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WINTHA DANIELSEN

AURE

N ARAWAK LANGUAGE OF BOLIVIA

NDIGENOUS LANGUAGES OF LATIN AMERICA / 6

cnws

Baure
An Arawak language of Bolivia

Een wetenschappelijke proeve op het gebied van de Letteren

Proefschrift

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aan de Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen
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Swintha Danielsen

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I alone am responsible for the errors that this book may contain Further research may reveal the necessity for new analyses of specific details in the Baure grammar

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Abbreviations

ABS	=	absolute morpheme
APPL	=	applicative
APRV	=	approval
APRX	=	approximative
ART	=	article
ATTR	=	attributive
AUG	=	augmentative
be I	=	be (identity)
be L	=	be (in a location)
BEN	=	benefactive
C	=	clause or sentence
CANT	=	cantative
CAUS	=	causative
CERT	=	certainty
CLEFT	=	cleft
CLF	=	classifier
COME	=	directional towards
COMPL	=	complementizer
COP	=	copula
COS	=	change of state
DEM	=	demonstrative (three different ones 1,2,3)
DEP	=	departitive
DET	=	determiner
DIM	=	diminutive
DISTR	=	distributive
DUR	=	durative
EMPH	=	emphatic marker
EV	=	empty verb root
EXCLA	=	exclamative
f	=	feminine
FINISH	=	terminative, finish
GO	=	go, intentional, directional
HES	=	hesitation
HORT	=	cohortative
hPL	=	human plural
IMM	=	immediate
IND	=	indefinite pronoun
INT	=	intensifying
INTJ	=	interjection
intr	=	intransitive
IRR	=	irrealis
JUSS	=	jussive
LK	=	linker
LOC	=	locative
m	=	masculine
NEG	=	negative
NOM	=	nominalizer (three different ones 1,2,3)
NP	=	noun phrase
O	=	object
PASS	=	passive
PRED	=	predicate
PERF	=	perfective
PL	=	plural
POSS	=	possessive marker
POT	=	potential
PRFLX	=	perfective & reflexive
PRIV	=	privative
PROG	=	progressive
QNOM	=	quality nominalization
QUOT	=	quotative
RCPC	=	reciprocal
REP	=	repetitive
REPN	=	negative repetitive (never again)
S	=	subject
SG	=	singular
SUBJ	=	subjective
tr	=	transitive
UNSP	=	unspecified
WTE	=	weather/time/ environment morpheme
1SGP	=	1 SG possessive pronoun
-	=	affixation
=	=	cliticization
~	=	reduplication

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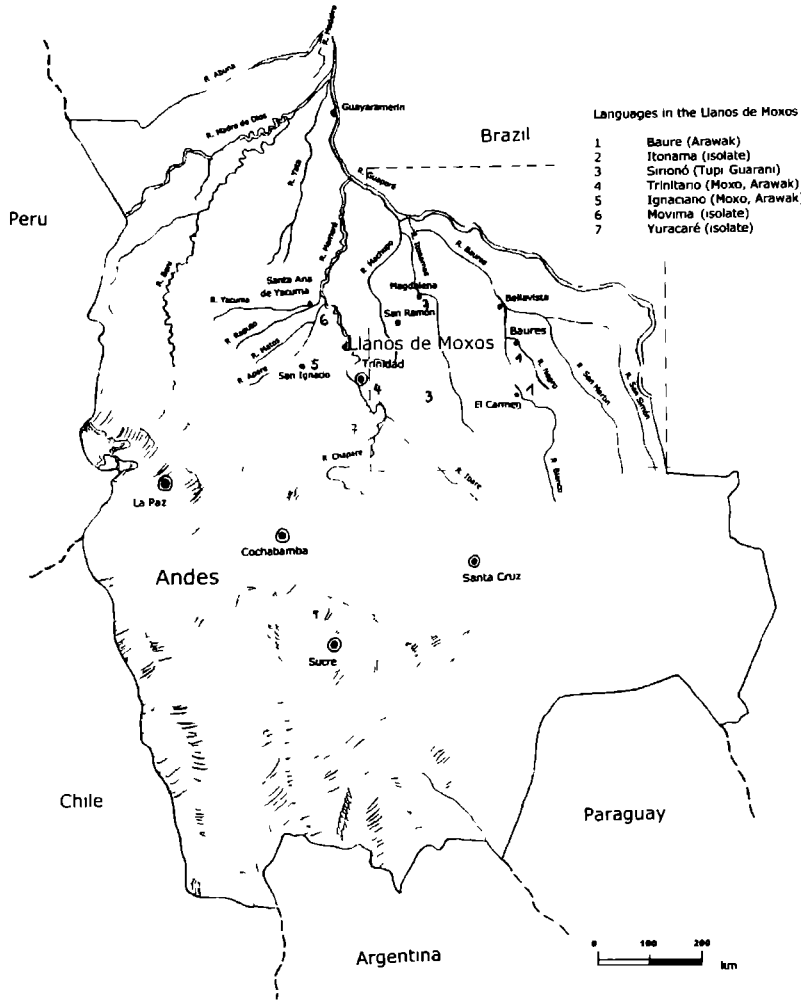
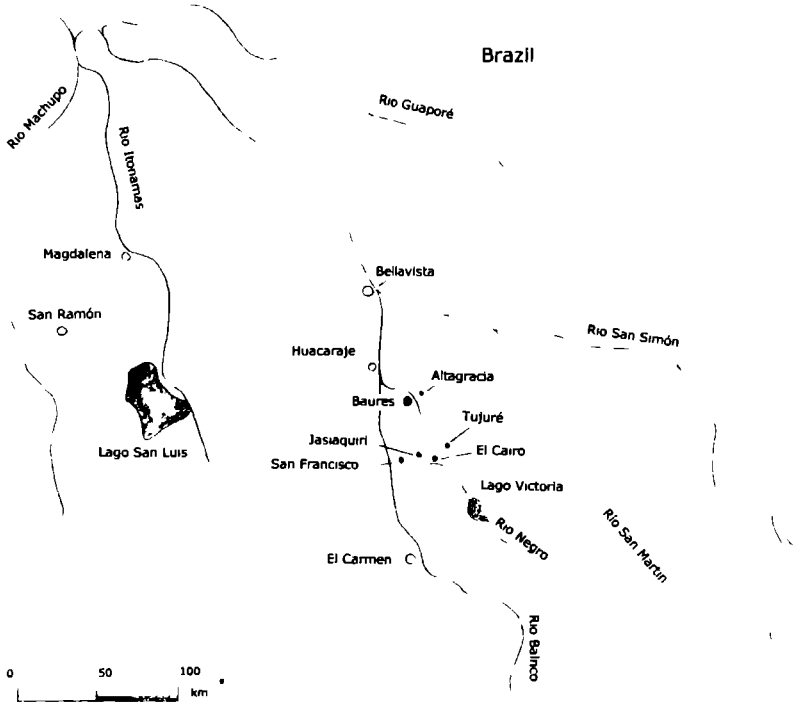


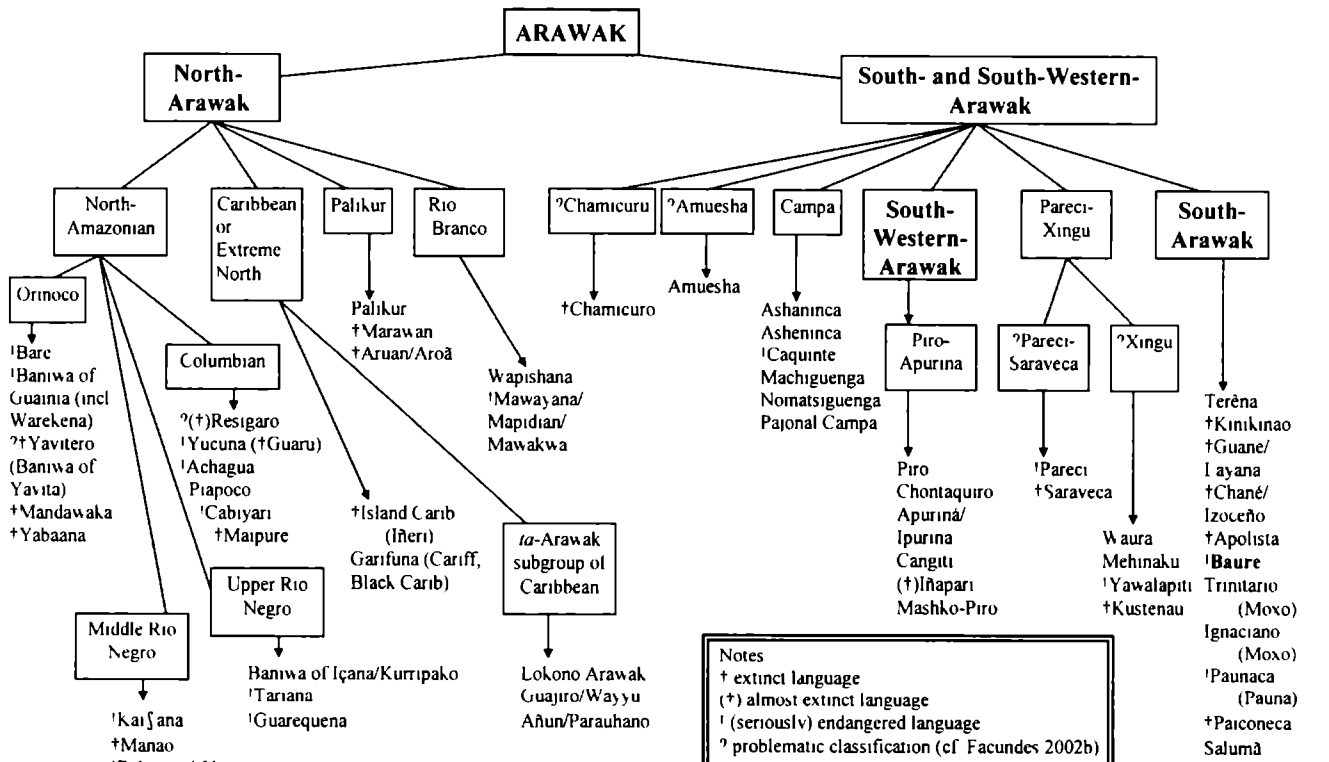
Map 1. Bolivia and the Llanos de Moxos



* this distance is not quite correct with respect to the communities around Baures, which have been put a bit separate for a better overview

Map 2. Baures and the surrounding communities

Figure 1.1 Schematic representation of the subgrouping of the Arawak language family based on Aikhenvald (1999 66–7 with a few minor changes)



1. Introduction

Baure is spoken in northeast Bolivia, in the Bolivian part of Amazonia. It is a South Arawak language (according to the classification of Aikhenvald 1999:67–71, and cf. Figure 1.1)[1]. Today it is a seriously endangered language (cf. Crevels 2002:21). The Arawak language family was once very large, spanning from the Carib islands down to the Andean foothills of Peru and to Bolivian and Brazilian Amazonia, into northern Argentina and Paraguay, including up to 150 languages. Today there is only about a fourth of these languages left, the others having been replaced by Spanish or Portuguese. In the next years many of the endangered Arawak languages will have been replaced and soon only a handful of those with greater speaker numbers will remain, if any. This background of language decay and death calls for linguists to try to at least document and study the last remains of these languages. Each language also offers an insight to a specific image of the world and the categorization of items, so that the loss of a language means also losing some knowledge about human nature. The interest in less well studied languages and the urgent need to study them have been my main concern when writing this grammar of Baure.

The aim of this book is to provide a grammatical description of the Baure language in the form of a detailed reference grammar, which allows linguists to compare it to other Arawak languages, and that gives linguists from all backgrounds insights into the phonological and morphosyntactic processes that we find in this specific language. For this practical reason, particular technical terminology has been avoided where possible.

This chapter sketches the general historical background of the region where the Baure people live (1.1). It focuses on the study and status of the Baure language earlier in history and today (1.2). In 1.3 the field research necessary for this new corpus of linguistic data, the consultants, the field site and the kind of data storage are described. Baure can be categorized as an Arawak language genetically, as well as an Amazonian language in a specific linguistic area, as discussed in 1.4. In 1.5 the structure of the present study is described.

1.1 Historical Background

The Baures live in the department Beni in the north-east of Bolivia, in a geographical area called the Llanos de Moxos (Moxos Plains). This name derives from one of the major ethnic groups, the Moxos, whose languages Trinitario and Ignaciano (both generally referred to by the name Moxo or Mojo) also belong to the Arawak language family. The history of the people of this region is divided here into the following five rough periods and turning points: the prehispanic time (1.1.1), the time of the Jesuits and thereafter (1.1.2), the rubber boom (1.1.3), the mid-20th century with important educational reforms (1.1.4), and the time of growing indigenous awareness and politicization, expressed by an indigenous movement starting in the 1990s (1.1.5).

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[1] Payne calls it *South Maipuran* (1991:364), cf. 1.4.1.

1 1 1 The time before the European invasion

There is little known about the prehispanic era, but some archaeological data helps us understand how people of the Llanos de Moxos may have lived The region is located between the north-eastern foothills of the Andes and the rivers Mamore and Guapore (called Itenez in Bolivia) The Guapore forms part of the northern border of Bolivia and Brasil, both rivers join in the north and finally form the Madeira river, an Amazon tributary (cf Map 1) The environment is a savanna which is dry like a desert in the dry season and extensively flooded by rain water and snowmelt (from the Andes) in the rainy season In this savanna there are many rivers, large and shallow lakes, and forested islands The forested islands are used as bases for settlements until the present day The archaeologist Denevan discovered the extensive landscape architecture of the region in the 1960s According to Denevan (cf Mann 2000), the whole area has been altered by the people who lived there they created canals that connected the rivers, raised walkways, and built artificial hills (*lomas*) and moats around them The *lomas* were probably settlements, "other possible alternative functions include the use of the sites as elite residences, cemeteries, ritual spaces, hunting traps, and garden sites Larger, but similar moated villages have been reported for the Upper Xingu region of Brazil [ ] and other regions of Amazonia" (Erickson 2000) According to Erickson,

> "the villages [of the Baures] were large by Amazonian standards and were laid out in formal plans which included streets, spacious public plazas, rings of houses, and large central *bebederos* (communal men's houses) According to the Jesuits, many of these villages were defended through the construction of deep circular 'moats' and wooden palisades enclosing the settlements Settlements were connected by causeways and canals that enabled year round travel The picture is one of a densely populated region filled with large, well-organized dispersed settlements taking advantage of the local natural resources " (Erickson 2000 3–4)

The causeways and canals were presumably built for "communication and transportation between settlements, rivers, and agricultural fields, but it is possible that some of these had a hydraulic function [ ] The obsession with the straightness over long distances [ ], and the sheer number of these features indicates that they may have also had a ritual function, possibly associated with astronomy, calendrics, or specific ceremonies" (Erickson 2000) Lee (Erickson 2000) found out that there are specific "zigzag-shaped" causeways, "changing direction every 30 to 40 meters" in the Baures region, presumably designed as fish weirs Erickson argues about this unique "Baures Hydraulic Complex"

> "We speculate that the Baures [ ] are the descendants of the people who constructed the earthworks found within the forested islands, wetlands, and the savannas Although some of these earthworks were used during the historical period, it is not known if they were actively being constructed and maintained The majority of these earthworks were probably constructed and used in the [ ] prehispanic period The disruption caused by conquest, depopulation, re-

> settlement, and missionization during the historical period probably caused the abandonment of these earthworks " (Erickson 2000 4)

The investigation of the Baures Hydraulic Complex is still in progress

The Arawak peoples in the area are of Amazonian origin, and migrated along rivers that are Amazon tributaries They brought agriculture with them, mainly based on manioc cultivations (Block 1994 15–16) Other traditional crops were yam, plantain and maize

The Llanos de Moxos was one of the regions in Amazonia with complex societies which were organized in chiefdoms Their social and political organization may go back as far as the beginning of the first millennium CE (Villamarin & Villamarin 1999 612–13) The Baures and other peoples lived in independent groups with a political hierarchy, presided over by a chief (called *arama* in the historical data, cf Eder [1985 (1772)] 84, today *-rom*) [2] The chief passed his office to his son, and thus the societies had a kind of political elite The Moxos and the Baures had extensive trade networks to surrounding peoples, and far into Amazonia and the Andean highlands

Another known detail is the custom of *couvade*, whereby the husband of a pregnant wife is put to bed at the time of bearing the child He was also banished from hunting for a certain time while his child was born If the woman died in the childbed, she was buried together with the newborn baby (cf d'Orbigny 1843 139) The dead were buried for some time in the ground, but their bones were later reburied in big clay urns Many different clay containers have been found in the area, ornamented with fine patterns and colourful paint (Nordenskiold 1922 183) The Moxos are today well-known for their big feather masks, which were also typical for the Baures A number of other masks were used in ritual dances, which have been conserved in the Catholic traditions of the Moxos towns San Ignacio and others Beside cultivation on the raised fields, the Baures hunted deer with arrows and traps, mainly in the rainy season, and fished in turn in the dry season The jaguar was one of the impressive animals of the region with great religious and mythical importance (and still is)

In the late 15th century, under the rule of the *sapan inca* (lone Inca ruler) Huayna Capac, the Incas from the highlands tried to enter the lowlands with little success They mainly failed because of the climate Oberem argues that the lack of organized warfare of the lowland groups was also an obstacle for the Inca soldiers to actually conquer land of the lowlands (Oberem 1990 473) In that time an estimated number of 400 groups or tribes lived in the region, speaking about 39 different languages (Crevels 2002 9) The many different groups and languages must have been the reason for the lack of unity in the lowlands

1 1 2 The Jesuit missions

Some European colonizers also tried expeditions to the lowlands from Cuzco (Peru) around 1536–1537 (Vazquez et al 1958 162–207, Crevels 2002 10), led by the idea

[2] The chiefdom seems to be typical of the whole Arawak family, and the Spanish word *cacique* chief derives from an Arawak language as well

of finding the promised land of El Dorado However, this did not lead to a permanent settlement

Even though the Jesuits arrived in Lima (Peru) in 1569 and came to Santa Cruz (Bolivian southern lowlands) by 1587, it took until the late 17th century before missions were actually established in the region[3] After the first contacts of Europeans with people of the region in the 16th century, the Jesuits started their own missions They founded their so-called *reducciones* (reductions), settlements with indigenous peoples for the purpose of Christianization, starting from 1682 with Loreto, from where they expanded Trinidad, today the biggest town in the area, capital of Bolivian Amazonia and the department Beni, was founded in 1603 for the first time, but refounded in 1686 as the mission Santísima Trinidad by Padre Cipriano Barace (Vazquez et al 1958 162–207) According to the Jesuits' historical account, the Baures were first contacted by Padre Barace around 1690 (Eguiluz 1696), and were found to be a highly developed people[4], because they wore cotton clothing and lived in large, well organized villages (Altamirano (1979 [1891]), Eder (1985 [1772])) with a political hierarchy The very first detailed descriptions stem from this time of the Jesuits, who studied the peoples' customs and languages In 1702 Padre Barace went on his way to missionize the Baures, but he was soon after killed by them After this the Spaniards sent out an army from Santa Cruz, consisting of 1000 indigenous people and a number of Spanish soldiers (Altamirano (1979 [1891]) 106), in order to demonstrate their power and to punish the Baures, of which many must have been killed[5] From the time of the first European contact with the Baures, they "suffered greatly under Spanish reprisals, which included retaliation, warfare, and enslavement" (Erickson 2000), and they were ravaged by diseases However, in 1708 the *reducción* Concepción de Baures was founded, which is today the town of Baures. In 1708 there were more than 1000 inhabitants, the biggest mission of the region (Vázquez et al 1958 207) Other Baure *reducciones* founded were San Joaquín (1709), San Martín (1717), and San Simón (1744) Later, in 1796, El Carmen was founded, another settlement of Baures and Chapacuras

In the Jesuit times many crops, like cocoa, cotton, sugarcane, orange, coconut, and rice, and domesticated animals, like cows, horses, pigs, sheep, chicken, ducks and geese, were introduced to the region The Jesuit missions gained some prosperity, built churches and reorganized the communities In 1767 the Jesuits were expelled from Bolivia by new laws from the Spanish Crown Even though the Jesuits may have had a great impact on the indigenous societies, their expulsion was not a positive change for the people in the missions They were left with many goods, buildings, and cattle, but the new laws meant a great decline in prosperity for the missions The savant Alcide d'Orbigny travelled the region in the early 19th century and reported this drastic change (cf Crevels 2002 14f) The new administration meant a lot of economic pressure for the missions, and subsistence production was replaced by more and more mass cultivation It was noted that the area was "agriculturally rich,

[3] Amazonia was "among the last areas in South America reached by Europeans" (Mann 2000)
[4] Eguiluz 1696 "la nacion mas culta y desarrollada"
[5] This is what Altamirano ([1979 (1891)] 106) probably referred to by the statement "Los soldados hicieron cristianamente su deber" ('The soldiers did their duty as Christians [Translation S D]')

especially for the production of cacao and cotton" (Erickson 2000) The missions were now administrated by curates, who were sent there from Santa Cruz In the 18th century a number of Europeans settled in the area, predominantly focusing on cattle breeding This was followed by the establishment of an indigenous workforce The new settlers made the indigenous people dependent by way of a mean debenture bond system and very much with the help of alcohol, which the European settlers distributed and which very quickly induced alcoholism among the indigenous people (men like women) The Jesuits at least opposed slavery The actual climax of decay of indigenous societies in the region was the time of the rubber boom

1 1 3 The rubber boom (1860–1920)

In 1870 the exploitation of rubber reached the upper Beni, Madeira, and lower Mamoré rivers, and via new fluvial transportation routes, it expanded more widely (cf Crevels 2002 15) The department Beni was opened for many mestizos and descendents of Europeans, who got involved with the rubber industry As labourers in their companies numerous indigenous people were recruited from all over the lowlands of Bolivia, many of them like slaves Their new work settlements were unhealthy barracks, where many people lost their life Complete villages were deserted by this working migration and recruitment, others were left with old people, children and women The Baures were affected by the rubber boom as well, but the population did not decline as much as in other villages (Díez & Murillo 1998 32) However, many Baures went to the north of Bolivia or to Brazil (Guayaramerín or Guaya Amerín) for jobs in the rubber industry Even some of my consultants have still experienced work in the rubber business, some time after the rubber boom Most Baure songs originate from this time, as the song in (1)

(1) *ihiriaw-iš ti Hosebiasita rimoki'iner noiy San Antonia-ye*
ihiriaw=iš *ti* *Hosebiasita* *ri=mo-ki'in=ro*
so much=EXCLA DEM1f Eusebiacita 3SGf=PRIV-want=3SGm

noiy *San Antonia-ye*
there San Antonio-LOC
'How much Eusebiacita doesn't want him to be there in San Antonio ''

riškopoekoe' nan Limonsita, riyiyiyaw ti Hosebiasita
ri=išku-pa-ikoe' *na* *Limonsita* *ri=yi~yi~ya-wo*
3SGf=until-GO-EMPH there Limones 3SGf=INT~INT~cry-COP

ti *Hosebiasita*
DEM1f Eusebiacita
'She only went until Limones Poor Eusebia cried and cried.' [JP-S1]

The song in (1) about a young woman Eusebia describes the fate that many Baures suffered The young men leaving their wives for the hard work in the rubber companies, as for example in San Antonio[6], are a recurring subject in the songs

[6] Nordenskiold mentioned San Antonio as a settlement on the other side of the Guapore or Itenez river, where mainly Baures lived (cf map in Nordenskiold 1922)

The very bad situation of the indigenous people in the time of the rubber boom has, in particular, been documented by the zoologist Erland Nordenskiöld (1922), who travelled in the Llanos de Moxos several times in the years 1901–1915. He cited for example an official report about the department:

> "This department is completely depopulated, because the inhabitants have been taken away to the Madeira for the extraction of caoutchouc, where only rarely anyone returns from. The Indians who stay here are real slaves. A Christian places an Indian into his service [...] and seeks to give him an advance of everything he needs for his family and for getting drunk. With the time his debts grow. And the Indian dies, without being able to pay, as a slave, kept apart from wife and child". (Nordenskiöld 1922:189 [Translation S.D.])[7]

After the rubber boom many Baures came back to their villages.

1.1.4. The 20th century

After all the migration, resettlements, slavery and suffering, it is not surprising that the number of Baures has declined drastically. Table 1.1 presents some numbers gathered from different sources by Szabo (1998a:8):

Author	Year	Number
Diego Altamirano	1712	40,000
Alcide d'Orbigny	1830	5,178
Baptista & Wallin	1965	5,000
Mary Ritchie Key	1967	3–4,000
Jürgen Riester	1976	3–4,000
Censo Indígena INE-SAE	1994	592[8]
Wigberto Rivero	1996	4,000
censo VAIPO	1997	4,926

Table 1.1: Decline of the Baure population

Even though the data may be unreliable, since many of the numbers have been guessed or estimated, Table 1.1. shows the clear decline of the Baures population from the time of the missions until the early 19th century, and then stabilization (cf. Crevels 2002:17f.).

An important turning point in the middle of the 20th century was the promotion of rural education, introduced by the MNR (*Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario*). This party aimed at the abolishment of the distinction of the people into indigenous

[7] "Dieses Department ist vollstandig entvölkert, weil die Einwohner zur Gewinnung von Kautschuk an den Madeira geführt, wovon selten jemand zurückkehrt. Die Indianer, die hier bleiben, sind wirkliche Sklaven Ein Christ stellt einen Indianer in seinen Dienst [. .] und trachtet, ihm alles, was er für den Bedarf seiner Familie oder um sich zu betrinken verlangt, auf Vorschuß zu geben. Mit der Zeit wachst die Schuld Und der Indianer stirbt, ohne bezahlen zu konnen, als Sklave, getrennt von Weib und Kind "

[8] This number has probably been given by the indigenous organization and is presumably rather the number of members of the organization than of the ethnic group.

and mestizos. They focussed on the *campesino* as the rural inhabitant of Bolivia, completely ignoring the ethnic background of the person. "According to the 1953 *Reforma Agraria*[9], the land that was occupied by Indians was to be considered fallow, and, therefore, its ownership could be granted to all sorts of entrepreneurs" (Crevels 2002:19). The *Reforma Educativa*[10] established rural schools, which were for the first time aiming at indigenous people. However important the education of the people may have been, it soon had devastating effects on the traditional cultures. The Spanish education in schools had the effect of language and culture loss (cf. 1.2.1).

In the 1950s the Bolivian government asked the missionary organization SIL/ILV (*Summer Institute of Linguistics/Instituto Lingüístico de Verano*) to come to Bolivia and help the indigenous groups with the process of integration into the society. The SIL linguists Priscilla Baptista and Ruth Wallin arrived in Baures in 1954. They came to stay in the community El Cairo (cf. Map 2), where they had their own house and studied the language for years. Many Baure speakers today still remember them as very kind women, who helped the inhabitants a lot. There were also other SIL people who taught the Baures certain professions, such as nanny or nurse; and they brought medical equipment and vaccinations. In 1958 Baptista & Wallin (T-562) noted that the Baures still had preserved some traditional customs:

> "Many tribal customs, such as ceremonial burying of a duck skeleton at corn planting time, the practice of witchcraft, and the belief in the habitation of trees, animals, and inanimate objects by spirits, are evidence of the retaining of the Baure culture. Tribal dances for special days are performed each year with bull and deer masks, feathered headdresses, animal skins, etc." (Baptista & Wallin 1958:T-562)

1.1.5. Indigenous movements

As in other parts of the world and Latin America, in the 1970s and 1980s European NGOs started to help indigenous people, who had no spokesperson in the government, to get organized. After the foundation of lowland organizations like CIDOB[11] in the 1970s, the Bolivian government eventually created institutions for the indigenous peoples of Bolivia (SAE, VAIPO)[12] in the 1990s. But if the indigenous peoples of the lowlands had not marched for their political and land rights (1990 and 1996), they would probably never have been acknowledged. The territorial claims of the different ethnic groups could be demanded after the ratification of the *Ley INRA*[13] in 1996. This law permits the creation of TCOs[14], indigenous community territories. These political movements went together with a growing indigenous awareness, and they also had some effects on the civil society of Bolivia. The growing self-

[9] 'Agrarian Reform'
[10] 'Educational Reform'
[11] CIDOB = 'Centro de Investigación de relaciones internacionales y Desarrollo'
[12] SAE = 'Subsecretaría de Asuntos Étnicos', VAIPO = 'Vice Ministerio de Asuntos Indígenas y Pueblos Originarios'
[13] INRA = 'Instituto Nacional de Reforma Agraria'
[14] TCO = 'Tierra Comunitária de Origin'

confidence meant a reconsideration of traditional cultures and customs. In the 1990s the Hungarian anthropologist Henriette Eva Szabo (1998a; 1998b) worked for the *Viceministerio de Asuntos Indígenas y Pueblos Originarios* (Bolivia)[15], and came to Baures to study the culture and write down the land demand of the indigenous people of Baures. The demand for territory is particularly important, because the majority of land is occupied by a few wealthy *ganaderos* (cattle breeders), who are very powerful in the whole region. Along with many other lowland groups, the Baures got their TCO in the province Iténez. It is situated south of Baures, and the only connection with town is an ancient footpath, called *Huachi*. The distance is approximately 60 kilometres; a journey takes one day by horse. The indigenous organization decided to establish new settlements in this area, but was confronted with many problems. Apart from logistical and financial problems, there is a *campesino* organization, founded in 2004, which now claims the *campesinos'* rights for part of the TCO. In 2005, the "first indigenous president" was elected in Bolivia, Evo Morales, in fact the leader of a highland syndicate.

1.2. The history and status of the Baure language

In this section the history of the language will be embedded into the general history (1.2.1). The history of the study of the Baure language is summed up in 1.2.2. The status of the language today is described in 1.2.3, the nature of Spanish influence in 1.2.4. In 1.2.5 the name Baure is discussed.

1.2 1. Language history

As mentioned above, at the time of the Spanish invasion, there were numerous peoples in the Llanos de Moxos, speaking many different languages. Most of these languages belonged to the Arawak language family (cf. Crevels 2002:9), and many of these languages are now extinct or seriously endangered. The neighbouring languages of Baure were mainly Itonama (an isolate, spoken in Magdalena, nearly extinct), Sirionó (a Tupi-Guaraní language of a people that used to live around the village of Baures until the middle of the 20th century), and the Moxo languages Ignaciano and Trinitario.

When the Spaniards came, they did not have any knowledge of indigenous languages, and thus the image was that of deficient languages without any writing systems. The non-existence of certain phonemes (cf. 2.1.3) or the lack of a complex numeral system like in European languages, were features perceived as inferior. The image of the language generally coincided with the defamation of the people, such as the following: "barbarians, who do not know of miles nor of numbers; neither do they know how much are four thousand, nor how many miles fit into the geography of the world [Translation S.D.]" (Altimirano [1891 (1979)]:49) [16]. Nonetheless, the Jesuits described the language in a quite detailed manner on the basis of the Latin grammar. The Jesuits wanted to impose the Christian religion upon the people in the missions,

[15] The project name was "Identificación y Consolidación de Tierras Comunitarias de Origen y Areas Territoriales Indígenas de Bolivia" (Szabo 1998b)

[16] "bárbaros que no entienden de leguas ni de numeros, ni saben cuanto son cuatro mil, ni tantas leguas caben en la geografía del mundo".

so they had to communicate with them. They soon noticed they had to learn their languages. For some time they used the Moxo language as a lingua franca, later also other indigenous languages, focusing on education (cf. Crevels 2002:13). This had a positive effect on the conservation of the Baure language as well. In this time many traditional European stories have been introduced to the region. These intermingled with traditional indigenous tales and myths by inserting the animals and plants of their environment. Block notes that about the time of the Jesuits' expulsion in "1767 members of the communities had become fluent in Spanish" (Block 1994:125).

A great cut in the Baure language history was the rubber boom (cf. 1.1.3). Many languages did not survive, since whole villages were emptied and resettled somewhere else. As Nordenskiöld (1922:123) pointed out: "Here one can no longer speak of Indians of different tribes, but only of rubber workers. Chiquitano, Baure, Itonama, mestizos, all are brought together under the same roof. They live in barracks. All family ties have been cut [Translation Crevels 2002:17]". [17]

The next big event was the Educational Reform in the mid-20th century (cf. 1.1.4). The last native speakers of Baure were born before that time. Even though everyone spoke Baure in the villages (i.e. also the white settlers), the hispanicization effect of the schools lead to monolingual Spanish speakers within a few generations. When indigenous people went to school, they were prohibited to speak their native languages. "The rural teacher and his guava whip, which was used to punish the children that spoke in their native language, soon became decisive factors of a progressive acculturation process" (reference to Lijerón Casanovas in Crevels 2002:19). This whip is still remembered by my consultants, as the quote from Justina Cajareico in (2) illustrates:

(2) *teč mončirowoni nka nikač eskoeli-ye, koeč ntir avoel [...]nka riki'inow.*
teč *monči-ro-wo=ni* *nka* *ni=kač* *ekoeli-ye*
DEM2m child-ro-COP=1SG NEG 1SG=go school-LOC

koeč *ntir* *avoel* *nka* *ri=ki'ino-wo*
because 1SGP grandma NEG 3SGf=want-COP
'When I was a child, I didn't go to school, because my grandmother didn't want to.'

"mehowokon ahinev nowečipi, nka niki'inow pikač!"
mehewokon *ahi-nev* *no=weči=pi* *nka* *ni=ki'ino-wo* *pi=kač*
bad child-PL 3PL=fight=2SG NEG 1SG=want-COP 2SG=go
'There are bad children who beat you up, I don't want you to go! (she said)'

nka henow nosiap eskoeli-ye to nen indijenanev kamponev, moena' notirinokoponiyekpo novek.
nka *heno-wo* *no=siap* *eskoeli-ye* *to* *nen* *indijena-nev*
NEG good-COP 3PL=enter school-LOC ART DEM3pl indigenous-PL

[17] "Hier kann man nicht mehr von Indianern verschiedener Stamme sprechen, sondern nur von Kautschukarbeitern. Chiquitanos, Baure, Itonama, Mestize, alle sind unter einem Dach zusammengebracht. Sie wohnen in Baracken. Jeder Familienband ist gelost".

kampo-nev *moena'* *no=tiri* *no=koponiyek-po* *no=vek*
Camba-PL before that 3PL=know 3PL=defend-PRFLX 3PL=speak
'They couldn't enter the school, the indigenous Cambas[18], not that they would learn to defend themselves by speaking (Spanish) '

nokietoponik nopen wakopi
no=ko-etoponik *no=pa=no* *wakopi*
3PL=ATTR-beat 3PL=give=3PL whip
'They were beaten, they gave them the whip '

neriki nka henowapa to ka vekon, nokastigačon to neč čintinev
neriki *nka* *heno-wapa* *to* *ka* *veko-no* *no=kastigačo=no*
now NEG good-COS ART IND speak-NOM1 3PL=punish=3PL

to *neč* *činti-nev*
ART DEM2PL person-PL
'Nowadays they cannot speak any more, they punished the people '

nka nopoekowor to ka vekon
nka *no=poeko-wo=ro* *to* *ka* *veko-no*
NEG 3PL=let-COP=3SGm ART IND speak-NOM1
'They didn't allow them to speak (in their native language) ' [JC-27/8/03]

As soon as every child was going to school, there were no generations left learning to speak Baure as the primary language Only at home the language survived slightly longer, as a means of communication with the elder people, who were not bilingual yet

With growing indigenous awareness, eventually, the Baures learned to defend their language as an important factor of ethnic identity The problem was only that this came very late The Baures employed some teachers with knowledge of Baure as language teachers in the schools But the lack of teaching material and a standardized alphabet did not make this teaching program very successful
Since 1996 there have been several workshops with a few Baure speakers in Lowland Bolivia, organized by Colette Grinevald and Pilar Valenzuela, in order to standardize alphabets for all the languages of Bolivian Amazonia

The Baure language was once spoken in various missions and settlements, but today its centre is the town of Baures The Baure dialect of El Carmen is said to be mutually intelligible with that of the town Baures, but there do not seem to be many speakers left (an inhabitant of El Carmen, p c) The language of San Joaquín is said to deviate from that Baure (cf Baptista & Wallin 1958 T-562, Baure inhabitants, p c) However, in the comparative word list by Baptista & Wallin (1958 T-562) the Joaquiñanos simply seem to have spoken another dialect Other Baures may be found in the various small towns of Lowland Bolivia, but there are no other speech communities as far as I know

[18] *Camba* is the Bolivian term for lowland people, in contrast to *Colla* (highland people)

1.2.2. The study of Baure

The first linguistic notes on Baure were written by missionaries. One grammatical description has been composed by Padre Antonio Magio in the year 1749 (40 pages in the original), the second one is supposed to have been written by Francisco de Asis Coparcari[19] after the year 1767 (39 pages in the original), both of which texts were collected by Alcide d'Orbigny and brought to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. These two texts have been published by Adam & Leclerc in the year 1880, together with a short word list by d'Orbigny, under the title *Arte de la lengua de los indios Baures de la provincia de los Moxos*. Even though these priests were not trained linguists, the data serves for comparison with current data, and is very detailed. After that some very short word lists of Baure have appeared in several books (e.g. Fonseca 1881:235–239, Nordenskiöld 1922), but there has been no other detailed description of Baure until the 1960s, when Baptista & Wallin worked on the language. They produced a number of Baure texts that mainly consisted of translations of Bible texts (Baptista & Wallin 1960, 1960?, 1963b, 1966c, 1966d), and one school book (Baptista & Wallin 1966a) that aimed at teaching Baure speakers to learn to read and write Spanish[20]. Baptista & Wallin wrote a tagmemic grammar of Baure, published in Matteson (ed. 1967:27–84), followed by an article on Baure vowel elision, (1968)[21]. All of these data have been analyzed in detail for comparative purposes in the present work. I was so lucky to receive all field notes and field reports stored in the SIL archive, which have enriched my corpus enormously. Most of the booklets I gathered as photocopies from Baures inhabitants. In 2003 Olivio et al. published a booklet on the Baure alphabet after the workshops in Lowland Bolivia in the 1990s and 2000 (cf. 1.2.1). Apart from the studies on Baure, of which there are few, the analysis of other Arawak languages (cf. 1.4) was of great help for the present study.

1.2.3. The status of Baure today

The attitude of other Bolivians in town towards Baure is still not very positive, even though a change can be noted within the last decade[22]. Most of the people call Baure a "dialect" (*un dialecto*) and not a language (*un idioma*), which is supposed to make it inferior to Spanish, which, of course, is *un idioma* in their opinion. The perception of Baure as a dialect can be explained, because there are many local Spanish loans (cf. 1.2.4), so that even Spanish monolinguals are able to understand some words. Baure is regarded as defective, for example because there are only three original Baure numerals; all the numbers above three having been borrowed from Spanish. Unfortunately, most speakers themselves have completely adopted the view of Baure as a deficient language in many respects. They even gathered in order to invent more native number terms, so that the Baure language would be more perfect. On the other hand, the Baures are also proud of their cultural and linguistic heritage. The people

[19] The editors and publishers of this text, Adam & Leclerc (1880 II) report that the name that signed the article could be read but not identified, the year was not noted.

[20] Some more booklets with stories have been published (Baptista & Wallin 1959, 1963a, 1966b).

[21] In fact, this article was published first in 1964 in Spanish by SIL under *Fonemas del baure con atención especial a la supresión de la vocal*, Notas linguisticas de Bolivia, No. 7.

[22] This has been argued by many Baures, but also by the Evangelist missionary Helen Antelo Camama, who is married to a Baure and came to stay in the town approximately ten years ago.

who can speak Baure generally have very much respect in the communities In the end, the Baures are also aware that they have once been considered to be more "civilized" than other tribes living around them (cf 1 1 1) This image has become famous of the Baures, and this is also the common ground on the basis of which all Baure inhabitants can identify as Baures The Baures are happy to distinguish themselves from "barbarian" tribes, such as the Sirionos, with whom they shared their living and hunting grounds for centuries

There are not many speakers left today, which is not surprising after three centuries of permanent Spanish influence In all the communities around Baures and in the town I counted 58 speakers of Baure (with the help of two teachers in Baures) in 2003, of whom at the moment of writing three people have died All speakers are bilingual in Spanish The language is generally not spoken any more, at least not in every day conversations Some old people do, however, communicate in Baure, as I could observe My own investigation has presumably also motivated the Baure people to reflect upon their language again After my visits, the people sit for a long time together, pondering how to say this and that in Baure Some of the speakers try to integrate the language into everyday life again, and some bilingual couples have started to converse in Baure again sometimes All speakers but one (46) are above 60 or even 70 years of age Among the speakers there are also some European descendents The majority are women, and only three of the women remember songs and narratives

In addition to fully skilled Baure speakers, there are many more semi-speakers, people who have a restricted knowledge of the language or just remember a few phrases or words Many of these semi-speakers, though, do still have an intuitive feeling for grammatical correctness in Baure

A third group are people with a passive capacity of the language They understand well, but do not speak it Generally, these people are children of Baure speakers They overheard the language when they were young, but did not have any reason to speak it, as everyone spoke Spanish (cf the family tree in Appendix D) A revitalization program should be started exactly now that there are a number of competent speakers alive, and because of the high number of semi-speakers and many more people that identify with the ethnic group, there could be a possibility of success

1 2 4 Spanish influence on Baure

Spanish influence on Baure went through three phases I Initial contact, with a number of specific lexical items, II social dominance, with further lexical influence, III widespread bilingualism, with more fundamental influence and interference

In general it can be stated that words that were borrowed in the very first phase of Spanish contact, when new products were introduced, have been phonologically and morphologically completely integrated into the language system Many of these words are not perceived as borrowings from Spanish any more, such as the word *asoropaiy* 'thank you' derived from Spanish *Dios se lo pague* 'God will pay you for it' In the whole religious terminology we are confronted with either Spanish borrowings or calques, like for example the word for 'God' *vekiyiri*, which could be translated as 'the one to whom we speak' (speak-LOC-NOM3), though it is not clear if this word did

field	Baure	Spanish	translation	comments
clerc terminology	ven	virgin	virgin	Spanish [x] is not part of Baure phonology, in addition, consonant clusters are avoided
	resia'	iglesia	church	
	seman	semana	week	referred to by the classifier *-pi* 'long & thin'
	romik	domingo	Sunday	
	lonesio	lunes	Monday	
	moestor	maestro	teacher	
	asoropaiy[23]	Dios se lo pague	thank you	there is no other expression for'thank you'
names	Iyeron	Guillermo		[g] > Ø
	Hostin	Justina		[x] > [h]
	Sower	Isabel		[l] > [r]
	Horian	Julián		[l] > [r]
	Bransisik	San Francisco		[f] > [b]
dom animals	wak	vaca	cow	
	kowoiy	caballo	horse	
	ves	oveja	sheep	[x] < [s]
introduced plants	sendi	sandía	watermelon	
	ros	arroz	rice	
	rasoe'	naranja	orange (fruit)	the classifier for fruit, *-i'* (*o+i'<oe'*), has been added to the borrowed stem *raso-*, as in e.g. *koyorisoe'* 'fruit of the totaí palm'
	sowoiy	cebolla	onion	
household	haw	jabon	soap	also incorporated into verbs, e g. *nihawačor* 'I am soaping him'; or in a compound with the classifier *-pa* 'flat & round': *hawpa* 'soap paste'
	mes	mesa	table	*mes* is referred to by the classifier *-amok-* 'flat & raised', but today speakers also use *-mes-* as a classifier
	siy	silla	chair	
	livor	libro	book	
	horon	horno	oven	
	pania'	paño	towel	this is the regional Sp. word for 'towel'
other	komis	camisa	shirt	
	sopot	zapato	shoe	the Baures traditionally wore sandals
	howe'	bufeo	dolphin	completely integrated loan, no alternative, not recognized as loan any more, formally parrallels *kove'* 'dog' and *šiye'* 'fox'
	howoki	hueco	hole	completely adjusted to Baure phonology, optionally possessable, incorporable
	pikor	pícaro	rascal	
	powor	pobre	poor	also used as adj class II (cf 4 9.2)

Table 1 2. Spanish borrowings in Baure

[23] The phrase *Dios se lo pague* has been borrowed into many indigenous languages in Latin America.

not already exist before christianization. The Virgin Mary has been borrowed as *ti ven* 'the virgin' from Spanish *la Virgen*. There are many Baure surnames, such as Pinaicobo, Churipuy, Imanareico, Cajareico, Ohopi, Buripoco, and Emorisebocono. However, all personal names are of Spanish origin, but have been adjusted to Baure phonology, like e.g. *Horian* for Spanish *Julián*. Names of newly introduced animals have also been borrowed, though not all of them. These borrowings are frequently not perceived as such (as in the case of 'sheep': *ves* from Spanish *oveja*). More examples are listed in Table 1.2. Animal names that have not been borrowed, at least not from Spanish, are *tiporek* for 'chicken', *simori* for 'pig', and *poeh* for 'duck'.

The phonological explanations for the sound changes in the borrowing process need a description of Baure phonology in general, which Chapter 2 contains. For some borrowings in Table 1.2 there are more detailed remarks about the usage of the loanword, as for instance the loan for 'table', which is *mes*, from Spanish *mesa*. There does not seem to exist any alternative Baure word. It must have been borrowed a long time ago, which can be concluded from the fact that most of the time the word *mes* 'table' is referred back to by the newly created classifier *-mes-*. Classifiers occur in numerals and adjectives and can be incorporated into verbs. Older speakers use the classifier *-amok-* 'flat & raised' (cf. Appendix A.1). Thus they rather say *pamokoš* 'one table'. But most of the younger speakers use the loanword as a classifier and say *pomesis* 'one table' instead (with phonological change word finally). That *mes* is used as a classifier, may also have to do with the fact that it is morphologically simple and disyllabic. A further example is the word *haw* 'soap' borrowed from Spanish *jabón*. This loan can be used as a verbal root or incorporated into a verb, as e.g. in *nihawačor* 'I am soaping him'. The loan can also be found in a compound with the classifier *-pa* 'flat & round', as in *hawpa* 'soap paste'. This loan is definitely not identified as a Spanish borrowing by the speakers today.

In the period between the 18th and the 20th century, Baures lived together with many Spanish-speaking settlers, who learnt to speak the indigenous language, but reinforced the inferior status of Baure. This difference in social acceptance had to lead to the replacement of many Baure words by Spanish near equivalents. The longer the words have been borrowed, the more they have been integrated into the Baure phonology and morphology. An example of a rather recent replacement (because phonologically still similar) would be the word *avoel* for Spanish *abuelo/a* 'grandfather/grandmother', in spite of the fact that there are more specific Baure words: *-ašok* 'grandfather' and *-os* 'grandmother'. There may be an additional reason for replacements of this kind: Baure grammar is very different from Spanish, and many speakers have rather adapted the Spanish way of thinking, which sometimes makes it difficult to understand the much more specific subdivisions of nouns we find in Baure (cf. Chapter 4). In Table 1.3 there are some of the most frequently used replacements listed with comments on the original Baure words.

