do-they-SS.seq.emb-they.masc
 ‘those men who caused the bags to be filled and carried’

yi - na y - e’ ‘they did (share the food badly)’
 do-about do-past.they

(In context the independent verb **ye’** is elided, unless the phrase is Paragraph final.)

Extended infinitive phrase

head	extension	auxiliary

infinitive verb	yina ‘to do’ (or reduplication of preceding verb)	finite verb ‘do’
b - wi - na come-inside-about	yi - na do-about	y - ev - a do-they-SS.seq ‘after they continued to come in ...’
ma - bala - yi - na not-shoot-do-about	yi - na do-about	y - en - a do-I-SS.seq ‘after I continued to not shoot (miss) birds I ...’
ti - h - wi - na shut-cause-go-about	ti - h - wi - na shut-cause-go-about	y - ev - a do-they-SS.seq ‘after they put taboo signs all around (their houses) they ...’

The intonation of this phrase is distinct from that of infinitives which are repeated and form separate Clauses, not a single phrase. If the structure is a Clause the intonation rises on the first syllable of the head verb, but remains low on the parallel finite verb. The Sentence structure is used if the speaker considers that the action is not only extended, but unduly so, or performed under difficulties, see “The Sentence in Baruya”, R. Lloyd, 1987.

C.2. Extended Action Verb Phrases

This phrase consists of two verbs and occurs medially in a Sentence and denotes an action which covers a period of time. The subject of both verbs is the same. The second verb of the phrase signals a different subject verb in the following Clause. The second verb may occur with the embedder morpheme and the time morpheme.

Extended action verb phrase

extended action	head

same subject simultaneous verb	change of subject simultaneous of verb ‘do’
same subject sequential verb	embedded time with CS simultaneous ‘do’
change subject sequential verb	(demonstrative adverb phrase with the above)
(the above 3 as infinitive phrases)	(embedder plus time with the above)

The subject of both verbs is the same.

yiku - na **y - ad - ivi'** **y - ad - aa - p - i**
go.in.group-about do-dur-they do-dur-dyn-they-with
‘while they were still leaving in groups for some time...’

y - ad - i	y - ad - aa' - g - i	‘while you continue to get’
do-dur-you	do-dur-dyn-you-with	(lit. ‘do vines/stakes’)
d - ak - a	y - ad - aa - 'nyi	‘while he still thought (on it)’
say-he-SS.seq	do-dur-dyn-he.with	
k - alawaw - o	y - i - d - o - ri - ya - gaa'	‘the time while we still went down (a long way)’
CS-go.down-we	do-reflex-dur-we-with-emb-time	
war - o - ji	y - i - d - o - ri - ya - gaa'	‘(the time) while it will be there a long time’
lie-it-with	do-reflex-dur-it-with-emb-time	
war - o - ji	war - o - ji y - ad - o - ri - ya - gaa'	‘the time while it will still be there a long time’
lie-it-with	lie-it-with do-dur-it-with-emb-time	
An adverb occurs in one example making a demonstrative adverb phrase, see C.3.		
d - on - a	dara	y - ad - aaw - o - ri
say-we-SS.seq	this.way	do-dur-dyn-we-with
		‘while we thus still thought (it) over’ (ie for some time)

C.3. Demonstrative Adverb Phrase

The demonstrative adverbs, described in R. Lloyd, 1989, Section 10.3, may occur with verbs and verb phrases. Some of these are homophonous with demonstratives. Compare the following:

a'mwe	da - ra	‘these men’
person	this-they.masc	
Da - ra	ja.	‘Do it this way.’
this-way	do	
a'mwe	sa - ra	‘those men’
person	that-they.masc	
Sa - ra	ja.	‘Do it that way.’
that-way	do	

Demonstrative adverb phrase

qualifier	head

demonstrative adverb	verb
or repetitive demonstrative	infinitive verb phrase
adverb phrase	negative verb phrase
	etc

da - ra da - ra da' - d - aw - aa - ri
this-way this-way cut-dur-dyn-we-with

‘while we will keep cutting this way
(our shoulders will ache)’

sa - ra da - hi - thi - wa'd - iko
that-way ?-you-say-recent-he

‘did he, (Dadawinje) tell you thus?’

sa - ra tamī - na
that-way hit-about

‘thus to hit’ = ‘they thus killed them’
(main verb is elided)

See R. Lloyd, 1987, Section 7 where an embedded form of this phrase occurs in an Awareness or Perception Quote Sentence.