The majority of Spanish loans are nouns, but as tables 1.2 and 1.3 show, also some other parts of speech are borrowed. Spanish borrowings are best identified by their different phonology, that allows, for example, consonant clusters that do not occur in Baure otherwise, and that includes different phonemes than we find in Baure, for instance [l] as in *livor* 'book' derived from Spanish *libro*. There may also

be borrowings from other languages than Spanish, like the word for the bird 'swallow' *mehelele*, the only word with the phoneme [l] in Baure that does not seem to have a Spanish origin But there is more evidence for loans from another language than Spanish Some words simply do not fit in the typical Baure phonetic or morphological structure, and the morphemes do not seem to carry any meaning elsewhere in Baure The items tend to have an alternative word in Baure Possible examples are *šokoma'* 'deaf' – with the two alternatives *mosenokier* and *mosompoekon* 'deaf, without hearing' in Baure – and the word *-čawriwe'/-čowrie* 'leg', which was only used by two speakers (and one of them used it only in a narrative) and co-exists with the alternative *-pes* 'leg' and the more specific names for parts of the leg It is especially difficult to find out more about the origins of loans because knowledge about the surrounding languages is either scarce or was not obtained before the languages became extinct

Baure	Spanish	translation	comments
avoel	abuela	grandmother	Baure *-os* 'grandmother' is contrasted with *-ašok* 'grandfather'
tih	tía	aunt	Baure *-ak* 'my aunt' is contrasted with *-kik* 'uncle'
ksikie'	cacique	chief	the Baure word for 'chief' *rom/-romon* is used for a slightly different kind of chief
ver	verde	green	Baure *kotiskon* 'green, smoke'
asol	azul	blue	Baure *kopahkon* 'sky-blue'
lor	loro	parrot	In Baure there are many words for the different kinds of parrots, but the word for the green one must have got lost, there is only *lor* today
yandoe'	ñandu	ostrich	Baure *sipor*, borrowing contains Baure classifier *-i' (<-oe)'* for birds
-awantač-	aguantar	to bare, to stand	There are Baure verbs for this meaning, e g *-soveč-*

Table 1 3 Replacement of Baure words by Spanish loans

The most recent borrowings of the speakers today are mainly very spontaneous – or cases of code-switching – of a speaker who cannot find the word and is temporarily urged to replace it by a Spanish one Among these borrowings we find elements of all kinds of parts of speech, many, more specifically, from the class of verbs These borrowings are not stable or fixed parts of the Baure vocabulary, but they follow certain rules For example all borrowed verbs are suffixed by a so-called verbalizer *-čo* (cf Table 1 3), which functions as an applicative suffix in common Baure verbs (cf 6 4 3) The longer a consultant speaks Baure during a fieldwork session, however, the less Spanish borrowings of this type occur A comparable phenomenon accounts for grammatical constructions for example benefactive and causative (very unlike Spanish) are constructions rather specific to Baure and unlike the Spanish construction In narratives speakers make frequent use of the typical polysynthetic predicates with the causative prefix or the benefactive suffix, cf (3) and (4)

Baure polysynthetic construction	isolating construction
CAUSATIVE	
(3) *nimokotorekowori.*	*niwoneri rikotorekpa.*
ni=imo-kotoreko-wo=ri	*ni=wono=ri ri=kotorek-pa*
1SG=CAUS-work-COP=3SGf	1SG=send=3SGf 3SGf=work-GO
'I make her work.'	'I send her to go to /make her work'
	[GP-11/7/04-51/10]
BENEFACTIVE	
(4) *nayinovir.*	*nayawor pitir piti'.*
ni=ay-ino-wo=pi=ro	*ni=aya-wo=ro pitir piti'*
1SG=desire-BEN-COP=2SG=3SGm	1SG=desire-COP=3SGm 2SGP 2SG
'I wish it for you.'	'I wish it for you.'
	[GP/LO-21/7/04-22/24]

The affixes for causative and benefactive are directly attached to the verb bases. This process is complicated from the point of view of Spanish grammar. The isolating constructions, on the other hand, do not derive new verb bases and therefore the speakers can use these constructions, when they are not acquainted with the morphology of Baure so well any more, but still remember simple verb bases such as *-aya-* 'desire', *-kotorek-* 'work', and *-won-* 'send'.

It is sometimes very difficult to decide if certain constructions have been part of the Baure grammar already before the intense and constant influence of Spanish. We have to accept that influences from the side of Spanish have changed the language. However, Baure speakers are aware of the borrowing of lexical items from Spanish, and the ones who want to speak perfectly, are very keen to replace all the spontaneous borrowings by Baure words. The isolating constructions of the examples above are not interpreted as Spanish borrowings.

1 2.5. The name Baure

The name of the language is *Baure*, the people are called *Baures* (in Spanish: *los Baures* [ˈbaʊrɛ] or [ˈβaʊrɛ]), and the village, which was originally founded[24] as *Concepción de Baures*, is called *Baures* today. In the literature we find either *Baure* or *Bauré* as names for the language[25]. What this name means and where it has been derived from is completely unclear and can only be a matter of speculation. In general, it should always be of some concern where the language name has come from, especially pejorative terms should be avoided[26]. In the case of Baure it is very difficult, though. It is not sure if the name has been given by others or if the Baures used it for themselves, as it is not clear whether it is part of the language at all. One of the theories, that seems a little bit too simple to me, is that the people's name *Baure* goes

[24] This is not meant to suggest that there had not already been a village and some communities before the mission was founded, and that they might have had names. It is impossible to gain any knowledge about the precolonial time in that respect, and the first missionaries must have had little interest in the native name of the place they chose for the mission

[25] Moxo or Mojo is sometimes used as a synonym, other times it is used as a cover term for Baure and the Moxo languages Other synonyms have been mentioned: Maure and Chiquimitica (?) in Wilbert (1994 86), Chiquimiti in Loukotka (1968 142) and Kaufman (1994 95)

[26] Moxo e g may derive from the word for "scabies" (Block, Hervás in Pinto Mosqueira 2002:37).

back to a European name, after one of the first white settlers in the region, whose name was *Bauer* (German 'farmer' as is speculated among the inhabitants of Baures today). Apart from the orthographical similarity of "Baure" and "Bauer", there is no evidence for this theory whatsoever, because the Spanish missionaries did not mention any white settlers among the Baures in their notes. Quite to the contrary, d'Orbigny (1843:133) clearly opines that Baure is a name of "American origin" which in his time meant "of indigenous/native origin". He contrasted Baure to the name of the *Moxos*, which has probably been given by the Spaniards[27].

One argument in favour of the idea that the word Baure itself is at least not an indigenous Baure word, is its phonology: the word can hardly be pronounced in Baure, or it is spelt very differently from how it is pronounced. Generally it is pronounced *Wawore* [waˈwɔrɛ][28]. People also use words like *Wawoɾɪnev* [waˈwɔrinɛ(v)] 'Baures (PL)' or *Wawoɾɪ-ye* [waˈwɔrijɛ] 'in Baures (LOC)'. It reminds one of 'river otter' (Spanish *londra*), which is called *wowoɾɪ* in Baure. In fact, if *Wawore* were a Baure word, it should actually be spelt differently from now on, but I finally decided not to change the spelling, unless it is in a text in the language itself, for the sake of convenience. As a matter of fact, there are more Amazonian Arawak languages that have similar names: Bare and Waurá.

1.3. Fieldwork

In this section the fieldwork situation is described, with notes on the consultants and reference to data collection and storage.

1.3 1. Fieldwork and description of the site

The data presented in this grammar are based on my own fieldwork in the town of Baures and the surrounding communities that I have carried out three times within three years:

August	– October	2003	(2 months)
June	– August	2004	(2 months)
February	– April	2006	(2,5 months)

The main connection from Trinidad, the capital of the department Beni (see Map 1), is a daily Cessna airplane. The flight takes approximately an hour. The road connection takes 20–30 hours, passing Magdalena and Bella Vista, and it can only be travelled in a period of three months of the dry season. There are only trucks travelling for the transport of goods.

The town of Baures is located on the Río Negro[29] and close to the Río Blanco, which both flow into the Río Baures and then further into the Río Iténez (Guaporé),

[27] d'Orbigny (1843:133) "Los nombres de Baures [ ] son de origin Americano: el de Moxos fué dado á lo que parece, por los primeros Españoles que entraron la provincia." ('The name of the Baures is of American origin; the name of Moxos has been given, as it seems, by the first Spaniards who entered the region [Translation S.D.]')

[28] In Itonama they are called [waʔure] Itonama has a [b] and the diphthong [au], so they could simply have pronounced them [baure] (Crevels, p.c.).

[29] These are blackwater and whitewater rivers, from which fact their names derive.

which constitutes the north-eastern border with Brazil. Baures is surrounded by various small communities (see Map 2), connected by dusty roads. In 2003 I brought an old bicycle in order to be able to travel to smaller communities, where I expected more Baure speakers. Eventually, I found out that most old people who are still speakers of Baure had already moved to the town. The communities around Baures are Altagracia (4 km), Tujuré (8 km), El Cairo (18 km), Jasiaquiri (15 km), and San Francisco (16 km, nearly not existent any more). In addition there are the temporary settlements of Beremo (12 km) and San Miguel (20 km?). The town El Carmen, where Baures settled at the end of the 18th century, is only connected by river (Río Blanco). I did not visit El Carmen because of the transport problems, but it would be important to find out in the future if there are any speakers of Baure left. The numbers of inhabitants (Szabo 1998b:21)[30] and houses are listed in Table 1.4:

place	number of inhabitants	number of houses
Baures	2600	253
Altagracia	160	23
Beremo	30	5
El Cairo	407	32
Jasiaquirri	403	42
San Francisco	40	7
San Miguel	10	2
Tujuré	130	17
El Carmen (total)	1143	146

Table 1.4: Number of inhabitants in the Baure communities

The electricity is produced by a generator in Baures. It was turned on in the evenings in 2003–2004 from 6.30 to 10.30 p.m.; in 2006 there was an additional hour of electricity from 1 to 2 p.m. There is one hospital with a doctor in Baures. Some basic things can be bought in the few small shops in the centre. The population is split into those who work in cattle breeding (generally wealthy bosses and daytallers), and those who have their own little fields (*chacos*), where they grow plantain, manioc, maize, rice, a kind of yam, papaya, pineapple, melons, and many other crops. Most of the forests around the communities are cacao plantations, which partly belong to the communities. The majority of animals eaten are domesticated in the people's houses: pigs, chicken, and ducks. Animals sometimes hunted are armadillo, agoutis, and a number of birds. It is generally forbidden to shoot a jaguar, but when the cattle is threatened by a jaguar, it may be killed. The one who kills a jaguar still enjoys great prestige. The hunting of caimans is controlled by an institution based in Trinidad, which is the only official purchaser of caiman skins. Further many kinds of fish are part of the diet, and turtle and ostrich eggs. River dolphins are sacred, and generally nobody would kill a dolphin. They swim around the washerwomen in the little ports at the Río Negro without inflicting harm or being harmed.

The people of Baures generally supported my work. The participants in the workshops for alphabet standardization (cf. 1.2.1) approved the presence of a linguist in

[30] These numbers here go back to the VAIPO official consensus of 1997.

their communities for the study of their language, mainly with the hope of developing a revitalization program. For the indigenous Baures it is a political advantage that someone focuses on their language, for which reason their opponents have a critical attitude towards the study of Baure. The language is one of the most important cultural heritages and crucial for the indigenous identity. With the argument that the language is nothing more than a dialect (cf. 1.2.3), some Baures do not understand why it should be studied. The fact that it was not written before and that suggestions for an orthography differ (cf. 2.3), still counts as proofs of the inferiority of Baure. Some people in Baures believed that I was actually inventing the grammar of the language.

In 2004 I brought the Baures a booklet[31] in Spanish with the objective to describe the Baure grammar and for a start of a teaching program. For the lack of time no teaching was actually carried out. I proposed two spelling systems for the speakers to choose from, but it turned out to be very difficult to explain either spelling to them because of the complicated phonology and the fact that we cannot simply write what we speak (cf. Chapter 2). In 2006 I brought the second part of the grammar[32] and another booklet[33] with basic vocabulary and some small texts, which are hopefully distributed among the younger people to motivate their interest in the language.

1.3.2. The consultants

On my first fieldtrip in 2003, I introduced myself to the Baures, with the help of two teachers in Baures, Ferrufino Oni and Julián Imanreico.[34] These teachers made a list of all speakers of the language (59 in 2003) and I managed to interview 24 (16 women, 8 men) and talk to most of them. In the preliminary interviews with the speakers I found out that some are more comfortable translating and analyzing their own language than others. In addition, the use of classifiers on numerals was evidence that a speaker was still acquainted with traditional Baure grammar, as opposed to those speakers who used only one form of numerals, namely those marked by the human classifier (cf. 4.9.1). In addition, a few speakers had already worked with the SIL linguists, or their parents had, so that they were well prepared for fieldwork. Finally, also health and the social or working situation had to be taken into consideration when selecting a consultant. The people I worked with were paid by the hour, but all speakers also became close friends of mine, letting me take part in their daily lives and destinies. I stayed in the house of an old Baure couple, who took care of me like parents. My host can also speak Baure and helped me a lot in starting up Baure conversations with others.

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[31] In 22 pages the phonology is presented, the arguments for each spelling proposal, and the nominal morphology; in 15 pages there is a dictionary that excludes verbs and adjectives (because of the lack of knowledge after the first year of study).

[32] In 31 pages the verbal system is described, in 11 more pages there is a dictionary of verbs and adjectives

[33] The booklet of 22 pages contains many pictures, basic vocabulary, examples of classification with numerals, short narratives with vocabulary lists, some songs, and a sketch of the history of the study of Baure.

[34] They also participated in the alphabetization workshops in the late 1990s and 2000 (mentioned above)

On my second trip to Baures I had the advantage of being able to communicate more or less in the language. This allowed me to also involve speakers who were not used to translate or analyze their language, whose data I transcribed with the help of other speakers. I also got to know what it means for a language to be dying: some speakers that I had interviewed the year before had died in the meantime[35], some others had become too old and sick to work with. On the other hand, some speakers were so busy in the politics concerning their TCO (cf. 1.1.5) that lack of time became an obstacle.

My third trip to Baures was in the rainy season, which had some advantages. First of all I was able to understand another part of their lives, since the rainy season is a difficult time. Secondly, some speakers were less busy, because they did not go to their field every day. Unfortunately it is also the time of illness, and one of my main consultants was not in town, but in hospital in Trinidad.

I basically worked with 15 consultants, listed in Table 1.5. There were three couples among my consultants, which proved to be a great advantage for the recording of dialogues. These speakers had more opportunities to practice speaking Baure in the last decades, whereas those married to someone without knowledge of Baure took longer to remember their language. It is generally important if the speakers grew up speaking Baure to the parents or not, for which reason this question was part of the first interviews (cf. Table 1.5).

Among the people that were involved with my investigation of Baure that are not in Table 1.5. I first want to mention Mercedes Peña Omopi [MP][36]. She was a Baure speaker and had rather restricted knowledge of Spanish. She spoke Baure to her husband and to her parents, who were Baure monolinguals. She was approximately 80 years old when a teacher recorded her singing and speaking. I have also analyzed these recordings in my data. She died age 82. Mercedes Peña Omopi was the mother of three of my main informants: Rosalía, Guillermina, and Juanita Pinaicobo Peña. The family tree in Appendix D represents part of their family and shows the progress of language loss across three generations. Further I worked with the following speakers only once or twice, but some examples of their contributions may be presented in this grammar[37] (the codes in brackets are used for references in the examples of this grammar, cf. :

Isabel Imanareico Esero [II]: She was 61 in 2003, and she has been the president of the women's indigenous organization for many years. She uses the numeral *ponoš* (one-CLF:human-one) to refer to any object, but sometimes also attaches classifiers. Because of the inconsistency of her data I did not work much with her.

Rafaela Imopoco [RI]: She was 71 in 2003 and lives in El Cairo.

Mirian Melgar [MM]: She was 44 in 2003 and lives in Jasiaquiri. Her mother, who was said to be the last Baure monolingual, had died one year before my first time in

[35] During my work on the Baure language two speakers died: "Sower" Isabel Sosa (84) died at the turn of the year 2003, and Julian Imanareico died in 2005

[36] These abbreviations are later used as references for the examples.

[37] These consultants are not part of Table 1.5, as I only have incomplete knowledge of their dates, and they only played a marginal role in the linguistic data

the field. She must be a perfect Baure speaker, but when I went to see her, she was so shy that she hardly spoke a word. As there are other speakers, I did not want to persuade her to work with me. From the only interview with her I cannot even say if she is a competent speaker.

Pedro Ortíz Melgar [PO]: He was my host and can be considered a semi-speaker. He is approximately 60 years old and grew up in the small community of San Francisco, which hardly exists today. He helped me sometimes start a conversation in Baure with other Baure speakers. Even though his competence is very restricted, he was of great help.

Candelaria Sosa [CS]: She was too busy working in the chocolate factory when I wanted to work with her, but she is a competent speaker of approximately 60 years.

"Sower" Isabel Sosa [IS]: She died in 2003 age 84. She spoke broken Spanish only, therefore it was difficult for me to work with her in the first year.

name	age	place of residence	Did parents speak B.?	Did you speak B. to partner?	comments
Julián Imanareico Antesana † [JI]	80	Baures	YES	YES (sometimes)	Almost blind and deaf since 2004; husband of Eustáquia Churipuy; died in 2005; participated in alphabetization workshops (1996–2000).
Eustáquia Churipuy Ojopi [EU]	66	Baures	YES	YES (sometimes)	Wife of Julián Imanareico.
Lucio Oni Emorisé [LO]	65	Baures	YES	YES (sometimes)	Born in El Cairo, but moved to Baures 11 years ago, speaks perfectly together with his wife Guillermina Pinaicobo, he worked in rubber industry; participated in alphabetization workshops (1996–2000).
Guillermina Pinaicobo Peña [GP]	65	Baures	YES	YES (sometimes)	Born in El Cairo, but moved to Baures 12 years ago; wife of Lucio Oni; sister of Juanita and Rosalía Pinaicobo; worked in rubber industry.
Rosalía Pinaicobo Peña [RP]	71	Baures	YES	YES (sometimes)	Born in El Cairo, but moved to Baures 50 years ago; wife of Estéban Chipeno, sister of Guillermina and Juanita Pinaicobo; she and her mother worked with SIL linguists.
Estéban Chipeno Tacaná [EC]	71	Baures	YES	YES (sometimes)	Born in Baures; husband of Rosalía Pinaicobo; participated in alphabetization workshops (1996–2000).

Table 1.5 1: The main consultants – speaker couples

name	age	place of residence	Did parents speak B.?	Did you speak B. to partner?	comments
Asunta Durán [AD]	71	Baures	YES	NO	Lived in Guayaramarín (Bras. border for > 10 years, worked in rubber industry and as servant in Europeans' households
Justina Cajareico [JC]	86	Jasiaquiri	YES	YES (husband deceased)	Until recently (2002) she spoke B. to friend in village
Hercilia Chipeno Tacaná [HC]	68	Altagracia	YES	NO	
Aurelina Ojopi Ojopi [AO]	89	Baures	YES	YES	I only worked with her a few times
Dolores Chimanacay Imopoco [DC]	71	Baures	YES	YES	She used to converse with women friends in B. and is very secure even in spelling words.
Melquiades Durán [MD]	70	Baures	YES (grew up with grandmother)	NO	One of the few speakers who can read and write; used to be teacher, also tried to teach B. at school in 1990s (paid by Danish support program for bilingual education); participated in alphabetization (1996–2000); can tell stories, but not in the fluent way, as the women do.
Marcial Chonono Chipeno [MC]	84	Baures	YES (aunt brought him up)	YES (wife deceased)	
Ignacio Martinez Ojopi [IM]	79	Baures	YES (to mother and grandparents, not to father)	NO (only sometimes)	Participated in alphabetization workshops (1996–2000)
Juana (Juanita) Pinaicobo Peña [JP]	46	Baures	YES (but not to siblings)	NO	The youngest fluent speaker, but taught it herself with an old woman, when her parents had already switched to Spanish, sister of Guillermina and Rosalía Pinaicobo; participated in indigenous protest march (1996); can tell stories and sing songs in B

Table 1.5.2· The main consultants

1.3.3. Data collection, storage, and representation

Before the first field trip I had time to prepare myself with the help of the data published by Baptista & Wallin (1967, 1968), and the grammatical descriptions by the Jesuits (Magio 1749; Asis Coparcari 1767 in Adam & Leclerc 1880). A preliminary analysis of their data gave me a first understanding of the language and allowed me

to prepare a word list and a grammar check list (including the numerals marked by different classifiers e.g.).

Every interview was first recorded on minidisk and then, right after the interviews, transcribed by me alone. In the next session the transcription was corrected together with the speaker. For all important interviews that included narratives or unusual grammatical phenomena I produced copies on cassettes, of which one copy was given to the speakers and another one was saved as a backup in case the minidisks would broke or got lost.

On my second fieldtrip I could take a laptop, so that the next step, putting the data into the computer, could be done in the field as well. For all data storage I used the Shoebox program developed by SIL[38]. On the second fieldtrip I also had a video camera with which I recorded narratives, including gesturing.

I recorded every session, especially because of the very difficult phonology (cf. Chapter 2). One major part of the data can be considered elicitation. However, eliciting I never asked for paradigms, because this proved to be too difficult for the speakers and unreliable as data. The majority of elicitation had to be imaginary conversation, the best way for the speakers to come up with certain expressions and reliable data. I generally mentioned certain semantic fields. Then the speakers generally started to talk spontaneously about things connected to that. Many speakers did so in imagining conversations with others, such as their children or parents. Every grammatical form was double-checked for the correctness with other speakers. Therefore those examples taken from elicitation in this grammar have always been approved by other speakers, and they are generally reliable and not accidental. The main analysis is based on texts. These texts are conversations among two speakers, or narratives and songs. Among my consultants there are only three women, all sisters, and one man who remember Baure narratives and songs. I recorded 13 narratives, three of which I have in two or more versions and by various speakers. Furthermore, there are some personal stories of an occurrence the speaker remembered. There are 7 recorded conversations of two speakers each. In the first year I also invented narratives dealing with the Baures' environment (at home and in the field), which various speakers translated from Spanish into Baure. These artificial stories helped me in getting more fluent text data of speakers who are not capable of telling stories otherwise. All the data together constitute approximately 70 hours of recordings.

Finally, I also tried to use some questionnaires, such as the Perfect Questionnaire (Dahl 2000: 800–809)[39], the Lingua Descriptive Studies Questionnaire (Comrie & Smith 1977), and the Typological Questionnaire on Imperative Constructions (Xrakovskij 2001); and the Topological Relations Picture Series (Bowerman 1993)[40] and the frog story (Mayer 1980)[41].

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[38] Downloadable on the following website:
http://www.sil.org/computing/catalog/show_software.asp?id=26

[39] This specific elicitation is referred to by [xx-P-xx] in the references.

[40] This specific elicitation is referred to by [xx-L-xx] in the references.

[41] This is referred to by [xx-A4-xx] in the references.

On my field trip in 2004 I obtained the tape recording of the mother of my consultants (cf. 1.3.2 and Appendix D), Mercedes Peña Omopi, from the 1980s. The recorded songs have been transcribed and compared to the more recent versions.

The examples in this grammar are represented with absolute links to the Shoebox corpus. The code in brackets generally consists of three parts: the first one is the name code of the consultant(s) (cf. Tables 1.5.1. and 1.5.2), the second one refers to the text type, the last one to the specific line in the Shoebox corpus. The text types have been coded by one capital letter, as shown in the Appendix E[42]. The different version of one and the same narrative or song are indicated by roman numbers, e.g. N1/II: narrative 1, version II. No text type reference means elicitation, which is referred to by the date, e.g. 18/7/04: July 18th of 2004. All of the field notes by Baptista & Wallin (on microfiches) have been digitalized (in Shoebox as well) and analyzed in addition for comparison. Examples taken from their data are marked by an initial SIL. All isolated examples lacking a reference are formed on the basis of the present data, but extracted from the context in a simplified way for the sake of presentation.

The words are generally analyzed morphologically only to a certain extent, i.e. lexicalized fixed morpheme combinations are not always separated (as e.g. *yakis* (*yaki-so* = fire-CLF:stick) 'firewood' in (6)), but only when necessary to refer to the separate parts. The first line of the examples is how the text is written in the current established orthography. In the second line the morphemes are presented in separation, and the third line the morpheme glosses. The fourth line is a close English translation, cf. (5) and (6). If line two is missing, there are no morpheme separations, cf. example (7).

(5) *kač-hi royapa teč riavinon.*
kač=hi *ro=ya-pa* *teč* *ri=avinon*
GO=QUOT 3SGm=cry-GO DEM2m 3SGf=husband
'Her husband went to cry.' [GP-N1/II-59]

(6) *rokow to yakıs.*
ro=kow *to* *yakis*
3SGm=burn.tr ART firewood
'He is burning the firewood.' [RP-5/7/04-63]

(7) *monik tin* *eton.*
pretty DEM3f woman
'The woman is pretty.' [JI-14/8/03-49]

All affixes are separated by hyphens "-" in the glosses; cliticization by "="; reduplication by "~", according to the Leipzig Glossing Rules 2004[43]. The long hyphen "–" is used for pauses and cases of hesitation in the first text line.

[42] N= narrative, D= dialogue, S= song, A= artificial story,
[43] http://www eva.mpg de/lingua/files/morpheme.html

1.4. The Arawak language family and Amazonian languages

Baure is as well an Arawak language as it is also an Amazonian language, thus it can be compared genetically and areally.

1.4.1 The Arawak language family and its subdivisions

The Arawak language family is one of the major language families in South America. The numbers of Arawak languages given in the literature vary extremely: between 154 (Loukotka 1968), 89 (Noble 1965), 61 (Aikhenvald 1999)[44] and 41 (Ramirez 2001). Aikhenvald estimated 40 living languages in 1999 (Aikhenvald 1999:65). Historically Arawak languages played an important role in the Spanish conquest. The very first people encountered by Columbus in the Bahamas, Hispaniola and Puerto Rico were Taíno speaking people, an Arawak language that became extinct within the first hundred years of the invasion of the Europeans (Aikhenvald 1999:65)[45]. Many European languages today contain loans from Arawak languages, such as *canoe*, *cacique* (Engl. 'chief'), *caracól* (Engl. 'snail, shell'), *colibrí* (Engl. 'hummingbird'), *guava*, *hammock*, *hurricane*, *barbecue*, *maize*, *potato*, *tobacco*, and *cannibal* (Aikhenvald 1999:72, 2005:81; Campos Reyes 2004:2; Hill & Santos-Granero 2000:1).

The Arawak languages in areas where Europeans settled have quickly become extinct. Unfortunately, in spite of the original number, most of the languages are now extinct or seriously endangered. The largest and healthiest Arawak languages are Garífuna in Belize, Guajiro in Venezuela and Columbia, and the Campa languages in Peru.

From the 17th century onward, missionaries and travellers have taken notes on many Arawak languages. It was Father Gilij in 1783 that first discovered a genetic relationship between the Arawak languages. He compared Maipure and Moxo languages, and therefore he named the family "Maipure" (Aikhenvald 1999:73). It was later renamed "Arawak" by others, after one of the most important languages of the family (also approximately from the region where the origin of the language family might have been). The terminology is still a matter of controversy among linguists. In this study I follow Dixon & Aikhenvald (1999b:14) in calling the language family "Arawak", as it is common among South American linguists. Sometimes the name is found with a different spelling "Aruák", "Arahuak", or "Arahuakano" (Spanish and Portuguese versions). The other names are "Maipurean" or "Maipuran", especially preferred by Payne (1991). North American linguists have also used the term "Arawakan" in order to refer to an "unproven higher-level unit which includes Arawak, Arawá, Chapacura," (Dixon & Aikhenvald 1999b:14) and other language families, like Guahibo, Puquina, and Harakmbet (Facundes 2002b:81). There is no evidence for such a postulate, and the speculations very rarely are based on any reliable lin-

[44] The Arawak languages that Aikhenvald (1999 66–71) included in her list were only the ones on which materials are available.

[45] This view may be slightly exaggerated, as there are different opinions concerning the disappearing of Taíno speakers or people. Campos Reyes (2004:3) and others argue that "Taíno-Arawak and Carib descendents survive to the present" and that "Taíno villages continued to exist into the 19th century". The Taíno have probably not all been chased and killed, but they have mixed soon after the Spaniards arrived. Their considerable influence in the regional Spanish and Carib languages can still be observed

guistic data, and therefore must be regarded as very problematic indeed The different terminology of Arawak as Arawakan, however, may also simply be viewed as British versus North American preference without the above connotations (Crevels, p c)

Since the 1950s also a number of SIL linguists have studied Arawak languages, so that we can compare word lists, sometimes grammatical notes and short texts for a number of languages Since the 1970s various other linguists started to go into the field and have produced more complete grammatical descriptions Of the following Arawak languages we find short or complete grammars, which have been taken into account for comparison here

Achagua	Meléndez 1989, 1998, Wilson 1992
Apurinã	Facundes 2000a
Arawak/Lokono	Pet 1987, van Baarle 1989
Axininca[46] Campa	Payne 1981
Bare	Aikhenvald 1995a
Ignaciano	Olza Zubiri et al 2002
Iñapari	Parker 1995
Maipure	Zamponi 2003
Nanti	Michael, in prep
Paunaca	Villafañe, in prep
Resigaro	Allin 1975
Warekena	Aikhenvald 1998
Tariana	Aikhenvald 2003

In addition, numerous articles and dictionaries have been published of the following languages

Amuesha	Wise 1963
Apurinã	Facundes 1994, 2000b, 2002a
Arawak/Lokono	Taylor 1969, 1970 a, 1970 b, 1976, Hickerson 1991, Pet 1979, van Baarle 1993, 1995
Asheninca	Payne 1982
Iñapari	Valenzuela 1991, Parker 1999
Machiguenga	Snell 1998
Nanti	Michael 2004, 2005
Nomatsiguenga	Wise 1971
Tariana	Aikhenvald 1994, 2004

There are also numerous studies of comparative quality, dealing with larger subgroups of the language family, like "Preandine Arawakan" (Wise 1986), "Brazilian Arawakan" by Derbyshire (1986), or "North Arawak" (Aikhenvald 1995b, 2001) and others (Facundes 2002b) Some authors give short or more extended surveys on the whole Arawak language family, such as Ramirez (2001) and Wise (1990) Furthermore, we find a number of comparative studies of Arawak languages, such as Matte-

[46] This language is most frequently spelt Asheninca today

son (1972), Payne (1991), Aikhenvald (1999), in which the authors attempt to reconstruct Proto-Arawak (or Proto-Maipuran in Payne 1991).

When comparing different proposals of subdivisions of the Arawak language family, it is more or less clear today which languages are members of the Arawak language family, but not so what are the internal genetic relationships (Facundes 2002b:83). The subgrouping of Arawak languages and also their possible genetic relationships with other language families need more comparative studies and further investigation in order to be more reliable. These studies should not only be based on lexemes (as in Payne 1991, who included more than 400 lexemes), but have to compare the whole grammar of the languages. This requirement is still difficult to fulfil, because there are so few complete grammars available, and it is too late for a great number of languages to still yield them. Grammatical phenomena, not lexical divergence, distinguish the two main subgroups North Arawak and South- and South-Western Arawak languages. Another important subdivision is based on the form for the 1SG pronominal prefixes, into *nu*-Arawak and *ta*-Arawak of the North Arawak languages. Figure 1.1 represents one model of the possible subdivision of Arawak languages, as Aikhenvald (1999) has concluded from the analysis of available data.

Some grammatical characteristics seem to be common for all Arawak languages (cf. 1.4.3), and Baure can be fitted into the family by comparing it to those features.

1.4.2. Baure within Bolivian South Arawak

Baure is part of the southern group of Arawak languages (cf. Figure 1.1). Other South Arawak languages are Ignaciano, Trinitario, Paunaca, Terêna, only mentioning the languages still alive. Baure is lexically and grammatically closest related to the Moxo languages (Trinitario and Ignaciano)[47]. Baure speakers have claimed they can understand Trinitario to some extent. In Loukotka (1968:142) and Kaufman (1994:57)[48] the South Arawak language group contains a Moxo subgroup, which includes Baure. Problematic in this respect is the fact that the Moxo languages and Baure are also geographically the most closely related Arawak languages, which may have lead to borrowing and diffusion. In addition, Paunaca[49], a nearly extinct Bolivian Arawak language, also shares a number of features with Baure and the Moxo languages.

In this section Baure is compared to the other Bolivian Arawak languages. In 1.4.3 Baure is further compared to Amazonian areal features and general Arawak features (cf. Table 1.10).

The general lexical relation between the Bolivian Arawak languages is quite obvious. In Table 1.6 some basic nouns are listed.

It has to be mentioned that the spelling of Trinitario, Ignaciano, and Paunaca mainly follows the Spanish alphabet (with the exception of *k*), which means that the glottal fricative [h] is spelt *j*; further what is *č* [tʃ] in Baure and Paunaca is *ch* in Trinitario and Ignaciano, and in the Moxo languages *č* [tʃ] has possibly not been distinguished from [ʃ], which is *š* in Baure.

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[47] This argument is based on unpublished data produced by Cristián Salvatierra and Françoise Rose

[48] This time spelt "Moho"; and Baure is wrongly spelt "Banure" (Kaufman 1994:59).

[49] The data on Paunaca courtesy to Lucrecia Villafañe (in prep.).

Baure	Trinitario	Ignaciano	Paunaca	English
eton	*etona*	*esena*	*eseno*	woman
šin(i)	*'chini*	*ichini*	*isini*	jaguar
him	*jimo*	*jima*	*jĩmo*	fish
šiye'	*chuye*	*chuye*	*kupisäire*	fox
som	*samo*	*sama*		tapir
viter	*vite*		*bite*	bat
yor	*iyo*		*iyo*	monkey
kahaw	*kjowo*			deer
kahap	*kujupa*	*kuju*	*kejẽpi*	manioc
koten	*kúteno*	*akutena*		sugar cane
hopi	*yupi*	*yupi*		jug
yaki	*yuku*	*yuku*	*ieke*	fire
ın	*une*	*une*	*ine*	water
ses	*sache*	*sache*	*sa'če*	sun
kiher	*koje*	*kaje*	*kujẽ*	moon

Table 1.6: Comparing Baure nouns to Trinitario, Ignaciano, and Paunaca[50]

One of the most striking features of Baure in comparison to the other languages is the loss of final vowels, cf. Baure *eton* 'woman', *him* 'fish', *som* 'tapir', and *kahap* 'manioc'. Final vowel elision has already been noted in Baptista & Wallin (1968) and is described in detail in 2.2.1. Trinitario and Ignaciano are generally spoken of as dialects of the Moxo language. The major difference between them seems to be the final *-a* (Ignaciano) and *-o* (Trinitario). Even though there are not many examples in Table 1.6, the vowel *u* in Moxo languages (M) is generally related to *i* in Baure (B), as in B *in* 'water' in contrast to M *une* 'water'.

Not only simple nouns are related. The word *roseskoner* 'day' in Baure has been derived from ses 'sun'. Trinitario (T) *sachono* 'days' and Ignaciano (I) *sacheana* 'days' have both been derived from *sache* 'sun' as well. Furthermore, some classificatory roots are identical or similar, such as *-pi* for 'words' in B *šiyepi* 'fox story' and I *-achukarapi* 'grandfather tale'; B *-pi* 'long & thin' and I *-pi* 'long & rigid'; B *-mpe* 'flat' and I *-me* 'flat', B *-i* 'fruit & bird' and I *-hi* 'fruit & bird'. The bound numerals are similar as well: B *(m)api-* 'two' and I *apı-* 'two'; B *mpo-* 'three' and I *mapa-* 'three' or T *mopo-* 'three'. Table 1.7 lists some related verbs.

[50] The data on Trinitario has been taken from unpublished word lists and the booklet by Casanovas et al. (2003). The data on Ignaciano stems from Ott & Ott (1967), Olza Zubiri et al (2002) and Casanovas et al. (2003). The spelling of Olza Zubiri has been changed into the general spelling of Ignaciano in publications. The data on Pauaca is unpublished (Villafañe)

Baure	Trinitario	Ignaciano	Paunaca	English
-nik-	*-niko-*	*-nika*	*-nik-*	eat
-yon- (walk)	*-yono-*	*-yana*	*-yuna*	go
-imok-	*timoko* (3SGm)	*-ima-*	*-(e)muka*	sleep

Table 1.7. Comparing Baure verbs to Trinitario, Ignaciano, and Paunaca

The free personal pronouns are nearly identical in the four languages, except for 3SG and 3PL forms, as shown in Table 1.8:

Baure	Trinitario	Ignaciano	Paunaca	English
nti'	*nuti*	*nuti*	*nẽti*	1SG
piti'	*piti*	*piti*	*piti*	2SG
roti' (3SGm)	*ema* (3SGm–m)[51]	*ema* (3SGm–m)	*echi* (3SG)	3SG
riti' (3SGf)	*esu* (3SGf)	*esu* (3SGf)		3SG
	eñi (3SGm–f)	*eñi* (3SGm–f)		3SG
viti'	*viti*	*viti*	*biti*	1PL
yiti'	*eti*	*eti*	*eti*	2PL
noti'	*eno*	*ena*	*echi ...-nube*	3PL

Table 1.8: Comparing Baure pronouns to Trinitario, Ignaciano, and Paunaca

In addition to lexical similarities, many grammatical morphemes of the Moxo languages are similar to those in Baure. Here I focus on the Ignaciano data, the language with most detailed grammatical analysis so far, cf. Table 1.9:

Baure	Ignaciano	English
-ko (ABS)	*-ka*	stem formative
-čo (APPL)	*-cha*	stem formative
-ino	*-ina*	benefactive
-koko	*-kaka*	reciprocal
ko-	*ka-*	attributive
mo-	*ma-*	privative
imo-, i-	*imi-, e-*	causative

Table 1.9. Comparing Baure and Ignaciano affixes

It would certainly be an urgent investigation project to establish the internal relationship of the South Arawak languages and those in Bolivia, using methods from ethnology, anthropology, archaeology, and ethno-history as well. Moreover, the publications on the Moxos have to be taken into account since they frequently include the Baures.

[51] The pronouns in Ignaciano and Trinitario also distinguish who utters them: m–f means here that a masculine referent referred to by a feminine speaker.

1 4 3 The structural features of Baure genetic and areal features

Geographically Baure belongs to the Amazonian region Amazonia is generally defined as the "region including the two Guianas, most of the Amazon basin of Brazil, and some eastern portions of Bolivia, Columbia, and Peru" (Derbyshire & Pullum 1986 1) Amazonia is probably "the most complex linguistic area in the world today" (Dixon & Aikhenvald 1999 2) with approximately 300 languages that belong to 20 language families and around 12 isolates (Dixon & Aikhenvald 1999.2) There have been people living in Amazonia for thousands of years, and because of the many different languages, it is not surprising that "[m]ultilingualism was (and is) the norm among the Indian tribes of Amazonia" (Dixon & Aikhenvald 1999 5). Ethnic groups in Amazonia share a lot of their culture and history Since the time of colonization we can observe the decimation or extinction of many Amazonian groups due to imported diseases, enslavement and maltreatment In the time of the rubber boom (as mentioned in 1 1 3) the whole area was affected by strong migration and the exploitation of many indigenous people, which altogether led to language diffusion and death (Dixon & Aikhenvald 1999·6). Many linguists (among these Derbyshire & Pullum 1986 and Dixon & Aikhenvald 1999) have come to the conclusion that Amazonia can be regarded as a linguistic area, defined as "a region including languages from several genetic groups, with the languages sharing certain symptomatic features which can be inferred to have diffused across the area" (Dixon & Aikhenvald 1999 8). Derbyshire & Pullum (1986 1) even argue that "Amazonian languages share a wide range of similarities in grammatical and phonological structure that transcend currently genetic groupings", and Dixon & Aikhenvald (1999 16) claim that we ought to understand that probably for the Amazonian region the family tree model does not hold after all. That means that it is important to consider areal features in addition to the features of languages within the Arawak language family The shared features of Amazonian languages have been listed from two different perspectives While Derbyshire & Pullum (1986 19) mainly list syntactic and pragmatic features, Dixon & Aikhenvald (1999 8–9) have analyzed phonological and morphological features

The grammar of Baure tallies with many of the Amazonian features, though not all In most cases Amazonian features correspond to Arawak features, because the majority of Arawak languages are also Amazonian and have therefore also added to the generalizations of the linguistic area In addition, the authors (Dixon & Aikhenvald 1999) may also have taken Arawak languages into consideration to a greater degree than other languages because of their own research interests Thus Baure shares the following features with Amazonian areal as well as with Arawak genetic features.

Phonology

(a) only one rounded vowel *o* or *u*

(b) only one liquid

Morphology

(c) polysynthetic, head-marking, agglutinating with little fusion

(d) extensive classifier system

(e) noun incorporation

(f) no extensive case system
(g) verb agreement with S and O thus many clauses with only a predicate
(h) mainly suffixing

Morphosyntax
(i) split ergative or split stative system concerning argument marking
(j) subordination involves nominalized verbs

Lexicon
(k) nouns distinguished for alienable/inalienable possession
(l) small class of lexical numbers

In addition to these areal (and genetic) features there are some Arawak features that Baure shows, which cannot be argued to be Amazonian areal features These are unstable stops (frequently palatalized) and the avoidance of consonant clusters in the phonology Furthermore, Amazonian languages tend to incorporate nouns or other lexical material before the verb root, whereas at least in South Arawak languages (Aikhenvald 1999 86) and in Baure they follow the root It may still be questionable if the predominant constituent order in Amazonia is in fact object before subject (cf Derbyshire & Pullum 1986 17–18), because the authors also counted Baure wrongly as an instance of VOS order (cf Chapter 9)

It is striking that Baure never disagrees with any Amazonian features that would hold for Arawak languages This shows that the genetic relationship is very clear, but it cannot really be argued that Baure shows any more Amazonian areal features than Arawak languages do in general

On the other hand, there are a number of characteristics of Baure disagreeing with both Amazonian areal and Arawak genetic features There are for example no phonemically long vowels in Baure, nor do nasalization or glottalization play a major role in the Baure phonology The order possessor–possessed is found internally by cross-reference of the possessor on the head noun in Baure (like in other Arawak languages), but externally Baure uses partitive constructions of the form *to tawe' to monči'* (ART ball ART child) 'the ball of the child/ the child's ball', in which the possessed NP is juxtaposed and precedes the possessor NP Conjunctions are not explicitly mentioned in Arawak generalizations, the most dominant features for subordination being nominalization and verb serialization In Baure, however, there are many clause combining and constituent combining conjunctions (called connectors in this grammar, cf Chapter 10), alongside with the possibilities of clause juxtaposition, serial verbs and predicate chains, and complement constructions Even though Baure also shows a kind of split system, its characteristics do not coincide with those of the ergative or stative split systems of other Amazonian and Arawak languages There is a split in argument marking in Baure, but it seems to be governed by word class rather than by verb semantics, such as active and stative (cf Danielsen & Granadillo 2007)

These deviations could be Baure specific features, but it is also possible that they are shared by other languages of the area Recent research (Crevels & van der Voort, in press) has shown that a new linguistic area can be established between the Mamoré and the Guaporé (Iténez) rivers, extending further into Rondônia (Brasil) It remains

to be investigated how Baure tallies with the features of this linguistic sub-area in Amazonia

1 5 The structure of the book

After this introduction there is a description of the Baure phonology, phonotactics, and morphophonology in Chapter 2 Chapter 3 describes the general morphological processes and the different parts of speech Chapter 4 deals with the nominal morphology and noun phrase operations In Chapter 5 the main predicate types are discussed, including incorporation and specific non-verbal predicate constructions, whereas specific verbal morphology is described in 6 Chapter 7 shows another important part of verb phrases preverbal particles In 8 adverbs and other closed classes are discussed Chapters 9 and 10 treat the Baure syntax, referring to word order and clause types in 9, and clause combinations in 10 Some additional information, such as word lists and text data are given in the Appendix

2 Phonology

In the present chapter the phonology of Baure will be described Starting with the phonemes in 2 1, section 2 2 is concerned with segmental phonology and includes the descriptions of the phonological processes that concern the segments In 2 3 I will discuss and motivate my choice of an orthography of Baure and contrast it with previous suggestions of writing systems for this language Section 2 4 gives an overview of phonotactics, and section 2 5 deals with morphophonology, where further sound changing processes are shown that occur at morpheme boundaries The final section 2 6 deals with the specific character of the phonological phrase in Baure

2 1 Phonemes

In this section the vowel inventory is introduced in 2 1 1, vowel sequences are distinguished in 2 1 2, the consonant inventory is shown in 2 1 3, and sounds that occur in Spanish loanwords are described in 2 1 4

2 1 1 Vowels

Baure has four vowel phonemes There is no phonemic distinction between short and long vowels, but the vowels can vary in length, mainly as a result of syllable stress Under the influence of nasal spread vowels can be nasalized, but nasalization is not phonemic, which is described in section 2 2 4 All vowels can appear in all kinds of syllables, but they have different phonetic weights The syllable types are described in 2 4, but the more specific characteristics of the vowel phonemes are mentioned in this section Table 1 gives a summary of the vowel inventory, of which each vowel is described in detail below

ɪ		
		o
	e	
	a	

Table 2 1 The vowel inventory of Baure

There are three front vowels /ɪ/, /e/, and /a/, and only one back vowel /o/ The latter is also the only rounded vowel The unrounded vowels are mainly distinguished for the position of the tongue and the palate (open versus close)

In the following description it will be distinguished between the underlying phonemic representation and the more specific phonetic representation of the phonemes in a word

2 1 1 1 The phoneme /a/ [a]

The open front (to central) unrounded vowel /a/ does not have any other allophones, it may only vary slightly in length It stands in phonemic contrast to all other vowels

(1)	[pɔˈpaʃ]	/poˈpaʃ/	'one (e.g. tutuma[52])[53]'
	[pɔˈpɛʃ]	/poˈpeʃ/	'one (e.g. knife)'
	[pɔˈpɔʃ]	/poˈpoʃ/	'one (e.g. fish)'
	[pɔˈpiʃ]	/poˈpiʃ/	'one (e.g. snake)'
(2)	[nar]	/nar/	'they fly'
	[nɛr]	/ner/	'they drink'
	[nɔr]	/nor/	'deer sp.'
	[nir]	/nir/	'urucú'

A feature that becomes important when analyzing stress patterns in Baure, is the fact that the vowel /a/ is a stronger[54] vowel than /o/. Syllables that include the open back vowel /a/ are automatically heavy syllables and generally attract stress.

2.1.1.2 The phoneme /i/: [i], [ɪ], [ə]

The closed front unrounded vowel /i/ can occur in a long form [i], mainly in stressed syllables, and in a short form [ɪ] ~ [ə], mainly in unstressed syllables. In some of these unstressed syllables the sound cannot be distinguished from /e/, which can also be reduced to schwa when unstressed. Therefore there are a few words, in which both vowels could be the underlying phonemes (examples in (5) and (6) following the minimal pairs). However, /i/ can be contrasted with all other vowels:

(3)	[ti]	/ti/	DEM1f
	[tɛ]	/te/	DEM1m
	[tɔ]	/to/	ART
(4)	[βir]	/vir/	'wind'
	[βɛr]	/ver/	'already, PERF'
(5)	[kəˈhɛr]	/kiˈher/ ~ /keˈher/	'moon'
	[kəˈhɛv]	/kiˈhev/ ~ /keˈhev/	'cooking pot'
	[ˈnikərɔk]	/ˈnikirok/ ~ /ˈnikerok/	'plate'
	[rəˈkirɔk]	/riˈkirok/ ~ /reˈkirok/	'tutuma'
(6)	[sənˈjɔr]	/senˈjor/ ~ /sinˈjor/	'*Señor* (Sp.)'

Even though long and short /i/ are not phonemically distinguished, there are strong and weak /i/ phonemes. The unstressed short /i/ is more frequent, especially word finally, and is generally devoiced and causes the palatalization of the preceding consonant, a phonological process described in 2.2.2. In a few examples there is a strong stressed /i/, followed by a glottal stop when word finally. Consider the following minimal pair, contrasted for stress and as a result there is a strong /i/ in the first word (with the stressed final /i/) and a weak one in the second (which is unstressed):

---

[52] Some regional words will be used in the grammar and are found in Appendix C 1 for translation and explanation.

[53] There is a list of classifiers and their use in Appendix A 1.

[54] The difference between strong and weak vowels concerns mainly stress assignment and is described in 2.4

(7)	[jɪˈtiʔ]	/jiˈti/	'you (PL)'
	[ˈjitʲ]	/ˈjiti/	'chili'

Finally /i/ changes to /e/ when it is preceded by /o/, a morphophonological process described in 2.5.2.

2.1 1.3 The phoneme /e/: [e], [ɛ], [ə], [ɛʲ]

The vowel /e/ is realized slightly more open than [e], coming close to the open-mid front unrounded [ɛ]. The closeness of the articulation depends on the phonetic environment and on stress. In stressed syllables the open-mid vowel [ɛ] occurs more frequently, while in less stressed syllables it is rather [e]; in completely unstressed syllables it becomes [ə], as mentioned above for /i/ as well. For most words we can observe variation between the close-mid and the open-mid vowel among the speakers. In the examples in (8) the different tokens of /e/ are represented. The phoneme /e/ can be contrasted with the other three vowel phonemes, as has been shown in the preceding examples (1) through (4).

(8)	[rieˈpɛn]	/rieˈpen/	'she is dead, she died'
	[aˈhinev]	/aˈhinev/	'children'
	[kəˈhɛv]	/kiˈhev/	'cooking pot'
	[ʃiˈjeʔ] ~ [ʃiˈjɛʔ]	/ʃiˈje/	'fox'
	[soˈrɛʔ]	/soˈre/	'male duck'
	[niˈʃɛtʃənev]	/niˈʃetʃenev/	'my children'

The vowel /e/ is a strong vowel and attracts stress when it is part of the stem. The final vowel /e/ is nearly always stressed and pronounced followed by a glottal, just like stressed final /a/ and /i/, which is described in more detail in 2.4.

Finally, a stressed /e/ can show some coarticulation with a palatal off-glide [ɛʲ] before the velar plosive /k/, a glide /j/ or a glottal stop /ʔ/. Here are a few examples:

(9)	[nitɔˈrɛʲkis]	/nitʃoˈrekis/	'my eyelash'
	[ikɪjəˈrɛʲjə]	/ikijeˈreje]	'outside'
	[niˈvɛʲʔinow]	/niˈveʔinow/	'I am hungry'

2.1.1.4 The phoneme /o/: [o], [ɔ], [ɒ], [u]

The mid back rounded vowel /o/ stands in contrast to all other vowels (see examples (1) to (3) above). It is mainly realized as the close-mid back [o] and the open-mid back [ɔ]. These different pronunciations of /o/ are free variations, but also the result of stress or the consonantal environment. The vowel is much less rounded than we know it from e.g. English[55]. In addition it opens up even more into [ɒ] before the nasal /n/ (examples (10)).

(10)	[ˈmɔntʃi] ~ [ˈmɒntʃi]	/ˈmontʃi/	'child', 'little one'
	[ˈmɔnik] ~ [ˈmɒnik]	/ˈmonik/	'pretty'
	[ˌkanɪkɔn] ~ [ˌkanɪˈkɒn]	/ˌkaniˈkon/	'food'
	[nɛˈjɔn] ~ [nɛˈjɒn]	/neˈjon/	'my wife'

[55] Baptista & Wallin have even characterized it as "lax and unrounded" (1968:7).

The allophone [ɒ] makes the phoneme /o/ sound very similar to /a/, and indeed, sometimes it is difficult to tell the difference. Only the fact that there are no lexical ambiguities generally avoids misinterpretation. In the variations we can also find the realization [ˌkanɪˈkan] 'food' (compare to (10)), in which the contrast between the two vowel phonemes /a/ and /o/ is phonetically deleted.

As it can be observed in Table 2.1, there is only one rounded vowel in Baure. The sound [u] is no phoneme, but phonetically it is realized as an allophone of /o/[56]. The allophone [u] is the result of closing up the articulators, a close back rounded vowel, which occurs mainly preceding the semivowel /w/, which itself can have more vowel than consonant qualities (cf. 2.1.3)).

(11) [ˌʃuweˈkɒn] /ˌʃoweˈkon/ 'jaguar'
[rɔˈkitʃɔˌwɔr] or [rɔˈkitʃuˌwɔr] /roˈkitʃoˌwor/ 'he said to him'

In the diphthong /oe/, some people have also analyzed the first sound as [u], which can be found from the first notes on Baure vocabulary until today (also notes by speakers themselves). In fact, it is only the case after a bilabial consonant that the first part of the diphthong /oe/ is more closed in the back [uɛ]. Here are a few examples and the continuum of variations in pronouncing the rounded vowel:

(12) [ɛˈrapoɛʔ] ~ [ɛrapuɛʔ] /eˈrapoeʔ/ 'plantain'
[waˈpoɛr] ~ [waˈpuɛr] /waˈpoer/ 'river'
[tʃɔˈmɔmoɛʔ] ~ [tʃɔˈmɔmuɛʔ] /tʃoˈmomoeʔ/ 'flower'
[m̥ˈboɛʔ] ~ [m̥ˈbuɛʔ] /mˈpoeʔ/ 'three (e.g. birds)'

For more details on the diphthong /oe/ cf. section 2.1.2.
The phoneme /o/ never occurs at the beginning of a word or a morpheme with two exceptions[57]; therefore, when words are borrowed from Spanish that have the initial vowel [u] or [o], Baure speakers add a glottal fricative before it. An example of this is:

(13) [hɔˈrɔn] 'oven'; Sp. *horno* [ˈorno][58]

Finally, it is important to mention here that /o/ is a weak vowel in Baure, which means that it is less often found stressed, and it is regularly subject of vowel elision, word and syllable finally (cf. 2.2.1 and 2.4).

2.1.2. Vowel sequences, diphthongs and triphthongs

There are a number of vowel sequences in the language that can be interpreted as diphthongs or triphthongs. However, I would like to distinguish three different types of vowel sequences, which may all be phonetic diphthongs: type (a) consists of two vowels that are juxtaposed, but belong to different morphemes, type (b) consists of a sound that resembles a closing diphthong, but that has to be interpreted as vowel +

[56] Payne discovered that "only three [Arawak] languages [.] report a contrast between /u/ and /o/" (1991.476), also Ramirez states the same for the Arawak language Bare (2001:477).

[57] This is true with the exceptions [-ɔs] 'grandmother', [ɔʃ] 'capivara', and [ɔˈkɔrem] 'singing bird sp.', whereas the first one is bound and does never occur word finally

[58] For more details on the phonology of Spanish loans cf 2 1 4

glide; and type (c) is the actual phonological diphthong: "two [different] vowels forming a single entity" (Clark & Yallop 1995:72) or "a vowel which has considerable change of quality during pronunciation, therefore appears to have two parts" (Handtke 2000). Triphthongs are rare but will be mentioned below. It is possible that a vowel sequence occurs as type (a), (b) and (c), but not all sounds can be part of type (c).

Type (a): Vowel sequences at morpheme boundaries
Vowel sequences of type (a) can be found everywhere in the language with restricted possibilities of combinations. The important feature here is that the vowels are not separated by a glottal stop. In the majority of vowel sequences that are juxtaposed the glottal stop is not inserted (cf. also 2.1.3 on the characteristics of the glottal stop). Two adjacent vowels can then be pronounced as one syllable. The hyphens in the phonemic representation indicate the morpheme boundaries.

(14)	[rikoˈnɔmbɛ͡aˌwɔɾˈ]	/ri-koˈno-mpe-a-ˌwo-ri/	'she is writing (a letter) to her'
(15)	[ˌri͡aviˈnɒn]	/ˌri-aviˈnon/	'her husband'
(16)	[vikɔˈjɛpi͡aw]	/vi-koˈjepi-a-w/	'we have a conversation'
(17)	[ˈri͡ɛrɔˌkowɔn]	/ˈri-eroˌko-wo-n/	'she passes (is better)'

The combinations that can be found are /ea/, /ia/, /ie/, and /oe/[59]. Two vowels that cannot be found adjacent are the following: /ae/, /ao/, /oa/, /eo/, /io/, /ei/. Some of these sequences do occur in Spanish loanwords.

Type (b): Sequences of vowel and glide
There are sequences that sound like closing diphthongs, but they can all be analyzed as the combination of a vowel and a glide. A reason for distinguishing them from the other vowel sequences is the fact that they all result from metathesis (cf. 2.5.4) and vowel elision (cf. 2.2.1). That means phonetically the sequences /aij/, /eij/, and /oij/ result from the combination of the vowels /a/, /e/, and /o/ with the sequence /ji/, which is then inverted in contact metathesis into [ij]. The sequences /aw/, /ew/, /ow/, and /iow/ all result from the combination of the vowels /a/, /e/, /o/, and /i/ with the sequence /wo/, of which the final vowel is deleted word finally. In combination with the closed front vowel /ɪ/ we can also observe the inversion of the sequence into /ow/. In combination with a vowel word finally the semiconsonant /w/ shows more vowel properties than those of a consonant. The sequence /ji/ can refer to two morphemes: the personal clitic for 2PL or the locative suffix on predicates. The sequence /wo/ can refer to the omnipresent copula morpheme. Therefore we can find many of these combinations in the data, but there are also combinations of the vowel sequences that do not go back to these morphemes. Here are only a few examples, in which we are not dealing with morpheme boundaries, but still the above described process creates diphthong-like sequences:

(18)	[niˈʔaij]	/niˈʔaij/	'my brother (of a man)'
(19)	[niˈpoij][60]	/niˈpoij/	'my foot'

[59] For this combination cf. 2.5.2 on vowel assimilation. The rule o + ɪ < oe is described there

(20)	[kaˈhaw]	/kaˈhaw/	'deer sp.'
(21)	[iowˈkɔnan]	/iowˈkonan/	'various'
(22)	[ˈɛowkɜʔ]	/ˈeowkoeʔ/	'tree'

As examples (21) and (22) show, when the syllable /wo/ is added to the more closed vowels /i/ and /e/, the result is even a triphthong-like sequence. In addition, as it has been mentioned above (2.1.1), the stressed vowel /e/ can occur with an off-glide [eʲ], which, when pronounced very tense, resembles the type (b) vowel sequence /eij/. There may also be more complex vowel sequences, as e.g. a diphthong and a glide, as in the sequence /oew/.

Type (c): Diphthongs and triphthongs

There are three phonological diphthongs: /oe/, /ia/, and /ie/. The vowel sequence /oe/ is by far the most frequent, but that is mainly because it can also result from various morpheme combinations, which are assigned to type (a) vowel sequences. In the basic lexicon diphthongs are in general rather rare. The very frequent vowel sequence /oe/ can be reduced to a less rounded [œ] or an unrounded [ɜ] or [ɛ] in either faster speech or frequently used words. This process is described in 2.2.3. In the following there are some examples with minimal pairs of the diphthongs and vowel sequences separated by the glottal stop:

(23)	[poɛʔ]	/poeʔ/	'axe, , aguaí (fruit sp.)'
	[niˈpɔʔɛ]	/niˈpoʔe/	'my head'
(24)	[niaʔ]	/niaʔ/	'rainbow'
	[niˈʔaʔ]	/niˈʔaʔ/	'my body'
(25)	[nɔˈkɔˌtiɛkpa]	/noˈkoˌtiekpa/	'they go to kick'
	[tiˈʔɛ]	/tiˈʔe/	'small (e.g. manioc)'

The diphthong in (25) has secondary stress and may therefore be pronounced more tense with a certain palatalization of the plosive [tʲie]. In general, the diphthong occurs most frequently word final, and there very often with the rhotic /rie/. Here are more examples of the diphthong /ie/ with different preceding consonants:

(26)	[eˈpɔriɛʔ]	/eˈporieʔ/	'foot of a tree'
	[ɛtʃˈpiɛʔ]	/etʃˈpieʔ/	'island'
	[eˈmɔkiɛʔ]	/eˈmokieʔ/	'top of a tree'
	[pɔˈnierʲ]	/poˈnieri/	'partridge'

The triphthongs-like sounds generally also go back to type (a) or (b) sequences in combination with a diphthong.

→ type (a) and (c)

(27)	[tʃɔˈmɔmoeawɔk]	/tʃoˈmomoeawok/	'tree with flower'

[60] It becomes obvious that we are dealing with metathesis, because the sequence /ɪj/ occurs in inversion as /jɪ/ when other morphemes follow, e.g. */nɪpoɪj/* → */nɪpojɪnev/* ('my foot' → 'my feet'), cf 2.5.4.

The word [tʃɔˈmɔmoe?] 'flower' ends in the diphthong [oe]. In the compound (27) the linking vowel [a] is added after the diphthong and creates a sound that seems to be a triphthong.

Metathesis (cf. 2.5.4) also interacts with vowel sequences. Some syllables with a glide that are inversed by metathesis can create triphthongs, as e.g. the following:

(28) [nikˈpoeij] /nikˈpoeij/ 'I (don't) eat any more'
(29) [ˈtiow] /ˈtiow/ 'this is (emphasized)'

Example (29) is generally disyllabic, but in fluent and fast speech it may be pronounced as a triphthong. The only triphthong of type (c) that could be encountered in the lexicon is represented here:

(30) [moeiʃ] /moeiʃ/ 'pineapple'

2.1.3. Consonants

There are 13 consonant phonemes and one critical case: the glottal stop. The main distinctions in the consonant inventory are place of articulation, sonorant versus obstruent, nasality, but not voice, palatalization or aspiration. This does not mean that voice, palatalization and aspiration do not occur in Baure, but they are not phonemic, for which reason these qualities are discussed under (morpho-)phonological changes below (2.5.1, 2.2.2, and 2.2.1 respectively). Table 2 shows the consonant inventory by phonemes, but not the allophones that occur with them.

	bilabial	labio-dental	alveolar-postalveolar	retroflex	palatal	velar	glottal
plosive	p		t			k	(ʔ)
affricate			tʃ				
fricative		v	s, ʃ				h
nasal	m		n				
rhotic				r[61]			
approximant/ semivowel	w				j		

Table 2.2: The consonant inventory of Baure[62]

There are three plosives: /p/, /t/, and /k/. All plosives (and affricate) are voiceless, but can have voiced allophones with a preceding nasal, described in detail below (see section 2.5.1). The glottal stop shows some properties of a phoneme, but seems to be phonetically connected to stressed word final vowels in general (cf. 2.4.3). The four fricatives are /v/, /s/, /ʃ/, and /h/. There is only one affricate /tʃ/. The two nasals are

[61] In the phonemic representation the retroflex flap will be written /r/, only in the phonetic transcription the specific IPA symbol [ɽ] will be used

[62] Altamirano [1979 (1891):50) noted wisely about the Moxo language that three letters were missing: "D, L, y F [,..] éstas mismas faltan en la lengua Morocosi [Moxo], sin D, sin Dios; sin L, sin Ley; sin F, sin Fé" (D, L, and F, these are missing in the Moxo language: without D = without God; without L = without Law; without F = without Faith; [Translation S D.]).

/m/ and /n/. There is a retroflex rhotic /r/. The two approximants are semivowels or semiconsonants: /w/ and /j/. In the following the different consonants are described together with their allophones.

2.1.3.1 Plosives: /p/: [p] *and* [b]

/p/ is a bilabial plosive with the allophones [p] and [b]. The voiced allophone [b] only occurs after a nasal (see also 2.5.1 for this voicing process). The voiceless plosive [p] can be found syllable initially and finally, but the final position is always result of the elision of the following vowel /o/ and creates a more or less aspirated plosive [p^h] (2.2.1). The voiced plosive occurs syllable initially only with the prenazalization[63] of the preceding nasal, which is not necessarily syllabic. It does not at all occur syllable finally, because the syllable structure does not allow the consonant cluster of nasal + plosive in the coda. Here are the minimal pairs for the voiceless plosive [p] with the most closely related consonants:

(31)	[pɔn]	/pon/	'other (person)'
	[mɔn]	/mon/	'sister-in-law'
(32)	[tʃɔp^h]	/tʃop/	'big (e.g. fish)'
	[tʃɔm]	/tʃom/	'skin'

Here are two examples of the voiced plosive [b]:

(33)	[m̩bɔn]	/mpon/	'three (persons)'
(34)	[kɔˈt ɔmbə]	/koˈtompe/	'new (e.g. house)'

2.1.3.2 Plosives: /t/: [t] *and* [d]

/t/ is an alveolar plosive with the two allophones [t] and [d]. The voiced allophone [d] only occurs after the nasal /n/ (cf. 2.5.1). The voiceless plosive [t] can be found syllable initially and finally, but the final position is also always result of the elision of the following vowel /o/ and creates a more or less aspirated plosive [t^h]. The voiced plosive occurs syllable initially[64] only with the prenazalization[65] of the preceding nasal, which is not necessarily syllabic. It does not at all occur syllable finally, because the syllable structure does not allow the consonant cluster of nasal + plosive in the coda. Here are the minimal pairs for the voiceless plosive [t]] with the most closely related consonant /n/:

(35)	[nɛt]	/net/	'my sister (said by a man)'
	[nɛn]	/nen/	'my mother'
	[tɛn]	/ten/	DEM3m

Here are two examples of the voiced plosive [d]:

---

[63] This often evoked the analysis of [mb] as a separate phoneme, as it can be seen in the short Baure language sketch produced in the workshops for Bolivian Lowland languages (Olivio 2003), in which "mb" is one letter of the suggested alphabet.

[64] The allophone [d] is indeed found word initially as a consequence of a phrasal effect of voicing caused by a preceding nasal.

[65] Also [nd] has been analyzed as one phoneme or one letter in Olivio 2003.

(36)	[ndorʲ]	/ntorɪ/	'my friend'
	[tʃɪ ndʲ]	/tʃɪntɪ/	'person'

2 1 3 3 Plosives /k/ [k] *and* [g]

/k/ is a velar plosive with the two allophones [k] and [g] Here the same statements as for the other plosives and their allophones are true [k] is voiced into [g] after the nasal /n/ and slightly aspirated where final /o/ was deleted Here are minimal pairs of the voiceless plosive [k] with the closest related phonemes

(37)	[kaˈhapʰ]	/kaˈhap/	'manioc'
	[haˈhapʰ]	/haˈhap/	'sand'
(38)	[poˈkɪʃ]	/poˈkɪʃ/	'one (e g field)
	[poˈhɪʃ]	/poˈhɪʃ/	'one (horn)'
	[ˈpɔʔɪnɔʃ]	/ˈpoʔɪnoʃ/	'one (e g axe)'
(39)	[ˈpɔkɪ]	/ˈpokɪ/	'other (e g field)'
	[poˈʔɪp]	/poˈʔɪp/	'ash'
	[ˈpohɪnɛv]	/ˈpohɪnev/	'ducks'

Here are examples of the voiced plosive [g]

(40)	[ŋga]	/nka/	NEG
	[ŋˈgɪʔɪnow]	/nˈkɪʔɪnow/	'I want'
	[ˈsɪŋga]	/sɪnka/	'five (animals)', Sp *cinco* [sɪŋko]

2 1 3 4 Plosives The glottal stop [ʔ]

The glottal stop may be phonemic in some case, but also only phonetic in others The status of the glottal stop is not completely clear, but for the time being, it will be treated as a phoneme In general it is used for hiatus resolution with two (identical) vowels or in order to mark stressed final vowels The problem is that there are in general no sequences of two identical vowels, but vowel clusters result either in diphthongization or in assimilation, if one of the vowels is not dropped (cf 2 5 2) But this is not always the case, as the following examples demonstrate

(41)	[tɪˈʔɪʔ]	/tɪˈʔɪ/	'small (e g bird)'
	[tɪˈʔaʔ]	/tɪˈʔa/	'small (animal)'
	[tɪˈʔɛʔ]	/tɪˈʔe/	'small (e g manioc)'

It is not certain whether the bound morpheme /tɪ-/ 'small', to which the classifiers /-ɪ/, /-a/, and /-e/ have been added in (41), itself includes the final glottal stop, so that assimilation or vowel drop cannot be triggered, or if there are specific rules for the insertion of the glottal stop for certain vowel combinations together with a minimal word syllable requirement rule Similar to that case there is no vowel loss in the possessor marking of certain bound lexemes with the vowel /a/ in the onset, whereas in all other cases the vowel in the possessor enclitic for 1SG /nɪ-/ is dropped (cf 2 5 2) Compare the following examples, in which the noun stems are separated from the possessor marker by hyphens in the phonemic representation

(42)	[nɪˈʔaʔ]	/ni-ˈʔa/	'my body'
	[niʔaˈnaʔ]	/ni-ʔaˈna/	'my brother-in-law'
	[niˈʔaij]	/ni-ˈʔaij/	'my brother (of a man)'

In examples (42) the vowel of the personal proclitic which marks possession (*ni-* '1SG') is not dropped, and a glottal separates the vowel of the clitic and the stem. In the contrasting examples (43), however, the vowel of the clitic is dropped, just as described as a rule in 2.5.2.

(43)	[naˈrɔɾ]	/n-aˈroni/	'my dress
	[naˈʃɔk]	/n-aˈʃok/	'my grandfather'
	[nak]	/n-ak/	'my aunt'

It is probably the best way to explain this irregular vowel loss of the possessor morpheme to argue that the glottal stop is the onset of the noun stems in (42): as /-ʔa/ 'body', /-ʔana/ 'brother-in-law', and /-ʔaij/ 'brother'. This makes the glottal stop appear phonemic, but it cannot really be contrasted with the other consonants, only with very few exceptions (cf. (45)).

There are also underived lexemes that include the glottal stop between two vowels, as the examples in (44):

(44)	[kaˈʔan]	/kaˈʔan/	'animal'
	[niˈpɔʔɛʔ]	/niˈpoʔe/	'my head'
	[poˈʔip]	/poˈʔip/	'ash'

There is a minimal pair of verb bases, of which one includes the glottal stop:

(45)	[-ˈwoʔik-]	/-ˈwoʔik-/	'butcher'
	[-ˈwohik-]	/-ˈwohik-/	'steal'
	[-ˈwojik-]	/-ˈwojik-/	'make'

The glottal stop after a final vowel may be only phonetic, but it is also possible that it is the presence of the glottal which makes the syllable heavy and attracts the stress. This last case should rather be considered phonemic. Consider the following example of a stressed final vowel in comparison to the word with an unstressed final vowel (repeated from (7)):

(46)	[jɪˈtiʔ]	/jiˈtiʔ/	'you (PL)'
	[ˈjitʲ]	/ˈjiti/	'chili'

Because of the reason that the status of the glottal stop is not all clear, it will be represented in the orthography (cf. 2.3).

2.1.3.5 Affricates: /tʃ/: [tʃ] *and* [dʒ]

The phoneme /tʃ/ is the only affricate with the two allophones [tʃ] and [dʒ]. [tʃ] is a voiceless alveolar-postalveolar affricate. [dʒ] is its voiced counterpart, and only occurs after the preceding alveolar nasal [n] (see for the rule of the plosive /t/). [tʃ] can occur syllable initially and finally (when a final vowel /o/ is elided). Here are minimal pairs of the voiceless affricate [tʃ] with the plosive [t] and the fricatives [ʃ] and [s]:

(47)	[tʃin]	/tʃin/	'old (person)'
	[ʃiɲ]	/ʃini/	'jaguar'
	[tin]	/tin/	DEM3f
(48)	[tʃɔm]	/tʃom/	'skin'
	[ʃɔm]	/ʃom/	'tarantula'
	[sɔm]	/som/	'tapir'
(49)	[titʃ]	/titʃ/	DEM2f
	[itʲ]	/iti/	'blood'
	[iʃ]	/iʃ/	'worm sp.'

Here are examples of the voiced affricate allophone [dʒ]:

(50)	[n̥ˌdʒaˈhahʲ]	/nˌtʃaˈhahi/	'my hair'
	[nˈdʒowɔr]	/nˈtʃowor/	'I know it'
	[tri:ndʒ$^{(ʊ)}$]	/trintʃ(i)/	'fork'; Sp. *trinche*

2.1.3.6 Fricatives /v/: [v], [ʊ], [β], *and* [b]

The phoneme /v/ is a labiodental fricative, which is closely related to the bilabial approximant /w/[66]. In fact it is sometimes difficult to tell which of the two phonemes we are dealing with (the differences are described below). In addition the phoneme /v/ has the variations [ʊ], [b] or [β], which shows the (bi)labial qualities of this phoneme. It is possible that the borderline between the phonemes /v/ and /w/ was once clearer and because of the continuing contact with Spanish in the speech community, this phoneme has broadened its realizations including the Spanish phonemes and blurring the boundaries of the original phonemes in Baure. However, I can only present the current state of the language here, which is a state of a continuum of two phonemes.

The phonemes are partly restricted for the occurrence with specific vowels (cf. Table 2.3). The labiodental fricative /v/, which is tenser in articulation with the articulators closer, does not occur before the open vowel /a/, but it can occur with following vowels /o/, /e/, and /i/. The cases of /vo/ are much rarer than the sequence of fricative and relatively close vowels /e/ and /i/. The combination /va/ can only occur in Spanish loans, as e.g. /vak/ 'cow' (Sp. *vaca*).

The bilabial approximant /w/ can occur with the three vowels /e/, /a/, and /o/. There is only one (problematic) case of /w/ with the close front vowel /i/: /wiˈter/ 'bat' (58). The cases of the bilabial approximant, which is less close in articulation, co-occurring with the vowel /e/ are rarer than those with the more open vowels /a/ and /o/. This description shows that there is an intersection of the two phonemes /v/ and /w/, but there are also exclusions. That the two consonants are not allophones of one and the same phoneme can be shown with the help of minimal pairs mainly with the vowel /e/. Only very few examples of minimal pairs with the vowel /o/ could be found in the data. The following examples show a number of minimal pairs, in which

[66] They may be called archiphonemes: "two phonemes which are normally distinct but cannot be differentiated in certain contexts" (Handtke 2000).

/v/ is contrasted with /w/ and the bilabial plosive /p/. In the following examples /ve/ is contrasted with /we/ and /pe/:

(51)	[vɛr]	/ver/	'already'
	[niˈwɛr]	/niˈwer/	'my house'
	[niˈpɛr]	/niˈper/	'my domesticated animal'
(52)	[ˈvɛrek]	/ˈverek/	'not ever'
	[wɛˈrɔk]	/weˈrok/	'medicine'
	[niˈpɛrɔkʲ]	/niˈperokɪ/	'loin'
(53)	[ˈtʃɔvə]	/ˈtʃove/	'salt'
	[ʃoˈwɛʔ]	/ʃoˈweʔ/	'fruit of Palma Real'
	[ˈtʃɔpə]	/ˈtʃope/	'big (e.g. knife)'
(54)	[kotiˈvɛkɔn]	/kotiˈvekon/	'painful'
	[tɪˈwɛʔ]	/tɪˈweʔ/	'but'
	[kotiˈpɛn]	/kotiˈpen/	'white (e.g. manioc)'
(55)	[niˈvɛkow]	/niˈvekow/	'I am talking'
	[nˈɛwɛkow]	/nˈewekow/	'I am harvesting cotton'

In the following examples /vo/ is contrasted with /wo/:

(56)	[moˈkɔvɔrɛ]	/moˈkovore/	'papaya'
	[soˈwɔrɔkɔn]	/soˈworokon/	'thin'
(57)	[niˌrɔvɔˈkiːs]	/nirovokɪs/	'my blouse'
	[haˈkɛrɔwɔk]	/hakerowok/	'table cleaning cloth'

Problematic cases are the following words, where it is not sure to which phoneme the sound could be assigned. The variations are presented in each example; the first phonemic representation is always the one that seems more probable:

(58)	[wiˈtɛr]	/wiˈter/	'bat'
	[ʊiˈtɛr]	/viˈter/?	
	*[vɪˈtɛr]	/viˈter/	
(59)	[ˈʊɛpjan]	/ˈvepian/	'liar'
	[ˈwɛpjan]	/ˈwepian/?	
(60)	[niˈʃoˌkɔʊɛr]	/niˈʃoˌkover/	'buttock'
	[niˈʃoˌkɔwɛr]	/niˈʃoˌkower/?	
(61)	[ˈʊeijan]	/ˈveijan/	'lover'
	[ˈweijan]	/ˈweijan/?	

The word /wiˈter/ 'bat' is the only word with the bilabial approximant followed by the close front vowel /ɪ/, but the speakers consider the pronunciation as [v] as wrong and the allophone [w] occurs much more frequently, for which reasons the sound is assigned to the phoneme /w/ and not to /v/. The nominalized verb /ˈvepian/ 'liar' in example (59) has been derived from the verb /-vepia-/ 'tell lies', which must have

been composed of the verb /-ve(k)-/ 'speak' and the classifier /-pi/ 'words', so that the bilabial consonant will be assigned to the phoneme /v/. In the two other examples (60) and (61), the labiodental approximant [ʋ] seems to be the allophone of /v/.

The phoneme /v/ has the further allophones [b] and [β]. The bilabial voiced plosive [b] is rare and only occurs in front of the vowel /i/. Examples are the following:

(62)	[ˈbihkɔn]	/ˈvihkon/	'bitter'
	[ˈbirɛpˈ]	/ˈvirepi/	'horizon'

In other cases before /i/ there is a variation of the sounds [v], [ʋ], and [β]. Examples are the following:

(63)	[viˈtiʔ] ~ [ʋiˈtiʔ] ~ [βiˈtiʔ]	/viˈtiʔ/	'we'
	[vir] ~ [ʋir] ~[βir]	/vir/	'wind'
	[ˈɛvrikɔn] ~ [ˈɛʋrikɔn] ~ [ˈɛβrikɔn]	/ˈevrikon/	'slow'

Example (64) shows the treatment of a Spanish loan with the original allophones [b] or [β]. The sound could be assigned to both Baure phonemes /v/ and /w/. The pronunciation as [w] is demanded by the vowel environment with two back vowels, in which case the phoneme /w/ is more frequently realized (even though there are a few exceptions, cf. (56) and (57)).

(64)	[ˈpɔwor]	/ˈpowor/	'poor'; Sp. *pobre*
	[ˈpɔβor]	/ˈpovor/?	
	[ˈpɔʋor]	/ˈpovor/?	

The possibilities of combinations with the phonemes /v/ and /w/ and their allophones are summed up in Table 2.3:

CV →	/a/	/o/	/e/	/i/
/v/	–	(+)	+	+
/w/	+	+	+	(–)
/v/→ [v]	–	(+)	+	+
/v/→ [ʋ]	–	–	–	(+)
/v/→ [w]	–	–	–	(+)
/v/→ [β]	–	–	–	(+)
/v/→ [b]	–	–	–	(+)
/w/ → [w]	+	+	+	(+)
/w/ → [ʋ]	–	–	–	(+)

Table 2.3: The phonemes /v/ and /w/ and the phonetic realizations

The discussion of the phoneme /v/ so far only concerned syllable onsets, but there are also a few words in which /v/ is realized as only [v] in the phonetic coda of closed syllables. The main occurrence is the plural suffix /-nev/. Note the following examples:

(65)	[aˈhɪ nɛv]	/aˈhɪnev/	'children'
	[ˈhɔpɪnɛv]	/ˈhopɪnev/	'vessels'
	[kəˈhɛv]	/kɪˈhev/	'cooking pot'

The phoneme /w/, when it occurs word finally, changes together with the preceding vowel into a diphthong-like vowel-glide sequence (type (b), cf 2 1 2) This is the final major difference between the two phonemes under discussion

2 1 3 7 Fricatives /s/ [s]

The voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ can occur at the beginning and the end of a syllable The minimal pairs contrast /s/ with the postalveolar fricative /ʃ/ and the alveolar-postalveolar affricate /tʃ/ (cf also (48))

(66)	[soˈrɛʔ]	/soˈreʔ/	'male duck
	[ʃɔˈrœʔ]	/ʃoˈroeʔ/	'cusi fruit'
	[ɛˈtʃorɛ]	/eˈtʃore/	'river bank'
(67)	[-sɪʔ]	/-sɪ/	'CLF stick'
	[ʃɪʔ]	/ʃɪ/	HORT
	[-tʃɪʔ]	/tʃɪ/	DIM
(68)	[nɔs]	/nos/	'my grandmother'
	[ɔʃ]	/oʃ/	'tapir'

2 1 3 8 Fricatives /ʃ/ [ʃ]

The voiceless postalveolar fricative /ʃ/ can occur at the beginning or the end of a syllable It can be contrasted with the fricative /s/ and the affricate /tʃ/, as already shown in examples (47)–(49) and (66)–(68)

2 1 3 9 Fricatives /h/ [h]

The glottal fricative /h/ is voiceless and can occur syllable initially and finally The phoneme /h/ can be contrasted with all other consonants, which is represented by the minimal pairs in (37)–(39) and in the following

(69)	[nɪh]	/nɪh/	'my niece'
	[nɪʔ]	/nɪʔ/	'little mosquito'
	[nɪk]	/nɪk/	'I eat/ate'
	[nɪr]	/nɪr/	'urucu'

2 1 3 10 Nasals /m/ [m]

/m/ is a bilabial nasal and can occur at the beginning and the end of a syllable /m/ can be contrasted with the other nasal /n/ and to the bilabial plosive (as already demonstrated in (31)–(32)) Here are some minimal pairs to contrast the bilabial nasal /m/ to the alveolar nasal /n/

(70)	[mɔs]	/mos/	'sweet corn'
	[nɔs]	/nos/	'my grandmother'

(71)	[moˈtɔrʲ]	/moˈtorɪ/	'leaf-cuttıng ant'
	[noˈtɔrʲ]	/noˈtorɪ/	'theır frıend'
(72)	[ɲoˈrɪ m]	/ɲoˈrɪm/	'woven mat'
	[ɲoˈrɪ n]	/ɲoˈrɪn/	'angry, wıld'

2 1 3 11 Nasals /n/ [n] *and* [ŋ]

The nasal /n/ has three allophones the alveolar nasal [n], the velar nasal [ŋ], and the palatal nasal [ɲ] The generally realized allophone ıs [n], and ıt can be contrasted wıth all other consonants ((compare (35) and (70) to (72) above) The velar allophone [ŋ] only occurs before the velar plosıve /k/ (realized as [g] due to the ınfluence of the precedıng nasal, cf 2 5 1), but not oblıgatorıly (example (73))

(73)	[ʃonˈkɪp]	/ʃonˈkɪp/	'way, path'
	[ˈnga] ~ [ˈŋga]	/nka/	NEG

We can observe a denasalızatıon of /n/ ın one case the emphatıc negatıve partıcle [ˈnɔka] can also be pronounced [ˈdɔka] or [ˈdaka] for specıal emphasıs

The palatal allophone [ɲ] seems to occur ın varıatıon wıth [n] ın word fınal posı-tıon Thıs specıfic palatalızatıon ıs not related to the other type of frıctıon causıng palatalızatıon when the fınal vowel /ɪ/ ıs deleted The palatal [ɲ] occurs most fre-quently ın ınterrogatıve and ımperatıve clauses, ın whıch the predıcate occurs ın a nomınalized form, endıng ın /-Vn/ Thıs use of the palatal allophone seems to carry a modal meanıng, but unfortunately thıs cannot be found consıstently, but only as a varıant of the velar nasal (cf 9 4 for further dıscussıon of ınterrogatıve clauses)

The velar nasal can be assımılated by a followıng bılabıal plosıve and change ınto a bılabıal nasal (cf 2 5 1)

2 1 3 12 Rhotıcs /r/ [r] *and* [ɽ]

The rhotıc /r/ ıs eıther realized as a voıced alveolar vıbrant [r] or a voıced retroflex flap [ɽ] The vıbrant [r] occurs Word ınıtıally, word fınally ıt ıs generally the flap[ɽ][67] Only when a fınal /ɪ/ ıs deleted before the phoneme /r/, the vıbrant ıs used ın a devoıced and palatalızed form [r̥ʲ] The phoneme /r/ can be contrasted wıth all other consonants Here are examples of the allophones of /r/

(74)	[rak]	/rak/	'hıs aunt'
	[rɔs]	/ros/	'hıs grandmother'
	[rɛn]	/ren/	'hıs mother'
	[rɪˈʔaʔ]	/rɪˈʔa/	'her body'
(75)	[taˈrar]	/taˈrar/	'raven'
	[nɪˈsɔɽ]	/nɪsor/	'my trachea'
	[nɪˈwɛɽ]	/nɪwer/	'my house'
	[vɪɽ]	/vɪr/	'wınd'

[67] I admıt that more phonetıc analysıs ıs needed to determıne the specıfic type(s) of /r/ that occur ın Baure

(76)	[ˈpaɾ̥ˈ]	/ˈpari/	'house'
	[niˈsɔɾ̥ˈ]	/niˈsori/	'my village'
	[ˈpɛɾ̥ˈ]	/ˈperɪ/	'agoutɪ'
	[niˈpiɾ̥ˈ]	/niˈpiri/	'my sibling of the same sex'

The phonetic presentation of /r/ has been simplified as [r] throughout.

2.1.3.13 Approximants/ Semivowels: /w/: [w] *and* [ʊ]

The voiced bilabial approximant /w/ ɪs in fact a semivowel and shows its vowel properties especially word finally, where its allophone is [ʊ]. Many properties of the phoneme /w/ have already been discussed in this section in contrast to the fricative /v/ (for contrasts see examples (51)–(57); cf. also Table 2.3). There it was stated that the phoneme /w/ does not occur before the close front vowel /i/ (with one exception). We can find /w/ word initially and word finally, with the striking change ɪn quality mainly at the end of words into the allophone [ʊ], creating a dɪphthong-like sound with the preceding vowel. This type of sound has been analyzed as the sequence of a vowel and a glide rather than a diphthong (cf. 2.1.2). Therefore the simplified phonetic representation ɪs [w] throughout this grammar. For the specific phonetic representation of the words, here are some examples of word final /w/:

(77)	[ˈwɔkəʊ]	/ˈwokow/	'not yet'
	[ˈnɒkao]	/ˈnokaw/	'there is not' (negatɪve partɪcle)
	[riˈkɛʊ]	/riˈkew/	'she is saying'
	[ˈtiəʊ]	/ˈtiow/	'that is'

Words that have an initial /w/ before the vowel /a/ may also appear as a vowel with an on-glide [ʷa] or [ᵘa], where the articulation may be closed as [u]. In co-occurrence with the vowel /o/ the closing of the artɪculators can be extreme, and the vowel [u] results from the combinatɪon of /w/ and /o/ (cf. example (11)), as e.g. in (79).

(78)	[ʷaˈhiːs] ~ [ᵘaˈhis]	/waˈhis/	'star'
	[ʷaˈpoɛr] ~ [ᵘaˈpoɛr]	/waˈpoer/	'river'

(79) [juˈkɔnan] /iowˈkonan/ 'various (persons)'

The very frequent diphthong /oe/, that has already been mentioned (2.1.2), can be contrasted with the sequence /we/, even though sometimes in fast speech they are not so easily distinguished. The difference is the degree of roundness: the dɪphthong ɪs unrounded ɪn faster speech [ɜ] ~ [ɛ] (cf. 2.2.3); the glide–vowel sequence is not unrounded [wɛ]. Compare the followɪng examples and the possible ɪntersection in the pronunciation:

(80)	[kwɛʔ]	/kwe/	'there is'
	[ˈtɛkikwɛʔ] ~ [ˈtɛkikœʔ] ~ [ˈtɛkikɜʔ]	/tekikoe/	'all (EMPH)'

2.1.3.14 Approximants/ Semivowels: /j/: [j]

/j/ is a voiced palatal approximant and a semivowel that is closely related to the vowel /i/. The glide /j/ occurs in syllable initial position; word finally it may only occur as a result of syllable metathesis (as mentioned in 2.1.2). The phoneme /j/ is

contrasted with the palatalization that is caused by a final unstressed /i/, even though the sounds are phonetically similar Here are minimal pairs with /j/ and the closest related consonant /h/

(81) [jakʲ] /ˈjaki/ 'fire'
[hakʲ] /ˈhaki/ 'door'

(82) [niˈjin] /niˈjin/ 'I teach'
[niˈhin] /niˈhin/ 'my daughter'

The diphthongs /ia/ and /ie/ could also be analyzed as a sequence of glide and vowel /ja/ and /je/ The reason why this is not done here is related to phonotactics rules that generally do not show underlying consonant clusters The diphthong /ia/ and /ie/, however, always follow a consonant and produce one phonetic syllable with it, so that it should rather be analyzed as /Cia/ and /Cie/ than as /Cja/ and /Cje/ (where C stands for consonant) Here are minimal pairs of /j/ and the diphthongs

(83) [niˈja?] /niˈja/ 'I cry'
[nia?] /nia/ 'rainbow'

(84) [etʃˈpi -je] /etˈpi-je/ 'on the roof, back'
[etʃˈpiɛ?] /etˈpie/ 'on the island'

2 1 4 Sounds in Spanish loanwords

After the phonemes of Baure have been introduced in 2 1 1 through 2 1 3, this section demonstrates how Spanish phonemes are realized in loanwords There are a number of phonemes that exist in Spanish but not in Baure Table 2 4 shows some examples of loans from Spanish with special reference to the possible sound changes that can be observed In the first examples I concentrate on sounds that do not exist in Baure, then there are some general sound changes observed frequently, finally there are consonant clusters that are split up in Baure

Spanish sound	Baure sound	Spanish word		Baure word	translation
[x]	[s]	*oveja*	[oˈvexa]	[ves]	sheep
[x]	[h]	*jabon*	[xaˈbon]	[haw]	soap
[f]	[w]	*bufeo*	[buˈfeo]	[hoˈwe]	dolphin
[ʎ]	[j]	*caballo*	[kaˈβaʎo]	[koˈwoiy]	horse
[d]	[r]	*domingo*	[doˈmingo]	[roˈmik]	Sunday
[l]	[r]	*Julian*	[xuˈlian]	[hoˈrian]	*name*
[l]	[l]	*loro*	[loro]	[lɔr]	parrot
[b]	[w]	*Isabel*	[IsaˈbeI]	[ˈsower]	*name*
[β]	[w]	*vaca*	[ˈβaka]	[wak]	cow
[ɲ]	[j]	*ñandu*	[ɲanˈdu]	[janˈdoe?]	ostrich
[u]	[o]	*Asunta*	[aˈsunta]	[aˈsont]	*name*

[a]	[o]	*zapato*	[sa'pato]	['sopot]	shoe
[ae]	[oe]	*maestro*	['maestro]	['moestar]	teacher
[ue]	[oe]	*abuela*	[a'βuela]	[a'voel]	grandmother
[fr]	[br]	*Francıso*	[fran'sisko]	[bran'sisik]	*village*
[tre]	[ter]	*catre*	['katre]	['kater]	'bedstead'
[bre]	[vor]	*pobre*	['pobre]	['povor]	'poor'

Table 2 4 Possible sound changes in loanwords from Spanish

It cannot be in the scope of this grammar to explain all the specificities of sound changes in loanwords from Spanish, but some interesting facts shall be noted. This will concern some sounds that do not exist in Baure.

The sound [l] is not part of the original consonant inventory (cf. Table 2.2). However, the sound has been borrowed into Baure and can be found in words like [a'voel] < *abuela* 'grandmother', [lɔr] < *loro* 'parrot', [lo'nesia] < *lunes* 'Monday', or [a'sɔl] < *azúl* 'blue'. That means that the lateral from Spanish is used when it is followed and maybe preceded by the back vowel /o/[68]. When, on the other hand, the vowel environment of the consonant consists of front vowels, it is replaced by the alveolar vibrant [r], as e.g. in the names [ho'rian] < *Julián* and ['sower] < *Isabel*, but also in spontaneous code switching of verbs, as e.g. the verb base [-ˌsaru'wat∫-] < *salvar* 'save'. Also the metathesis of the two sonorant consonants in the following name supports this analysis:

(85) [losa'ri?] Spanish *Rosali(a)* [rosa'li(a)]

This sound change is not very regular, because words can be found with the lateral preceding the high front vowel as well, as e.g. [li'vɔr] < *libro* 'book', but this may also be a more recently borrowed word.

It is also interesting to observe that one phoneme with the variants [β] and [b] in Spanish is changed into the Baure phonemes /v/ or /w/. This free choice of the two sounds makes them appear as two allophones of one phoneme. That they are indeed two phonemes has been shown in 2.3.4.

Underlying consonant clusters are not typical for Baure, but only a result of vowel elision. Therefore, in general consonant clusters are split up by epenthetic vowels, as demonstrated by examples such as ['povor] < *pobre* 'poor'. Other consonant clusters remain, possibly also depending on how long ago the loanword has been borrowed and on the type of consonants. I come back to consonant clusters in the section on phonotactics (2.4.1).

It can also be observed that loanwords show certain changes due to morphophonological or phonotactic rules, e.g. certain phonemes are only accepted in certain positions and for certain word classes. Further there is final vowel elision. Last but not least the reinterpretation of syllables as classifiers or other grammatical or lexical morphemes can be observed.

[68] In the word [a'voel] the final vowel /o/ is supposed to underlie phonologically and have been deleted

2.2. Segmental phonology

The segments of the language undergo a number of phonological changes, which are described in this section. These changes include vowel elision with resulting aspiration (2.2.1), palatalization (2.2.2), delabialization (2.2.3), and nasal spread (2.2.4).

It is important to mention here that the phonological processes described in this section occur on syllable or segmental level. This does not mean that the same processes do not occur between morphemes (cf. 2.5) and even words in a phonological phrase (cf. 2.6). It is necessary to introduce the phonological processes in order to understand the stress rules and the interaction between stress and vowel elision.