C.4. Negative Verb Phrases

Depending on the context and type of Discourse either an infinitive verb phrase or a verb may occur. However, negative expressions in future or with a change of subject (**ka-** prefix) and undesired (**na-** prefix) subjunctives must take the form of a negative phrase. An infinitive verb phrase occurs with **-nana** ‘about’ (short form **-na**) on the auxiliary and extension, see C.1. However this morpheme, **-na**, does not occur in a negative verb phrase, ie - **marilyi** not **marilyina** ‘to not put taboo signs’.

Negative verb phrase

head	auxiliary

negative stem	finite verb ‘do’ gerund ‘do’

The auxiliary form is elided when Sentence final but Paragraph medial. It may also be elided Sentence medially if the context is clear, especially if the subject is the same as in the following Clause.

Ma - ne - midin - aa - b - yi yi - pi' - de - ng - iro.
not-us-follow-motion-come-do do-they-fut.emb-they.fem-be
‘They are women who will not follow us (to marry).’

Ma - n - yiri'maar - yi na - n - yi - pi - ka. ‘It would not be good if they would not visit me.’
not-me-visit-do undesired-me-do-they-result
Some speakers only allow object prefixes to occur on the finite verb and not the negative stem.

Ma - ram - yi ya - ' - n - e - sira. ‘It was because (you did) not kill (them).’
not-hit-do do.emb-she-about-emb-she.be

ma - ril - yi
not-shut-do

‘...they didn’t block them off’

C.5. Unreal Conditional Subjunctive Phrases

This phrase was discussed under B.5.3.b.

Unreal conditional subjunctive phrase

head	simple conditional

noun phrase	kwaji ‘if it had gone/been’
conditional subjunctive	
future sequential	
Also the verbs,	
except unrealizable	
subjunctive, in	
the head of mood	
phrases	

Both functions are obligatory. The verbs in the head function are positive or negative. See B.5.3.b. for further examples.

bi - wi - ji **k - w - a - ji** ‘If I had come...’
come-I.subjunc-with unreal-go-he-with

The subjunctive in this phrase is in a dependent form.

C.6. Mood Phrases

These occur with independent habitual verbs B.6, dependent forms including change of subject B.2.1.b.1 etc and B.3.1.b.1 etc, and unrealizable subjunctive B.5.3.a. There are restrictions with some dependent forms according to which person-number occurs as subject. These are given in the appropriate sections. Declarative and question moods are bound words.

Mood phrase

head	mood

habitual verb	-yiro declarative
simultaneous dependent verb	-ako/-eko question(with question word)
sequential dependent verb	miko negative
change of subject verbs	dingako dubitative
unrealizable subjunctive	daako interrogative
immediate future dependent	
(plus negative phrase of last 4)	

Non-future and future, dynamic and stative occur in dependent verbs where appropriate.

Many examples occur in Section B, where the verb is described.

Mwaai - d - i*v*i' daako? 'Do they always stay?'
 stay-dur-they be? (Was it while they stayed?)

Y - ad - aa' - gi - zi daako? 'Will it be while you will do it?'
 do-dur-dyn-you-with be?

Ma - n - yi k - yi - w - a' daako? 'Is it after he didn't eat?'
 not-eat-do CS-do-comp-he be?

Ma - n - yi k - y - a - di' daako 'Is it (that) he would not have eaten it?'
 not-eat-do unreal-do-he-result be?

M - yi y - a - ji daako? 'Is it after he will not do it soon?'
 not-do do-he.will-with be?

C.7. Repetitive Verb Phrases

A repeated action can be shown by a gerundival phrase containing two reduplicated stems. When the action is considered more as a unit the reduplicated stems, which here also includes partial reduplication, combine to form a word.

The structure of the **gerundival phrase** is:

head	repetition

verb stem	same verb stem -ya

yaalavi yaala - ya 'repeatedly leaving the main track'
 diverge diverge-emb

tili til - ya 'repeatedly weaving'
 weave weave-emb

Compare
mara - divi - div - ya 'taking and repeatedly curving'
 take-curve-curve-emb

This last example is by an older speaker who uses **vy** combinations. The linkage in a repetitive word is different from zero linkage in stems, see Section A.4.1.