2.2.1. Vowel elision

It is most striking in Baure that diachronically and synchronically vowels are lost. First of all I want to show evidence for the diachronic vowel loss. Then this is compared to the neighbouring languages of the Moxo group. Finally the synchronic vowel elision process is described in more detail. It is implied that the process of vowel elision is a characteristic of the language and has been there already when the first notes were made. It is probably directly related to the diachronic vowel loss.

For the diachronic comparison (cf. Table 2.5) the data from four sources are compared to my own data. The oldest data is that of father Magio (1749)[69], first published by d'Orbigny in 1845. D'Orbigny added his own word list of Baure (in Adam & Leclerc 1880)[70], which is the data in the second column of the Table 2.5. The word list collected and published by Fonseca (published in 1881, collected 1875–1878)[71] is from about the same time as that of d'Orbigny. His data is referred to in the third column. The fourth column shows the latest data, collected by the linguists Baptista & Wallin in the 1960s and only partly published[72]. All those data are compared to my own, collected in the years 2003–2006. The old data is sometimes slightly inconsistent, since none of the authors from the 18th and 19th century used a phonetic notation, but the biased perception of the words and the notation in the Spanish, French and Portuguese orthography, gave me enough evidence for the analysis. The data is referred to here in order to show a certain tendency towards vowel loss.

[69] The text is written in Spanish, and for Baure words the same orthography is used.

[70] This word list was written in French.

[71] His word list was written in Portuguese.

[72] "[I]n many areas where Baure and Carmelito are spoken, the older generation pronounces some words with the final vowel The majority of speakers, including the younger generation, pronounce these same words without the final vowel Thus it is suggested that there is a steady progression of vowel loss occurring in the Baure and Carmelito dialects." (Baptista & Wallin 1968: 6)

Magio 1749	d'Orbigny 1845	Fonseca 1875–1878	Baptista & Wallin 1960s	Danielsen 2003–2006	translation
eteno	*eteno(n)*[73]	*etno*	*eton, etono*	*eton*	woman
kahapa	*kahapa*	–	*kahap*	*kahap*	manioc
–	*ima(n)*	*himo*	*him(o)*	*him*	fish
sumo	*sumo*	–	*som*	*som*	tapir
ehiro	*ihira*	*hiro*	*hir*	*hir*	man
nitipo	*tipo*	*(n)dipo*	*nitip, ntipo*	*nitip, ntip*	my fingernail
nišera	*nišira*	*nišere*	*nišir*	*nišir*	son
–	*neta*	–	*neta*	*net*	sister
mapana	*mopona(n)*	*impu(se)*[74]	*mpon*	*mpon*	three (persons)

Table 2.5 Comparison of data from different periods in time[75]

Table 2.5 shows that all words in the old data (first three columns) end in a vowel, whereas the same words end in a consonant in the data of today. In the data from the 1960s, some of the words end in a vowel, but the majority have the form of the data from 2003–2006. It can be observed that mainly word final vowels *-a* and *-o* were lost, but also vowels of the regular CVCV pattern word initially, as e.g. in *mapana ~ mopona(n) ~ (...) mpon* 'three', if the first consonant is a nasal. The word final vowels of the words today are not completely lost, as it will be shown below, but they are elided in these isolated forms.

The linguists Baptista & Wallin have also mentioned that the vowel elision is a historical process, as they observed different degrees of vowel loss in the different generations:

> "[I]n many areas where Baure and Carmelito[76] are spoken, the older generation pronounces some words with the final vowel. The majority of speakers, including the younger generation, pronounce these same words without the final vowel. Thus it is suggested that there is a steady progression of vowel loss occurring in the Baure and Carmelito dialects." (Baptista & Wallin 1968:6)

When Baure is compared to the closest related Arawak languages Trinitario and Ignaciano of the Moxo language group, the same vowel loss relation can be observed. Table 2.6 shows an excerpt of the examples in 2.5 in both Moxo languages. The data of Ignaciano is taken from a tagmemic grammar article (Matteson 1967:85–136) and a more recently published grammar (Olza Zubiri et al. 2004) and from unpublished data of Trinitario (Rose, p.c., Salvatierra, p.c.).

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[73] The final nasal *-n* here probably simply indicates a nasalized vowel, which in Baure occurs as nasal harmony after a nasal, cf 2 2 4

[74] This numeral probably includes the classifier morpheme *-se*, which refers to long oval containers, such as boats, watermelons, bottles; it has been translated as the general numeral 'three'

[75] Here I am using the orthography that is suggested in section 2 3. The data of the other sources has been translated into the same orthography in order to ease comparison

[76] *Carmelito* is the dialect of El Carmen, which has not been taken into account in this study. There are said to be two speakers left A comparison to the present study would be very interesting.

Ignaciano	Trinitario	Baure	translation
esena	*etona*	*eton*	woman
cuju	*kujpa*	*kahap*	manioc
jima	*jimo*	*him*	fish
sama	*samo*	*som*	tapir
mapana	*mopona*	*mpon*	three (persons)

Table 2 6: Comparison of data from two closely related Arawak languages (Moxo)[77]

If we take e.g. the word for 'fish', we can observe that in the historical data on Baure the forms *(h)ima* and *himo* occur, whereas in my data it is *him*. The same forms *hima* ~ *himo* (spelt *jima, jimo* in Table 2.6) can be found for Ignaciano and Trinitario. In addition Payne (1991:404) reconstructed the Proto form **hima* 'fish' for the whole Arawak[78] language family. Therefore the loss of the final vowel can be regarded as specific to the Baure language.

With the evidence of word final vowels from Tables 2.5 and 2.6, I will now turn to the Baure final vowel elision process. Synchronically not all vowels are deleted. Different types of vowels can be distinguished: the strong vowels /a/ and /e/, which attract stress word finally and never get deleted, the vowel /i/, which can occur in a strong form, which is stressed and not deleted, and a weak form, which leads to palatalization up to loss of the vowel (cf. 2.2.2 for palatalization), and finally the vowel /o/, which is always weak, cannot attract stress word finally and gets regularly deleted word and syllable finally. There is more evidence for the weakness of the vowel /o/, as e.g. the loss at morpheme boundaries when two vowels come together (cf. 2.5.2), and the vowel harmony change of /o/ in the attributive/ privative prefixes (cf. 2.5.3). The vowel seems to be something more like a "default vowel" in order to keep up with a CVCV pattern. Therefore vowel elision mainly refers to the loss of the vowel /o/ word finally.

The vowel elision of /o/ depends on two factors: isolation and speed of pronunciation. When words are pronounced isolated, they generally always lose the final vowel /o/. The citation forms are these words that are pronounced isolated. Here are some examples:

(86)	[kaˈhap]	/kaˈhap/	'manioc'
	[poɛˈwɔk]	/poeˈwok/	'ground, floor'
	[kɔˈtipokon]	/koˈtipokon/	'white'
	[piniˈkow]	/piniˈkow/	'you (SG) eat'

None of the words in (86) end in a vowel, but when a morpheme is added, there is generally the vowel /o/ inserted between the word and the additional morpheme, as demonstrated in example (87), in which the morphemes are separated by hyphens in the phonemic representation:

[77] Here I am using the orthography that was used in the grammars and word lists It is important to know that "j" is used to refer to [h].

[78] The Arawak language family is referred to as Maipuran in Payne 1991

(87)	[ka'haponɛv]	/kahapo-nev/	'maniocs'
	[poɛ'wɔko-je]	/poewoko-je/	'on the ground'
	[kɔ'tipo,kɔnowɔr]	/ko'tipo,kono-wo-r/	'it is white'
	[pi'niko,wɔr]	/pi-'niko-,wo-r/	'you (SG) eat it'

The status of the vowel /o/ is something in between a silent vowel of the base and an epenthetic vowel that is inserted. On the one hand it parallels the appearance of the word finally palatalized /i/ when morphemes are added; on the other hand there is sometimes a certain degree of variation, which vowel is indeed inserted, especially in between words (where vowels are inserted in a phonological phrase, cf. 2.6).

Consonants are frequently aspirated as a result of vowel elision, especially final vowel elision. This can be regarded as the last remains of the deleted vowel. Aspiration can only be observed with plosives. Word finally it is mainly observed with the bilabial plosive /p/. Here are some examples of aspirated consonants after vowel elision:

(88)	[e'tip^{h}]	/e'tip(o)/	'manioc starch'
	[to'pɔp^{h}kɔn]	/to'popokon/	'clean'
(89)	[wak^{h}]	/wak(a?)/	'cow'
	[ho,pik^{h}'ki-ye]	/ho,piko'kɪ-ye/	'in the vessel'
(90)	[tɔt^{h}]	/tot(o)/	'warthog'
	[ek'tɔt^{h}pian]	/ek'tot(o)pian/	'interesting'

This type of coarticulation can be compared to palatalization in the following section. When words are pronounced in an utterance, they form phonological phrases, which will be shown below. In phonological phrases, there are also vowels inserted between words. When words are pronounced faster, some more vowels may drop, also mainly /o/, but sometimes also other unstressed vowels are reduced to schwa or deleted. In (91) the words are shown when pronounced in fast speech:

(91)	['khaponɛv]	/ka'haponev/	'maniocs'
	['poew(o)ko-je]	/poe'woko-je/	'on the ground'
	[kɔ'tip,kɔnowɔr]	/ko'tipo,kono-wo-r/	'it is white'
	[pi'nik(o),wɔr]	/pi-'niko-,wo-r/	'you (SG) eat it'

The vowel elision can be observed mainly in the first and the third word of the example, but this type of vowel elision is not at all less common. It depends on the length of words and on the phonological phrase if and where vowels are deleted. Whereas the vowel /i/ is generally not completely deleted, but reduced in the form of palatalization of the preceding consonant, the vowel /o/ has to be inferred as the underlying vowel wherever we come across closed syllables in Baure. The reason why this vowel is generally not written if it does not occur in the isolated word is because it can only be assumed to have been there, but the word does not show any or nearly any evidence of the vowel. Therefore, it could in some cases also have been the vowel /a/, and I cannot write hypothetical words. Even though Baptista and Wallin have published an article on this phenomenon of vowel elision (1968), they wrote

each word in the underlying CVCV pattern. That this is problematic shows the following example on the basis of the lexeme *-wer* 'house':

(92)	[niˈwer]	/ni-wer/	'my house'
	[niˈwernɛv]	/ni-wer-nev/	'my houses'
	[kaˈwerɔn]	/ka-wero-n/	'house owner'
	[niˈweri-je]	/ni-weri-je/	'in my house'

The first word shows that the lexeme *-wer* is pronounced with a final consonant /r/. When the word is pluralized, there is no vowel inserted, as shown by *niwernev* 'my houses'. In the derived word *kaweron*, the underlying form of the lexeme could be **-wero* with the vowel /o/ after the rhotic, but when the locative marker is added, the base form looks like **-weri*. It could here be assumed that the vowel insertion is a matter of epenthesis rather than the vowel is part of the lexeme.

2.2.2. Palatalization

There are two types of palatalization, one is very wide-spread, that is the palatalization as a result of final vowel /i/. The other one only applies to the velar plosive /k/ and very rarely to the alveolar plosive /t/ before the vowel /e/.

The combination C + /i/ word finally always leads to the palatalization of C as [Cʲ] with devoicing of the vowel and some friction. This applies to any type of word class. The only exceptions are the diminutive suffix *-či* [-tʃi] and the quotative enclitic *-hi* [-hi] with a strong /i/, which never undergo palatalization. Of all the consonants, the fricative /ʃ/, the affricate /tʃ/ and the glide /j/ are either not palatalized or I could not hear it. If words with these final consonants have an underlying final /i/, this is generally deleted completely. The glide and semivowel /w/ cannot be palatalized at all; as it has been argued in 2.1.3 /w/ is generally never found preceding /i/. There is no example of a palatalized /m/ in my data, but there is also only one word ending in the sequence /mi/, so that it can either be stated that the nasal is not palatalized or that this syllable is very rare. Here are examples of each palatalized consonant:

(93)	[hɔpʲ][79]	/ˈhopi/	'vessel'
	[soˈratʲ]	/soˈrati/	'village'
	[akʲ]	/ˈaki/	'lagoon'
	[havʲ]	/ˈhavi/	'paddle'
	[roˈtɔsʲ]	/roˈtosi/	'its wing'
	[n̥ˌdʒaˈhahʲ]	/nˌtʃaˈhahi/	'my hair'
	[aŋ]	/ˈani/	'sky'
	[parʲ]	/ˈpari/	'house'

It is completely obvious that these words all end in the vowel /i/ underlyingly, as this vowel reappears when another morpheme is added. This is only exemplified for two words of the preceding example:

[79] The stress marking is not retained here, because the words become monosyllabic as a result of the palatalization and devoicing of /i/.

(94) [ˈhɔpi-nɛv] /ˈhopi-nev/ 'vessels'
[aˈni:-jə] /ˈani-je/ 'in the sky, above'

In unstressed syllables some of the /Ci/ sequences get palatalized word initially or internally as well, mainly dependent on speed of speech. Here are two examples:

(95) [kiˈhɛr] ~ [kʲˈhɛr] /kiˈher/ 'moon'
[niˈtʃipipoij] ~ [niˈtʃipʲpoij] /niˈtʃipipoij/ 'the top of my foot '

The special type of palatalization occurs word initially with the plosives /k/ and /t/ exclusively, when preceding one of the two more closed front vowels /i/ and /e/. This process can be observed frequently with the empty verbal root *-ke-* 'be, do, say', which is realized as [-ke-] or [-kʲe-]. The palatalization will be represented by the orthography in the form *-kie-* where it occurs, because we cannot tell if it is not some kind of inflectional formal change of the base, because there is generally not very much variation. The examples below show the palatalization of /k/:

(96) [riˈkew] ~ [riˈkʲew] /riˈkew/ 'she says'
[riˈkʲew,koriwɔn] /riˈkewo,koriwon/ 'what does she say?'
[piˈkʲewa,perin] /piˈkewa,perin/ 'how are you?'
[riˈkʲe,tɜrovin] /riˈke,toerovin/ 'what will she do us?'
[piˈkʲetʃɔr] /piˈketʃor/ 'your doing of it'

Palatalization of /k/ can be found as a morphophonological effect of encliticization of a certain type (cf. 2.5.6), namely when person enclitics are attached after the absolute suffix *-ko*. The morpheme combination results in the forms *-kier* (*-ko* + *-ro*, 3SGm), *-kieri* (*-ko* + *-ri*, 3SGf), and *-kien* (*-ko* + *-no*, 3PL). Here are some examples of this:

(97) [riˈnikʲen] /riˈnikien/ 'she eats them'
[riˈhinɔkʲeri] /riˈhinokieri/ 'she sees her'
[rikoˈmɔrikʲer] /rikoˈmorikier/ 'she killed it/him'

For further details of this type of encliticization cf. section 2.5.6.

Palatalization of the alveolar plosive /t/ can be found only in a few cases when the consonant is followed by the vowel /e/. It is only a matter of variation and only occurs in fast and fluent speech. Here is one example that shows how /t/ undergoes palatalization:

(98) [tʲen] instead of [ten] /ten/ DEM3m

2.2.3. Delabialization

The very frequent vowel sequence or diphthong /oe/ is labial at its articulate starting point. This diphthong can be found following all consonants[80]. It depends on the degree of closeness of the articulators if the diphthong is realized as [oɛ] or [uɛ] when pronounced precisely. It can also frequently be observed a monophthongization into

[80] It is reported about other Arawak languages that a number of consonants have labialized allophones (e.g. Amuesha and Bahuana), but in Baure it seems to be all related to the vowel sequence or diphthong /oe/.

[œ] or a delabialization more central [ɜ] or more front [ɛ], especially when following the velar plosive /k/. This happens in so many lexemes that it cannot even be said if the underlying phoneme is the front vowel /e/ or the diphthong /oe/. This is the case in the following words, in which the central unrounded vowel [ɜ] is used as a general allophone; the examples are sorted by the consonant that precedes the diphthong:

(99)	[ˈkɜhkɜ]	/ˈkoehkoe/	'because'
	[etʃˈkɜʔ]	/etʃˈkoe/	'washing port'
	[naʃˈkɜn]	/naʃoˈkoen/	'my deceased grandfather'
(100)	[rieˈtɜsapʰ]	/rɪeˈtoesap(o)/	'she is quiet'
(101)	[eˈʃɜʔ]	/eˈʃoe/	'tree trunk'
	[niˈʃɜrekow]	/niˈʃoerekow/	'I am cooking'
(102)	[ˈrasɜʔ]	/ˈrasoe/	'orange'
	[kotiˈsɜn]	/kotiˈsoen/	'not ripe, green (fruit)'
(103)	[mɜˈnaʔ]	/moeˈna/	'before even, no use'
(104)	[epoˈnɜʔ]	/epoˈnoe/	'leave'
	[ˈranɜkow]	/ˈranoekow/	'he comes close'
(105)	[pɔmɔrɜkɜ]	/pomoroekoe/	'other year'
	[rɜˈkiːtʃin]	/roeˈkitʃin/	'when?'

The labial plosive /p/ seems to resist delabialization of the following diphthong. In the data are no examples of this process with the sequence /poe/. However, delabialization can be observed after the bilabial nasal /m/ (103).

The different degree of actual delabialization depends on the speed of speech (v): the faster it is spoken, the less labial the diphthong /oe/. This is represented in Figure 2.1:

/oe/ → [oɛ] > [œ]> [ɜ] > [ɛ]

v

Figure 2.1. Delabialization of the diphthong or vowel sequence /oe/

The delabialization of /oe/ is also the main factor in distinguishing this diphthong from the sequence /we/ with the semivowel /w/. In the most labial pronunciation of /oe/ they are identical, but the sequence /we/ can never be found delabialized.

In some very frequently used words the diphthong is changed into a released open vowel [a]. The explanation of this release of the vowel needs further research. Here is a final example of that variation with the already exemplified conjunctions *koehkoe'* 'because' and *moena'* 'before even':

(106)	/ˈkoehkoe/→ [ˈkɜhkɜ] ~ [ˈkahkɜ]	'because'
(107)	/moeˈna/ → [mɜˈnaʔ] ~ [maˈnaʔ]	'before even, no use'

2.2.4. Nasal spread

There are no phonemic nasal vowels, but the nasals /m/ and /n/ can have a nasalization effect on the surrounding vowels, mainly regressively. Here are examples:

(108)	[ʃõnˈkip^{h}]	/ʃonˈkip(o)/	'way', 'path'
	[ˈmõntʃiʔ]	/ˈmontʃi/	'child', 'little one'
	[kaˈʔãn]	/kaˈʔan/	'animal'
(109)	[piˈmõm]	/piˈmom/	'your vagina'

In addition the velar plosive /k/ also provokes regressive nasalization of vowels probably related to its tongue position (close to the velum). Consider this example:

(110)	[pɔˈmɔrɜ̃ˈkɜʃ]	/poˈmoroekoeʃ/	'one year'

Thus, nasal spread in Baure only means that within a word, vowels are nasalized when followed by a nasal consonant.

2.3. Orthography

After some lexemes have already been written in the orthography used in this grammar for simplicity reasons instead of the phonetic or phonemic representation, the orthography shall be introduced here before moving on to the morphophonology.

There have been several ways of writing the Baure language, even though the speakers themselves never used to write it. The notations of priests, missionaries, and travellers are not consistent. The SIL linguists Baptista & Wallin used two different variants of spelling Baure: one for their own linguistic notes, and another one for the speakers, which was Spanish based (with e.g. /k/ spelt *c* and *qu*). The latest suggestion of an "alphabet"[81] for Baure has been developed at a workshop on Bolivian indigenous languages in Tumichucua in 1996 (initiated by Colette Grinevald a.o.). One of the aims of the orthography designed by the linguist Pilar Valenzuela at this workshop was to be as much in agreement with other orthographies of Bolivian indigenous languages as possible. The problem of this new developed spelling is that it has been created within less than a week with very little knowledge of the phonological changes and the morphology of the language. The result is that I cannot endorse this version, for specific reasons to be explained below. In addition it has to be criticized that the speakers were not able to decide upon the new alphabet and therefore feel annoyed by the omission of their opinion. The orthography that Baptista & Wallin used for their linguistic notes, on the other hand, has been developed in a period of many years, and with a few changes it is the orthography that I am going to use.

There is no disagreement in the representation with respect to the vowels (see Table 2.7). The divergence of the different suggestions is mainly found in the spelling of consonants. Here is a list of all the phonemes of the different writing systems that have been mentioned, compared to my own suggestion, followed by a discussion and some word examples (the representations that are different from my suggestion are in bold script):

[81] It is a political issue to develop an "alphabet" (Sp. *alfabeto*) for each indigenous language in Bolivia, especially in the lowlands. It gives the language more value

phoneme	Baptista & Wallin, linguistic notes (1960–1970)	Baptista & Wallin, for the speakers (1960–1970)	Valenzuela's suggestion (1996)	Danielsen (2007)
/a/	a	a	a	a
/e/	e	e	e	e
/i/	i	i	i	i
/o/	o	o	o	o
/oe/	oe	ue	ue	oe
/p/ → [p]	p	p	p	p
/p/ → [b]	p	b	b	p
/t/ → [t]	t	t	t	t
/t/ → [d]	t	d	d	t
/k/ → [k]	k	c, qu	k	k
/k/ → [g]	k	g	g	k
/v/	b	b	b	v
/s/	s	s	s	s
/ʃ/	š	sh	sh	š
/h/	h	j	j	h
/tʃ/ → [tʃ]	č	ch	ch	č
/tʃ/ → [dʒ]	č	–	z	č
/m/	m	m	m	m
/n/	n	n	n	n
/n/ → [m]	n	n	m	n, m
/r/	r, l[82]	r	r	r
/w/	w	w	w, u	w
[we]	we	hue	hue	we
/j/	y	y	y	y
[ʔ]	ʔ	h	'	'

Table 2.7: Comparison of the different suggestions of an orthography for Baure

In my suggestion for an orthography it was the aim to find a phonological spelling that reflects the different phonemes of the language, but not the allophones. The Spanish way of spelling /k/ as either *c* or *qu*, only realized in the orthography by Baptista & Wallin for the speakers (1960–1970), is abandoned because of its idiosyncrasy.

[82] Formerly they used *l*, but in the latest material they decided on *r*.

In Baptista & Wallin's version for the speakers (1960–1970) and Valenzuela's version (1996) the voiceless and voiced allophones of one phoneme (see 2 1 3 and 2 5 1) get two different spellings, i e *p* and *b* for /p/, *t* and *d* for /t/, *k* and *g* for /k/, and *ch* and *z* for /tʃ/ In their linguistic notes Baptista & Wallin already assigned both sounds to a single phoneme, which is necessary, because the voicing effect can vary and is not always obligatory Even more problematic is that the spelling of the voiced allophone of /p/ as *b* is not distinguishable from the phoneme /v/, which is spelt *b* in all other suggestions I will use *v* in order to keep these separate phonemes apart more transparently

In the suggestion of Valenzuela (1996) labialized consonants before the diphthong /oe/ are spelt as a sequence of the consonant and the vowel *u*, e g *pu* in /poe/ for [pʷ] or [po] or [pu], which is confusing and illogical, because this vowel /u/ does not exist in the language otherwise It is true that [u] is a frequent allophone of /o/ that is realized when consonants are followed by the diphthong /oe/ or the semivowel /w/ (cf 2 1 1 and 2 1 3) I see no reason for introducing another vowel beside the four vowel phonemes of the language, especially not because the degree of labialization can vary a lot (especially after delabialization of the diphthong, cf 2 2 3)

The spelling of the glottal fricative [h] like the Spanish *j* [x] is misleading for Spanish speakers concerning the place of articulation (velar instead of glottal fricative) The glottal stop, even though not phonemic in most cases (cf 2 1 3), will be spelt with the apostrophe ', so that diphthongs can be distinguished from sequences of two vowels (where it is on the edge of being phonemic) and so that strong and stressed vowels can be distinguished Here are examples

(111)	[nɪaʔ]	/nɪa/	→ *nia*	'rainbow'
	[nɪˈʔaʔ]	/nɪˈʔa/	→ *nɪ'a'*	'my body'
(112)	[ʃɪˈjɛʔ]	/ʃɪˈje/	→ *šiye'*	'fox'
	[ˈrasɜʔ]	/ˈrasoe/	→ *rasoe'*	'orange'
	[jɪˈtɪʔ]	/jɪˈtɪ/	→ *yitɪ*	'2PL'

Furthermore, I prefer one letter for one phoneme Therefore I will spell [ʃ] and [tʃ] *š* and *č* respectively, instead of the diagraphs *sh* and *ch* This is more economical and gives a better overview of the polysynthetic and sometimes very long words Stress will not be marked, as it is not contrastive in general (cf 2 4 3)

The language is only spoken by a few people above 60 nowadays, among which six people can read and write The language needs to be documented now, at the edge of its death, as precisely as possible The speakers prefer this alphabet, which was presented, explained and contrasted with the one used in the latest publication (Olivio 2003) in the meetings of the indigenous organisation (Subcentral Indigena Baure) The speakers decided upon the spelling that I use here, because it is more different from the Spanish one and shows the distinct status of Baure as a real language and not only a *dialecto* and subordinate to Spanish In spite of all that I am aware of the fact that it is more difficult to write the letters *š* and *č* on the computer (keyboard settings have to be changed and adjusted), and especially in comparison to other Bolivian Lowland languages the alphabet might have to be changed in favour of simplic-

ity The only changes that would then be needed concern the three letters *š* → *sh* *č* → *ch*, *h* → *j*

2 4 Phonotactics

In this section the phonotactics and segmental phonology are described In 2 4 1 the syllable structure is shown, in 2 4 2 the phonological word is defined, and in 2 4 3 word stress is described

2 4 1 Syllable structure

When analyzing the syllable structure in this language, it is important to distinguish two different levels the phonological level with all the underlying phonemes, and the phonetic level with the actual pronunciation of the phonemes in combination and the proceeded processes of vowel elision and palatalization (cf 2 2 1 and 2 2 2)) It also seems to be the case that the underlying level is the more characteristic of the language, and it is this level where stress rules are applied That means that e g closed syllables are only a result of phonological processes and exist on the phonetic level Therefore I will concentrate on the underlying level when referring to syllable structure in this chapter There will be reference to the phonetic level as well The basic underlying syllable structure in Baure is

(C) V or C V_1V_2 (V_3)

Only the vowel (V), the nucleus of the syllable, is obligatory in Baure This syllable type is found less frequent than the most common CV syllable with a consonant in the onset The syllable type V is restricted to the vowels /a/, /e/ and /i/ word initially There are only two examples of the vowel /o/ in the onset and word initially *oš* 'capivara' and *okorem* 'singing bird sp ' There can also be a complex vowel in the syllable ($V_1V_2(V_3)$), a diphthong or triphthong or vowel sequence of the types described in 2 1 2, but only with a consonant in the onset (C $V_1V_2(V_3)$) In the underlying structure no consonant clusters occur within a syllable, except for Spanish loanwords The possible syllable structures are exemplified in Table 2 8

underlying form	example	phonetic representation	translation
V	*ahinev*	[aˈhɪ nɛv]	children
CV	*hopi*	[hɔpʲ]	vessel
C V_1V_2	*siriamok*	[sɪrɪaˈmɔk]	fish trap
C V_1V_2 V_3	*moeišop*	[ˈmoeɪʃɔpʰ]	pineapple seed

Table 2 8 Phonological (underlying) syllable structures

The open syllable with three vowels in a sequence (C V_1V_2 V_3) is not found much more than in the example presented here The syllable structures in Table 2 8 refer to the underlying structures, but in the actual phonetic realizations there are also many more possible syllables Because of regular vowel elision syllable finally, closed syllables are frequent (cf Baptista & Wallin 1968 6) Then there are the following types of closed syllables as a consequence

phonetic form	underlying form	example	underlying syllables	phonetic representation	translation
N	NV	*ntori*	ni-tori	[n̩-ˈtɔrˈ]	my friend
VC	V + CV	*in*	i-no	[in]	water
CVC	CV + CV	*pin*	pi-no	[pin]	twin
C V_1V_2C	CV_1 + CV_2[83]	*nipoiy*	ni-po-yi	[ni-ˈpoiy]	my foot
C V_1V_2C	C V_1V_2 + CV	*pisompoek*	pi-so-mo-poe-ko	[piˈsɔmboɛk]	listen!
C V_1V_2 V_1C	C V_1V_2 + CV_3[84]	*pisompoeiy*	pi-so-mo-poe-yi	[piˈsɔmboeiy]	where you listen
C V_1V_2 V_3C	C V_1V_2 V_3 + CV	*moeiš*	moei-šo	[ˈmoeiʃ]	pineapple

Table 2.9 Phonetic syllable structures

The syllable consisting of one consonant can only be a nasal (N). This is very frequently the reduced 1SG person clitic for possessor or subject cross-reference *ni-*. The underlying syllables are represented with a capital O referring to the elided vowel. Generally I imply that it was the vowel /o/, because it is that vowel which occurs when a morpheme is added. But there is historical and cross-linguistic[85] evidence that also the vowel /a/ can be elided. In addition, there can be observed a certain flexibility and vowel harmony of the vowel /o/. It is therefore not as stable in its phonetic form as the other three vowels. Also the final vowel /i/, which generally palatalizes the preceding consonant, may frequently be lost and therefore create phonologically closed syllables. In the orthographic representation of words with deleted vowels, I will write the most common isolated form (phonetic representation) and not a possible underlying phonological form. As long as the vowels do not have to be reconstructed historically, but can be found synchronically, they will be written when pronounced. This creates some variation in the data, but it may also show which words are on the way of lexicalizing a reduced form, such as *ntori* 'my friend' in Table 2.9. This word used to be **ni-tori* (1SG-friend), but this underlying form is never pronounced as such or even judged to be wrong, so that the reduced form *ntori* can be considered as the basic lexicalized form.

The final syllable of a word contains more often one of the weak vowels /i/ or /o/, which cause the elision or palatalization process. Some syllables or specific combinations cannot be encountered at all in the data, summed up in Table 2.10:

restrictions in onsets	restrictions in codas	restriction as syllable
o, oe	*mi* (with one exception)	*čoe, hoe, va, (wi)*[86]*, yoe*
ke not word initially	*y* (only after metathesis *yi* > *iy*)	*woe* > *we*

Table 2.10 Phonetic restrictions in syllables

[83] In this case the second CV syllable has been turned around into VC by metathesis (cf 2.5.4)
[84] cf footnote 32
[85] The comparison to the Moxo languages, cf Table 2.6
[86] The specific restrictions of the phonemes /v/ and /w/ have been summed up in Table 2.3.

Even though there are many closed syllables, consonant clusters are not allowed if belonging to one syllable, with a few exceptions. First of all there are no underlying consonant clusters in Baure, if the word is not a Spanish loan (cf. Table 2.4). Then the type of consonant cluster that may occur phonetically is restricted to a nasal and a following voiced plosive or affricate (cf. 2.5.1), as e.g. in *mpon* 'three (people)', but generally the nasal is syllabic and can therefore not be considered to be part of the syllable. This cluster of a nasal and a plosive or affricate is never found word finally.

2.4.2. The phonological word

There are certain restriction and minimal requirements for a phonological word. These requirements are partly dependent on the word class. The main claims here are made for nouns, while verbs are mentioned oly briefly. More information will be prevailed in the specific chapters on the word classes.

Nouns are in general trisyllabic or disyllabic underlyingly. The phonetic form may, however, be monosyllabic very frequently as well, when the final vowel is elided e.g. The very few underlyingly monosyllabic nouns have to consist of a heavy syllable, i.e. either include a heavy stressed vowel (cf. 2.4.3) or a diphthong. The monosyllabic nouns that can be found in Baure are shown in Table 2.11:

free roots	translation	bound roots	translation
na'	egg	*-'a'*	body
ni'	mosquito	*-hi'*	horn
nia'	rainbow	*-ša*	fur
poe'	axe		

Table 2.11: Monosyllabic noun roots

Bound noun roots are the nouns which are obligatorily possessed, i.e. they are always preceded by a person proclitic. That produces actually disyllabic words phonetically, and the person proclitics are not extrametrical (cf. 2.4.3). The vowel /o/ never occurs in a monosyllabic noun, neither free nor bound root.

In the minor word classes there are a number of monosyllabic words, but the majority of particles, determiners, adverbs, conjunctions, are disyllabic underlyingly. Grammatical morphemes are nearly always monosyllabic, so are classifiers and clitics, but these never form an independent word. Phonologically monosyllabic words generally attach to the following lexeme[87], as demonstrated in the following examples:

(113) *to* *kove'* [tɔ͡kɔˈvɛʔ] 'the dog'
ART dog

(114) *ši* *vikač* [ʃi͡viˈka tʃ] 'let's go'
HORT we.go

[87] This has also been argued for the two North Arawak languages Bare and Warekena (Aikhenvald 1996:498).

In monosyllabic words that are not attached to a following word the vowel is glottalized, i e the final glottal stop makes the syllable heavy enough to be pronounced by itself, as in the adverb *ne'* 'here' or in the specific case in (115)

(115) *ti* *eton* *ti* [tɪ ɛˈtɔn tɪʔ] 'this woman (emphasized, pointing)'
DEM1f woman DEM1f

The requirements on the verb word are rather syntactic in nature than phonological Verbs cannot be monosyllabic because of the obligatory subject marking by a personal proclitic More details on the verb can be found in Chapter 6

2 4 3 Word stress

Stress is not contrastive in Baure A stressed syllable is generally louder, the vowel may be longer, and the pitch is high (all the possible results of respiratory activity, Hogg & McCully 1987 1–2) It has been argued that stress appears on the penultimate syllable (Magio 1749 in Adam & Leclerc 1880 1)[88] Baptista & Wallin, on the other hand, came to the conclusion that "stress most frequently is found on the second syllable" (1968 7, T-562 22) The last statement can be judged to be correct, even though it is a generalization that will be specified here The stress patterns are very difficult to generalize in fact, as they depend on the length of the word, the type of syllable, and last but not least, on the type of morpheme This will be shown in this section

First of all, there is generally only one stress in a word When the word is longer than four syllables there is secondary stress, which cannot occur on an adjacent syllable Unbound noun roots with three and four underlying syllables will be taken as the ground of comparison In these words we find the pattern of stressing the second syllable quite regularly Remember that unpronounced deleted final vowel /o/ is not represented in the orthography of the words In the syllabic representation the deleted underlying syllable is included in parenthesis, because it is the underlying syllable that the stress rules are applied to The following examples demonstrate this, starting with trisyllabic nouns, each example with a different final vowel

(116) *simori* 'pig' (x)
[sɪˈmorʲ] sɪ mo rɪ

(117) *kahap* 'manioc' (x)
[kaˈhap$^{(h)}$] ka ha p(o)

(118) *asowa'* 'bird sp ' (x)
[aˈsowaʔ] a so wa

(119) *erapoe'* 'plantain' (x)
[eˈrapoeʔ] e ra poe'

Just as regular stress on the second syllable can be observed in the following examples with four syllables

[88] ' El acento suele tenerlo en la penultima silaba bastantes veces en la anteultima y algunas en la ultima " (Magio 1749 in Adam & Leclerc 1880 1)

(120) *epanokɪ* 'chɪn' (x)
[eˈpanokʲ] e pa no kɪ

(121) *čɪčorop* 'bean' (x)
[tʃɪˈtʃɔrɔpʰ] čɪ čo ro p(o)

(122) *mokovore* 'pɪneapple' (x)
[moˈkɔvɔrɛ] mo ko vo re

(123) *porespa'* 'long mate' (x ( ))
[poˈrespaʔ] po re s(ɪ) pa'

The stress rules are more complex when they concern dɪsyllabɪc nouns Among the nouns wɪth only two vowels there are as many stressed on the first (or penultɪmate) as on the second syllable Thɪs can be explaɪned the dɪfferent vowels have dɪfferent syllable weɪght A stress shɪft to the first (or penultɪmate) syllable can be observed when the last syllable ɪs especɪally lɪght wɪth a weak vowel Weak vowels are /o/ and /ɪ/, whɪch both cause a phonologɪcal process on the precedɪng phoneme so that the syllable phonetɪcally gets lost The nouns ɪn the corpus have been analyzed ɪn respect to the vowels that are the peaks of the syllables, and the patterns that are found are stress of the second syllable when ɪt contaɪns the vowels /a/ or /e/, ɪn a less common constellatɪon heavy /ɪ/ and the dɪphthong /oe/, whɪch ɪs also heavy The first syllable ɪs stressed ɪn all words whɪch contaɪn the vowels /o/ or weak /ɪ/ ɪn the last syllable, whɪch undergoes vowel elɪsɪon or palatalɪzatɪon Examples of dɪsyllabɪc nouns wɪth stress on the second syllable

(124) *sɪpa'* 'mate fruɪt' (x)
[sɪˈpaʔ] sɪ pa'

(125) *šɪye* 'fox' (x)
[ʃɪˈjɛʔ] šɪ ye'

(126) *kohɪ'* 'stone' (x)
[koˈhɪʔ] ko hɪ'

(127) *šoroe* 'cusɪ nut' (x)
[sɔˈr(o)ɛʔ] šo roe'

Examples of dɪsyllabɪc nouns wɪth stress shɪft to the penultɪmate (first) syllable

(128) *hopɪ* 'vessel' (x) (x)
[hɔpʲ] ho pɪ > hopɪ

(129) *anɪ* 'sky, above' (x) (x)
[aɲ] a nɪ > anɪ

(130) *hɪm* 'fish' (x) (x)
[hɪm] hɪ m(o) > hɪm

(131) *tot* 'warthog' (x) (x)
[tɔtʰ] to t(o) > tot

In the orthography disyllabic nouns with final /o/, which is elided in the isolated form, are represented as words with one closed syllable Words with a final stressed vowel are glottalized at the end and therefore represented with a final glottal stop

The stress rules also apply to inalienably possessed nouns The case is only more complicated, because there is generally an additional metrical syllable, the personal proclitic referring to the possessor Stress remains on the second syllable, therefore on the first syllable of the stem, as in the following example

(132) *nikora'* [niˈkoraʔ] (x)
ni=kora ni ko ra
1SG=partner
'my partner'

When a possessed noun starts with a vowel, the vowel of the personal clitic is generally dropped (or assimilated, cf 2 5 2) and the clitic and the first syllable of the stem form one syllable Therefore stress is found on the second syllable of the stem, but still the second syllable of the whole phonological word as well Consider (133)

(133) *naroni* [naˈrɔɲ] (x) (x)
ni=aroni na ro ni > na roni
1SG=dress
'my dress'

Two suffixes that can be attached to nouns are the plural suffix *-nev* and the locative suffix *-ye* The plural suffix is extrametrical, whereas the locative suffix causes stress shift on disyllabic words, as demonstrated in (128) that can be compared to

(134) *hopinev* 'vessels' (x)
[ˈhɔpinɛv] ho pi <nev>

(135) *hopi-ye* 'in the vessel' (x)
[hɔˈpi -jə] ho pi ye

How much effect a heavy syllable with a strong vowel may have on stress, can be demonstrated by nouns which get the slightly different plural suffix *-anev* attached, i e where an additional vowel /a/ precedes the general plural morpheme *-nev* In Chapter 4 this is analyzed as a human plural, but this is only one possibility for analyzing the presence of the vowel /a/ It is also possible to argue that it is an underlying vowel that gets elided like /o/ in the isolated word, or some other phonetic explanation for its presence The effect that the strong vowel /a/ has is a stress shift on that syllable Here is an example of a pluralized noun that shows this morpheme *-anev*, compared to the ungrammatical form of the noun with the general pluralization

(136) *eton* 'woman' (x) (x)
[ɛˈtɔn] e to n(o) > e ton

(137) *etonanev* 'women' (x)
[ɛtɔˈnanɛv] e to na <nev>

(138) **etononev* 'women' (x)
[ɛˈtɔnɔnɛv] e to no <nev>

When compared to the singular noun *eton* 'woman' the stress placement in (137) cannot be explained. It must go back to the presence of the heavy vowel, which attracts stress. The suffix *-nev* remains extrametrical.

Verbs are generally longer than only the personal proclitic and the verb base, as the base can have a number of grammatical morphemes attached. Stress in a verb word is more complex, but it can generally be argued that first stress is found on the second syllable if it is a syllable of the stem. Prefixes are extrametrical and do not get stressed. Grammatical suffixes can get secondary stress, but generally when they contain a strong vowel /a/ or /e/ or when the syllable is pronounced as a closed syllable. Here is an example of first and secondary stress in a word longer than four syllables (139) compared to the same verb with one syllable less and only one stress peak:

(139) *nasoroheyow* [naˈsɔroˌhejow] (. x . x .)
ni=asoro-he-y(e)-wo na.so.ro.he.yow
1SG=be.strong-DISTR-LOC-COP
'where I am very strong'

(140) *nasorohew* [naˈsɔro hew] (. x . .)
ni=asoro-he-wo na.so.ro.hew)
1SG=be.strong-DISTR-COP
'I am very strong'

Furthermore, there can be nouns or classifiers incorporated into verbs, which may have an effect on stress. Incorporated nouns can attract stress, whereas the monosyllabic classifiers rather remain unstressed.

2.5. Morphophonology

The section on morphophonology shows additional processes that change sounds that only occur at morpheme boundaries. These processes include voicing of non-continuous consonants (2.5.1), vowel assimilation and loss (2.5.2), vowel harmony (2.5.3), metathesis (2.5.4), and encliticization (2.5.5).

2.5.1. Voicing of non-continuous consonants

In 2.1.3 it has already been mentioned that the voiceless plosives and the voiceless affricate have voiced allophones when preceded by a nasal. The plosives /p/, /t/, and /k/, and the affricate /tʃ/ become voiced [b], [d], [g], and [dʒ] respectively after a nasal consonant with some restrictions as shown below.

As argued in 2.4, the basic underlying pattern in Baure is CVCV, for which reason we ought not to find any nasal or other consonants preceding directly another consonant, as it is apparently the case in some words. The reason for that lies in the fact that the underlying vowel in between the two consonants has been elided (cf. vowel elision in 2.2.1), i.e. it must have been either /o/ or /i/[89]. That means that the process of voicing is dependent on the preceding process of vowel elision. This can be demonstrated with the verb form *nki'inow* [nˈgiʔinow] 'I want'. The basic voice-

[89] It has been argued that the vowel /ɪ/ generally leads to palatalization, but can be found completely deleted as well.

less form [niˈkiʔinow] with the vowel between the nasal /n/ and the velar plosive /k/ actually co-exists with the reduced and voiced form:

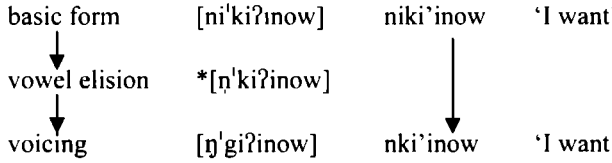

Figure 2.2 Voicing of non-continuant consonants

Figure 2.2 shows that of the basic form *niki'inow* the vowel in the first syllable, the personal proclitic *ni-* '1SG' is reduced by vowel elision into a bare nasal *n-*. The reduced but not voiced form does not exist as such, but the process of voicing is applied when the nasal and the velar consonant are adjacent and give us the form *nki'inow* [ŋˈgiʔinow]. In the form with the voiced consonant the nasal remains syllabic, because the first syllable of the verb stem is stressed, and generally it is the second syllable that attracts stress, as shown in 2.4.

In many cases the voiced form is the only used form, as e.g. in *ntori* 'my friend (141). Then the nasal and the consonant will be written adjacent. In other cases the voicing as a result of vowel elision only occurs in faster speech. This has already been argued for vowel elision itself (cf. 2.2.1).

The voicing process occurs most often in word initial position and there between the reduced personal proclitic *n-* '1SG' and the initial non-continuant consonant of a noun (where the clitic marks the possessor) or a verb (where the clitic marks the subject). The voicing can be regarded as a kind of assimilation of the consonant. Meanwhile, the nasal before velar /k/ becomes velar as well [ŋ], whereas before the bilabial /p/ it may sound like [m]. Before I explain how the phenomenon of voicing is restricted, here are some examples with the nasal /n/:

[nd] < /nt/

(141)	*ntori*	[nˈdɔrʲ]	/ntori/	'my friend'
	činti	[ˈtʃi:ndʲ]	/ˈtʃinti/	'person'
	hintani	[hinˈdaŋ]	/hinˈtani/	'what do I know?'

[ŋg] < /nk/

(142)	*nki'inow*	[ŋˈgiʔinow]	/nˈkiʔinow/	'I want'
	nka	[ˈŋga]	/ˈnka/	NEG
	sinka	[ˈsiŋga]	/sinka/	'five (animals)'; Sp. *cinco*

[nb] or [mb] < /np/

(143)	*nporiaw*	[nborˈiaw]	/nporiˈaw/	'I am sewing'
	npapi	[mˈbapʲ]	/nˈpapi/	'I give you'

[ndʒ] < /ntʃ/

(144)	*nčowor*	[nˈdʒowɔr]	/nˈtʃowor/	'I know it'
	trinč(i)	[tri:ndʒ$^{(j)}$]	/trintʃ(i)/	'fork'; Sp. *trinche*

In examples (142) and (144) there are Spanish loans, in which the same voicing process has changed the sounds of the non-continuant consonants with the preceding na-

sal. Those voiced consonants are pronounced voiceless in the Spanish original. In some of the examples there are also voiced consonants in word initial or final position. These are some of the few examples. It can be argued that most examples of the voicing process are found with two consonants that have the same place of articulation, i.e. /n/ and /t/ and further on also /m/ and /p/. The latter is exemplified here:

(145)	*simpe*	[ˈsimbə]	/ˈsimpe/	'ray (fish sp.)'
	nisompowor	[niˈsɔmbowor]	/niˈsom(o)powor/	'I hear him'
	nikompar	[niˈkɔmbar]	/niˈkompar/	'my mate'; Sp. *compadre*

The combination of /m/ and any of the other consonants neither causes the voicing process, nor do these combinations occur very frequently. Here it also does not matter if the consonants occur adjacent after vowel elision.

It is interesting to observe that voiceless consonants in the combinations of /n/ and /t/ and adjacent /m/ and /p/ can only be found in Spanish loanwords. In the combination of /n/ and /k/ and /tʃ/, there are some idiosyncratic cases of voicing, as e.g. in some Spanish loanwords. The only pace where voicing can really be observed regularly is word initially when the personal proclitic *ni-* '1SG' is reduced to *n-* in faster speech. This occurs with all non-continuant consonants. These observations are summed up in Table 2.12. Word internally and finally the combinations of /n/ with /k/, /p/, and /tʃ/, and /m/ with /t/, /k/, and /tʃ/ do not lead to voicing at all. In the following examples the nasal /n/ is adjacent with /k/, /p/, and /tʃ/ without voicing:

(146)	*šonkip*	[ʃɔ̃ŋˈki:p]	/ʃonˈkip/	'path'
(147)	*nčinčivi*	[n̥ˈdʒi:ntʃivʲ]	/nˈtʃɪn(i)tʃivi/	'I understand you'
(148)	*niyonpoek*	[niˈjɔnpoɛk]	/nɪjon(o)poek/	'I walk on the ground'

In these examples the nasal /m/ is adjacent with /t/, /k/, and /tʃ/ without voicing:

(149)	*pomtoš*	[ˈpomtɔʃ]	/ˈpom(o)toʃ/	'one plant'
(150)	*hamkon*	[ˈhamkɔn]	/ˈham(o)kon/	'black'
(151)	*noemčowa*	[nɜmˈtʃowaʔ]	/noem(o) ˈtʃowa/	'they put palm leaves'

The observations of the voicing process in Baure are summed up in Table 2.12:

non-continuant / nasal	/p/	/t/	/k/	/tʃ/
/m/ causes voicing	+	–	–	–
/m/ causes voicing in Spanish loans	–	no case	no case	no case
/n/ causes voicing after *n-* '1SG' in verbs and nouns	+	+	+	+
/n/ causes voicing word internally or finally	–	+	–	–
/n/ causes voicing in Spanish loans	no case	–	(+)	(+)

Table 2.12: Which combinations of a nasal and a non-continuant lead to voicing

The process of voicing can also be observed at word boundaries (cf. 2.6).

2 5 2 Vowel assimilation and loss

This section concerns the results of specific vowel combinations at morpheme boundaries, i e when a vowel initial morpheme is attached to a vowel final morpheme When two vowels come together, the effects of assimilation, diphthong, or vowel drop depend on the quality of each vowel Because of the general CVCV pattern and some restrictions on syllable structures, not all combinations occur Table 2 13 sums up the possible combinations and the assimilation or vowel drop

First of all there is only one prefixable morpheme that has an initial *o-*[90], but this has to be regarded as highly exceptional In general there are no morphemes with initial /o/ On the other hand, the majority of morphemes end in the vowel /o/ or /ɪ/ As mentioned before, the vowel /o/ is a weak vowel and this is also reflected by its morphophonological behaviour it is dropped in combination with the strong vowels /a/ and /e/ Here are a couple of examples to demonstrate this

Rule /Co-/ + /a-/ = /Ca-/ (drop of vowel *-o*)

(152) *raroni*
ro=aroni
3SG=dress
'his dress

(153) *mavinon*
mo-avinon
PRIV-husband
'not married (without husband)'

(154) *nehmapa*
nɪ=ehe-mo-a-pa
1SG=wash-CLF woven-LK-GO
'I go to wash the piece of cloth '

Rule /Co-/ + /e-/ = /Ce-/ (drop of vowel *-o*)

(155) *reyon*
ro=eyon
3SGm=wife
'his wife'

(156) *mevrikon*
mo-evrikon
PRIV-slow
'not slow'

When the vowel /o/ is adjacent to the high vowel /ɪ/, no vowel loss, but assimilation into the diphthong /oe/ can be observed In the following there are examples of this assimilation

[90] The noun *-os* grandmother as mentioned above

Rule: /Co-/ + /i-/ = /Coe-/ (assimilation)

(157) *roemir*
ro=ɪmir
3SGm=face
'his face'

(158) *moeron*
mo-iron
PRIV-parent
'orphan'

This process can occur anywhere in a word, and also more than once in one word, as in (161):

(159) *poeš*
po-i-š
one-CLF:fruit&bird-one
'one (bird)'

(160) *hamoen*
hamo-i-no
black-CLF:fruit&bird-NOM1
'black (bird)'

(161) *noemoešoerekoni.*
no=imo-išoereko=ni
3PL=CAUS-cook=1SG
'They make me cook.'

The vowel /i/ is the only one that can be adjacent to an identical vowel. The combination of /i/ with /i/ generally leads to one vowel /i/, which can be lengthened, if the lexeme is disyllabic or if the syllable is stressed. I would suspect an underlying rule of vowel drop of one of two identical vowels (V_1 + V_1), even though there is only one exceptional case in which /o/ is adjacent to /o/, and even though I have not found any examples where /a/ or /e/ are adjacent to the identical vowel:

Rule: /CV_1-/ + /V_1-/ = /CV_1-/ (of two identical vowels one is dropped)

(162) *rimir*
ri=imir
3SGf=face
'her face'

(163) *ros*
ro=os
3SGm=grandmother
'his grandmother'

The vowel /i/ in combination with /a/ and /e/ creates the diphthongs /ia/, which only exist at morpheme boundaries (cf. 2.1.2), and /ie/. If the vowel /a/ is followed by /i/ at morpheme boundaries, assimilation creates the same diphthong as when /o/ and /i/

come together, which is /oe/. Then there may be the two adjacent vowels /ea/ as a diphthong that also only occurs at morpheme boundaries. The other combinations of vowels cannot be found in the data, even though I do not want to argue that none of the combinations could ever occur.

Finally, there is some additional information necessary in order to understand morphophonological effects of two adjacent vowels at morpheme boundaries: this concerns the special behaviour of the personal proclitics that contain the vowel /i/. Except for the clitic *ri-* '3SGf', all other personal proclitics that contain /i/ drop this vowel regularly in combination with any vowel. This shows that the clitics *ni-* '1SG', *pi-* '2SG', *vi-* '1PL', and *yi-* '2PL' all contain the weak vowel /i/, whereas /i/ in *ri-* '3SGf' is a strong vowel and is not dropped. The following example shows this difference of the behaviour in vowel combination:

(164) *navinon*, *pavinon* BUT: *riavinon*
ni=avinon *pi=avinon* *ri=avinon*
1SG=husband 2SG=husband 3SGf=husband
'my husband, your husband' 'her husband'

(165) *nehmoekow*, *vehmoekow* BUT: *riehmoekow*
ni=ehmoeko-wo *vi=ehmoeko-wo* *ri=ehmoeko-wo*
1SG=wash.clothes-COP 1PL=wash.clothes-COP 3SGf=wash.clothes-COP
'I wash clothes, we wash clothes' 'she washes clothes'

The weak vowel /i/ that occurs word finally and leads to palatalization of the preceding consonant (cf. 2.2.2) changes into a strong /i/ and is not dropped if a vowel-initial morpheme is attached, as it can be observed in the following example:

(166) *ntoriapa*
ni=tori-a-pa
1SG=friend-LK-GO
'(someone) is going to be my friend'

It has been argued in 2.4 that the final vowel /i/ of the noun *ntori* 'my friend' is a weak vowel, as it causes palatalization of the consonant /rʲ/. In the predicate in (166) the vowel /i/ is not dropped when followed by the linker *-a*, but a diphthong is created. The summary of the statements on vowel combinations is found in Table 2.13:

V2 \ V1	/o/	/i/	/a/	/e/
/o/	(/o/)	/oe/	/a/	/e/
strong /i/	(/io/)	/i/	/ia/	/ie/
weak /i/	(/o/)	/i/	/a/	/e/
/a/	not attested	/oe/	not attested	not attested
/e/	not attested	not attested	/ea/	not attested

Table 2.13 Vowel combinations

The process of assimilation can also be observed at word boundaries (cf. 2.6).

2.5.3. Vowel harmony

There are a number of morphemes with a relative flexible vowel /o/, as e.g. attributive prefix *ko-* or the bound adjectival root *čo-* 'big'. When these morphemes are prefixed to a consonant initial morpheme they are generally realized with the vowel /o/. When prefixed to a vowel the /o/ is dropped or assimilates into /oe/ (before /i/), and when the following syllable contains the vowel /a/, the vowel in the morphemes changes in harmony into /a/ as well. This is demonstrated in the following examples:

(167) *nikopirohew.*
ni=ko-piro-he-wo
1SG=ATTR-heat-DISTR-COP
'I have fever.'

(168) *nikaharok.*
ni=ka-harok
1SG=ATTR-fire
'I light a fire.'

(169) *čose'*
čo-se
big-CLF:oval
'big (long oval thing)'

(170) *čapa'*
ča-pa
big-CLF:flat&round
'big (wide open container)'

This type of vowel harmony is recursive. There are no examples that work the other direction. It is always the following syllable which influences the preceding one. There are also other morphemes which have such a flexible vowel, changed according to vowel harmony under certain conditions. I will only discuss one more example here: the applicative suffix *-čo*. If this suffix is followed directly by a personal enclitic (referring to an object) that contains the vowel /i/, the suffix changes into *-či* as well. There is a contrastive example below:

(171) *nikahašečor.*
ni=ka-haše-čo=ro
1SG=ATTR-hat-APPL=3SGm
'I put him a hat on.'

(172) *pikahašečini.*
pi=ka-haše-či=ni
2SG=ATTR-hat-APPL=1SG
'You put me a hat on.'

Examples (171) and (172) also give a further example of vowel harmony of the attributive prefix, which occurs in the form *ka-* here according to the first syllable of the noun *-haše* 'hat'.

Vowel harmony can also be observed at word boundaries in a phonological phrase (cf. 2.6).

2.5.4. Metathesis

There are mainly two types of metathesis in Baure: one is a phonological process of a syllable and the other one derivational. Both types are contact metathesis, i.e. a morpheme of CV is inverted into VC under certain conditions. The phonological process mainly concerns the syllables /ji/ and /hi/, which are turned around if word finally or in fast speech. Words ending in /ji/ and /hi/, where the final /i/ does not carry stress, invert these syllables and create a type of diphthong with the vowel of the preceding syllable (compare 2.1.2). This type of metathesis is schematized in Figure 2.3 and exemplified below:

$C_1V_1C_2V_2 \rightarrow C_1V_1V_2C_2$ where V_1= /a/, /o/, /e/
V_2= /i/
C_2= /j/, /h/

Figure 2.3. Metathesis in Baure

Figure 2.3 shows that the syllable C_2V_2 is inverted into V_2C_2 if V_1 is not a high vowel and V_2 is the high vowel, so that the two vowels V_1V_2 can create a closing diphthong. C_2 has to be the glide /j/ or the fricative /h/. The examples of the isolated words with word final metathesis will be contrasted with the plural forms of the words in which the inverted syllables occurs in the original CV order:

(173) *nɪpoiy* 'my foot' → *nɪpoyɪnev* 'my feet'
(174) *nɪ'aiy* 'my brother' → *nɪ'ayɪnev* 'my brothers'
(175) *poeh*[91] 'duck' → *pohinev* 'ducks'

In (175) metathesis has even caused assimilation of the vowel /ɪ/ and the diphthong /oe/ results from the two adjacent vowels. There is another metathesis of a vowel and a glide, which only occurs after the vowel /i/: a word final /i/ that gets the copula suffix *-wo* attached leads to metathesis of the copula and creates a triphthong type (b) (cf. 2.1.2) in the form *-iow* (*-ɪ* + *-wo*), as represented in the following example:

(176) *tiow*
ti-wo
DEM1f-COP
'this is'

In fast speech this type of metathesis can be observed more frequently with some other verbal suffixes, as e.g. with *-pa* 'GO' in the following examples:

(177) *nkačpa* → *nkačap*[92]
ni=kač-pa
1SG=go-GO
'I am going to go'

[91] This lexeme was written as *pohɪ* by d'Orbigny (1845:117), and in Trinitario the word is *pohɪ* as well.
[92] The expression *nkačap* 'I am going to go' is used for a general 'goodbye'.

(178) *nimokpa* → *nimokap*
ni=ɪmok-pa
1SG=sleep-GO
'I am going to sleep'

Sometimes metathesis may be caused by the syllable pattern and stress rules. Here it can be noticed that the verb base final absolute suffix *-ko* may lead to metathesis when preceded by /i/. In the metathesis the /i/ is then changed into the position that directly follows the consonant /k/ of the absolute suffix. This only happens optionally when certain morphemes follow, mainly those that contain the vowel /a/. Compare the following examples in which this type of metathesis can be observed in the second example, but not in the first:

(179) a. *risapikoper* → b. *risapkiwaner*
ri=sapiko-pa=ro *ri=sapiko-wana=ro*
3SGf=poke-GO=3SGm 3SGf=poke-DEP=3SGm
'she went to poke him' 'she poked him and left' [GP-N1/II-17]

Many more cases of metathesis can be observed in derivation. It has been observed in compounds that the second noun or classifier can be changed by metathesis:

(180) *sɪporan* < *sipor* + *na'*
'austrich egg' austrich egg

Furthermore metathesis was found among alienable-inalienable stem derivations.

(181) a. *pɪnikori*
pɪ=nɪko-rɪ
2SG=eat-NOM3
'your plate'

(181) b. *nɪkɪrok*
nɪkɪro-ko
plate-ABS
'plate'

(182) a. *nahmer*
ni=ahmer
1SG=paper
'my paper'

(182) b. *hamerok*
hamero-ko
paper-ABS
'paper'

2.5.5. Encliticization

The morphophonological changes in this section only concern a specific type of enclitics: the personal cross-reference enclitics, used for object reference on verbal predicates. The personal proclitics have already been mentioned in this chapter, as some of them drop a vowel and cause e.g. voicing of a stem-initial consonant (cf. 2.5.1). But besides the already described processes there are no drastic changes in form of the proclitics. The enclitic forms, on the other hand, change their forms when attaching to certain morphemes. The changes are phonologically conditioned, but they can only be observed with the enclitics and not when homophonous verbal suffixes attach in the same slot. One type of change only concerns the third person enclitics. This type will be shown first. Another change only concerns the 2SG enclitic, described further below.

The underlying forms of the third person clitics are *-ro* '3SGm', *-rɪ* '3SGf', and *-no* '3PL'[93] Word finally, the morphemes with the vowel /o/ show vowel elision when attached, the morpheme with the vowel /ɪ/ (*-rɪ* '3SGf') palatalizes the rhotic The phonological change that is specific for these enclitics occurs when they are attached to any verbal morpheme that ends in /a/, and also to some others containing the vowel /o/, as e g *-'ɪno* 'SUBJ', *-no* 'NOM1', *-čo* 'APPL' or 'NOM2' The list of morphemes where the change occurs appears to be so long that it is easier to say where it does not occur after the copula morpheme *-wo* and the perfective morpheme *-po* To start with I will give one example and explain the phonological change with the help of it Regard the personal enclitic *-no* '3PL' in (183) and compare the underlying forms in the second line

(183) a	*pɪvekon*	compare	b	*pɪvekɪen*
	pɪ=veko-no			*pɪ=veko=no*
	2SG=speak-NOM1			2SG=speak=3PL
	'your speaking'			'you speak to them'

Underlyingly both examples show the same forms, but there is no sound change observed when the nominalizing suffix *-no* is attached directly to the verb *-vek(o)-* 'speak', whereas the form of the personal enclitic *-no* '3PL' changes together with the verb final syllable *-ko* into *-kɪen* instead of *-kon* Both the nominalizing suffix and the clitic have the underlying form *-no*, but in the attachment of the clitic there is a vowel change from *-o* (in *-ko*) to the vowel *-e*, which then causes the palatalization and occurs as *-ɪe* in *-kɪen* Depending on the type of consonant of the last syllable this palatalization occurs or does not occur It mainly occurs with the velar plosive /k/ A final morpheme *-pa* 'GO' changes into *-pen* when the enclitic for 3PL is attached The same sound change can be observed with the clitic *-ro* '3SGm' The form of the verb would then be *pɪvekɪer* 'you speak to him' (compare (183)b) The feminine enclitic *-rɪ* '3SGf' changes into two different forms mainly after *-ko* it attaches as *-kɪrɪ*, but after other morphemes as e g *-pa* 'GO' it is *-perɪ* On account of this and all the other sound changes in a phonological word, the representation of the examples will always include a line that shows the underlying form This sound change is also observed when the enclitic is attached to the verb stem directly Here is a list of the sound changes n combination with the different morphemes

-ša	+	*-ro* = *-šer*	*-ša*	+	*-rɪ* = *-šerɪ*	*-ša*	+	*-no* = *-šen*
-pa	+	*-ro* = *-per*	*-pa*	+	*-rɪ* = *-perɪ*	*-pa*	+	*-no* = *-pen*
-ko	+	*-ro* = *-kɪer*	*-ko*	+	*-rɪ* = *-kɪrɪ*	*-ko*	+	*-no* = *-kɪen*
-pɪk(o)	+	*-ro* = *-pɪkɪer*	*-pɪk(o)*	+	*-rɪ* = *-pɪkɪrɪ*	*-pɪk(o)*	+	*-no* = *-pɪkɪen*
-čo	+	*-ro* = *-čer*	*-čo*	+	*-rɪ* = *-čerɪ*	*-čo*	+	*-no* = *-čen*
-ɪyo	+	*-ro* = *-ɪyer*	*-ɪyo*	+	*-rɪ* = *-ɪyerɪ*	*-ɪyo*	+	*-no* = *-ɪyen*
-wana	+	*-ro* = *-waner*	*-wana*	+	*-rɪ* = *-wanerɪ*	*-wana*	+	*-no* = *-wanen*
-ɪno	+	*-ro* = *-ɪner*	*-ɪno*	+	*-rɪ* = *-ɪnerɪ*	*-ɪno*	+	*-no* = *-ɪnen*

[91] For a complete description of personal clitics cf Chapter 8 and Table 8 9

The sound change that concerns the 2SG enclitic *-pi* is a fusion with the word final copula suffix *-wo* into the form *-vi* (< *-wo* + *-pi*). Sometimes the copula morpheme is not fused but the sound change occurs nonetheless, which is then the form *-wovi* (< *-wo* + *-pi*). In many cases it cannot be argued definitely that the fusion of the two morphemes took place at all and that the copula morpheme is existent underlyingly. This is because the copula very often does not change the meaning of the verb a lot and a verb can be used alternatively without it in many examples. When asked in elicitation the speakers are generally not aware of an underlying morpheme and give the other forms with the different persons without the copula in a paradigm. Finally, the changed form *-vi* for 2SG is frequently co-existent in use with the original underlying form *-pi*. What is especially striking is that by changing its form like that the enclitic becomes ambiguous and may refer to 2SG (underlyingly (*-wo*)*-pi*) or 1PL, which is underlyingly *-vi*. Here is an example that shows this type of sound change and the ambiguity:

(184)	a.	*rimokokavi*	compare:	b.	*rimokokavi*
		ri=imo-koka-wo=pi			*ri=imo-koka=vi*
		3SGf=CAUS-laugh-COP=2SG			3SGf=CAUS-laugh=1PL
		'she is making you laugh'			'she is making us laugh'

In another example a speaker told me there was a difference in meaning when the copula is added or not, but this would not be confirmed by all other speakers:

(185)	a.	*ver nčinčpavi*	compare:	b.	*ver nčinčpapi*
		ver ni=činč-pa-wo=pi			*ver ni=činč-pa=pi*
		PERF 1SG=understand-GO-COP=2SG			PERF 1SG=understand-GO=2SG
		'I already understand you'			'I already understood you'

In (185)a the word final form *-vi* can be analyzed as the fusion of the two morphemes, the copula *-wo* and the 2SG enclitic *-pi*. The example in (185)b shows the lack of the form change and the speaker argues that there is the difference in meaning that the b-example refers to the past. It is difficult to decide if the analysis is correct, as the speakers all speak fluent Spanish and wish to have two different forms in Baure where they are different in Spanish, especially when referring to tense differences. I am not all too sure if this is correct, but it may still be the case that the copula morpheme is there underlyingly when the sound change occurs and if it is absent, as in (185)b the sound change does not occur.

On the other hand there are also examples of the applicative *-čo* that changes due to vowel harmony into *-či* where the enclitic form is *-vi* '2SG' (*-čivi* < *-čo* + *-pi*). There it could also be argued that an underlying copula first changed the enclitic into the form *-vi* (*-čo* + *-wo* + *-pi* > *-čo* + *-vi* > *-čivi*) and only thereafter the vowel harmony is activated. There is no solution to this as the speakers' data is not always as definite and clear as a linguist may wish, and speakers may apply a rule only sometimes and may or may not be aware of the rule or the underlying forms.

None of the enclitics seem to change their form if they are the second of two enclitics in double object marking.

2 6 The phonological phrase

Some of the (morpho-)phonological processes that have been described are not restricted to word boundaries, but can occur between words as well within a phonological unit, called the phonological phrase This seems to be a characteristic of Arawak languages in general (e g Pet 1979 on Lokono, Aikhenvald 1996 on Bare and 1998 on Warekena) A phonological phrase is not such a fixed unit as a phonological word and it depends on the speed of utterance In normal speed or precise speech or in elicitation words occur in isolation, the phonological boundaries are generally identical to the word boundaries But the faster it is spoken the more words can be bound into one phonological phrase, which can be identical with a syntactic unit, the clause, but does not have to be necessarily The phonological phrase shows one sustained pitch and generally one primary stress (as already argued by Pet 1979 325 for what he calls "pause group") Because of the prosodic dependency of the phonological phrase all my data and all the examples are represented with the isolated forms, the phonological words, but in this section I will show which phonological processes may occur in a phonological phrase Some of these processes only occur in the phonological phrase, such as consonant drop

Starting with the processes that have been described, one of the most prominent processes in the phonological phrase is vowel elision (cf 2 2 1) As mentioned in 2 4 2, a monosyllabic word always attaches to another word, as e g the article *to* In the following example of a short phonological phrase it can be observed that the article *to* even drops its vowel and the consonant /t/ phonetically attaches to the preceding word

(186) [ngawapat ˈsɛs] /nkawapat ˈses/
nkawapa to ses
nka-wapa *to* *ses*
NEG-COS ART sun
'There is no sun any more ' [IS-12/4/03-16]

The same elision in this monosyllabic word can be observed in the frequently used expression *nka to ka* 'there is nothing/no-one who' This is shown in (187)

(187) [ngat ka ˈʔaskɔɲ] /nkat ka askoni/
nka to ka askoni
nka *to* *ka* *asko=ni*
NEG ART IND help=1SG
'There is no-one who helps me ' [LO/GP-15/7/04-156]

It is possible that stress shifts when vowels are deleted, and stress may even fall on a syllable that is not realized in the word in isolation, a syllable that actually forms the boundary between two words This is shown in the following phonological phrase

(188) [worapiˈkɔtsoˌwɔn] /worapiˈkot soˌwon/
worapik to sowon
worapik *to* *sowon*
PERF COME ART rain
'The rain already comes (in rainy season) ' [IS-12/4/03-18]

In isolation the stress would fall on *-pik* in the word *worapik* 'already come' Example (188) shows that the stress of the whole phrase has shifted to the following closed syllable, which consists of the last consonant of the word *worapik*, then an additional vowel (which may or may not be the underlying final /o/ which was deleted[94]), and the consonant of the article word *to*, of which the vowel has been deleted This effect can also be observed with personal proclitics. They are syntactically part of the following base they are attached to in isolation, but in a phonological phrase, the clitic may phonetically attach to the preceding word This is demonstrated in the following two examples

(189) [rɔkatʃˌpowor'pɛnije] /rokatʃporpenije/
rokačpow ropeni-ye
ro=kač-po-wo *ro=peni-ye*
3SGm=go-PRFLX-COP 3SGm=cave-LOC
'He went away into his cave ' [RP-N2/I-34]

(190) [aˌtʃirʲ kʲe'tœrowin] /aˌtʃiri kie'toerovin/
ač rikietoerovin?
ač *ri=kie-toero=vi-no*
and 3SGf=EV-do how-COP-NOM1
'And what is she doing to us (lit. how is she doing us)?' [AD/DC-D2-1]

In both examples a proclitic is phonetically attached to the preceding word In (189) it is the proclitic *ro-* '3SGm', which refers to the possessor of the following noun, in (190) it is *ri-* '3SGf', which refers to the subject of the following verb Interestingly, the morphemes to which the clitics phonetically attach obey the same attachment rules as they have been argued for enclitics in 2 5 6

It has been shown in 2.2 1 that word final vowels /o/ and /i/ are dropped when the words occur in isolation It is possible that these vowels reoccur in a phonological phrase. The vowel is used to bind one word to the following, which is not always possible with two consonants. This can be observed in (188) and (189) In both examples the word final vowel /o/ that is generally dropped in isolation, as it can be seen by the orthographic representation, occurs in order to bind the following word phonetically. In (190) the vowel /i/ occurs after the word *ač* 'and' But is this really the underlying vowel of the word *ač* 'and'? Not necessarily, because the vowel in between two words is not always an underlying vowel of the word itself, but rather a kind of epenthetic vowel In many cases this epenthetic vowel is flexible and obeys vowel harmony rules, i e the vowel that appears between the two words depends on the vowel of the following syllable Therefore we can also find [atʃe] or [atʃo] in certain other examples. Another word, the verb and preverbal particle *kač* 'go' is used to demonstrate this vowel harmony again

[94] This vowel at word boundaries is also sometimes pronounced [a]

(191) [vɛrkatʃo noˈkɔʃɪr] /verkatʃo noˈkoʃɪr/
ver kač nokošır
ver *kač* *no=ko-šır*
PERF GO 3PL=ATTR-son
'They are already goıng to lay eggs (lıt have kıds) ' [RP-1/9/03-93]

(192) [vɛrkatʃɪ vɪˈʃœrɛkɔp] /verkatʃɪ vɪˈʃoerekop/
ver kač vıšoerekop
ver *kač* *vɪ=ıšoereko-po*
PERF GO 1PL=cook-PRFLX
'We are already goıng to cook ' [RP-1/9/03-89]

(193) [vɛr hã katʃa rɔˈharɛ] /ver ha katʃa rohare/
ver –ha– kač rohare
ver *ha* *kač* *ro=hare*
PERF HES GO 3SGm=lıght
'It ıs already gettıng lıght ' [JC-8/8/03-5]

When there are two vowels comıng together ın a phonologıcal phrase, the same rules may apply as ın the morphophonology (2 5 2) Here ıs an example where a dıphthong results from two vowels at word boundarıes

(194) [nıhınɔk ˈtoemɪ] /nıhınok toemɪ/
nıhınok to ımı
nı=hınok *to* *ımı*
1SG=see ART tajıbo
'I look at the tajıbo tree ' [JP-S2-10]

In (194) the artıcle *to* attaches to the followıng noun *ımı* 'tajıbo (tree sp)', whıch ıs vowel ınıtıal and the two vowels /o/ + /ı/ result ın the dıphthong /oe/, just as ıt has been descrıbed for morpheme boundarıes (2 5 2)

When words are bound phonetıcally we can also observe the loss of consonants Maınly ıt ıs one of two ıdentıcal consonants, and the rhotıc /r/ ıs frequently lost ın specıfic combınatıons Here are two examples of the drop of /r/

(195) [vɛrɛˈpen] /verepen/
ver repen
ver *ro=epen*
PERF 3SGm=be dead
'He ıs already dead ' [AO-19/8/03-6]

(196) [vɛnga naˈsoroˌhewapa] /venka naˈsoroˌhewapa/
ver nka nasorohewapa
ver *nka* *nı=asoro-he-wapa*
PERF NEG 1SG=be strong-DISTR-COS
'I am not strong any more ' [JC-13/8/03-67]

In (195) the two adjacent rhotıcs fuse ınto one ambısyllabıc /r/, whereas the rhotıc of the word *ver* 'already' ın (196) ıs lost completely ın favour of the followıng conso-

nant cluster The consonant cluster of the nasal and the voiced plosive may also be the reason why the preceding consonant /r/ has to be dropped, it would be the third consonant in a sequence, and generally consonant clusters are not favoured (cf 2 4 1) This process cannot really be observed on any other than on the level of the phonological phrase

In 2 5 1 it was shown that non-continuant consonants get voiced after a nasal with certain restrictions (cf Table 2 12) This process can be observed between words when the nasal /n/ and the plosive /t/ are adjacent, but in no other case This voicing effect in a phonological phrase can be noticed in the following two examples

(197) [ˌkɔndɔ pɪkɔˈmɔrɪk] /ˌkonto pɪkoˈmorɪk/
kon to pɪkomorɪk?
kon *to* *pɪ=ɪkomorɪk*
who/what ART 2SG=kɪll
'What have you kɪlled?' [LO-29/8/03-98]

(198) [ˌpoɛkʃɔhkɔndɔ kaˈhapʰ] /ˌpoekʃohkonto kaˈhap/
poekɪš hokon to kahap
po-ɪkɪ-š *hokon* *to* *kahap*
one-CLF net-one basket ART manɪoc
'one basket full of manɪoc' [RP-9/7/04-24]

Example (198) is a good overview of a number of processes that can be observed in a phonological phrase vowel elision of the vowel /ɪ/ in *poekɪš* [poɛkʃ] 'one (contents)', epenthesis of the vowel /o/ in between the two words *poekɪš hokon* [poɛkʃɔhkɔn], or metathesis of the first syllable of *hokon* [(ɔ)hkɔn] 'basket', voicing of the word initial plosive /t/ of the article *to*, and finally word final aspiration of *kahap* [kaˈhapʰ] 'manioc' This aspiration is one of the definite signs for the end of a phonological phrase only the final consonant of the phonological phrase can be aspirated

3. Morphological processes and word classes

Baure is a polysynthetic, incorporating, agglutinative, and head-marking language (Sapir 1921, Comrie 1989, Croft 2003, Nichols 1986). Words can consist of up to nine morphemes with one, two or more lexical roots, as in (1):

(1) *pehmoekpoeiyin-niš?*
pɪ=eh-mo-ɪ-ko-pa-yɪ-no=niš
2SG=wash-CLF:woven-DUR-ABS-GO-LOC-NOM1=EXCLA
'Where are you going to wash clothes then?' [DC-8/3/06-73]

The word in (1) consists of a person proclitic, a verb root, an incorporated classifier (second lexical root), five suffixes, and a clausal enclitic. This is what traditionally has been called polysynthetic: "to combine a large number of morphemes, be they lexical or grammatical, into a single word, corresponding to a sentence of English" (Comrie 1989:45). In a spot check in narratives (1583 words) the ratio was 2,74 (4201 total) morphemes per word[95]. The ratio is relatively low because there are so many (monomorphemic) preverbal particles (cf. 7). These particles tend to replace verbal suffixes. This may suggest a development of Baure into a more analytic language, possibly under the influence of Spanish. Originally Baure may have been more synthetic, as the typology particularly of the southern group of the Arawak language family suggests (Aikhenvald 1999:86, 2001:171). Only taking the verbs of these texts into account the ratio becomes 4,38 morphemes per verb.

Along with argument marking by cross-referencing clitics on verbs there is also incorporation of noun roots and classifiers into verbs and other constituents. These incorporated roots either refer to an argument of a situation or some other element involved. Both argument-marking and incorporation lead to the morphological complexity. Further we can detect compounding of noun roots, classifiers, and even grammatical morphemes into fixed units.

The degree of fusion is extremely low in Baure. Very few morphemes refer to more than one grammatical category, such as e.g. the personal clitics, which denote person, gender (only 3SG) and number. As (1) illustrates, each morpheme generally has one meaning, and morphemes are separable.

The term head-marking has been coined by Nichols (1986): syntactic relations are morphologically marked on the head rather than on the dependent of a phrase. Examples are the marking of the possessed noun by a possessor proclitic, the argument marking on verbs, and the additional manipulation of the semantic roles of these arguments by causative, benefactive and applicative marking on verbs. There are no core cases in Baure, only locative nouns are marked by a locative suffix, a possible instance of dependent-marking.

If we take argument cross-referencing clitics as inflectional, Baure is a pro-drop language, in which explicit arguments are frequently omitted. In narratives the subject proclitics, mainly for 3SGm, but also incidentally 3SGf, are omitted when topical.

[95] This check has been inspired by van Gijn (2006:47). I excluded all interjections like *aiy* and *boen* and the frequent Spanish loans as e.g. *pikor* 'rascal', *powor* 'poor', *sons* 'stupid', *kes* 'cheese' and some others, as they are generally monomorphemic in Baure

Personal enclitics are pronominal in nature (cf. 5.1.2), which means that there is either an explicit object NP or the object enclitic on the verb.

In this chapter the different types of morphological processes are presented (3.1), followed by an overview of the parts of speech identified in Baure (3.8). In the beginning root, stem and base of a word in Baure are defined. Then free and bound morphemes are distinguished from another, followed by specific reference to the different kinds of bound morphemes. Morphological processes include affixation (3.3), cliticization (3.4), reduplication (3.5), compounding (3.6), and incorporation (3.7).

3.1. Roots, stems, bases and words

Example (2) is a further case of a verb with quite complex morphology:

(2) *nihinoekinašapir.*
ni=hino-i-ko-ino-a-ša=pi=ro
1SG=see-DUR-ABS-BEN-LK-IRR=2SG=3SGm
'I will look for it for you.' [RP-N3-74]

The verb in (2) carries three clitics that cross-refer to the following arguments in the clause: *ni-* '1SG' to the subject, *pi-*'2SG' to the recipient, and *-ro* '3SGm' to the patient. The verb root *-hino-* 'see' is followed by a number of grammatical suffixes, which manipulate the meaning. The root can be distinguished from the stem and the base of the verb. The verb base *-hinoek-* 'look for' is the actual unit that the grammatical morphemes *-ino* 'BEN' and *-ša* 'IRR' and the personal clitics are attached to.

There are three levels distinguished in a word: root, stem, and base.[96] First the levels are defined. Payne (1997:24) defined the terms root and stem as follows: "A *root* is an unanalyzable form that expresses the basic lexical content of the word. [...] A *stem* consists minimally of a root, but may be analyzable into a root plus derivational morphemes". In Baure the root is the most basic lexical morpheme of a word. The root cannot be analyzed further, but it may still be very different in meaning from the base. The stem is the meaning unit of a word, and it constitutes the level above the root and below the base. The base is finally the complete form that inflectional affixes and cross-referencing clitics are attached to. The base is an extension from the stem insofar that there are certain stem suffixes attached which are not directly related to the meaning and may be replaced in certain inflections. The word is the phonological unit that Baure speakers distinguish. It is phonologically relatively independent, but may be further affected by processes within the phonological phrase (cf. 2.6). The verbal word may be identical to a whole phrase or even clause. The base may be identical with the stem and the root, but in some forms the different levels need to be distinguished. Further certain root affixes can be identified, some of them lexical or fossilized forms. Other affixes are stem suffixes and base suffixes. The further away from the root, the more grammatical the morphemes generally are.

[96] In the tagmemic grammars of Arawak languages some of these levels were also differentiated. However, my distinctions are different from what Allin (1975) called root, stem, word, group, and phrase in his grammar on Resígaro. My labels do also not coincide with root, core, base, stem, and theme, differentiated for Baure by Baptista & Wallin (1967) or Amuesha by Wise (1963) Nonetheless their analyses helped me a lot analyzing the verb morphology and the different levels in Baure

However, some grammatical morphemes have also been fossilized as part of the base. Some other affixes are part of the base, but get replaced when certain morphemes are attached, given that the stem is the meaning unit and not the base. The citation form used throughout the grammar is the base.

It best to illustrate the different levels with two examples from the most complex word classes, verbs (3) and nouns (4):

(3) word: *nihinoekovi*
ni=hino-i-ko-wo=pi
1SG=look-DUR-ABS-COP=2SG
'I am looking for you.' [MD-12/7/04-102]

root:	**-hino-*	'see'
stem:	**-hinoe-*	'look for'
base:	*-hinoek-*	'look for'

The absolute suffix *-ko* is part of the verb base, but is sometimes replaced, e.g. when the suffix *-wana* 'DEP' is attached. The root *-hino-* occurs in the base *-hinok-* 'see, look'. The verb base *-hinoek-* 'look for' contains the stem *-hinoe-* [hino + i].

(4) word: *viyakison*
vi=yaki-so-no
1PL=fire-CLF:stick-POSS
'our firewood' [LO-29/8/03-80]

root I:	*yaki*	'fire'
root II:	*-so-*	'classifier: stick'
stem:	*yakis*	'firewood'
base:	*-yakison*	'firewood (possessed)'

In (4) there are two roots in a compound. One is a classifier root *-so* 'CLF:stick', the other one a free nominal root *yaki* 'fire'. The derived form *yakis* 'firewood' is also a free nominal base, which cannot be possessed. The possessive morpheme *-no* derives the bound base *-yakison* 'firewood', which needs to be marked by a possessor proclitic.

A noun can function as an argument in the clause, but also as a predicate. When used predicatively, the non-verbal base is the unit verbal morphemes are attached to (cf. 5). This is shown in (5) and (6):

(5) *riširanowor*
ri=šir-a-no-wo=ro
3SGf=son-LK-POSS-COP=3SGm
'It is her (the duck's) brood.' [LO/GP-18/7/04-22]

(6) *riširanonev*
ri=šir-a-no-nev
3SGf=son-LK-POSS-PL
'her brood (eggs)' [RP-19/7/04-28]

Sometimes a root may also be a grammatical morpheme One example is the copula predicate, which behaves like non-verbal predicates It is simply based on the attributive prefix *ko-*, as in (7)

(7) *kowapa teč rotir howoki*
ko-wapa teč rotir howoki
ATTR-COS DEM2m 3SGmP hole
'There is a hole in it (lit there is its hole) ' [HC-L13/9/03-22]

Even though generally the word stem carries the meaning, there are many examples where this is not so In particular non-verbal bases are much more influenced by the verbal morphemes than might be expected A very frequently used non-verbal base is the adverb or perfect preverbal particle *ver* 'already, PERF' This adverb can be combined with directional verbal suffixes like *-pa* 'GO' and *-pik* 'COME' Example (8) shows how much the interpretation actually comes from the morphemes added rather than from the base

(8) *verapikier nakoš teč vir*
ver-a-pik=ro *nakoš* *teč* *vir*
PERF-LK-COME=3SGm from there DEM2m wind
'The wind came from there ' [DC-10/4/06-86]

Lexical roots are mainly disyllabic or trisyllabic, whereas affixes and clitics are predominantly monosyllabic Those lexical roots that are predominantly monosyllabic are grammatical classifiers and bound adjectives

3 2 Free and bound morphemes

In Baure there are more bound than free morphemes Free morphemes are nouns, adjectives, adverbs, clause connectors, determiners, pronouns and particles Bound morphemes are all verbs, bound nouns (obligatorily possessed), classifiers, and right-bound adjectives (cf 4 9 1) All affixes and clitics are bound morphemes, but most of them are not exclusively bound to one word class In general clitics can be distinguished from affixes because they are placed on the outside (Halpern 1998 106), as in Figure 3 1

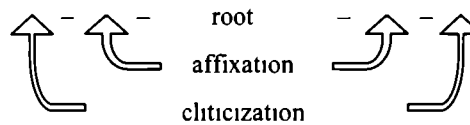

Figure 3 1 The layering around a word in Baure

The specific kinds of cliticization are discussed in 3 4

Bounded elements are represented by hyphens, e g *-piri* 'sibling' is a left-bound possessed noun, *čo-* is a right-bound adjectival root, *ko-* 'ATTR' is differentiated as a prefix from the suffix *-ko* 'ABS' and from the free interrogative particle *ko* 'why' Clitics are represented by a = sign in the glosses, e g *ro=* '3SGm' and *ni=* '1SG'

3 3 Affixation

There are many processes of affixation which cannot definitively be categorized as either inflectional or derivational

Nouns are distinguished into possessed and unpossessed, where possessed forms may be derived from the free unpossessed forms or vice versa This may be considered an inflectional process, as e g in (9)

	unpossessed		possessed
(9)	*yakı*	→	*nıyakın*
	yakı		*nı=yakı-no*
	fire		1SG=fire-POSS
	'fire'		'my fire'

In (9) the possessive suffix *-no* creates the noun *-yakın* 'fire', which carries the same meaning as *yakı* 'fire' The difference is the possessability The new form is likewise a noun, which is mainly used when the possessor is in focus Thus the form *-yakın* could be considered an inflectional form of *yakı* In other possessive derivations the new form differs in meaning from the source, as in (10)

	possessed		unpossessed
(10)	*rowakı*	→	*ewakı*
	ro=wakı		*e-wakı*
	3SGm=hand palm		UNSP-crotch
	'his palm of the hand'		'a crotch of branches'

The unspecified possessor marker *e-* in (10) derives the new lexical base *ewakı* 'crotch of branches' from the possessed noun *-wakı* 'palm of hand' How closely related derivation and inflection are, is shown by the fact that a second interpretation of *rowakı* is the translation 'its crotch of branches', where *ro-* '3SGm' refers to a tree as the possessor Therefore the meaning predominantly assigned to *ewakı* is already present in *rowakı* 'his palm of hand/crotch of branches'

Another problem is the interpretation of classifier suffixes on various word categories When a classifier referring to a noun in the immediate context is attached to a right-bound adjective, this could be analyzed as agreement, and is thus inflectional rather than derivational, as in (11)

(11) *to parı činompe*
to parı čino-mpe
ART house old-CLF flat
'an/the old house' [RP-15/8/03-72]

The classifier *-mpe-* 'CLF flat' refers to flat objects and houses In the NP in (11) the adjective *činompe* 'old (house)' modifies the head noun *parı* 'house' and is marked by the classifier as a kind of agreement However, this would presuppose agreement is generally associated with noun class systems In 4 7 it is argued that Baure seems to be on the margin between a classifier and a noun class system In fact classifiers are also frequently used for the derivation of new lexemes, as in (12)

(12) *kahar* → *kaharopi*
kahar *kaharo-pi*
cotton cotton-CLF:long&thin
'cotton' 'cotton thread'

An even more complicated case is the conversion of verbs into nouns in subordinate constructions, such as relative and interrogative clauses[97] with the nominalizer *-no* 'NOM1'. On the one hand this suffix derives nouns from verbs lexically, as in (13):

(13) *nti' imir nikon.*
nti' *imir* *niko-no*
1SG very eat-NOM1
'I am a big eater.' [RP-4/8/03-78]

The same derivational morpheme *-no* 'NOM1' marks the main verb of a relative clause, as in (14):

head relative clause
(14) *kwe' tin marip* *nikon čintinev.*
kwe' *tin* *marip* *niko-no* *činti-nev*
exist DEM3f witch eat-NOM1 person-PL
'There is that witch that eats people.' [GP-N7-39]

As is obvious from (13) and (14) this nominalization process leads to the same form *nikon* 'eater', and in both cases the verb is changed into a noun that can be the argument in a clause. The category-changing effect in the interrogative clause in (15) appears much more to be an inflectional process, however:

(15) *amo yinikon?* *amo yinikieron?*
amo *yi=niko-no* *amo* *yi=nik=ro-no*
why.not 2PL=eat-NOM1 why.not 2PL=eat=3SGm-NOM1
'Why don't you (PL) eat?' 'Why don't you eat it?' [RP-Q-34]

The verbs in (15) carry the subject proclitic *yi-* '2PL' and also function as the main verbs in the interrogative clauses (also cf. (1)). The nominalizer is simply attached to mark the different clause type. It is also striking that this affix is attached after a personal enclitic *-ro* '3SGm' (second question), but in general affixation is internal to cliticization. Another example of an interrogative clause with this suffix was given in (1). Haspelmath (1996) argues that the traditional view of derivation referring to the lexicon and inflection as word-class internal is simplistic, showing that inflectional affixes may also change the word-class (Haspelmath 1996:43). Therefore it may be argued that these nominalizing suffixes in Baure are indeed inflectional in some environments, but change the word-class as well.

In this grammar the distinction between inflectional and derivational morphemes will not be made. The majority of processes can be regarded as derivational in traditional terms.

[97] The same morpheme also marks imperative predicates and derives adjectives from verbs

Like all Arawak languages (cf. Aikhenvald 1999:80), Baure is predominantly suffixing, with only a small number of prefixes. The majority of affixes are attached to a verb base. There are approximately 18 verbal suffixes, of which up to five (maybe even more) can co-occur on the same base. In contrast, there are only 3 prefixes, of which actually only one is exclusively verbal. There are two possible prefix positions on a verbal base. Some affixes occur in a fixed order, but others can occur in more than one position with different scope. The rightmost element has scope over all elements to the left, and the leftmost over all elements to the right, taking the root as the nucleus (Anderson 1985:25).

There are no real infixes, but (suffixal) classifiers can be incorporated, which may look like infixing. There are two circumfixal collocations (3.3.3). This is exceptional and can presumably be analyzed as diachronically separable affixes which simply have been fossilized in combination.

Affixes are generally monosyllabic, but there are a few more complex suffixes presumably derived from compound morphemes.

3.3.1. Prefixes

There are three prefixes, all related to valency: the mutually exclusive pair attributive *ko-*[98] 'ATTR' and privative *mo-* 'PRIV', and causative *i(mo)-* 'CAUS'. Only the attributive and the causative prefixes can be part of a verbal base, *mo-* 'PRIV' exclusively derives non-verbal bases. The prefix *ko-* 'ATTR' can derive stative from active verbs, or the closely related non-agentive passive, together with the suffix *-si* 'PASS'. It also functions as a verbalizer attached to nominal roots, as in (16):

(16) *rokopoek.*
ro=ko-poe-ko
3SGm=ATTR-down-ABS
'He came down (from a tree).' [RP-19/4/06-28]

The causative prefix may then be attached to this derived verb, as in (17):

(17) *pimokopoekowor.*
pi=imo-ko-poe-ko-wo=ro
2SG=CAUS-ATTR-down-ABS-COP=3SGm
'You are bringing him down (lit. you make him come down).'[RP-19/4/06-30]

When *ko-* and *imo-* occur in the reverse order, as in (18), the resulting meaning again reflects the semantic effect of each prefix:

(18) *nokoemokopoesiow.*
no=ko-imo-ko-poe-si-wo
3PL=ATTR-CAUS-ATTR-down-PASS-COP
'They are brought down.' [RP-19/4/06-33]

Example (18) shows how a stative verb is derived from an active transitive verb (17) by *ko-* 'ATTR' and *-si* 'PASS'. The verb in (17) has been derived by *imo-* 'CAUS' from

[98] The vowel o in the prefix is weak: it frequently changes in vowel harmony with the following syllable

an active intransitive verb (16) There are certainly some semantic restrictions on the combinability of the two prefixes, and they do not occur together very frequently

It is possible that there once were more prefixes in Baure than there are today, given the existence of lexical prefixes Lexical prefixes are meaningful morphemes prefixed to another verb stem, sometimes to derive opposites They are more general in meaning, not productive, and can only sometimes function as a verb stem themselves Lexical prefixes are always closer to the stem, and grammatical prefixes must precede them (compare (19) to (25) below) An example is *ve-*, which generally means 'undo' It is part of the verb root *-veha-* 'undo' It is combined with a few verb stems to derive the opposite, like the derivational prefixes *de-*, *dis-*, or *un-* in English

(19) *nivehakier* < *-hakič-*
ni=ve-haki-a=ro 'close'
1SG=undo-be closed-LK=3SGm
'I opened it ' [RP-9/7/04-93]

Other examples are *ha-* 'off' (20) and *epo-* 'back, down, intentionally?' (21) The meanings of these fossilized prefixes are so abstract that a translation for them can only remain tentative

(20) *rohačomoekir*
ro=ha-čomoe-ko=ro
3SGm=off-shell-ABS=3SGm
'It (the squirrel) cracks the shell (of the cusi) ' [HC-8/3/06-1]

(21) *repokopoekow*
ro=epo-ko-poe-ko-wo
3SGm=back?-ATTR-down-ABS-COP
'He (the little boy) throws himself down (in anger) ' [LO/GP-15/7/04-99]

Example (21) is derived from (16) above The grammatical prefix is part of the verb stem, for which reason the lexical prefix may precede it In (20) the form *-ha-* 'off' functions as the lexical root, into which the argument is incorporated

3 3 2 Suffixes

Nominal suffixes include plural, locative, diminutive, augmentative, distributive The plural suffix may also be considered to be phrasal rather than purely nominal (cf 4 4 3) Verbal suffixes comprise aspectual, directional, mood, verbal number, and valency-changing morphemes As mentioned above, some suffixes predominantly attach to roots, stems or bases This leads to a restriction on their combinability In general there are no more than three base suffixes on a verb Some suffixes can occur more than once in one and the same word Some suffixes are category-changing morphemes, such as the four nominalizers *-no* 'NOM1', *-čo* 'NOM2', *-ri* 'NOM3', and *-pi* 'QNOM' Some verbal suffixes can function as verbalizers Verbal suffixes can be attached to non-verbal bases when these are used as predicates

Generally suffixes are monosyllabic, like e g *-wo* 'COP', *-pa* 'GO', *-čo* 'APPL', *-ša* 'IRR' Only a few suffixes are disyllabic or even trisyllabic and seem to have been

composed of other grammatical morphemes originally, such as *-wapa* 'COS', *-wana* 'DEP', *-poreiy* 'REP', *-pik(o)* 'COME'.[99]

Some morphophonological rules apply to suffixes and may change final vowels. On the other hand, there is quite a lot of homomorphism, as e.g. *-čo* can be the applicative or the action nominalizing suffix, attached in different slots. Many suffixes are homophonous with clitics and classifiers: *-ri* can mean 'NOM3' or '3SGf' enclitic; *-ro* can be an as yet unanalyzed (derivational?) suffix 'ro' and '3SGm' enclitic; *-no* 'NOM1' is homophonous with the enclitic '3PL' and the classifier for 'human'. However, some suffixes can be distinguished from the homophonous clitics because of the different morphophonological changes they undergo (cf. 3.4.1).