C.8. Immediate Future Question, Interrogative or Dubitative Phrases

Some speakers only allow the complex words as described in B.4.1.a under (Future) Interrogative and Dubitive Moods. Others use a phrase as well or instead of the word. The **Wiziraabya** only allow the phrase and the **Aaja** prefer the phrase. The **Baaruya** prefer the complex word.

head	(immediate future) mood
<hr/>	
immediate future dependent	interrogative complete 'do' verb dubitative complete 'do' verb

See Section B.3.3.a for structure of independent complete verbs.

[illegible]

Ni - pi' - ji jih - yi - w - aawo. ‘They may eat it.’
eat-they-with may-do-comp-they

The form of the mood here is that of a complex word divided into two parts, otherwise the second part would have been **daha - yi - w - aawo** ‘they may do it’
may-do-comp-they

The phrase also occurs with question function in the Clause, ie the phrase occurs instead of a question word with an immediate future independent verb. I thought that the phrase was more basic, older historically, but, because of this example, the word must be basic and some have made it into a phrase.

Be - ' - na j - i - zi ji - w - aano. 'Why will you do that?'

what-she-about imp.do-you-with ?do-comp-you

Concluding Remarks

In this paper I have shown the form with function and the distribution of verbs, including stems, words and phrases. Simple stems, A.1, and derived stems, A.2, combine to form complex compound stems, A.4. R. Lloyd, 2010 also compares compound verbs on stem level, with dependent verbs on word level. Similar relationships can occur in both.

There are many strands in Baruya verbs on word level, B.O.

The same form can function on different levels or in different Discourses with appropriate meanings. Habitual, B.6, in Procedural Discourse works as a sequential verb, but in Narrative Discourse the same form works as a same subject simultaneous verb, B.9.6. Forms occurring with the embedder morphemes function at the Clause, B.10.2, or the Sentence level, B.10.1.

Another feature of note is the occurrence of prefixes. Verb suffixes occur freely and with recursion. However only two orders of prefixes occur. The inner set depicts object, B.2.1. The outer set depicts change of subject, B.9.1, B.9.7, and like functions. It also occurs with negative, B.7, or mood, B.8, except that question mood occurs with a question word. When negative occurs with dubitative or interrogative these form a special complex word, see B.2.3, for an example. Parallel to English the

subjunctive in all its forms when occurring with negative does not occur with the auxiliary “do” following the stem. All other verbs do occur with “do”.

It is interesting that Baruya, a word language, has these parallels with English, a phrase language.

NOTES

1. See Hopper and Thompson 1980 for a broad usage of this term.
2. This I believe explains the acceptability of the common anomaly presented by SOV (not NP NP V). Predicate manifested by verbs is redefined as “the Heart of the Clause”.
3. The category of voice at the stem level covers causation, reflexivisation or reciprocity and benefaction. A further category of voice (kinesis (?)) at the word level covers dynamism versus state. This defines my use of the category of voice. Compare Crystal 1980, page 378.
4. A dynamic root is any non-stative root.
5. This term is borrowed from S.C. Dik 1980:7-8 but is redefined here.
6. See R. Lloyd, 1981:117 for these morphophonemic changes, when vowels are lost.
7. **li + hi -> ihi**
8. **man - n - iko**
 build-reflex-it.stative
 (A house) is built.
 More usually it means ‘There is a house. (A house) stands.’
9. Adjuncts or adjunct nouns are described in Section 2.7, in R. Lloyd, 1969.
10. This and the next four examples may be compounds,
11. This is a causative construction ie ‘cause someone to wake’.
12. Note that this **e** is not the linkage **e**, but the result of a morphophonemic change of zero linkage. Verb roots ending in **aayi** (and noun roots with **aaya**, which is not basically **aavya**) change to **e**, before other roots.
13. This root (partial) has never been found as a simple stem.
14. Compare with **yiri'mwagi** ‘turn end for end’.
15. Compare with **wiraa'mavi** ‘spit’.

16. This stem probably means ‘rain and cease’ (**a** linkage). The root **pi** also means ‘shoot (arrows)’.

17. For discussion of long and short forms see R. Lloyd, 1989:1.1, page 12, and Section 1.3.

18. **wo + ako -> vako**

Ca + ako -> Ceko C = any consonant

19. In fast speech and in compounds **wawa** -> **wo** (ie preceding durative = **wawad** -> **wod**).

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