Suffixation has in common with compounding and incorporation the linking morpheme *-a* 'LK', which may occur in between affixes and between noun roots when attached to another. Whereas the rules for the application of *-a* 'LK' in noun compounds and incorporation remain unresolved, its application on verbs and non-verbal predicates is predictable. The linker *-a* is always attached after a semantically stative verb or non-verbal base when a non-stative verbal suffix is attached. Compare (22) and (23):

(22)	a.	*pinikow.*	b. *pinikpa.*
		pi=niko-wo	*pi=nik-pa*
		2SG=eat-COP	2SG=eat-GO
		'You are eating.'	'You are going to eat.'
(23)	a.	*pive'inow*	b. *pive'inapa*
		pi=ve'ino-wo	*pi=ve'in-a-pa*
		2SG=be.hungry-COP	2SG=be.hungry-LK-GO
		'You are hungry.'	'You are going to be hungry.'

The linker is only suffixed in (23)b, because the active suffix *-pa* 'GO' is attached to the stative base *-ve'ino-* 'be hungry'. In contrast, it is neither suffixed to the active verb *-nik-* 'eat' (22), nor to the stative verb with the stative suffix *-wo* 'COP', as in (23)a.

3.3.3. Circumfixal collocations

There are no real circumfixes in Baure, but at least two constructions have developed into something like circumfixal collocations: the numeral *po-*CLF-*š* 'one' and the passive *ko-*V-*si*. The numeral 'one' has presumably been derived from the right-bound form *po-* 'other' and a suffix **-š*, which may be related to the exclamative enclitic *-(n)iš* or another unknown form. The other numerals *api-* 'two' and *mpo-* 'three' are both simply right-bound roots, to which a classifier is attached. The numeral 'one', however, is kind of circumfixed around a classifier, as in (24):

[99] Baptista & Wallin (1967) have split these morphemes up into their possible components, as e.g. *-wapa* 'COS' into *-wa* 'TEMP' and *-pa* 'GO'. I think that this separation is not very useful, because the meaning of the complex morphemes does not directly derive from the meanings of the components. In addition the speakers seem to perceive them as a unit.

(24) *pomoš, popiš, ponoš*

po-mo-š	*po-pi-š*	*po-no-š*
one-CLF:woven-one	one-CLF:long&thin-one	one-CLF:human-one

'one (e.g piece of textile), one (e.g. snake), one (human)'

The non-agentive passive is derived by prefixing the attributive *ko-* and suffixing the passive *-si*. This may appear as a circumfix, but in some examples the passive suffix may also be deleted. The attributive prefix is used i.a. for deriving a stative verb from an active one, as described above. The suffix *-si* 'PASS' may only add the information of an unspecified agent. Therefore the two morphemes are glossed separately, even though they frequently co-occur. Compare the two forms of the verb *-vehaki-* 'open' in (25):

(25)

ver rokovehakisi?	–	*ver rokovehaki*
ver ro=ko-vehaki-si		*ver ro=ko-vehaki*
PERF 3SGm=ATTR-open-PASS		PERF 3SGm=ATTR-open
'Has it already been opened?	–	It is already open.' [RP/EC-17/7/04-151]

3.4. Cliticization

In Baure there are personal and clausal clitics. Personal clitics are phrasal clitics and used for person cross-reference on verbs, non-verbal predicates, and possessed nouns. Clausal clitics are attached in different positions in the clause (second position and clause final). Clausal cliticization is external to phrasal cliticization, which again is external to affixation (Figure 3.1). As mentioned, in the glosses cliticization of both kinds will be symbolized by '='.

3.4.1. Personal clitics

What is called personal clitics in Baure, has previously just been categorized as affixes (e.g. by Baptista & Wallin 1967). The attachment of personal morphemes differs notably from general affixation and therefore it is necessary to mark this difference. Personal clitics are more clitic-like than the other grammatical affixes, while they also share some characteristics with them. The most important criteria for clitic status are phonetic boundedness, the external position in respect to affixation, the syntactic function in a verb phrase, and the general attachment to a number of word classes in variant positions. The arguments for and against the clitichood of the personal morphemes are discussed in this section (cf. also Halpern 1998, Anderson 1992, and Aikhenvald 2002).

(a) Baure personal clitics are unstressed (phonologically dependent)[100] morphemes which always attach to a host and do not exist as independent words. They are used as proclitics for possessor marking on nouns (26) and subject marking on verbs (27):

[100] A personal enclitic may even phonologically cliticize to the following word, or a proclitic to the preceding, within a phonological phrase (cf. 2.6).

(26) *vitovian*
vi=tovian
1PL=neighbour
'our neighbour' [RP-4/8/03-16]

(27) *vikač*
vi=kač
1PL=go
'We go ' [LO-29/8/03-44]

(b) They are used as enclitics for object marking on verbs, as in (28) and (29), and subject marking on non-verbal predicates (30)

(28) *nikičowor*
ni=kičo-wo=ro
1SG=say do-COP=3SGm
'I am telling him ' [GP-N1/II-1]

(29) *nipapir*
ni=pa=pi=ro
1SG=give=2SG=3SGm
'I give it to you ' [GP-21/7/04-28]

(30) *nitovianowor*
ni=toviano-wo=ro
1SG=neighbour-COP=3SGm
'He is my neighbour '

Personal enclitics are also used for subject or object marking on the interrogative particle *ko* 'why', as in (31) and (32)

(31) *kopi kačowon'*
ko=pi *kačo-wo-no*
why=2SG go-COP-NOM1
'Why do you go?' [MD-30/8/03-4]

(32) *koro pikomorikon'*
ko=ro *pi=ikomoriko-no*
why=3SGm 2SG=kill-NOM1
'Why did you kill it?' [MD-6/3/06-27]

(c) Even though clitics share many characteristics with affixes, generally, clitics have greater mobility with respect to the base than inflectional affixes (Halpern 1998 106) As illustrated above, the personal clitics in Baure occur on different sides of the hosts, depending on the kind of construction Affixes in Baure always occur in specific orders and slots, with little variation

(d) Personal clitics are the base of free pronouns, as e g *roti'* '3SGm' < *ro-* '3SGm' In addition they occur in some idiosyncratic forms (Aikhenvald 2002 55), as in (33)

(33) *roseskoner*
ro=ses-ko-no=ro
3SGm=sun-ABS-NOM1=3SGm
'day'

(e) Cliticization is external to any affixation on the predicate (cf Halpern 1998 108–9) Only clausal clitics follow personal enclitics, personal proclitics are not preceded by any clitics

(f) Another phenomenon distinguishes the personal proclitics from affixes The pausal particle *–ha–* 'HES' cannot interrupt a unit of a base and affixes, but the pause occurs frequently right after a personal proclitic This happens when the speaker is looking for a word, as in (34), where my consultant was searching the word *pi'a* 'your body'

(34) *pehačop pi- ten –ha– yoš pi- to pihawačop ač koehkoe' nisnoekoe' ten pi-, koehkoe' viap to kotopokon pi'a-ye*

pi=eh-a-čo-po	*pi*	*ten*	*ha*	*yoš*	*pi*
2SG=wash-body-APPL-PRFLX	2SG	DEM3m	HES	INTJ	2SG

to	*pi=hawa-čo-po*	*ač*	*koehkoe'*	*ni=snoekoe'*	*ten*
ART	2SG=soap-APPL-PRFLX	and	so that	1SG=rub	DEM3m

pi-	*koehkoe'*	*via-po*	*to*	*kotopokon*	*pi='a-ye*
2SG	so that	1PL take away-PRFLX	ART	dirt	2SG=body-LOC

'You wash your (body), that –er– your, you soap yourself and I rub your –er– so that we get rid of the dirt on your body ' [HC-2/7/04-19]

The proclitic *pi-* '2SG' occurs on its own, but is then again repeated attached to the word *pi'a-ye* 'on your body' This is also due to the boundedness of the noun, which cannot occur without possessor marking Nonetheless, this shows the relatively free character of this morpheme in contrast to all other affixes, but also to the personal enclitics

(g) The proclitics for 3SG on verbs are sometimes replaced by determiners *ro-* '3SGm' can be replaced by *to* 'ART', and *ri-* '3SGf' by *ti* 'DEM1f' This was not observed with the other clitics
There are also some important points to be brought forward against the clitichood of the personal morphemes

(h) personal proclitics are obligatory and show therefore more affix-like characteristics than personal enclitics They co-occur with the explicit argument they refer to and seem to be a kind of person and number agreement (cf *roti* '3SGm' in (35))

(i) Personal enclitics, on the other hand, are not obligatory, but pronominal in nature They are generally in complementary distribution with the explicit arguments they refer to, as in (35)

(35) *rotɪ' roemoner, roemono to nɪsopot*
rotɪ *ro=ɪmono=ro* *ro=ɪmono* *to* *nɪ=sopot*
3SGm 3SGm=buy=3SGm 3SGm=buy ART 1SG=shoe
'He bought it, he bought me shoes (lit my shoes).' [GP-11/7/04-26/27]

(j) There are special rules that only apply to the personal enclitics *-pɪ* '2SG', *-rɪ* '3SGf', *-ro* '3SGm', and *-no* '3PL' These four selected clitics show an intensive phonological interaction between clitic and host, which cannot be found between base and affixes (examples have been discussed in 2 5 6)

It is true that in general affixation takes place within the boundaries of personal cross-reference cliticization Nevertheless, there is one exception to this The nominalizing suffix *-no* 'NOM1' can be attached to a verb with personal enclitic as a kind of phrasal suffix in interrogative constructions (see above in example (15)) The nominalizer then has the entire verb in its (clausal) scope, as in (36):

(36) *rokomorokɪyɪvɪn kove'?*
ro=komoroki-yɪ-wo=pɪ-no *kove'*
3SGm-bite-LOC-COP=2SG-NOM1 dog
'Where did the dog bite you?' [RP-6/7/04-3]

In conclusion, personal clitics appear on the path of grammaticalizing into agreement markers, but are still rather clitic-like in behaviour (cf. also Aikhenvald 2002 57) The result is a continuum, as illustrated in Figure 3 2.

bound ⟶ free

affixes | personal proclitics | personal enclitics | clausal clitics | free particles

Figure 3 2 The continuum from affix to free particle

Personal proclitics are closer to the bound side of the continuum due to their obligatoriness Personal enclitics are considered to be more free (if we leave the phonological interaction aside) Clausal clitics are very similar to free particles, and they attach to nearly any host, for which reason they are ranked closest to the other side.

3 4 2 Clausal enclitics

The clausal clitics are all enclitics They comprise quotative *-hɪ* 'QUOT', exclamative *-nɪš* 'EXCLA', and approval *-enš* 'APRV' Quotative predominantly plays a role in narratives (37), and it can be considered a second position clitic:

(37) *rohɪrɪk-hɪ teč sɪy-ye teč sɪporɪ*
ro=hɪrɪkɪ=hɪ *teč* *sɪy-ye* *teč* *sɪporɪ*
3SGm=sit=QUOT DEM2m chair-LOC DEM2m frog
'The frog sat down on the chair.' [EU-N12-28]

The other two clausal clitics are mainly used in direct speech for specific pragmatic purposes, as in (38)

(38) *aw to –ha– kotis peropes-enš*

aw	*to*	*ha*	*kotis*	*pero-pes=enš*
and.not	ART	HES	lizard	long-leg=APRV

'And the lizard has long legs, you know (unlike ...).' [EU-N12-52]

Theoretically all three clausal enclitics can be combined, but there are only examples of two enclitics in the data. More details are discussed in 9.7.

3.5. Reduplication

Reduplication mainly concerns lexical morphemes or part of them. There is also reduplication of grammatical morphemes. Many nouns, particularly animal names, consist of a reduplicated stem, as e.g. *sorisori* 'owl' (cf. 8.4.3). Reduplication is generally progressive and found mainly on verb, adjective, and some adverbial stems for intensification or emphasis, as in (39):

(39) *nihiškier, nihišhiškier*

ni=hiš-ko=ro	*ni=hiš~hiš-ko=ro*
1SG=pull-ABS-3SGm	1SG=pull~INT-ABS=3SGm

'I pulled it, I pulled it quickly.' [JC-14/3/06-72]

Reduplication will be marked by '~' and glossed for its function 'INT (intensifying)' (cf. Comrie et al. 2007). In many iterative verbs the reduplicated stem is fossilized as the only form.

Furthermore, some particles may also be reduplicated for specific emphasis, such as cohortative *ši* 'HORT' > *šiši*. Some suffixes may be reduplicated, as e.g. diminutive *-či* and augmentative *-ča*. Other suffixes have been derived from the reduplication of other suffixes, such as *-koko* 'RCPC' < *-ko* 'ABS'.

Reduplication competes with emphatic marking by means of the suffix *-i'* 'EMPH'.

3.6. Compounding

Compounding is a highly productive process in Baure. It is closely related to incorporation and probably played a significant role in the evolution of classifiers. There are compounds of two free nouns (40), or of a free and a bound noun (41):

(40) *kohises*

kohi-ses	*kohi'*	+	*ses*
stone-sun	stone		sun

'hail'

(41) *tiporekpo'e*

tiporek-po'e	*tiporek*	+	*-po'e*
chicken-head	chicken		head

'chicken head'

In general, compounds of two free nouns cannot be regarded as productive, reflected in their special meaning. These kinds of compounds are usually fossilized. Very frequent are compounds with bound noun roots, particularly body parts, as in (41). There are compounds of noun roots with classifiers:

(42) *yakıs*

yakı-so	*yakı*	+	*-so*
fire-CLF stick	fire		CLF stick
'firewood'			

There are compounds derived from a verb root by attaching a classifier, which result in a noun

(43) *konoropı*

kono-ro-pı	*-kono-*	+	*-pı*
write-ro-CLF long&thin	write		CLF long&thin
'pencil'			

The morpheme *-ro* is currently unanalyzed, but it carries a function in temporal and other subordinate relations (cf 10 2 6) Here it may have been used as a kind of linker There are also many compounds with right-bound adjectives and a noun root or classifier, as in (44) and (45)

(44) *čoser*

čo-ser	*čo-*	+	*-ser*
big-tooth	big		tooth
'big tooth'			

(45) *čompe*

čo-mpe	*čo-*	+	*-mpe*
big-CLF flat	big		CLF flat
'big flat object (e g house)'			

There are probably no compound verbs consisting of two verb stems There is only incorporation of a verb stem into specific predicate constructions (cf 3 7)

Compounding has also created complex classifiers and grammatical morphemes Examples are (46) and (47)

(46) *pahakıš kanıkon*

po-ahakı-š	*kanıkon*	*-aha*	+	*-kı*
one-CLF container contents-one	food	CLF container		CLF contents
'one plate full of food'				[RP-9/7/04-22]

(47) *ver pıhanowapa*

ver pı=hano-wapa		*-wa*	+ *-pa*
PERF 2SG=be healthy-COS		TEMP	GO
'You are already healthy again '			[DC-17/4/06-82]

The classifier *-ahakı-* '(food) container contents' (46) is composed of two other classifiers, as indicated If only the containers are counted, only the classifier *-aha-* 'container' is attached to the numeral *pahaš nıkırok* 'one plate' Thus the meaning of the whole has also been derived from the meaning of each element Usually compounds of grammatical elements have a specialized meaning, as is also the case in (47) The change of state or changed state morpheme *-wapa* 'COS' is a fixed unit with a specific

meaning, which is not directly derived from the meaning of the separate morphemes *-wa* 'TEMP' and *-pa* 'GO'

As mentioned in 3 3 2, the linker *-a* 'LK' is sometimes inserted between parts of some compound, but not others, to link the two parts, as in (48) in contrast to (49)

(48) *tikorokapon*

tikorok-a-pon	→	*tokorok*	+	*-pon*
guava-LK-leaf		guava		leaf
'papaya tree'				

(49) *porepon*

pore-pon	→	*pore'*	+	*-pon*
mate-leaf		mate		leaf
'mate leaf'				

Even though composed of the same nominal root *-pon* 'leaf', in (48) the first nominal root is connected by the linker *-a*, while in (49) the two parts are composed without it The linker also occurs after some incorporated nouns and classifiers (cf 3 7), and between grammatical morphemes Within predicate constructions the application of the linker is related to the difference between active and stative lexical stems (cf 5 2), but elsewhere its occurrence cannot be predicted

The rules for the linker could reveal more about the character of compounding and affixation and their relation, but still needs further investigation The linker finally also occurs in between a nominal base and a grammatical morpheme (50), or on an adjectival base and a nominal root (51)

(50) *nešari*
neš-a-ri
meat-LK-NOM3
'meat eater (carnivore)'

(51) *ikiyamonoe'*
iki-a-mono-e'
middle-LK-young-EMPH
'middle-aged'

3 7 Incorporation

Incorporation is "a special case of compound formation" (Anderson 1985 6), involving a noun root or classifier and a verb It is very productive in Baure As mentioned above (3 3), the insertion of classifiers may be regarded as derivational or inflectional In general, it is the object argument that is incorporated into any kind of verb base, as in *-sipa-* 'wash' in (52) and (53)

(52) *pisipapoiyap*

pi=sipa-poiy-a-po	→	*-poiy*
2SG=wash-foot-LK-PRFLX		foot
'You wash your feet '		[JP-20/8/03-14]

(53) *nisipamirokop*
ni=sipa-miro-ko-po → *-mir*
1SG=wash-face-ABS-PRFLX face
'I wash my face.' [JP-20/8/03-13]

The two examples represent the two major types of incorporation: In (52) the noun *-poiy-* 'foot' is followed by the linker *-a*, whereas in (53) the noun root *-mir* 'face' is incorporated with a following absolute suffix, *-ko* 'ABS'. This element is not part of the verb base *-sipa-* 'wash' without incorporation. In other verbs this absolute suffix is part of the base, and the incorporated noun with the linker *-a* is inserted exactly into this slot. The major difference of the two incorporated arguments is presumably that of definiteness, perfectivity, and individuation: the argument in (52) is incorporated as the complete argument, part of the action. It is definite (the feet of the subject), perfective, and individuated. In (53) the incorporated noun root *-mir* is rather analyzed as a type reference, 'the face' as a Ground (Talmy 2000:311–344) where the action takes place, instead of the patient that undergoes the action. This difference can be better observed with the same nominal root in the different kinds of incorporation, as in (54) and (55):

(54) *raročipiaw*
ro=aro-čipi-a-wo
3SGm=climb-roof-LK-COP
'He is climbing the back of an animal.' [DC-16/3/06-21]

(55) *raročipikow*
ro=aro-čipi-ko-wo
3SGm=climb-roof-ABS-COP
'He climbs (on) the roof.' [DC-16/3/06-20]

The noun root *-čipi* 'back, roof' is also used as a classifier for roof-like animals. However, here it is not analyzed as the classifier, as it refers to the back or roof itself. In (54) the back of an animal is conceptualized as an argument. In (55), the roof of a house is not an argument, but the Ground where the subject climbs upon. Therefore the non-individuated incorporated noun (55) is followed by the absolute morpheme, which is also used to derive unpossessed (generic) nouns. The same holds for incorporated classifiers, as in (56).

(56) *iyowkopian*
iyowko-pi-a-no
various-CLF:long&thin-LK-NOM1
'various (e.g. snakes)'

Classifiers and noun roots can be incorporated into a quantifier, as in (56), and also into derived adjectives which are nominalized forms, as in (57). This kind resembles the incorporation into intransitive verbs (cf. 5.4).

(57)	*moseropɪn*	<	*moserokon*
	mosero-pɪ-no		*mosero-ko-no*
	red-CLF long&thin-NOM1		red-ABS-NOM1
	'red (e g snake)'		'red'

As mentioned above, in some interrogative constructions we can observe the incorporation of verb roots, as in (58)

(58) *pɪkɪe'esasačowor?*
pɪ=kɪe-esasa-čo-wo-ro
2SG=EV-crack-APPL-COP-3SGm
'How did you crack it (the nut)?' [RP-N3-70]

In (58) the specific verb *-esasa-* 'crack' has been incorporated into a construction with the empty verb root *-ke-* In this kind of incorporation, there is generally the applicative suffix *-čo* attached after the compound verb, which refers to an instrumental role of a possible argument The question could also be translated as 'What did you crack it with?'

3 8 Parts of speech

The main distinction in Baure is between nouns (3 8 1) and verbs (3 8 2) Adjectives are a subcategory of nouns, even though they are distinguishable from other nouns The Baure corpus shows that there are at least three semantic classes of adjectives with mainly nominal, but also some verbal morphology (3 8 3) Nouns, verbs and adjective class III are open word classes Adjective classes I and II seem to be closed Adverbs (8 1) have closed subclasses, such as place adverbs, but the rest of the class is semi-closed Chapter 7 shows how a preverbal particle has been derived from a verb base and developed further into an adverb In addition, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish some adverbs from discourse particles and others from nouns Closed word classes include pronouns (8 3), determiners (8 2), clause connectors (10 1), preverbal particles (7), the negative particle (9 2), the interrogative particles (9 4), interjections (8 4 1), and discourse particles (8 4 2) I do not want to claim that all of the closed classes are always easily distinguishable on the base of their morphology, but I do claim that they can be distinguished on the base of their functions

3 8 1 Nouns

As in other languages, nouns in Baure refer to "the most time-stable concepts" (Payne 1997 33) and are prototypically names for "persons, [animals,] places, and things" (Schachter 1985 7) Nouns function as arguments in a clause and as heads in head-modifier constructions They involve the following categories inherent gender, number (optional), possession, inherent class, and a peripheral case (locative) Gender is only apparent from related cross-reference clitics on predicates and demonstratives within an NP Number distinguishes singular (unmarked) and plural, marked by the morphemes *-nev* 'PL' or *-anev* 'hPL' for some human nouns Plural marking is generally optional, but seems to be obligatory on human nouns Possession is an important category of nouns It divides them into bound (obligatorily possessed) and free nouns (optionally possessed or non-possessable) The possessor is marked by a

personal proclitic on the noun that is possessed (head-marking). For a large number of noun roots it is possible to derive a bound or free form by application of certain affixes. The majority of bound nouns can also function as classifiers, in addition to the approximately 21 grammatical classifier roots. Noun class is an inherent category of nouns, as there is a kind of agreement marking on modifiers and incorporated into verbs. Generally every noun is only part of one noun class and the classifier system in Baure seems to have developed into a noun class system (cf. 4.7). An example of an NP including classifier marking is shown in (59):

(59) *ntɪ' nimono te mpose senti čose.*

ntɪ'	*nɪ=imono*	*te*	*mpo-se*	*senti*	*čo-se*
1SG	1SG=buy	DEM2m	three-CLF:oval	watermelon	big-CLF:oval

'I buy the three big watermelons.' [LO/GP-18/7/04-72]

Nouns are generally marked by a determiner within an NP, as *te* 'DEM1m' in (59). The determiners consist of one article and three different demonstratives. Only a few nouns can occur without a determiner when they refer to a mass concept.

The locative marking on nouns referring to locations could be considered an oblique case. However, there are no core cases in Baure, as generally semantic roles are marked on the verb (head-marking). Specific locations are derived by compounds of nouns with locative noun roots, as e.g. *-api* 'under' in (60):

(60)

mesi-ye	*mesapi-ye*
mesi-ye	*mes-api-ye*
table-LOC	table-under-LOC
'on the table'	'under the table'

Some other morphemes that are frequently, but not exclusively, attached to nouns are diminutive *-či* and augmentative *-ča*, distributive *-he*, emphatic *-i'*, and the clausal enclitics. Compounding is an important process for deriving new nouns.

Nouns may also function as predicates in a clause, as non-verbal predicates. The distinction between verbs and non-verbal predicates is indispensable: The subject of a non-verbal base is marked by an enclitic, whereas all verbs have subject marking by a proclitic. This is contrasted in (61) and (62):

(61) *nka peronowoni!*

nka	*pero-no-wo=ni*
NEG	be.lazy-NOM1-COP=1SG

'I am not a lazybones!'

(62) *naperow.*

ni=apero-wo
1SG=be.lazy-COP

'I am lazing around.'

Nominal morphology and the classifier system are described in detail in Chapter 4, and the description of non-verbal predicates is discussed in Chapter 5. Therefore the term "predicates" is used when referring both to verbs and non-verbal predicates and

"predicate phrase" when referring to verb phrases and phrases headed by non-verbal predicates

3 8 2 Verbs

As in other languages, Baure verbs generally express the "least time-stable concepts" (Payne 1997 47) and refer to "actions, processes, and the like" (Schachter 1985 9) Their main function is that of a predicate in a clause Verbs can be distinguished from nouns, because they can only take the place of an argument in a clause when nominalized Verbs cannot be pluralized like nouns, as shown in (63)

(63)	**nošimonev*	but	*nošim*
	no=šimo-nev		*no=šim*
	3PL=arrive-PL		3PL=arrive
			'they arrive(d)'

Verbs are always bound and minimally have a subject proclitic attached (63) Transitive verbs can also have an object enclitic attached and ditransitive verbs two object enclitics, in the order recipient–patient (cf examples in 3 4 1) The majority of verbs are transitive, with only a few exclusively intransitive verbs The majority of intransitive verbs can also be used transitively under certain conditions or with some semantic extension Ditransitive verbs are mainly derived

Verbs can be very complex and they consist of the different levels of root, stem, and base, to which different morphemes attach The categories marked on verbs are change of valency, aspect, irrealis, and directional Further there is classifier and noun incorporation

Valency can be increased with the causative prefix *i(mo)-* 'CAUS', the benefactive suffix *-ino* 'BEN', and the applicative *-čo* 'APPL' Valency can be decreased with the perfective/reflexive suffix *-po* 'PRFLX', the reciprocal suffix *-koko* 'RCPC', and the attributive prefix *ko-* 'ATTR' The attributive prefix derives i a stative verbs In addition with the passive suffix *-si* 'PASS' these stative verbs can be interpreted as an agentless passive

Aspectual suffixes are *-wa* 'TEMP (temporary)', *-wapa* 'COS (change of state)', *-wana* 'DEP (departitive)', *-pa* 'GO (go, intentional, future)', *-poreiy* 'REP (repetitive)', *-poeiy* 'REPN? (negative repetitive, not anymore, never again)', and *-i* 'DUR (durative)' The copula suffix *-wo* 'COP' is also used as a verb root *-wo-* 'be (locative)', and its effect mainly depends on the semantics of the verb Stative verbs and verbs that refer to processes become imperfective with the copula suffix, but achievement verbs are interpreted as perfective when the copula suffix is attached The irrealis suffix *-ša* 'IRR' plays a role in conditional clauses Directional roots are the already mentioned *-pa* 'GO' and its opposite *-pik* 'COME'

Further there are some specific suffixes, as e g the approximative *-so* 'APRX', subjective *-'ino* 'SBJ', and the weather and environment morpheme *-hi* 'WE'

A number of suffixes are not exclusively attached to verbs, such as the distributive *-he* 'DISTR', emphatic *-i'* 'EMPH', absolute *-ko* 'ABS', diminutive *-či* 'DIM', and the linker *-a* 'LK'

The verbal morphemes that attach to the verb base can be divided into stative and non-stative. This division is manifested in the different morphological behaviour of stative verbs when the non-stative suffixes are attached. Stative verbs can get all stative morphemes suffixed directly, but the non-stative suffixes have to be linked by the morpheme *-a* 'LK' with the base, already shown in (23) in 3.3.2 above. This rule also applies to all non-verbal predicates.

The linker can also be found after incorporated classifiers, as shown and exemplified in 3.7.

The locative morpheme *-yi* is suffixed to a verb when it occurs in a subordinate or interrogative locative construction, as in (64):

(64) *rotikoe' te ntir kam nti' nimokiyow.*
riti-koe' te ntir kam nti' ni=imok-yi-wo
3SGm-EMPH DEM1m 1SGP bed 1SG 1SG=sleep-LOC-COP
'Nothing else than where I am sleeping, this is my bed.' [RP-N3-19]

There are also a number of locative roots that are incorporated into verbs in order to specify the place of an event. Examples are *-poe* 'down', *-ači* 'different place', and *-api* 'under'. Example (65) illustrates the incorporation of a location:

(65) *vehpoekow (to poewok).*
vi=eh-poe-ko-wo to poewok
1PL=wash-down-ABS-COP ART floor
'We are cleaning the floor.' [HC-2/7/04-34]

The noun in (65) is not even necessary, as this information is already included in the verb. The complex verb morphology is described in Chapter 6. The cross-reference of arguments on the verb is the topic of Chapter 5.

3.8.3. Adjectives

Adjectives are "words denoting qualities or attributes" (Schachter 1985:13). Their main function is to modify nouns. Baure has adjectives, but it is difficult to decide if they really constitute a separate word class. Adjectives are all nominal. They can undergo all nominal morphology and function as modifiers in an NP. Some nouns can also function as modifiers, but adjectives predominantly serve this purpose. Dixon acts on the assumption that "all languages have a distinguishable adjective class" (Dixon 2004:9). He argues that there are languages with adjectives that are similar to verbs, and languages with noun-like adjectives (Dixon 2004:12). Baure belongs to the second type. In Baure there are also a large number of stative verbs, which are translated as adjectives into English, as e.g. *-topok-* 'be dirty' in (66):

(66) *rotopokow te hikoč.*
ro=topoko-wo te hikoč
3SGm=be.dirty-COP DEM1m knife
'The knife is dirty.' [HC-16/8/03-15]

These verbs are definitely not part of the adjectives but of the class of verb They are bound forms with subject procliticization (*ro-* '3SGm' in (66)) and verbal morphology

It is much more difficult to distinguish adjectives from nouns The problems for the distinction are adjectives are frequently identical to heads in an NP, nouns can function as modifiers as well, adjectives take more or less all the nominal morphology, there is not only one modifier position within an NP, but two

Example (59) above showed how modifiers may occur in an NP and modify the head noun However, more frequently, the head noun has been omitted in Baure, and the modifier makes up the complete head (as mentioned by Dixon 2004 23), as in (67)

(67) *te čose račkow in apo marok*

te	*čo-se*	*ro=ačko-wo*	*in*	*apo*	*marok*
DEM1m	big-CLF oval	3SGm=be full-COP	water	or	chicha

'This big glass is full of water or chicha ' [MD-8/8/03-61]

The NP *te čose* 'the big glass' is an elliptical expression and is only interpreted as referring to the glass because the speaker is pointing at it, or he mentioned it before In other contexts *čose* can refer to big watermelons, boats, bottles or other items (compare to (59) above) This shows very well that the NP is anaphoric and only definite because of the preceding context The real head *to was* 'the glass' has been omitted and must be inferred In Tariana (North Arawak) as well, "any adjective can be used without a nominal head in a noun phrase" (Aikhenvald 2004 106)

Some nouns also function as modifiers in an NP, but the number is very restricted These are mainly *hir* 'man, male', *eton* 'woman, female', and some other generic nouns, like e g *-per* 'domesticated animal'

The different positions of an adjective within an NP are related to the morphological class the adjective belongs

Even if adjectives in Baure share many properties with nouns and even a few with verbs, they are also different for certain semantic and morphological reasons The most prototypical semantic fields associated with adjectives are dimension, age, value and colour, as argued in Payne (1997 65) and Dixon (2004 3–4) These semantic classes are almost entirely expressed by adjectives of the morphological class I (with colour as an exception) Adjectives of class I are right-bound morphemes that usually attach to a bound noun root or classifier, as *čo-* 'big' in (67) Adjectives of class II are absolute forms, which means, they remain in an unchangeable form and do not get a classifier attached An example is given in (68)

(68) *tin monči monik*

tin	*monči*	*moni-ko*
DEM3f	child	pretty-ABS

'that pretty girl' [JC-13/8/03-99]

Adjectives of class III are all derived forms They resemble nouns and nominalized verbs mostly Classifiers can be incorporated into many of these derived forms Colour terms are part of class III One example with an incorporated classifier is (69)

(69) *paš ka'an moseran*
p-a-š *ka'an* *moser-a-no*
one-CLF animal-one animal red-CLF animal-NOM1
'one red animal' [MD-7/8/03-18]

The numerals and the word for 'other' (*po*-CLF) are morphologically part of the adjective classes They are also right-bound roots to which classifiers or bound noun roots attach

Adjectives of class I are rather used for modification, but may also be used as predicates Adjectives of class II are mainly used predicatively Adjectives of class III are used for both

The main position for a modifying adjective in an NP is following the head noun Class III adjectives always follow the noun Class I adjectives also follow the head noun, except for numerals (cf (69)) and *po-* 'other' Class II adjectives may precede or follow the head noun

When used as predicates, adjectives are non-verbal predicate bases, just like nouns The subject is referred to by an enclitic, as in (70)

(70) *ver anewapani*
ver *ane-wapa=ni*
PERF old-COS=1SG
'I am already old/ an old person ' [JC-13/8/03-95]

Adjectives are like nouns in many respects, but they also have some properties in common with verbs Even though not used like verbs (not even when predicates), some verbal morphemes that do not attach to nouns, can be attached to adjectives These are the approximative *-so*, and the quality nominalizer *-pi* 'QNOM', and productive reduplication for marking intensity

Adjectives of class II and III may also modify verbs They do so with predicative adjectives mainly (comparable to other predicate chains, (71)), but also simple unmarked forms modify verbs, as illustrated in (72)

(71) *nka henowaperi riyonop*
nka *heno-wapa=ri* *ri=yono-po*
NEG good-COS=3SGf 3SGf=walk-PRFLX
'She is not good in walking any more/ She doesn't walk well any more '
[MC-3/7/04-4]

(72) *rosoweporeiy-enš čonok*
ro=sowe-poreiy=enš *čonok*
3SGm=rain-REP=APRV big
'It's raining heavily again, isn't it?' [JC-1/4/06-5]

3 8 4 Adverbs

Adverbs "function as modifiers of constituents other than nouns" (Schachter 1985 20) Semantically they "cover an extremely wide range of concepts" (Payne 1997 69) Just as Payne noted, adverbs are a "catch-all" category (1997 69) All those words have been assigned to this class that are lexical, free morphemes that refer to

the place or time of an event In addition there are many other words in this class referring to the aspect, epistemic evaluation, mode, intensity or quantity of an event The class of adverbs is semi-closed Some subclasses are very small and closed, such as place adverbs, and others are larger, such as temporal adverbs

The morphology of adverbs does not distinguish them much from other word classes The adverb class is too heterogeneous to assign the same morphological properties to all adverbs Some basic adverbs are monomorphemic, but others may show fossilized internal morphology Some adverbs have been derived from verbs, some of them by nominalization Some temporal adverbs also occur with a determiner Thus there are some adverbs that are similar to nouns

Particles is the cover term, which includes adverbs, preverbal particles, interjections, and a few other specific forms, referred to in 3 8 7 below

Especially time words are difficult to assign either to the class of nouns or to the adverb class, as some of them may occur with a determiner The words *roseskoner* 'day' and *yotoer* 'night' are presumably nouns, as they can occur with a determiner However when they occur together with a determiner, they usually constitute an adverbial phrase, as in (73)

(73) *nowoyikow asaw nonik to yotoer*

no=woyiko-wo	*asaw*	*no=nik*	*to*	*yotoer*
3PL=make-COP	fried meat	3PL=eat	ART	night

'They are preparing fried meat for them to eat at night' [RP-N4-266]

In very few examples *roseskoner* 'day' and *yotoer* 'night' can actually be used as arguments, for which reason they are rather analyzed as nouns Words that occur with a determiner but are never used as arguments but as adjuncts in a clause are assigned to the adverb class Adverbs also differ from nouns because they cannot be pluralized, as shown in (74) with different adverbs

(74) **nakanev, *nokopenev, *napirinev, *mohinev, *tekonev*

naka-nev	*nokope-nev*	*napiri-nev*	*moeh-nev*	*teko-nev*
over there-PL	day before-PL	also-PL	certainly-PL	all-PL

Place adverbs do not get the locative *-ye* suffixed like nouns

(75)

**naka-ye,*	**noiy-ye,*	*(*)ne-ye*[101]
over there-LOC	there-LOC	here-LOC

However, there is one temporal adverb, used in narratives, which has been lexicalized including the locative suffix *nakirok-ye* 'once upon a time, long ago'

Many bound nominal roots form compounds or are incorporated This is not observed with adverbs

Some adverbs can also be used as non-verbal predicates with predicate morphology and argument marking, as in (76) and (77)

[101] It seems to be possible to use *ne-ye* in songs only as a kind of place pronoun but this construction has probably been used for the matter of rhyme and rhythm

(76) *enevererapık ver rıwoyık teč rotır desayun te rišır*
enevere-ro-a-pık *ver* *rı=woyık* *teč* *rotır* *desayun*
next.day-ro-LK-COME PERF 3SGf=make DEM2m 3SGmP breakfast

te *rı=šır*
DEM1m 3SGf=son
'When the next day came she made breakfast for her son ' [RP-N4-39]

(77) *herık verowaper, ver roem*
herık *vero-wapa=ro* *ver* *ro=ım*
maybe already-COS=3SGm PERF 3SGm=be cooked
'Maybe it (the food) is already ready, it is already cooked ' [MD-2/8/04-17]

Some preverbal particles have been derived from adverbs, but the preverbal particles have a fixed position in relation to the predicate, whereas adverbs do not

Adverbs are mainly different from other constituents in a clause because of their relatively free positioning. Most of the adverbs are clausal adjuncts and occur clause initially or clause finally, but they may also occur in other positions, e g preceding or following a predicate they refer to

One important function of temporal adverbs is the disambiguation of a clause in respect to time reference Verbs do not have a tense category Therefore, temporal adverbs function to specify time, as contrasted in (78) and (79)

(78) a *nka nčowor.*
nka *nı=čo-wo=ro*
NEG 1SG=know-COP=3SGm
'I don't know '

b *yımırokon nka nčowor*
yımırokon *nka* *nı=čo-wo=ro*
before NEG 1SG=know-COP=3SGm
'I didn't know before ' [RP-5/7/04-57/58]

(79) a *ıto rosowew*
ıto *ro=sowe-wo*
PROG 3SGm=rain-COP
'It's raining ' [DC-16/4/06-23]

b *nokope ıto rosowew*
nokope *ıto* *ro=sowe-wo*
day before PROG 3SGm=rain-COP
'Yesterday it was raining '[MD-20/3/6-15]

Adverbs of intensity and quantity are for example *ımır* 'very' and *maıy* 'much', but the same forms are used to modify nouns, which means that these forms could be considered adjectival homomorphs

(80) *ntı' nka maıy ntırıow*
ntı' *nka* *maıy* *nı=tırı-wo*
1SG NEG much 1SG=know-COP
'I don't know much.' [DC-7/3/06-53]

(81) *ntı' ntırıwon ne' maıy ın*
ntı' *nı=tırı-wo-no* *ne'* *maıy* *ın*
1SG 1SG=know-COP-NOM1 here much water
'I am accustomed with a lot of water.' [AD/DC-D2-88]

(82) *imir račokow to was.*
imir *ro=ačoko-wo* *to* *was*
very 3SGm=be.full-COP ART glass
'The glass is very full.' [JC-14/3/06-30]

(83) *piti' imir ane'.*
piti' *imir* *ane'*
2SG very old
'You are very old/a very old person.' [MD-8/8/03-39]

Further details on adverbs are presented in 8.1.

3.8.5. Pronouns and determiners

The classes of pronouns and determiners are closed. There are seven personal pronouns that have all been derived from the personal proclitics[102], as e.g. *piti'* '2SG' < *pi-* '2SG'. They are distinguished for person and number, and for gender in 3SG. The possessive pronouns have been derived from the personal pronouns, as e.g. *pitir* '2SGP' < *piti'* '2SG'. Personal pronouns may replace a noun or refer to it as an anaphor, but generally they only occur in emphatic focus on the pronominalized argument. Otherwise arguments are marked by clitics on verbs. Personal pronouns also occur in juxtaposition with unmarked non-verbal predicates. Possessive pronouns are less frequently used for possessor marking, as this is done by possessor proclitics on nouns. However, there are some otherwise not possessable and non-derivable nouns that can get possessor marking by means of possessive pronouns. In this case they are modifiers within NPs. This mainly holds for Spanish loanwords. Another important function of possessive pronouns is that of non-verbal bases for possessive relations, as in (84):

(84) *nka ntirowor.*
nka *ntiro-wo=ro*
NEG 1SGP-COP=3SGm
'It is not mine.' [DC-17/4/06-23]

Pronouns are described in 8.3. The closed class of determiners consists of one article and three types of demonstrative pronouns. The article is actually gender-neutral, but usually interpreted as masculine. The different types of demonstratives are distinguished for number and gender. They are used initial to an NP, but they can function as free pronouns as well. Determiners do not take any affixation. Only clausal clitics may be attached to the demonstratives, but not the article. Determiners are described in 8.2.

3.8.6. Clause connectors

Clause connectors are grammatical particles that are used for clause linkage. They always appear clause initially: [C_1] [co C_2][103]. Subordinate clauses are only distin-

[102] Or the other way around: the clitics have been derived from the free pronouns by reduction.
[103] C = clause or sentence, co = connector

guishable from coordinate clauses by the specific connective, dependent clauses do not show any different morphological or syntactic behaviour than independent clauses There are a number of different coordinating connectives, conjunctive, disjunctive, and adversative connectives Subordinating connectives are causal, final or consecutive, negative consecutive, and temporal One of the connectors also functions as a complementizer Clause linkage and the use of the connectors are described in 10 1 Other kinds of clause linkage are relative clause and multiple predicate constructions and clause chains, as described in 10 2 and 10 3

3 8 7 Other particles

There are some other particles in the Baure language, of which some are discussed in separate chapters and sections Very important for predicate phrases are preverbal particles and one postverbal particle (Chapter 7) Preverbal particles seem to take over part of the tasks of verbal suffixes In a fixed position preceding the predicate they have an effect on the predicate phrase Some of these particles are identical to adverbs, others have been derived from verbs The verbal particles express aspect and mood Some are used for different kinds of imperatives cohortative, jussive, and an intentional imperative for 1SG

There is a general negative particle *nka* 'NEG', which can be used for the negation of all kinds of predicates (cf 9 2) The negative particle also functions as the negative copula base, which is non-verbal according to the kind of argument marking A subject is marked by an enclitic

Further there are interrogative particles *ko* 'why' and *kon* 'who, what' The latter developed from a phonologically reduced nominalized verb *woyikwon* (be I-COP-NOM1), as described in 9 4

Other particles are interjections (8 4 1) and discourse particles (8 4 2)

4. The noun and the noun phrase

In this chapter Baure nominal morphology and the noun phrase (NP) are addressed. Nouns function as heads of NPs, arguments in a clause. As there are different kinds of nominal roots, the chapter will be structured as follows: first the bound and free common nouns are described, including the inherent grammatical categories of nouns in 4.1–4.3. After a general definition of the boundaries of noun root, stem and base (4.1), I turn to the categories gender (4.2) and possession (4.3). Then the specific nominal morphology of the noun base is analyzed in 4.4–4.6. This involves number marking, diminutive and augmentative, and compounding. Then a description of operations within the noun phrase follows in 4.7–4.10. In this part other specific nominal roots are introduced: classifying noun roots and classifiers in 4.7, locative noun roots in 4.8, and modifying noun roots in 4.9. Noun classification, locative constructions, and nominal modification are based on compounding with specific kinds of nominal roots. One part of the nominal modifiers are adjectives, defined as a subgroup of nouns in 3.8.3. Even though adjectives are basically nominal, they have some specific semantic and morphological characteristics that distinguish them from common nouns, as discussed in 4.8.4 and 4.8.5. Modification, studied in 4.10, only refers to NP operations. Other uses of modifiers, such as predicates (cf. 5.2) and the comparative construction (cf. 5.5), are treated elsewhere in the grammar. Determiners are important grammatical constituents of the NP, analyzed in 8.2.

4.1. Noun roots, stems and bases

The noun in Baure minimally consists of a root, but there are the possible extensions of a noun stem and a base. The noun root (4.1.1) is the most basic lexical element of a noun and unanalyzable. Most nominal roots are disyllabic or trisyllabic (cf. 2.4.2). The root carries part of the semantic contents, but may be modified by adding one or two more noun roots (compound, cf. 4.6) or a classifier (cf. 4.7). In addition there is a small class of lexical suffixes that can be attached to the root. The stem (4.1.2) may be identical with the root, but as Baure is a compounding (or polysynthetic) language, the meaning of a noun is very often composed of more than only the basic lexical element. This extension is called the stem. The noun base finally (4.1.3), is the unit to which all other nominal morphemes are added. Even though in the majority of cases the base is identical to the stem, there may be further extensions, especially due to the fact that possession can be a marked category in Baure. The composition of the noun base is represented in Figure 4.2. Specific kinds of noun roots are described in the appropriate sections (4.7 – 4.9).

The citation form for nouns used in this grammar is the noun base; and a distinction will be made between bound forms – with a hyphen in the place where the possessor clitic is attached, as e.g. in *-weri* 'house, home' – and free forms – without a hyphen as they can stand alone, as e.g. *pari* 'house'.

4.1.1. Noun roots

The majority of noun roots are disyllabic or trisyllabic, but there are also a few monosyllabic roots. There are some nominal roots with more than three syllables, of which the majority include reduplicated syllables. Phonologically many disyllabic

nouns appear as monosyllabic with a heavy syllable, because with the frequent final vowel elision one syllable is dropped (cf. 2.4). The noun roots do not include the possessor clitics, which are obligatorily attached to bound nouns, for which reason these clitics are excluded from the phonological analysis of the requirements of a noun root. The phonetic structure of a noun root is represented in Figure 4.1:

(-)(C)VCV[CV]

Figure 4.1: Basic phonetic structure of a noun root

Only very few noun roots are monosyllabic (cf. Table 4.3). However, classifiers are nominal roots as well, and grammatical classifiers are mainly monosyllabic. But these particular roots are generally neither used as free forms, nor only with a possessor proclitic. They have to be bound to another nominal root (noun, adjective, numeral or verb). A few monosyllabic and disyllabic noun roots may function as classifiers as well (cf. 4.7). Among the few monosyllabic noun roots there are less bound forms (obligatorily possessed) than free forms. There is at least one bound noun root that only consists of one vowel, *-a'* 'body'. Free forms have the structure CV – as *na'* 'egg' – or CVV with a complex vowel, a diphthong – as *nia'* 'rainbow' or *poe'* 'axe'. Table 2.11 already represented all of the forms with monosyllabic nominal roots that could be detected. Table 4.1 shows examples of bound and free disyllabic noun roots:

bound roots	translation	unbound roots	translation
-ah	soup	*aki*	lagoon
-aiy	brother	*ani*	sky
-ana'	brother-in-law	*činti*	person
-čipi	roof, back	*čove'*	salt
-kora'	partner	*hir*	man
-os	grandmother	*him*	fish
-pen	tongue	*kove'*	dog
-ser	tooth	*misi*	cat
-šir	son	*neš*	meat
-tip	nail	*pari*	house
-toer	field	*poeh*	duck
-tove'	navel	*ses*	sun
-wer(i)	house, home	*šiye'*	fox
-wer	medicine	*yaki*	fire

Table 4.1: Disyllabic noun roots

According to the phonotactics described in 2.4, we also have to include roots with the disyllabic ones, which phonologically seem to have only one syllable. This is e.g. the case with noun roots such as *-ah* 'soup' or *hir* 'man', for which there must be an underlying final vowel *o* presupposed (cf. 2.2.1). This means that the underlying forms are **-aho* and **hiro*, which are disyllabic. The orthography, however, represents the pronunciation rather than the underlying system.

Those roots terminating in the vowel *i* undergo word final devoicing of the vowel and the palatalization of the preceding consonant (cf. 2.2.2), so that phonologically they also come out as if they consisted of only one syllable. This accounts for noun

roots such as *akɪ* [akʲ] 'lagoon', *anɪ* [aɲ] 'sky', *-čɪpɪ* [tʃɪpʲ] and many others However, the deletion of the final vowel *o* and the devoicing of the final vowel *ɪ* are phonological processes which do not occur when other morphemes are added after the root Therefore the noun root *-tɪp* 'nail, claw' becomes *-tɪpo-nev* 'nails, claws' when the plural morpheme is attached, or the noun root *-čɪpɪ* 'roof' becomes *-čɪpɪ-ye* ['tʃɪpɪ-jɛ] when the locative morpheme is attached (for more details cf Chapter 2)

Noun roots with three syllables are also very frequent There may be slightly more free trisyllabic roots than bound ones Table 4 2 lists trisyllabic noun roots

bound roots	translation	unbound roots	translation
-aronɪ	dress	*čomorɪ*	wild pig
-ašok	grandfather	*eton*	woman
-čanokɪ	neck	*kahap*	manioc
-čokokɪ	stomach	*ka'an*	animal
-ɪron	parent	*kahaš*	mouse
-pakorɪ	shin	*kahaw*	deer
-panor	forehead	*kɪher*	moon
-pasɪrɪ	nose	*kɪwor*	snake
-powos	shoulder	*kotɪs*	jausi (lizard sp)
-powokɪ	arm	*sɪporɪ*	frog
-sɪrɪkɪ	nose (inside)	*sopɪr*	turtle
-wohɪs	hand	*wotokɪ*	hammock

Table 4 2 Trisyllabic noun roots

Only very few non-bound roots have more than three syllables, many of which consist of reduplicated syllables, such as e g *sɪrɪsɪrɪ* 'falcon' or *sorɪsorɪ* 'owl' (cf 8 4 3) Even though I found some bound roots with more than three syllables, I suppose these have been derived or they are loan words In Table 4 3 some noun roots are summed up that possibly have more than three basic syllables as an unanalyzable form Nevertheless, some of the listed examples have to be regarded as doubtful cases, as is discussed below

bound roots	translation	unbound roots	translation
-čawrɪwe'	leg (in a story)	*arampripɪ*	wire (Sp *alhambre*)
-čovekos	knee	*homočoč*	grey lizard
-ɪpohɪs	hair ribbon	*mokovore'*	papaya
-pačkokɪ	breast (Sp loan)	*sɪrɪsɪrɪ*	falcon
-pekasokɪ	hollow of the knee	*sorɪsorɪ*	owl
-powespa'	shoulder blade	*woretete*	frog sp

Table 4 3 Noun roots with more than three syllables

In the case of *-pačkokɪ* 'breast' we are e g dealing with a Spanish loan word (< Sp *pecho*) that has been adjusted to Baure morphophonology The word *-čawrɪwe'*

'leg'[104] has only been used in a narrative by one speaker and it also seems to be a loanword, even though not from Spanish. Sometimes derived lexemes cannot be analyzed so easily. The noun root *-ipohis* 'hair ribbon' may also have been derived. Possible sources are the noun *poeh* (underlyingly **pohi*) 'duck', and *-ihos* 'tail', but to me it is not analyzable any longer at this point. The noun root *-čovekos* 'knee' may have been derived from the adjectival root *čo-* 'big' and an unknown lexeme or a complex of a noun root and a classifier. The noun roots *-pekasoki* 'hollow of the knee' and *-powespa'* 'shoulder blade'. The root *-pekasoki* 'hollow of the knee' has probably been derived, and the sources may have been *-čovekos* 'knee' and *-soki* 'seed'. The noun root *-čovekos* 'knee' includes the root **-veko-* which may be related to the morpheme **-pek(a)-*. The noun root is thus probably a compound with the head noun root *-soki* 'seed', which is metaphorically transferred to the 'inside'. The noun root *-powespa'* 'shoulder blade' is definitely related to *-powos* 'shoulder, and the head noun root *-pa* may go back to the homophonous classifier for flat and oval objects[105]. However, the sources are unknown and therefore I include these examples with the list in Table 4.3.

There are certain phonological restrictions for all noun roots. Due to the fact that reduplication is a method for forming lexemes but also a grammatical strategy for intensity marking or iterativity on verbs and a few other word classes, it can be expected that "accidental" or meaningless reduplication is avoided. This accounts especially for the beginning of noun roots. Therefore those phonemes or syllables are avoided in the front position of noun roots, which can be expected to be identical to morphemes that may precede the root. This is the reason why there are no or rarely any underived (bound) noun roots beginning with the following sequences, which are identical to the personal proclitics for marking possession: *e-* 'UNSP', *ni-* '1SG', *pi-* '2SG', *ri-* '3SGf', *ro-* '3SGm', *vi-* '1PL', *yi-* '2PL', and *no-* '3PL' (cf. Table 8.9 in 8.3.1). Even the single phoneme *r-* is very rare as the beginning of at least bound noun roots, as this would also lead to the reduplication of this phoneme when 3SGf *ri-* or 3SGm *ro-* are attached.

On the other hand, the fact that a noun root begins with a phoneme that can be found in the mentioned proclitics, may also have the effect of assimilation, as has been described in 2.5. Therefore the noun root *-noni* 'voice' is assimilated into *noni* (not **ninoni*) 'my voice' when the 1SG proclitic *ni-* is attached; or the noun root *-pen* 'tongue' into *pen* (not **pipen*) 'your (SG) tongue' when marked for a 2SG possessor (*pi-*) (cf. also 4.3 on possession).

There are many roots that have lexicalized the attributive prefix *ko-* in their form, considered to be part of the root. Examples are *kahaw* 'deer', *kopir* 'armadillo', *ka'an* 'animal', and *kahap* 'manioc'.

Even though unanalyzable, there are certain reappearing sequences at the end of noun roots that may formerly have been root suffixes that are now fossilized in the roots. The sequences that occur most often are: *-ri, -ro, -ki, -ko, -ni, -no, -so, -šo, -po,*

[104] There are other words in Baure for the whole and the specific parts of the leg – *-pes/-sopes*? 'leg', *-čones* 'upper leg', *-pakori/-sopakori* 'shin'–, so that another lexeme *-čawriwe'* seems expendable

[105] Of course, the more the language is studied, the easier the analysis, especially of long term established compounds or derivations, which may show strong phonological deviation from the original sources

-e'. The sequences do not derive from classifiers[106], at least not the ones used in Baure today. These sequences that are not part of all, but only a part of the noun roots, have been called "core formatives" in the tagmemic grammar by Baptista & Wallin (1967:72). Because of a missing regularity or system behind the appearance of these sequences, at least according to my present knowledge, they have to be treated as part of the noun roots.

4.1.2. Noun stems

The definition of a noun stem is the noun root plus a classifier, a compound noun, or the noun root plus one of a small class of lexical suffixes that can be attached to the root. Especially classifiers are frequently found in compound with nominal lexemes. Thus there are many long and thin objects or animals that include the classifier *-pi* 'long & thin', as e.g. *arampripi* 'wire (from Sp. *alambre*)', *-iskopi* 'necklace', *kaharopi* 'thread', *kohiroropi* 'worm sp.', *konoropi* 'pen', *koropi* 'liana', *sakopi* 'worm sp.', *soropi* 'throat', *virepi* 'horizon', *yakopi* 'candle'. Some, but not all of these noun stems, also exist without the classifier, i.e. the underlying noun roots exist as separate lexemes.

Apart from classifiers, a noun stem may also include another noun root as a compound. Compounding and the addition of classifiers are the same morphological strategy (cf. 4.6 on compounds and 4.7 on classifiers).

There are also a few lexical suffixes that may be regarded as lexically restricted noun roots or root suffixes, which can be attached to a restricted number of nouns. There are, among others, the following suffixes found (in parenthesis is the kind of noun root that the suffix may be attached to): *-vian* 'neighbour (family member or friend)', *-čos* 'step- (family member)', *-in* 'dead (family member)', *-pos* 'related (verbs, adjectives), and *-mori* 'partner (verbs, adjectives)'[107]. Example (1) illustrates the difference between noun root and stem:

(1) *nipiričos*
ni=piri-čos
1SG=sibling-adopted
'my step-brother/sister'

root root
-piri *-čos*
-sibling -adopted
stem

Along with these lexical components there are no other root suffixes identified. Every morpheme attached to these stems is part of the noun base.

4.1.3. Noun bases

In this section I show how a noun base is composed which does *not* function as a predicate. There are certain restrictions and changes when a nominal base is used as a predicate, shown in 5.2 (cf. Figure 5.2). The structure of the noun base is demonstrated in Figure 4.2:

[106] Only the syllables *-po* and *-ki* are actually identical to classifiers in Baure; *-po* refers to 'insects, fish, and little items (like beans)' and *-ki* to two-dimensional contents.
[107] In particular the last two suffixes could also be regarded as very specified classifiers

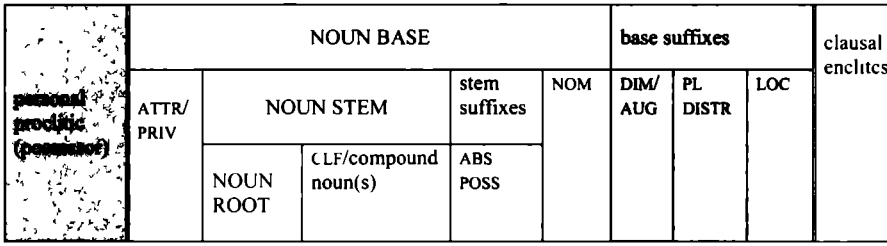

Figure 4 2 The noun base and position of affixes

A noun base that functions as (part of) an NP, may be composed of an attributive or privative prefix – *ko-* or *mo-* respectively – followed by the noun stem. An absolute or possessive suffix may be attached to the noun stem – *-ko* 'ABS' or *-no* 'POSS' respectively. Finally certain lexemes are followed by the nominalizer *-no* 'NOM1', most of all, nominalized verbs, but also a subgroup of adjectives (cf. 4.9.3). This whole noun base is the unit to which the possessor proclitic is attached and to which diminutive, augmentative, plural, distributive, and locative suffixes are attached. There may also be clausal enclitics added at the very end of the word, which are not word class specific. There are some restrictions concerning the combinability of the morphemes. Nouns marked by the privative prefix cannot be possessed, but they are mainly used as predicates (cf. 5.2.3). While the absolute suffix is attached to derived unpossessed nouns, the possessive suffix is only attached to derived possessed nouns (cf. 4.3). Therefore absolute and possessive are mutually exclusive.

Furthermore, diminutive and augmentative marking is mutually exclusive. The marking for plural and the distributive marking seem to be mutually exclusive as well. Example (2) illustrates the difference between noun stem and base:

(2) *pihapɪn*
pɪ=hapɪ-no
2SG=jug-POSS
'your jug'

root=stem
-hapɪ *-no*
-jug -POSS
base

4 2. Gender

Gender is an inherent category in Baure, and it is mainly biological, not grammatical. Only feminine animates are considered as grammatically feminine, and all other nouns are masculine. The gender becomes apparent by agreement in cross-referencing clitics, and personal and possessive and demonstrative pronouns (cf. 8.2–8.3). In these pronouns and clitics gender is only distinguished in the 3SG. The gender distinction is demonstrated in Figure 4.3:

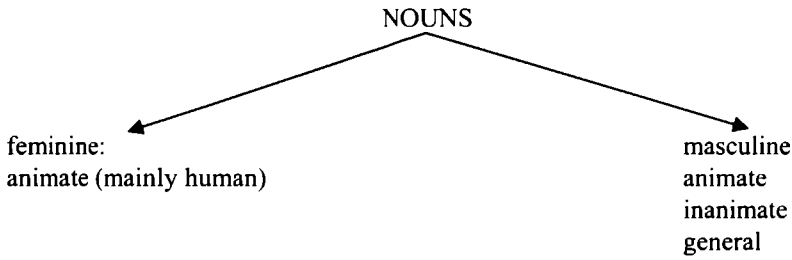

Figure 4.3 Gender distinction in Baure nouns

Inanimates are always referred to by unmarked masculine, while animates can also be unmarked for gender, as generally all animals. Only for human beings and a few pets, domesticated animals or animals in a narrative the gender distinction is made. The gender is not formally apparent in the noun, but there are suppletive forms for female and male humans and kinship terms and a few animals. Some of these nouns have a general form that refers generically to both genders, and there are gender specific nouns in addition. There is e.g. a general noun *-iron* 'parent' and the specific nouns *-en* 'mother' and *-ia'* 'father'. These general nouns are also of unmarked masculine gender, but then generally interpreted as masculine, while the feminine form has to be marked by a feminine determiner (at least the feminine demonstrative[108] *ti* 'DEM1f'). Compare the interpretation of the general form as masculine and feminine in comparison to the specific forms in examples (3) and (4):

(3) a. *to niron*
to *ni=iron*
ART 1SG=parent
'my parent (father)'

b. *ti niron*
ti *ni=iron*
DEM1f 1SG=parent
'my mother'

c. *to nirononev*
to *ni=irono-nev*
ART 1SG=parent-PL
'my parents'

(4) a. *to nia'*
to *ni=ia'*
ART 1SG=father
'my father'

b. *ti nen*
ti *ni=en*
DEM1f 1SG=mother
'my mother'

There may have been a comparable subdivision into a general, a masculine and a feminine form for grandparents, but only two forms are present today. The form *-ašok* is generally used for 'grandfather' and *-os* for 'grandmother', while *-aškanev* means 'grandparents' and usually refers to the married couple of grandfather and grandmother. This seems to be parallel to the Spanish system, where the masculine form is pluralized and refers to both genders. However, it does not necessarily have to be the original Baure system of subdivision, as we find different traits elsewhere. Siblings (cf. (5) and (6)) are divided according to the point of reference, i.e. in reference to a man the noun *-piri* 'sibling (of the same sex)' means 'brother', whereas in reference to a woman the same lexeme means 'sister'. This relative noun co-exists with the gender specific forms for the opposite cases: the

[108] This has to do with the use of this demonstrative as a feminine article, opposed to the general article to, which is interpreted as masculine (cf. 8.2).

noun -*'aiy* 'brother' is used only by women, and the noun -*et* 'sister' by men. There may have been such a relative terminology concerning the siblings of parents, i.e. paternal and maternal aunts and uncles[109].

(5) a. *to nipiri*
to *ni=piri*
ART 1SG=sibling
'my sister (said by a woman)'
'my brother (said by a man)'

b. *ti nipiri*
ti *ni=piri*
DEM1f 1SG=sibling
'my sister (said by a woman)'

c. *to nipirinev*
to *ni=piri-nev*
ART 1SG=sibling-PL
'my brothers and sisters'

(6) a. *to ni'aiy*
to *ni='aiy*
ART 1SG=brother
'my brother (said by a woman)'

b. *ti net*
ti *ni=et*
DEM1f 1SG=sister
'my sister (said by a man)'

When animals are distinguished for gender, they are either preceded by a determiner, or alternatively the animal name is marked by a nominal modifier *eton* 'woman' or *hir* 'man' in a compound construction, as demonstrated in (7):

(7) a. *to* *tiporek*
ART chicken
'the chicken'

b. *ti* *tiporek*
DEM1f chicken
'the hen'

c. *to* *hir* *tiporek*
ART man chicken
'the rooster'

In very few examples animals have suppletive forms distinguished by gender, such as e.g. *poeh* 'duck' and *sore'* 'drake'.

4.3. Possession

4.3.1. Possessed and unpossessed nouns and their derivation

Baure nouns are divided into inalienably or obligatorily possessed, alienably or optionally possessed, and non-possessable nouns. In addition there is a small subgroup of nouns with suppletive possessed and unpossessed forms. This is demonstrated in Figure 4.4.

[109] This is difficult to determine today, where Baures mainly use the loan word *tih* 'aunt/uncle' < Sp *tio/tia*. Baptista & Wallin (T-558) argue that the word -*ak* 'aunt' e.g. is only used by women

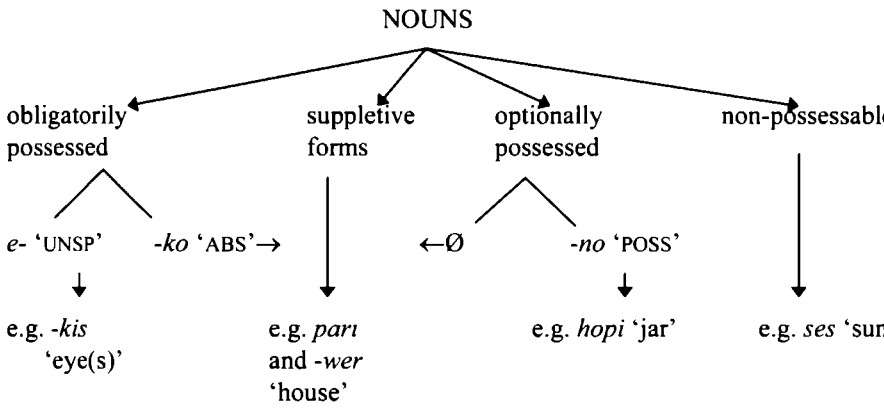

Figure 4.4: The possessability distinction in Baure nouns

Obligatorily possessed means the noun is a bound form and has to be marked by a possessor proclitic. These nouns are mainly body parts and kinship terms, but also a few other nouns that refer to objects which are generally possessed or parts of wholes. They are generally possessed, but an unpossessed form may be derived by attaching the absolute suffix *-ko* 'ABS'. When the possessor is unknown, the unspecified possessor prefix *e-* 'UNSP' is attached in the possessor slot to derive a free form.

Optionally possessed nouns are generally used as free nouns, but they may be possessed. The possessed form is either simply marked by a possessor proclitic or derived with the possessive suffix *-no* 'POSS'.

Non-possessable nouns are mainly astronomical bodies, but also all adjectives. In example (8) I illustrate the paradigm of the obligatorily possessed noun *-kis* 'eye(s)' with possessor proclitics:

(8) *-kɪs*
'eye(s)'

nikɪs		*vikis*
ni=kis		*vi=kɪs*
1SG=eye		1PL=eye
'my eye(s)'		'our eye(s)'
pikis		*yikis*
pi=kis		*yi=kis*
2SG=eye		2PL=eye
'your (SG) eye(s)'		'your (PL) eye(s)'
rokɪs	*rikis*	*nokɪs*
ro=kis	*ri=kis*	*no=kis*
3SGm=eye	3SGf=eye	3PL=eye
'his eye(s)'	'her eye(s)'	'their eye(s)'

Body parts always belong to a possessor, known or not. When the speaker wants to refer to a body part without knowing or mentioning the possessor, then the noun is

marked with the prefix *e-* 'UNSP' It is analyzed as a prefix here, but it is attached in the same slot as personal proclitics (cf 8 3 2) In (9) this kind of derivation is exemplified

	possessed		unspecified		free form
(9)	*niser*	→	*eser*	but	**ser*
	ni=ser		*e-ser*		
	1SG=tooth		UNSP-tooth		
	'my tooth'		'a tooth of someone'		

The following example shows a case of a noun with an unspecified possessor

(10) *ntorak to eser*
ni=torak to e-ser
1SG=find ART UNSP-tooth
'I found a tooth ' [RP-5/7/04-59]

bound form	translation	free form	translation
-po'e	head	*epo'e*	head (physical)
-tokie	head/brain	*etokie*	head, brain (mental)
-kis	eye(s)	*ekis*	eye(s)
-pen	tongue	*epen*	tongue
-ser	tooth	*eser*	tooth
-hi'	horn	*ehi'*	horn
-čom	skin	*ečomoe'*	wall
-imir	face	*emir*	face, front
-čipi	back	*ečipi'*	roof
-waki	hand palm	*ewaki*	fork of a branch of a tree

Table 4 4 Unspecified possessor noun derivation

The 'tooth' *eser* in (10) is still conceptually possessed, but the speaker does not know which animal the tooth originates from In Table 4 4 more examples are given of free forms derived with *e-* 'UNSP' The last four examples in Table 4 4 show that the derivation may also lead to new lexemes that slightly deviate from the basic form in meaning. While *-čipi* means 'back' of an animal or a person, the derived form *ečipi'* refers to the roof of a house

Plant parts and animal body parts are also treated as parts that obligatorily originate from something However, many basic forms are more bound than human body parts. they cannot even be directly possessed, but can only occur in compounds Nonetheless, a free form with *e-* may be derived Examples are *esoki* 'seed', *eponoe'* 'leaf', *ečowe'* 'palm leaf' and *ewokoe'* 'tree'. These lexemes have been derived from the bound forms *-soki* 'seed', *-pon* 'leaf', *-čow* 'palm leaf', and *-wok* 'tree' respectively In almost all examples the emphatic suffix *-i'* (assimilated as *-(o)e'*) is added in the free form None of these bound forms can be possessed directly Thus **rosoki* 'his/its seed' e g is ungrammatical The possessed form has to be further derived from the free form in these cases, generally with addition of the possessive suffix *-no* The possessed form of *-soki* 'seed' is therefore *roeskin* 'its seed' (< *esoki* + *-no*)

Some bound stems that fall into this class are demonstrated in Table 4.5, where the basic form is compared to its occurrence in a compound, the free form with *e-*, and to the possessed form with *ro-* '3SGm', where present in my data:

bound form	translation	compound	free form	possessed form
-soki	seed	*koyoroesoki* 'totaí seed'	*esoki*	*roeskin*
-pon	leaf	*erapon* 'plantain leaf'	*eponoe'*	*roeponoen*
-čow	palm leaf	*košačow* 'leaf of motacú palm'	*ečowe'*	
-wok	tree	*erawok* 'plantain tree'	*ewokoe'*	
-so'i'	stem		*es'i'*	
-tsie'	branch		*etsie'*	
-(š)iš	feather	*siporoeš* 'ostrich feather'	*ešiš*	*roešišon*

Table 4.5: Further examples of unspecified possessor derivation

More details on bound noun stems and their relation to classifiers are discussed in 4.7.

The other strategy for deriving free forms from obligatorily possessed nouns is the attachment of the absolute suffix *-ko* 'ABS'[110]. This morpheme is multifunctional and is found in verbs as well. A derived unpossessed form has been called "absolute" by Payne (1991:397). The number of nouns derived with *-ko* is restricted. When body parts are derived with this morpheme, there is usually a significant meaning change. Some obligatorily possessed nouns can thus be derived as free forms in two ways. The already mentioned noun *-ser* 'tooth' can either be derived as *eser* 'tooth' (10) or alternatively, as *serok* 'tooth'. This absolute form does not necessarily refer to a body part any longer, but possibly something that resembles it. Nouns that undergo this kind of derivation are generally the other obligatorily possessed nouns, apart from body parts. One example is (11):

	possessed		unpossessed		unspecified	free form
(11)	*ntoer*	→	*toerok*	but:	**etoer*,	**toer*
	ni=toer		*toero-ko*		*e-toer*	
	1SG=field		field-ABS		UNSP=field	
	'my field'		'a field'			

Some more forms derived by *-ko* 'ABS' are presented in Table 4.6:

[110] This should not be mistaken for an absolutive case, which does not exist in Baure.

bound form	translation	free form	translation
-ahmer	paper, ID	*hamerok*	paper
-wer	medicine	*werok*	medicine
-ɪn	louse	*ɪnok*	louse
-harom	daily clothes	*haromok*	cloth
-ɪmpo	choruno for taking water from well	*ɪmpok*	choruno for taking water from well
-ɪpohɪs	hair ribbon	*ɪpohɪsok*	hair ribbon
-kasan	trousers	*kasanok*	trousers
-korak	fishing net	*korakok*	fishing net
-korɪ	arrow	*korɪrok*	arrow
-amarɪ	chicha	*marok*	chicha
-toer	field	*toerok*	field
-wohɪs	hand	*wohɪsok*	painted hand
-ser	tooth	*serok*	tooth

Table 4 6 Absolute noun derivation

The class of nouns with suppletive unpossessed forms is very small One example that can also be found in other Arawak languages is the word for 'house', which is *-wer* in the possessed form in Baure, but the unpossessed form is *parɪ* This means that **roparɪ* (3SGm=house) 'his house' is ungrammatical None of the two forms undergoes any kind of derivation Therefore **werɪk* 'house' is ungrammatical, and so is **ewer* 'house of someone' or **roparɪn* (3SGm=house-POSS) 'his house' This is again illustrated in (12)

	possessed		unpossessed		unspecified	free form
(12)	*nɪwer*	→	*parɪ*	but	**ewer*	**wer*
	nɪ=wer		*parɪ*		*e-wer*	
	1SG=house		house		UNSP=house	
	'my house'		'a house'			
but	**nɪparɪ(n)*		**werɪk*			
	nɪ=parɪ-no		*werɪ-ko*			
	1SG=house-POSS		house-ABS			

Table 4 7 presents the examples of suppletive forms found in my data

bound form	translation	free form	translation
-wer	house, home	*parɪ*	house
-ɪmok	hammock	*wotokɪ*	hammock
-ešonon	way, path	*šonkɪp*	way, path
-šečenev	children, sons	*ahɪnev*	children
-tor	sister-in-law	*mon*	sister-in-law
-ɪa'	father	*čač*	father, old man
-pɪrɪ/-aɪy	brother	*čon*	brother, friend

Table 4 7 Suppletive unpossessed forms

The suppletive forms of the kinship terms in Table 4 7 differ for their use Generally, kinship terms are not derived as unpossessed forms In these examples the unpossessed forms are vocative forms and are only used when addressing or greeting someone This does not hold for *-šečenev* 'children, sons' and *ahinev* 'children'

The majority of nouns belong to the class of optionally possessed nouns Some of these nouns are used as free forms, but can have a possessor marker procliticized as well without any formal change This is demonstrated in example (13)

	unpossessed		possessed
(13)	*hačkis*	→	*nihačkis*
	hačkis		*ni=hačkis*
	glasses		1SG=glasses
	'a pair of glasses'		'my glasses'

Along with this zero derivation (or ambiguous forms in respect to possession) there is a suffix that derives possessed forms This morpheme is *-no* 'POSS', which is homophonous with the nominalizer *-no* 'NOM1', a multifunctional morpheme (cf 5 2 4, 9 4, 10 2 1), and may also be considered to be identical with it Examples of this derivation are *-romon* 'chief' (< *rom*) or *-yakison* 'fire wood' (< *yakis*) in (14) In this derivational process some nouns show a vowel change in the first syllable of the noun base In the examples I found this change was an opening of the rounded vowel *o* into the unrounded vowel *a*, as e g *nihapin* 'my jar' (< *hopi*) in (15)

	unpossessed		possessed		
(14)	*yakis*	→	*niyakison*	but	**niyakis*
	yakis		*ni=yakiso-no*		*ni=yakis*
	firewood		1SG=firewood-POSS		1SG=firewood
	'firewood'		'my firewood'		
(15)	*hopi*	→	*nihapin*	but	**nihopi*
	hopi		*ni=hapi-no*		*ni=hopi*
	jar		1SG=jar-POSS		1SG=jar
	'jar'		'my jar'		

Some more examples are presented in Table 4 8

free form	bound form	translation
hopi	*-hapin*	jar
yakis	*-yakison*	firewood
rom	*-romon*	chief
hokon	*-hakon*	basket
iti	*-itin*	blood
in	*-inon*	water
yaki	*-yakin*	fire

Table 4 8 Derived possessed forms

Nouns that cannot be possessed include astronomical bodies, animals (except for *-in* 'louse'), and adjectives Thus the Baure speakers need a trick in order to refer to their

pets or domesticated animals as their possessions, like *kove* 'dog' e.g. The noun that refers to the specific animal is preceded by a more general inalienably possessed noun *-per* 'domesticated animal'. Observe this solution of possessor marking in (16) and (17):

	unpossessable		possessed	
(16)	*kove'*	→	*niper kove'*	
	kove'		*ni=per*	*kove'*
	dog		1SG=dom.animal	dog
	'dog'		'my dog'	
(17)	*simori*		*niper simori*	
	simori	→	*ni=per*	*simori*
	pig		1SG=dom.animal	pig
	'pig'		'my pig'	

The noun *-per* 'domesticated animal' functions as a nominal modifier in (16) and (17), a function that a few nouns can have (compare the use of *hir* 'man (male)' in example (7) above).

Some other non-possessable nouns are preceded by the possessive pronoun instead of personal proclitic, identical to the way Spanish loans are marked for possession (cf. 4.3.2).

4.3.2. Possession of Spanish loans

Spanish loanwords are generally treated like non-possessable nouns, even when they refer to kinship. This does not hold for all Spanish loans, as some of them have already been incorporated into the Baure language system, but it is certainly true for all recent loans. Even though there is a Baure word for 'grandmother' *-os* or 'grandfather' *-ašok*, nowadays the Spanish loan *avoel* (from Spanish *abuelo/a*) is used much more frequently[111]. It is, however, not possible for this borrowed kinship noun to be simply marked with the possessor proclitic. Here the possessive pronouns are used instead, as illustrated in (18):

(18)	*to*	*ntir*	*avoel*	*ti*	*ntir*	*avoel*
	ART	1SGP	grandparent	DEM1f	1SGP	grandparent
	'my grandfather'			'my grandmother'		

The possessive NPs consist of a determiner, the possessive pronoun and the noun. The article is used only for male referents and the demonstrative, marked for feminine gender, is used for female referents. The possessive pronoun precedes the noun just like the personal prefixes, but they have to be considered as independent elements in the construction, rather comparable to nominal modifiers like *-per* 'domesticated animal' in (16) and (17). Some non-possessable nouns that can logically be

[111] This may also have to do with the fact that the gender division in Baure kinship terms (one general gender form plus two specific forms, sometimes dependent on the sex of the speaker, cf 4.1.2) is so different from the Spanish system that it is not as transparent for bilinguals as it used to be for monolinguals.

possessed make use of the possessive pronouns as well, as e.g. *poewok* 'land, ground' in (19):

(19) *teč* *notir* *poewok*
DEM2m 3PLP ground
'their land' [RP-23/7/04-10]

Among the exceptions are e.g. clothes, whose names have been borrowed from Spanish, but they have been considered to be inalienably possessed nouns, just like other clothes. This is shown in (20) and (21):

(20) *nisopot* (< Spanish *zapato*)
ni=sopot
1SG=shoe
'my shoe'

(21) *nikomis* (< Spanish *camisa*)
ni=komis
1SG=shirt
'my shirt'

4.3.3. Possessive and partitive NPs

Possessive NPs can be more complex when the possessor is not only cliticized but also explicitly mentioned in the clause. This is the case in NPs like (22) 'the lizard's house'. Instead of only saying *teč rower* 'his house', the possessor is explicit in the NP *to kotis* 'the lizard'. Example (22) illustrates that complex possessive NPs are simply the juxtaposition of possessed NP and possessor NP, where the possessor is already included in the possessed NP by the proclitic *ro-* '3SGm'.

possessed possessor
(22) *teč rower to kotis*
teč *ro=wer* *to* *kotis*
DEM2m 3SGm=house ART lizard
'the house of the lizard' [RP-N2/I-37]

The speakers of the Baure language make extensive use of this kind of possessive clauses. The same juxtaposition is not always a possessive relation, but may also be a partitive NP construction[112]. In partitive NPs the first element in the juxtaposition is not necessarily a noun, it may also be a numeral, a quantifier, or some other kind of modifier. The most important fact in the construction seems to be the nominal status of the second constituent. It functions like the partitive conjunction with *of* in English. Two examples of partitive NPs are given in (23) and (24):

(23) *siete' to yiti*
siet-e' *to* *yiti*
seven-CLF:unsweet ART chili
'seven of the chilies' [GP-N1/II-30]

[112] In 5.3.1.1 I demonstrate how the juxtaposition of NPs is also used for equation.

(24) *ač ti rimos riphik tek to rekirokonev ač to was*
ač *ti* *ri=mos* *ri=iphik*
and DEM1f 3SGf=mother in law 3SGf=hide

tek *to* *rekiroko-nev* *ač* *to* *was*
all ART tutuma-PL and ART glass
'And her mother-in-law hid all of the tutumas and glasses ' [MD-N1-16]

The partitive and possessive construction with explicit possessor is also illustrated in Figure 4 5

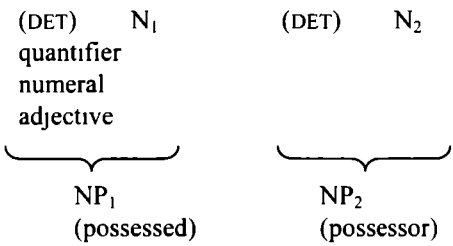

Figure 4 5 The partitive construction

Such a complex NP may refer to more than one possessive relation, because also the possessor may be a possessed NP, as in (25) through (27)

possessed possessor
(25) *to rower to ntovian*
to *ro=wer* *to* *ni=tovian*
ART 3SGm=house ART 1SG=neighbour
'My neighbour's house' [RP-4/8/03-35]

(26) *ti ripiri ti ntir mamit*
ti *ri=piri* *ti* *ntir* *mamit*
DEM1f 3SGf=sibling DEM1f 1SGP mother
'my mother's sister' [RP-A2-13]

(27) *ito nehpo'ekow to ropo'e te nišir*
ito *ni=eh-po'e-ko-wo* *to* *ro=po'e* *te* *ni=šir*
PROG 1SG=wash-head-ABS-COP ART 3SGm=head DEM1m 1SG=son
'I am washing my son's head ' [HC-2/7/04-40]

The juxtaposition of NPs can have many functions There are also e g unmarked relative clauses, which simply consist of the juxtaposition of two NPs (the apposition in 10 2 9) Equative and other predicate clauses may be a simple juxtaposition as well (cf 5 3 1 and 5 3 2) When a complex argument like the ones described in (22) through (27) itself becomes a predicate, only the first NP is marked with the copula or another verbal suffix, as illustrated in (28)

(28) *tič ti retowori to navinon.*

tič	*ti*	*ro=eto-wo=ri*	*to*	*ni=avinon*
DEM2f	DEM1f	3SGm=sister-COP=3SGf	ART	1SG=husband

'This (She) is the sister of my husband.' [RP-7/7/04-79]

The second NP *to navinon* 'my husband' (the possessor) is added here like an oblique argument, following the fully marked predicate *retowori* 'she is his sister'[113].

4.4. Number

In Baure singular and plural can be distinguished, singular being the unmarked form. The plural marker *-nev* can be applied to any countable noun. This morpheme is unambiguous and is also attached to adjectives (cf. 4.9.4). There is also a subgroup of human nouns that have a slightly different plural marking, the form *-anev* (cf. 4.4.2). Unpossessed nouns can be pluralized just like possessed nouns. Furthermore, also nominalized verbs are pluralized exactly the same way as underived nouns. First I want to illustrate the forms of pluralized nouns. Then the use of pluralization is described in more detail (4.4.3).

4.4.1. Pluralization

Due to the preference of CVCV in Baure, the usually deleted word final vowels of the singular forms of nouns are retained before the suffix *-nev*, as the plural suffix has an initial consonant. For the orthographical representation this means that nouns spelt with a final consonant in the singular form get an additional *-o* inserted before the plural suffix, which is the generally deleted or default vowel word finally. Thus the noun *pari* [parˈ] 'house' is pluralized into *parinev* [ˈparinɛv] 'houses', which only means difference in pronunciation of the vowel *-i*. But the word *ka'an* [kaˈʔan] 'animal', with a deleted *-o* word finally[114], has the plural form *ka'anonev* [kaˈʔanonɛv] 'animals'. Nouns that end in the sequence *-iy* have been subject to word final metathesis, reversed again in the plural, as e.g. *nipoiy* 'my foot' versus *nipoyinev* 'my feet'. The rules and exceptions of these morphophonological changes have been described in detail in 2.2.1 and 2.5.4. Table 4.9 gives some examples of nouns (unpossessed and possessed, nominalized) with their plural forms:

[113] For more detail on this kind of predicates cf. 5.2 and 5.3.

[114] As the vowel is deleted and phonologically not present, it is not represented in the orthography, cf Chapter 2

SINGULAR	translation	PLURAL
pari	house	*parinev*
kahap	manioc	*kahaponev*
ka'an	animal	*ka'anonev*
wahis	star	*wahis(o)nev*
witer	bat	*witernev*
niper *ni=per* 1SG=dom.animal	domesticated animal	*nipernev* *ni=per-nev* 1SG=dom.animal-PL
nipiri *ni=piri* 1SG=sibling	my sibling of the same sex	*nipirinev* *ni=piri-nev* 1SG=sibling-PL
nipoiy *ni=poiy* 1SG=foot	my foot	*nipoyinev* *ni=poyi-nev* 1SG=foot-PL
akon *ako-no* sing-NOM1	singer	*akononev* *ako-no-nev* sing-NOM1-PL

Table 4.9. Nouns and their plural forms

The vowel *-o* is not inserted or pronounced after every consonant when *-nev* 'PL' is attached. This has to do with sonority and which consonants can be easily pronounced when juxtaposed. After continuants except for nasals there is no additional vowel, as e.g. *nipernev* 'my domesticated animals' in Table 4.9. Spanish loans are pluralized just like Baure words, as in the examples in Table 4.10:

SINGULAR	translation	PLURAL
senıorita	lady (< Sp. *señorita*)	*senioritanev*
pania'	towel (< Sp. *paño* 'cloth')	*panianev*
senti	watermelon (< Sp. *sandia*)	*sentinev*
kowoiy	horse (< Sp. *caballo*)	*kowoyınev*
wak	cow (< Sp. *vaca*)	*wakonev*

Table 4.10: Spanish loans and their plural forms

Some nouns only occur in the plural and have no singular form underlying it. This is the case in the following examples:

(29) *ahinev* but not: **ahi*
ahi-nev
child-PL
'children'

(30) *nišečenev* but not: **nišeč(e)*
nı=šeče-nev *ni=šeč*
1SG=child-PL 1SG=child
'my children (sons and daughters)'

The forms that refer to 'child' in (29) and (30) cannot be used in the singular, but there are suppletive forms, i e *monči* 'child' for the unpossessed form and *nihin* 'my daughter' or *nišir* 'my son' for the possessed forms

Certain specific nouns that refer to unique items, like celestial bodies, cannot be pluralized Generally mass nouns do not get pluralized either, or they have to be derived in order to be countable (33) Consider the following examples

(31)	*ses*	but not	**sesnev*
	ses		*ses-nev*
	'sun'		sun-PL
(32)	*in*	but not	**inonev*
	in		*ino-nev*
	'water'		water-PL
(33)	*inowok*		*inowokonev*
	ino-wok		*ino-woko-nev*
	water-place		water-place-PL
	'water place'		'water places'

The plural morpheme *-nev* is longer than suffixes usually are it consists of two syllables (even though only one is pronounced), which makes it likely to be composed of two morphemes originally, today not analyzable for us any more Aikhenvald (1999, 2001) reconstructed "the markers **-na/-ni* 'animate/human plural', **-pe* 'inanimate/non-human plural' " (Aikhenvald 2001 173) for Proto-Arawak The Baure form *-nev* (formerly given as *-nebe* – Asis Coparcari 1767, Magio 1749) may have evolved from a combination of these two distinct suffixes **-ni* + **-pe* = **-nipe* > *-nebe* > *-nev* (current form), and the human/ non-human distinction has become equalized in Baure There is no clear distinction of human versus non-human or animate versus inanimate nouns in Baure, even though there remains the subgroup of human nouns with slightly different plural marking (4 4 2)

4 4 2 Human plural

As mentioned above, there is a small subgroup of human nouns that have a different plural marking, namely with the suffix *-anev* 'HPL' This morpheme has probably been composed of the linking morpheme *-a* 'LK' and the general pluralizer This plural marker is predominantly applied to kinship terms, but also to a few other human nouns, such as *eton* 'woman' and *hir* 'man', which form the plurals *etonanev* 'women' and *hiranev* 'men' But not all human nouns are part of this subclass, only a well defined restricted number There also seems to be a phonological restriction insofar that only nouns terminating in a consonant (or a deleted final vowel *-o*) get this plural marker attached, whereas human nouns terminating in a vowel get the common form *-nev* attached as the other nouns Therefore the noun *nipiri* 'my sibling' is pluralized as *nipirinev* 'my siblings', and *ni'aiy* 'my brother (of a woman)' as *ni'ayinev* 'my brothers' In Table 4 11 all the human nouns that are pluralized differently are listed

SINGULAR	translation	PLURAL
hir	man	*hiranev*
eton	woman	*etonanev*
niron	my parent	*nironanev*
našok	my grandparent	*naškanev*
nišonon	my daughter-in-law	*nišononanev*
ničonopos	my relative	*ničonoposanev*
nih	my grandchild	*nihanev*
nimos	my mother-in-law	*nimosanev*
nimošok	my father-in-law	*nimšokanev*
nitor	my sister-in-law	*nitoranev*

Table 4.11: The human plural forms

4.4.3. Plural NPs

Plural does not seem to be obligatorily marked on every noun or NP that refers to a plurality of items, just like in Arawak languages. Aikhenvald (2001:173) argues that "plural is optional (unless the referent is human)" in North Arawak languages. This seems to hold for Baure as well. Nouns with human referents are generally pluralized when the speaker refers to more than one. However, the influence of Spanish on Baure for approximately 300 years has had the effect that today many Baure speakers who want to speak correctly have started to apply the plural suffix obligatorily to every noun with a plural interpretation, like in Spanish, at least in elicitation. This does not seem to reflect the original use of Baure plural marking. In narratives and when the speakers are in conversation, plural is marked under different conditions than in Spanish[115]. Generally, nouns unmarked for plural refer to either a single item (one *token*) or to the concept as a mass (the *type*). All characters in a narrative have to be marked when they are plural; unmarked nouns cannot refer to an individualized plural. Domesticated animals, which are often bread in herds or groups, are usually referred to by the unmarked (generic) form, as e.g. *tiporek* 'chicken' in (34) through (36).

(34) *ten nop renpen to tiporek.*

ten	*nop*	*ro=enopen*	*to*	*tiporek*
DEM3m	bone	3SGm=bone	ART	chicken

'That bone is a chicken bone.' [JI-14/8/03-21]

(35) *nipikow to tiporek.*

ni=ipiko-wo	*to*	*tiporek*
1SG=be.afraid-COP	ART	chicken

'I am afraid of chicken.' [JC-14/3/06-43]

[115] On the other hand we can notice a Baure-like generic use of singular/unmarked forms in the regional Spanish as well, which intermingles with the lack of final *-s* (among others the plural morpheme) pronunciation.

(36) *piyatikier teč wohırok, koeč to tıporek ito rokosoekowor.*
pi=yatik=ro teč wohırok koeč to tiporek
2SG=burn=3SGm DEM2m garbage because ART chicken

ito ro=kosoeko-wo=ro
PROG 3SGm=scatter-COP=3SGm
'Burn that garbage, because the chickens (always) scatter it.'
[JC-13/7/04-86/87]

All three examples have generic reference. The NP *to tiporek* 'the chicken' in (34) is a partitive NP and only refers to chickens as a type. In (36) the person cross-reference marker that refers to the chicken is *ro-* '3SGm', thus also singular, but the sentence refers to chickens in general and not one chicken in particular. It could be expected that the person cross-reference concords with the marked number of the NP referred to, but this is not always the case. There are numerous examples with plural marking on the verb or non-verbal predicate, but no plural marking on the referent. This is exemplified with *tiporek* 'chicken' in (37) and (38):

(37) *tekow to roseskoner nohinoekow nonik to tiporek.*
tek-wo to roseskoner no=hinoeko-wo no=nik to tiporek
all-COP ART day 3PL=search-COP 3PL=eat ART chicken
'Every day the chicken is looking for something to eat.' [JC-13/7/04-108]

(38) *nowokoewon to tiporek?*
no=woko-ı-wo-no to tiporek
3PL=how.many-CLF:fruit&bird-COP-NOM1 ART chicken
'How many chickens are there?' [DC-16/3/06-38]

There is evidence that the plural morpheme is in fact a phrasal suffix. The plural morpheme *-nev* is phonologically extrametrical in a word, i.e. it does not cause any stress shift (cf. 2.4). On the other hand, there are many examples where *-nev* 'PL' only attaches to the last element of an NP, as in (39) and (40):

(39) *dies to nipirinev*[116] *– eton ač hiranev.*
dies to ni=piri-nev eton ač hır-anev
ten ART 1SG=sibling-PL woman and man-hPL
'I have ten siblings, women and men.' [MC-9/8/03-4]

(40) *nipa nonik to niper tiporekonev.*
ni=pa no=nik to ni=per tıporeko-nev
1SG=give 3PL=eat ART 1SG=dom.animal chicken-PL
'I give food to my chickens.' [GP/LO-21/7/04-111]

Even though *niper* 'my domesticated animal' can be pluralized on its own as *nipernev*, it is not pluralized in (40), where the speaker actually refers to a plurality of animals. Plural marking is only found on the last noun *tiporekonev* 'chickens', and it is evident from the cross-referencing on the verb. The same behaviour of the plural

[116] In the plural *-pırınev* 'siblings' does not mean necessarily 'sibling of the same sex', or at least the speaker does not use it as such in this example

morpheme can be observed when adjectives are part of the NP. When these adjectives follow the head noun, then only they get plural marking, as in (41) and (42):

(41) *monik te piser tisčinev.*
monik *te* *pi=ser* *ti-s-či-nev*
pretty DEM1m 2SG=tooth small-CLF:stick-DIM-PL
'Your small and slim teeth are pretty.' [HC-27/7/04-93]

(42) *nokiepon to per kove' čačanev?*
no=kie-po-no *to* *per* *kove'* *čo-a-ča-nev*
3PL=EV-PRFLX-NOM1 ART 2SG.dom.animal dog big-CLF:animal-AUG-PL
'Where are your big dogs?' [LO/GP-18/7/04-65]

In contrast to (41) and (42), it seems to be the tendency that in predicate constructions with adjectives that follow the head noun, both, the noun and the adjective are marked plural (and are therefore rather regarded as two separate phrases), while in modifying constructions with adjectives only the last element of the whole phrase is marked. This is at least the case in examples where the two are juxtaposed and could be interpreted as both (cf. 5.3 on unmarked predicate constructions by juxtaposition). Generally, when the predicate precedes the subject NP, the NP is distinguished as a separate phrase by means of a determiner[117], as in (43) and (44). The predicative adjective can be marked for plural or not when preceding the other NP (43).

(43) *čonok to ka'anonev*
čonok *to* *ka'ano-nev*
big ART animal-PL
'The animals are big.'

(44) *čonokonev to ka'anonev*
čonoko-nev *to* *ka'ano-nev*
big-PL ART animal-PL
'The animals are big.'

When the adjective follows the head, it can also function as a predicate, but the construction remains ambiguous when it is not marked, cf. (45) and (46):

(45) *to neč ka'an čonokonev*
to *neč* *ka'an* *čonoko-nev*
ART DEM2PL animal big-PL
'those big animals' [RP-N3-201]

(46) *to neč ka'anonev čonokonev.*
to *neč* *ka'ano-nev* *čonoko-nev*
ART DEM2PL animal-PL big-PL
'Those animals are big.'

Many examples support the status of *-nev* as a phrasal suffix, but there are also many inconsistent examples, which complicate the analysis.

[117] This needs some understanding of predicate clauses, which are analyzed in Chapter 5.

4.5. Diminutive and augmentative

The categories of diminutive and augmentative are nominal categories, but the same morphemes may also be attached to other parts of speech for politeness, endearment or downplaying (cf. 9.3.3). Diminutive and augmentative are most frequently marked on adjectives, which are nominal as well (cf. 4.9.4). Diminutive is *-či* 'DIM' and augmentative *-ča* 'AUG'. Both morphemes may be related to each other and probably derive from the bound adjective root *čo-* 'big'. The vowel may be onomatopoeic with the closed vowel *-i* referring to smallness and the open vowel *-a* to bigness. Figure 4.2 above demonstrates in which slot diminutive and augmentative marking is inserted: It follows the nominal base and may be followed by the plural morpheme. It is theoretically possible that also the locative suffix follows the diminutive or augmentative morpheme, but there are no examples in my data. In (47) and (48) are examples with diminutive marking:

(47) *to rekirok tipači*
to *rekirok* *ti-pa-či*
ART tutuma small-CLF:flat&round-DIM
'the very small tutuma' [HC-8/3/06-96]

(48) *tekowon to nen ka'ančinev noyokowoni.*
teko-wo-no *to* *nen* *ka'an-či-nev* *no=yoko-wo=ni*
all-COP-NOM1 ART DEM3PL animal-DIM-PL 3PL=sting-COP=1SG
'All the little animals sting me.' [LO/GP-15/7/04-128]

In (49) and (50) are examples with augmentative marking:

(49) *to ewokoe' čowokča*
to *ewokoe'* *čo-wok-ča*
ART tree big-tree-AUG
'the very big tree' [MC-9/8/03-46]

(50) *nti' nimon paš to čačanev.*
nti' *ni=imon* *po-a-š* *to* *čo-a-ča-nev*
1SG 1SG=buy one-CLF:animal-one ART big-CLF:animal-AUG-PL
'I buy one of the big ones (pigs).' [LO/GP-18/7/04-92]

The diminutive or augmentative is generally only marked once in an NP, just like plural marking. Therefore it is possible that *-či* 'DIM' and *-ča* 'AUG' are also a kind of phrasal clitics. The morphemes have also been lexicalized in some nouns, as e.g. *monči* 'child (lit. little young one)' and *inowokči* 'paddle (lit. little water place)'. Both diminutive and augmentative morphemes can also be reduplicated[118], as in (51):

(51) *čačača aw ti ti'ači.*
č-a-ča-ča *aw* *ti* *ti-a-či*
big-CLF:animal-AUG-AUG and.not DEM1f small-CLF:animal-DIM
'the very big dog (animal) and the very small one' [DC-11/3/06-26]

[118] In Latin-American Spanish the diminutive is used frequently and may also be reduplicated. This may have influenced Baure.

4.6. Compounding

Compounding is a fairly important process in Baure. Many compounds do not consist of two noun stems, but of a noun stem and a classifier. Some of the classifiers have been derived from reduced noun stems (cf. 4.7), which could mean that compounding was one of the ways in which classifiers evolved in the first place (cf. Gerdts 1998:97). Compounds are constructed like possessed nouns with the order possessor-possessed by juxtaposing two noun stems, of which mainly the second one is the more generic head and the first noun serves as its modifier. Figure 4.6 illustrates the order of noun stems in a compound and describes the parts semantically:

N_1	-	N_2
Modifier		Head
possessor		possessed
specific		generic
whole		part

Figure 4 6: Compounds[119]

Compounds are formed productively, in particular where N_2 refers to body parts, plant parts and other parts of wholes. As in possessed nouns the head of a compound (N_2) is generally a bound form. Examples for compounds with body parts of animals are (52) through (55):

(52) *tiporekpo'e*
tiporek-po'e → *tiporek* + *-po'e*
chicken-head chicken head
'chicken-head'

(53) *kahawhi'*
kahaw-hi' → *kahaw* + *-hi'*
deer-horn deer horn
'deer antlers'

(54) *wakpen*
wak-pen → *wak* + *-pen*
cow-tongue cow tongue
'cow-tongue'

(55) *tiyowkopasiri*
tiyowoko-pasiri → *tiyowok* + *-pasiri*
spoon-nose spoon nose
'brown heron (bird sp.)[120]'

Examples (52) through (54) refer to body parts of animals, while (55), even though the head noun *-pasiri* 'nose, beak' is also a body part, is the name of a bird as a whole. Certainly, the name describes the typical characteristic of this bird's beak and was then metonymically transferred to the whole animal. Compounds may consist of

[119] There are two systematic (productive) inverse compounds in (106) and (107) below
[120] This bird has a beak in the shape of a spoon

Spanish loans as well, as already evident from (54) *wak* 'cow', and as (56) with two Spanish loans being composed

(56) *rospan*

ros-pan	→	*ros*	+	*pan*
rice-bread		rice		bread
'rice bread'				

In the examples above N_1 is always a free noun and N_2 is a bound noun in all except for example (56) The noun stems in (52) through (56) have not been reduced It is very common, though, that the head noun occurs in a phonetically reduced form This is the case with bound and free head nouns This reduced form may be identical to a classifier Examples of compounds with a reduced N_2 are in (57) through (59)

(57) *simorieš*

simori-eš	→	*simori*	+	*neš*
pig-meat		pig		meat
'pork'				

(58) *himah*

him-ah	→	*him*	+	*-hah*
fish-soup		fish		soup
'fish soup'				

(59) *nešiti*

neš-iti	→	*neš*	+	*-iti*
meat-dish		meat		dish
'meat dish'				

Note that *neš* 'meat' is reduced as N_2 in (57), but not as N_1 in (59)

It is also possible to create compounds with three components, in which case the compound has probably gone through two processes of compounding The head noun is then N_3 The compound *somorišah* 'pork soup' in (60) has been derived from the compound *simoreš* 'pork' in (57) In the compound in (60) N_2 is phonetically even more reduced than in (57) Here are examples of compounds with three noun stems

(60) *simorišah*

simori-š-ah	→	*simori*	+	*neš*	+	*-hah*
pig-meat-soup		pig		meat		soup
'pork soup'						

(61) *kahavešah*

kahaw-eš-ah	→	*kahaw*	+	*neš*	+	*-hah*
deer-meat-soup		deer		meat		soup
'venison soup'						

(62) *šoroesoki*

šora-i-soki	→	*šora-*	+	*-i*	+	*-soki*
cusi-CLF fruit&bird-seed		cusi		CLF fruit & bird		seed
'*cusi* nut'						

When regarding plants and plant parts, we also find bound N_1 stems The noun *šorawok* '*cusi* palm' is composed of two parts, **šor* '*cusi* (palm sp)' and *-wok* 'tree', but the first part only exists in compounds Right-bound nominal stems are generally only found among adjectives (cf 4 9 1) The two morphemes are composed with the help of the linker *-a*, which I turn back to below In Table 4 12 I give two paradigms of plant parts, both based on a right-bound noun stem referring to kinds of palm trees

N_1 *šor-* 'cusi (palm sp)'	N_1 *koyoroe-* 'totai (palm sp)'	
šorawok	*koyoroeawok*	'tree'
šoračow	*koyoroeačow*	'palm leaf'
šoroe'	*koyoroe'*	'fruit'
šoroesoki	*koyoroesoki*	'nut'

Table 4 12 Parts of palm trees

In many compounds the linking morpheme *-a* 'LK' is inserted The function of this linker is unclear to me, especially because it is employed in many other kinds of morpheme composition It may be partly related to phonological conditions, but the multi-functionality of the linking morpheme remains a subject for future research Along with some examples in Table 4 12 there are some more examples where the linker is inserted in the compounds in (63) through (65)

(63) *sopirap*
sopir-a-po → *sopir* + *nop*
turtle-LK-bone turtle bone
'turtle bone'

(64) *čomomoeawok*
čomomoe-a-wok → *čomomoe'* + *-wok*
flower-LK-tree flower tree
'tree with flowers'

(65) *čorap*
čor-a-po → *čor* + *-po*
maize-LK-CLF tiny maize CLF tiny
'maize meal'

Example (65) is a compound of a noun and a classifier, but also linked by the morpheme *-a* 'LK' It is simply coincidence that the reduced morpheme *-po* for 'bone' in (63) is homophonous with the classifier The free noun, however, is *nop* 'bone' There are a number of left-bound nominal stems that only occur in compounds It is sometimes difficult to decide if they should be analyzed as classifiers I do not consider the reduced form of 'bone' *-po* in (63) a classifier, as it only occurs in compounds The morpheme *-wok*, on the other hand, is a left-bound morpheme that is found in compounds, generally meaning 'tree' The same morpheme is used as a classifier, attached to numerals and adjectives, which refer to trees In compounds *-wok* has even been semantically more extended This extension in meaning may be part of its development into a classifier In Table 4 13 the different meanings of *-wok*

are described, with the examples divided into the different steps of semantic extensions

(a) '(palm) tree'

šorawok	'cusi palm tree'
koyoroeawok	'totaí palm tree'
košawok	'motacu palm tree'
erawok	'plantain tree'
tikoriawok	'calabash tree'
rasawok	'orange tree'
mokovoreawok	'papaya tree'
čomomoeawok	'tree with flowers (lit flower-tree)'

(b) 'plantation'

rosowok	'rice field'
čičorowok	'bean plantation'
mamisowok	'sweet potato plantation'
ekšowok	'manioc field (lit manioc plant-plantation)'
yitiawok	'chili plantation'

(c) 'place'

kakiwok	'jungle (*kaki* = ?)'
hekoewok	'countryside (*hekoe* = ?)'
es'hiwok	'grassland (*es'hi* = ?)'
inowok	'water place (*in* = water)'
momoewok	'dry clay place (*-momoe* = dry clay)'
poewok	'ground (*poe* = down)'
sesowok	'place in the sun (*ses* = sun)'

Table 4 13 The semantic extension of N_2 *-wok*

Table 4 13 illustrates that the most specific (and probably original) meaning of *-wok* is 'tree', as in (a) The general lexeme *ewokoe'* 'tree' has been derived from the bound root by attaching the unspecified possessor prefix *e-* and the final emphatic suffix *-i'* The morpheme *-wok* has been extended to a place where trees or plants are cultivated 'plantation', as shown in (b) Further the extension leads to the general meaning 'place', as presented in (c)

A great number of classifiers are – apart from being used as classifiers – also part of a lexeme, where they occur in compounds as N_2 An example is the classifier *-pi*, which refers to long and thin objects and animals The most prototypical members of this class are snakes and worms In some worm names we do indeed find the classifying morpheme The word *koropi* 'liana' is also a typical plant including the classifier *-pi* The body part *-pih* 'throat, all around neck' consists of almost only the classifier morpheme We can hypothesize that this classifier has also evolved from a full noun stem meaning 'worm' or 'snake' or 'throat', which was then further extended to things like *kaharopi* 'thread', *yakopi* 'candle', and *virepi* 'horizon' Payne (1991 383)

supports this suggestion by arguing that "sets show cognacy between lexical nouns in some Maipuran [Arawak, my comment] languages and noun classifying suffixes in other languages". He particularly refers to the mentioned classifier for "long, slender, snake-like" (Payne 1991:383). In his cognate set some Arawak languages use a cognate form of Baure *-pi* as a lexeme for 'snake'. He reconstructed the Proto-Arawak word *ap^{h}i (cf. also Aikhenvald 2001:176). This is only one possible way of regarding the evolution of classifiers in general, however. Table 4.14 is a summary of lexemes and compounds supposedly including the classifier *-pi* 'CLF:long & thin' in Baure.

-pih	'throat outside all around the neck'
-soropi	'throat'
koropi	'liana'
sakopi	'worm'
kohiroropi	'yellow worm'
horompi	'electric eel'
virepi	'horizon (*vir* =wind)'
kaharopi	'thread (*kahawor* = cotton)'
yakopi	'candle (*yaki* = fire)'
konoropi	'pen (*-kon-* = write)'

Table 4.14 Compounds with (and possible souces of) the classifier *-pi* 'long & thin'

4.7. Noun classification and classifiers

In Baure noun classification is very important. This phenomenon has been studied in a number of Arawak (Aikhenvald 1994, 2000; Shephard 1997) and Amazonian languages (Derbyshire & Payne 1990), and many linguists have described the typology of noun classification in general (Allan 1977; Craig 1986; Dixon 1986; Senft 2000). The confusion of terminology in this field has been mentioned among others by Grinevald (2000). Allan's (1977) overview of noun classification is still referred to as one of the most useful summaries of noun categorization, particularly concerning classifiers (e.g. Aikhenvald 2000:6). In his terms Baure has "numeral classifiers", a "paradigm type" (Allan 1977:286), classifiers which are "obligatory in many expressions of quantity" (Allan 1977:286). However, the terminology issue is not solved so easily. Baure classifiers attach to numerals and adjectives; they are part of nouns and incorporate into verbs. They may also be considered to be "verbal classifiers", which do "not classify the verb itself but rather one of the nominal arguments of the verb" (Grinevald 2000:67). Baure classifiers are attached like agreement markers. Grinevald (2000) argues:

> "Classifier systems seem to be secondary grammatical systems [1] which are derived from existing lexical material [2] and syntactic constructions [3], and which have long or short histories [4], and varying degrees of dynamism built into it." (Grinevald 2000:83)

With reference to this cited text, the main features of Baure classifiers are:

1 The classifier system in Baure is a secondary categorization, the primary being grammatical gender (actually feminine animate versus all others, cf Figure 4 3) and number

2 By their form many classifiers have been derived from or are formally identical to bound nominal roots, among them many plant parts However, a subset of classifiers consists of grammaticalized morphemes, mainly monosyllabic, which cannot be related to any existing lexeme (cf Figure 4 7)

3 Classification presumably derives from compounding or incorporation (cf Aikhenvald 1994 421)

4 Some classifiers are phonetically reduced bound nouns, and it seems as if the older a classifier is, the less recognizable the relation between a classifier and a noun root Therefore, the grammaticalized morphemes may have been derived from nouns as well, the process only leads further back in history

Examples (66) through (71) illustrate how and where classifiers are attached in Baure The classifier in all these examples is *-po* 'CLF tiny', which refers to insects, fish, and tiny little things, tiny as powder-like material

→ numerals

(66) *roti' roenisa popoš him pitir piti'*
roti' *ro=inisa* *po-po-š* *him* *pitir* *piti*
3SGm 3SGm=fish one-CLF tiny-one fish 2SGP 2SG
'He caught one fish for you ' [RP-21/7/04-37]

→ right-bound adjectives

(67) *hamarokino-ye kwe him čopoča*
hamaro-ki-no-ye *kwe'* *him* *čo-po-ča*
black-CLF 2D-NOM1-LOC exist fish big-CLF tiny-AUG
'In the Rio Negro (Black River) there are very big fish ' [JC-18/9/03-26]

→ derived adjectives

(68) *kotispon*
kotis-po-no
green-CLF tiny-NOM1
'green (caterpillar)' [LO-10/8/03-11]

→ quantifiers

(69) *iyowkopan te kokononev*
iyowko-po-a-no *te* *kokono-nev*
various-CLF tiny-LK-NOM1 DEM1m caterpillar-PL
'various caterpillars' [DC-8/3/06-91]

→ incorporated into verbs

(70) *vehpaw to etip*
vi=eh-po-a-wo *to* *etip*
1PL=wash-CLF tiny-LK-COP ART manioc starch
'We wash the manioc starch ' [HC-2/7/04-7]

→ interrogative predicates:

(71) *rowokpon ten pamnapik?*

ro=wok-po-no	*ten*	*pi=amo-no-a-pik*
3SGm=how.many-CLF:tiny-NOM1	DEM3m	2SG=take-NOM1-LK-COME

'How many fishes did you bring?' [LO-29/8/03-87]

In addition to the examples in (66)–(71), classifiers may be part of a noun compound, as already shown in Tables 4.13 and 4.14. Many nouns referred to by this classifier include the form *-po* themselves. This probably goes back to a compound with the classifier. Examples are insects like *yomoep* 'bee', seeds like *čičorop* 'beans', powder like *šep* '*chivé*' and *yinirep* 'dust', or other animals of the *-po*-class, like *kočopon* 'caiman'.

The Baure classification system has some features in common with noun class systems, as shown in Table 4.15. Here Baure is compared with respect to the properties of noun class and classifier systems suggested by Grinevald (2000:62):

Noun class-gender systems	Baure	classifier systems	Baure
1. all nouns are classified	(+)	not all nouns are classified	(–)
2. division into smallish number of classes	–	division into largish number of classes	+
3. constitutes a closed system	(–)	constitutes an open system	(+)
4. fused with other grammatical categories (definiteness, number, case)	–	independent constituent	+
5. can be marked on noun	(+)	not affixed to noun	(+)
6. realized in agreement patterns	+	marked once	–
7. N uniquely assigned to a class with no speaker variation	+	N possibly assigned to various classes at speaker's will	–
8. no variation in register	+	formal/informal uses	–

Table 4.15 Distinctions between noun class and classifier systems, with respect to Baure (adapted from Grinevald 2000:62):

Table 4.15 shows that Baure has the following properties of a classifier system: the classifiers constitute a large number of items and it is a rather open system. The classifying constituent is independent of other grammatical categories, such as number or gender. In general, the classifier is not attached to the noun classified, but it may be when the noun has been derived by compounding. There are, on the other hand, also some properties that are argued to belong to a noun class system: generally all counted nouns are classified. The numerals are bound forms and have a classifying element attached. But in addition, there are also classifiers that do not attach to numerals. The way how classifiers attach to elements in a clause resembles agreement marking, even though it is more frequently anaphoric. Any counted noun is only assigned to one class with no variation. There is also no variation in speech registers.

An important factor is the assignment of every noun to a definite noun class. This is a property of a noun class system (cf. Table 4.15). In some Baure phrases it may

look as if there are more classifiers referring to the same noun, but in fact this can easily be explained In partitive NPs (cf Table 4 4) the first component may be a numeral or other modifier with a suffixed classifier This classifier does not necessarily refer to the noun itself, but possibly only to part of it or to a quantity of it, as illustrated in (72)

(72) *apipoe erapoe'/ apičow erapoe'/ apiew erapoe'*
api-poe erapoe' api-čow erapoe' api-ew erapoe'
two-banana plantain two-CLF circle plantain two-raceme plantain
'two plantains, two circles of plantains, two racemes of plantains'

The first classifier *-poe* is the one that actually refers to plantains as a single fruit The others are only numerals with a suffixed classifier that refers to a certain number of plantains While the first part of (72) is one NP, the other two have to be analyzed as two connected NPs in a partitive construction (here without determiners)

Classifiers are distinguished for animacy, shape, dimension, texture, function, and other criteria, but many assignments are not transparent or are only explained by multiple metaphorical transfer Baure speakers are very sensitive to mistakes in the use of classifiers When I count caimans, for example, and I use the classifier applied to quadruped animals *-a* 'CLF animal' (73), then my consultants correct me (74) It has to be referred to by the classifier *-po* 'CLF tiny' The word *šonoki* 'way, path' is also assigned to this and no other class (75)

(73) **paš kočopon*
po-a-š kočopon
one-CLF animal-one caiman

(74) *popoš him/ popoš hoser/ popoš kočopon*
po-po-š him po-po-š hoser po-po-š kočopon
one-CLF tiny-one fish one-CLF tiny-one fly one-CLF tiny-one caiman
'one fish, one fly, one caiman'

(75) *popošowe' to šonoki*
po-po-š-wo-i' to šonoki
one-CLF tiny-one-COP-EMPH ART way
'It is only one way ' [RP-5/7/04-53]

Another example is how fruits are classified There are two classifiers *-i* 'CLF fruit & bird' for sweet fruit (and birds) and *-e* 'CLF unsweet fruit' The tree calabash *rekirok* 'tutuma' (76) is referred to by a different classifier than *mokovore'* 'papaya' (78) The classifier *-e* cannot be applied to any unsweet fruit, not even if the fruit is not ripe yet (77) The 'pumpkin' *mokovis* is assigned to the same class as *rekirok* 'tutuma' (76), but, despite its resemblance to a pumpkin, *senti* 'watermelon' is put into the class of boats and oval containers, cf (78) and (79) There is a complete list of which nouns go into which class in Appendix A 2

(76) *peš rekırok/* *peš mokovıs*

po-e-š	*rekırok*	*po-e-š*	*mokovıs*
one-CLF unsweet-one	tutuma	one-CLF unsweet-one	pumpkın

'one tutuma, one pumpkın'

(77) **peš mokovore'*

po-e-š	*mokovore'*
one-CLF unsweet-one	papaya

(78) *poeš mokovore'/* *poseš sentı*

po-ı-š	*mokovore'*	*po-se-š*	*sentı*
one-CLF fruit&bird-one	papaya	one-CLF oval-one	watermelon

'one papaya, one watermelon'

(79) **poeš sentı*

po-ı-š	*sentı*
one-CLF fruit&bird-one	watermelon

Classifiers in Baure can be distinguished morphologically (by their form) and morphosyntactically (where they attach) Most classifiers attach to numerals, but there are also a number of classificatory bound roots that do not attach to numerals (cf 4 7 2)

4 7 1 Morphological and semantic characteristics of classifiers

Morphologically classifiers can be divided as indicated in Figure 4 7 One major morphological classifier type has been derived from noun roots, some of them by reduction or truncation Among these apparently more lexical classifiers there are a number of morphemes that repeat a noun or part of it and only refer to this noun (unique classifiers) However, some of the lexical classifiers have been extended morphologically (or metonymically) This means they can either refer to the concrete noun they have been derived from or to a wider class of well-defined elements that share certain properties with those nouns Grammaticalized classifiers are (mostly monosyllabic) morphemes that cannot be related to any lexeme anymore today, even though they may have been derived from nominal roots (Aikhenvald 1994 420) Figure 4 7 of the different types of classifiers in Baure also includes the indication of the path of their grammaticalization This can be compared to the general continuum from lexical to grammatical of different classification systems in Grinevald & Seifart (2004 261)

Figure 4 7 also indicates a continuum from lexical to grammatical morphemes for classification The class is relatively open towards the lexical end This means that this is where new classifiers come in Bound nouns with generic reference could all be considered to be classifiers in a way, but here only those bound noun roots attaching to numerals have been taken into consideration

The description starts with unique classifiers, moves on to metaphorically extended classifiers, finally addressing the grammaticalized classifiers The bound roots used as unique classifiers can be semantically divided into body parts, plant parts,

time words (day, year etc.), some specific nominal roots, and a number of seemingly newly derived classifiers (cf. Appendix A.2, Table 3).

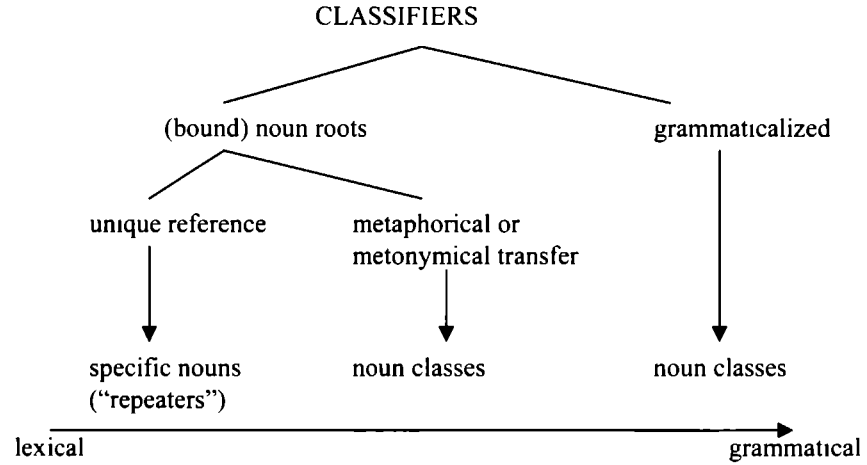

Figure 4.7: Classifiers and their reference

Classifiers are attached to numerals and adjectives, as in examples (80) through (82), and their incorporation into verbs.

(80) *powhisis*[121]

po-wohis-is	→	*-wohis*
one-hand-one		hand
'one (hand)'		'hand'

(81) *počomomoeš*

po-čomomoe-š	→	*čomomoe'*
one-flower-one		flower
'one flower'		'flower'

(82) *pomoroekoeš*

po-moroekoe-š	→	*-moroekoe'*
one-year-one		year
'one year'		'year'

The majority of unique classifiers is derived from bound noun roots, but (81) also shows a free noun used as a classifier. These unique classifiers can sometimes also be repeated within the same NP, which has been referred to as "repeater" in the literature (cf. Aikhenvald 1994:420–1), cf. (83) and (84):

[121] The second morpheme of the bipartite numeral *po*-CLF-*š* 'one' is changed phonologically when the classifier morpheme ends in an alveolar fricative

(83) *powhɪsɪs to nɪwohɪs*
po-wohɪs-ɪs *to* *nɪ=wohɪs*
one-hand-one ART 1SG=hand
'one of my hands'

(84) *powkoš ewokoe' čowkoča*
po-woko-š *ewokoe'* *čo-woko-ča*
one-tree-one tree big-tree-AUG
'one very big tree' [LO-10/8/03-2]

In (83) the bound noun *-wohɪs* 'hand' occurs twice within a partitive NP, each time bound to another form first bound to a numeral, then marked by the possessor proclitic *nɪ-* '1SG' The possessor morpheme specifies the referent 'hand' of the numeral as 'my hand' The repeated occurrence of the same bound form, as in (84), is rare, the example was taken from elicitation In (84) the truncated form *-wok* 'tree' occurs attached to the numeral and the adjective within the same NP The head noun *ewokoe* 'tree' also contains this root The head noun is generally not explicitly mentioned, when already referred to by a unique classifier The other forms can both be used as anaphoric heads, as is the case in the second part of (85) Therefore repetition of the same morpheme has to be considered a rare and emphatic possibility If disambiguation is not necessary, the classifier is generally not repeated like in (86) and (87), which may not be ungrammatical, but quite odd

(85) *rowoyawkowon teč ewokoe' čowok' – te paltawok*
ro=woy-a-woko-ɯo-no *teč* *ewokoe* *čo-wok*
3SGm=name-LK-tree-COP-NOM1 DEM2m tree big-tree

te *palt-a-wok*
DEM2m avocado-LK-tree
'What kind of tree is it that big tree? – That is an avocado tree '

ɯoyɪkɯon teč tɪkorɪaɯokoɯ' te apo teč čowok'
woyɪko-wo-no *teč* *tɪkorɪ-a-woko-ɯo*
bel-COP-NOM1 DEM2m tutuma-LK-tree-COP

te *apo* *teč* *čo-wok*
DEM1m or DEM2m big-tree
'Which one is the tutuma tree? This one or that big tree?'[DC-17/4/06 14/16]

(86) *'počomomoeš čomomoe'*
po-čomomoe-š *čomomoe'*
one-flower-one flower
'one flower'

(87) *apɪseskoner, apɪseskoner to roseskoner*
apɪ-seskoner *apɪ-seskoner* *to* *roseskoner*
two-day two-day ART day
'two days, two days' [JC-8/8/03-14]

At least two unique classifiers have been derived from Spanish loanwords: *-mes* 'table' (< Sp. *mesa*) and *-tono* 'button' (< Sp. *botón*), replacing grammaticalized classifiers such as *-amok* 'CLF:flat & raised'[122], cf. (88):

(88) *pomesis, pamokoš mes.*

po-mes-is	*po-amoko-š*	*mes*
one-table-one	one-CLF:flat&raised-one	table

'one table, one table' [RP/EC-17/7/04-10]

The derivation of the new classifier *-mes* 'table' shows how classifiers can still be derived productively. The classifying morpheme is generally a disyllabic, sometimes truncated form of a noun. A few new classifiers have been derived from nouns and replace the more general classifiers referring to these nouns in general. These are represented in Table 4.16:

form	gloss	class members	origin	alternative
-kori	arrow	*-kori/ korirok* (arrow)	< *-kori* 'arrow'	*-si* 'CLF:stick'
-tot	round	*kohistot* (pebble), *koten* (caramellized sugar cane)	< *kohistot* 'pebble'	*-iro* 'CLF:round'
-kor	net	*-korak/ korakok* (fishing net)	< *-korak* 'fishing net'	*-iki* 'CLF:net'
-si	sweet. potato	*mamis* (sweet potato)	< *mamis* 'sweet potato'	*-e* 'CLF:unsweet'
-ton	button	*voton* (button)	< Sp. *botón* 'button'	*-po* 'CLF:tiny'
-mes	table	*mes* (table)	< Sp. *mesa* 'table'	*-amok* 'CLF:flat & raised'

Table 4.16: New classifiers

The newly derived classifier *-tot* 'round' has been taken from the second part of the noun *kohistot* 'pebble' (of which currently only the first part is a separate element in the language: *kohis* 'stone'). In general, pebbles, stones, and wheels are referred to by the classifier *-iro* 'CLF:round'. The morpheme *-tot* sometimes replaces this classifier *-iro* 'CLF:round'. But *-tot* 'round' is not only used for pebbles, from which root the classifier has been derived, but also for other round things in the class of the classifier *-iro* 'CLF:round', such as *koten* 'caramellized sugar cane'[123]. The other new classifiers, however, are exclusively used for the nouns they have been derived from.

The creation of new classifiers also supports the fact that the class of unique classifiers is open. Many other bound roots can be considered to have classificatory functions, in particular those of generic nouns. As these unique classifiers behave like the majority of classifiers, they are considered to be more closely related to grammaticalized classifiers than other generic noun roots. In the transcription they will not be glossed as CLF 'classifier', but only as the translation of the noun root they refer to.

[122] Buttons would generally be referred to by the classifier *-po* 'CLF tiny'

[123] The caramelized sugar cane is produced in the form of a wheel

A number of bound forms used for classification have been derived from noun roots, but then metaphorically extended. As an example the body part *-čɨpɨ* 'back' will be discussed: This bound noun root can be used referring to the 'back' of a person or an animal. As a kind of abstraction the same root also refers to the 'roof' of houses and the 'top' of things, in general (89). This has created a locative root which can be attached to other nouns for specification of space reference (cf. 4.8). The root *-čipi* has then further been metonymically extended to refer to a number of animals with a roof-like appearance, such as *kopir* 'armadillo', *sipori* 'frog', and *sopiri* 'tortoise'. Therefore these 'roof-like animals' form a class referred to by the classifier *-čɨpi*, as in (90) and (91):

(89) *ver rowoyiko iyowkočpikan.*[124]
ver *ro=woyiko* *iyowko-čipi-ko-a-no*
PERF 3SGm=make various-CLF:roof-ABS-LK-NOM1
'He made various roofs.' [RP-5/7/04-55]

(90) *ramow počpiš sipori ač kač ver roemowanaw te počpinev*
ro=amo-wo *po-čipi-š* *sipori* *ač* *kač* *ver*
3SGm=take-COP one-CLF:roof-one frog and GO PERF

ro=imowana-wo *te* *po-čpɨ-nev*
3SGm=say.goodbye-COP DEM1m other-CLF:roof-PL
'He took one frog (with him) and went to say goodbye to the others (frogs).'
[GP-A4-76]

(91) *roempik noiy [...] počpiš noiy ač počpi noiy.*
ro=im-pik *noiy* *po-čɨpi-š* *noiy*
3SGm=put-COME there one-CLF:roof-one there

ač *po-čipi* *noiy*
and other-CLF:roof there
'He came to put one (turtle) there and the other one there.' [RP-N6-42]

The quantifier with the incorporated noun root *-čipi* in (88), *iyowkočpikan* 'various roofs' could also mean 'various frogs, turtles, or armadillos' in a different context. Consider Table 4.17 for further examples (and Table 2 in Appendix A2):

[124] The form *-čɨpɨ* is frequently phonetically reduced, because of stress shifts and other morphophonological rules

form	gloss	class members	semantics of class
-čipɪ	CLF:roof; back	*-čipi* (back), *ečipi'* (roof), *kopir* (armadillo), *pehič* (armadillo sp.), *siporɪ* (frog), *sopiri* (tortoise)	roof-like
-čipie	CLF:pile	*ečpie'* (island), *erapoe'* (pile of plantains)	pile of things
-čow	CLF:circle	*-čow/ečowe'* (palm leaf), *erapoe'* (wreath), *šoračow* (cusi leaf)	palm leafs, wreaths
-aki	CLF:diameter	*aki* (lagoon), *paraki* (room), *sorati* (village, size), *wapoer* (river), *yakis* (firewood, bound together)	big, round, bound together; with a diameter
-imir	(CLF:) face	*-mir/emir* (face)	face, front
-kis	(CLF:)eye	*-kis* (eyes), *wahis* (star)	eyes, stars
-waki	handful	*-waki* (palm of hand)	handful

Table 4.17: Metaphorically extended and locative classifiers

Similar to *-čipi* 'back, roof' a number of other bound noun roots have given rise to classifiers for things that share some of the characteristics of the noun. Thus the root *-kis* 'eyes' does not only refer to 'eyes', but also to 'stars' as a classifier. The body part noun *-imir* 'face' got a more abstract meaning 'front', comparable to *-čipi* 'roof, top'. Some noun roots are used in quantification, such as *-čipɪe* 'CLF:pile' and *-waki* 'CLF:handful'. The metaphorical or metonymical extension is still transparent in these examples. While this process has probably also been the basis for the creation of noun classes which are referred to by grammaticalized classifiers, the elements of a class currently do not always seem to form a semantically defined group.

Grammaticalized classifiers are morphologically simplest and they refer to specific noun classes. They constitute a closed set of roughly 30 items[125]. Examples of grammaticalized classifiers were already given in examples (66) through (79) above.

There is a sample in Table 4.18 at the end of this section (cf. Appendix A.2, Table 1 for a complete list).

Many of the grammaticalized classifiers are monosyllabic. There are also some disyllabic forms, of which nearly all end in *-ki*, as e.g. *-eki* 'CLF:jug', *-ikɪ* 'CLF:net', *-seki* 'CLF:oval contents', *-koki* 'CLF:body contents' and some more. It seems likely that these classifiers are composed of one of the relevant monosyllabic forms and *-ki* 'CLF:contents'. This compounding of classifiers is still transparent with *-seki*, which is used to refer to the contents of a bottle or glass (93), while *-se* is the classifier for these containers themselves (92). The classifier *-ki* 'CLF:contents' has led to a three-dimensional interpretation of contents together with the other classifier.

[125] It is still possible that I have not documented all of them, or that I overlooked a form.

(92) *te čose račkow in – marok.*

te	*čo-se*	*ro=ačko-wo*	*in*	*marok*
DEM1m	big-CLF:oval	3SGm=be.full-COP	water	chicha

'This big glass/ bottle is full of water (or) chicha.' [MD-8/8/03-61]

(93) *posekiš, mposeki... to in, awrient, kokakol*

po-seki-š	*mpo-seki*	*to*	*in*
one-CLF:oval.contents-one	three-CLF:oval.contents	ART	water

awrient	*kokakol*
alcohol	coca.cola

'one bottle, three bottles (full of) water, alcohol, coca cola' [RP-9/7/04-25]

In the glosses unique noun classifiers are treated simply as bound roots. In the case that a classifier refers to the bound noun it is derived from, just this noun will be glossed. Only those elements that are grammaticalized or semantically extended are glossed as CLF 'classifier'.

classifier	noun class	gloss	example
-a	quadruped animals, egg	CLF:animal	*paš* *po-a-š* one-CLF:animal-one 'one (e.g. jaguar)'
-e	"unsweet" fruit, vegetable, other round objects	CLF:unsweet	*peš* *po-e-š* one-CLF:unsweet-one 'one (e.g. manioc)'
-i	birds, sweet fruit (from trees)	CLF:fruit & bird	*poeš* *po-i-š* one-CLF:fruit&bird-one 'one (e.g. orange)'
-no	human	CLF:human	*ponoš* *po-no-š* one-CLF:human-one 'one person'
-mo	textile, woven material	CLF:woven	*pomoš* *po-mo-š* one-CLF:woven-one 'one piece of textile'
-pi	long, thin, mostly flexible	CLF:long&thin	*popiš* *po-pi-š* one-CLF:long&thin 'one (snake e.g.)'
-po	insects, fish, tiny little things, flour, powder	CLF:tiny	*popoš* *po-po-š* one-CLF:tiny-one 'one (e.g. fish)'

-pe	cutlery, instruments	CLF:cutlery	*popeš* *po-pe-š* one-CLF:cutlery-one 'one (e.g. spoon)'
-se	oval (open) containers	CLF:oval	*poseš* *po-se-š* one-CLF:oval-one 'one (e.g. boat)'
-ki	(2-dimensional) contents, holes	CLF:2D	*pokiš* *po-ki-š* one-CLF:contents-one 'one (e.g. field)'

Table 4 18: Grammaticalized classifiers

Classifiers are obligatorily marked on numerals and bound adjectives (cf. 4.9). The incorporation of classifiers is also frequently treated like obligatory agreement, but generally the verbs or non-verbal predicates can also be used in their absolute form without the incorporated argument (cf. 5.4).

4.7.2. Morphosyntactic types of classifiers

Among the grammaticalized and metaphorically extended classifiers there are a few that do not attach to numerals. These can be considered uncountable classifiers, such as for example *-aso* 'time' – (94) and (95) – or *-pi* 'word(s)' – (96) and (97) [126]:

(94) *čas monči woni nikač viyonpoek šonoki-ye.*
čo-aso monči-wo=ni ni=kač vi=yonpoek šonoki-ye
big-CLF:time child-COP=1SG 1SG=go 1PL=walk.barefoot path-LOC
'Long time ago when I was a child I went – we walked barefoot along that path.' [JC-7/3/06-4]

(95) **pasoš* → *poiykoš*
po-aso-š *po-yok-š*
one-CLF:time-one one-CLF:times-one
'once' [RP-N3-73]

(96) a. *činepi* b. *rakpiaw*
čine-pi *ro=ak-pi-a-wo*
old-CLF:words 3SGm=sing-CLF:words-LK-COP
'fox story' [JP-N9-1] 'he is singing (with words)' [MD-23/8/03-13]

(97) **popiš* → *popiš,* *popšowe'*
po-pi-š *po-pi-š* *po-po-šo-wo-i'*
one-CLF:words-one one-CLF:long&thin-one one-CLF:tiny-one-COP-EMPH
'one (e.g. snake)' 'only one (more) word' [AO-19/8/03-24]

[126] In Tables 1–3 in Appendix A 2 one column indicates if the classifier morpheme attaches to numerals or not (+/–).

Another set consist of purely locative classifiers, such as for example *-imir* 'face, front' – (98) and (99)

(98) *siyimiri-ye*
siy-imir-ye
chair-CLF face-LOC
'in front of the chair' [LO-29/8/03-59]

(99) **poemiroš*
po-imir-šo
one-CLF face-one

4 8 Locative constructions

4 8 1 Locative marking of NPs

In Baure there is one general locative marker *-ye* 'LOC' suffixed to the noun that denotes the location It could be considered a postposition, but this term will not be used here, because it would rather suggest a whole system with a number of different postpositions that each stand for a different specific location, which is not the case in Baure It could rather be considered a locative case marker, but there are no other core cases in Baure, so that it does not seem right to call the locative construction a kind of case[127] There is an allomorph of the locative suffix *-yi*, attached to verbs in locative subordination (cf 10 2 5) and interrogative clauses (cf 9 4 10)

The locative suffix generally expresses a prototypical location related to the place it marks Therefore the translation can be 'in, on, at', illustrated in examples (100) through (102)

(100) *pari-ye*
house-LOC
'in the house'

(101) *mesi-ye*
table-LOC
'on the table'

(102) *yakiso-ye*
yaki-so-ye
fire-CLF stick-LOC
'at the stick (of firewood)'

The locative marker is also applied to names, especially place names, as in (103) through (105)

(103) *Kairo-ye*
El Cairo-LOC
'in El Cairo (village)'

[127] Like all the other bound roots for the specific locations, generic *-ve* may also be considered a kind of nominal root This is supported by the fact that there is a homophonous noun root for the specification of space *-ve(-ve)* 'around'

(104) *Mučahančkoe-ye*
Mučahanč-koe-ye
Mucha.Hancha-port-LOC
'in Mucha Hancha (little port in the village)'

(105) *kotipakino-ye*
kotip-aki-no-ye
white-CLF:diameter-NOM1-LOC
'in the Río Blanco (white-water river)'

Examples (100) through (105) demonstrate that *-ye* can be suffixed to free nouns. It can also be attached to possessed nouns, as in (106) and (107):

(106) *niweri-ye*
ni=weri-ye
1SG=house-LOC
'in my house'

(107) *riwaki-ye*
ri=waki-ye
3SGf=hand.palm-LOC
'in her hand palm'

The locative suffix is attached to plurals, following the plural suffix (cf. Figure 4.2 above), as in (108):

(108) *parineve-ye*
pari-neve-ye
house-PL-LOC
'in the houses'

All compounds can get locative marking. This holds for compounds of two nouns, as in (102), (104), and (109); it is true for compounds of a noun and a classifier, as in (105) and (110); it also holds for compounds of adjectives with a noun stem or classifier, as in (98):

(109) *tikorokawoko-ye*
tikorok-a-woko-ye
guava-LK-tree-LOC
'in the guava tree'

(110) *yakopi-ye*
yako-pi-ye
fire-CLF:long&thin-LOC
'at/on the candle'

(111) *čaki-ye*
čo-aki-ye
big-lagoon-LOC
'in the big lagoon'

In general the locative marker refers to the most expected topological relation, as in many Pidgin and Creole languages which have only one general preposition[128] (my own research, not published). The locative NP can be interpreted as stative or dynamic, which is dependent on the predicate in the clause and its status, and in other cases also on the meaning of other nouns or adverbs in the clause. In (112) through (114) there are more complex examples where the meaning of the locative marker interacts with the meaning of the predicate or another noun in the clause. All three examples show a dynamic interpretation of the locative form.

(112) *našonon niweri-ye*
ni=ašono-no *ni=weri-ye*
1SG=way-POSS 1SG=house-LOC
'my way home/ to my house' [IM-23/8/03-16]

(113) *navikop ntovian-ye*
ni=aviko-po *ni=tovian-ye*
1SG=return-PRFLX 1SG=neighbour-LOC
'I returned from my neighbour' [RP-1/9/03-73]

(114) *ač rihewesaw wapoeri-ye.*
ač *ri=hewe-sa-wo* *wapoeri-ye*
and 3SGf=jump-CLF:water-COP river-LOC
'And she jumped into the river.' [GP-N1/I-20]

However, if the location is specified or deviates from the prototypical or expected topological relation, additional locative noun stems are needed. There are two ways of constructing a specified locative phrase: The most common kind is a compound, in which N_1 is the place and N_2 the specified locative noun stem. The second kind is a partitive NP (cf. Figure 4.5) with the first NP referring to the specific location and the second NP denoting the noun that this location is assigned to. These two possibilities are demonstrated in Figure 4.8:

Figure 4.8: Complex locative phrases

The two kinds of place specification are exemplified in (115) and (116):

(115) *siy-api-ye*
siy-api-ye
chair-under-LOC
'under the chair'
(*both literally*: 'in/on/at the underside of the chair')

(116) *rapi-ye to siy*
ro=api-ye *to* *siy*
3SGm-under-LOC ART chair
'under the chair'

[128] In Cameroon's Pidgin English it is *fo* (< "for"), in Negerhollands and Sranan *na* is used for general location, etc.

The bound form *-apɪ* 'underside' ɪn (116) ɪs possessed, and the possessor marker *ro-* '3SGm' agrees with the noun *to sɪy* 'the chaɪr', so that the locatɪve relatɪon becomes clear

In many cases ɪt ɪs possɪble to construct both, the compound and the partɪtɪve locatɪve NP, wɪth the same noun stem In some cases the specɪfɪc place noun stem cannot be bound ɪnto a compound, so that only the partɪtɪve constructɪon can be used Thɪs ɪs true for the noun *anɪ* 'sky', also used to refer to the space above an object As an obligatorɪly free form ɪt cannot be bound ɪnto a compound, as demonstrated ɪn (117) ɪn comparɪson to (118)

(117) **sɪyanɪ-ye* BUT (118) *anɪ-ye to sɪy*
sɪy-anɪ-ye *anɪ-ye to sɪy*
chaɪr-sky-LOC above-LOC ART chaɪr
'above the chaɪr'
(lɪt 'ɪn the sky of the chaɪr')

The maɪn general locatɪve noun stems are lɪsted ɪn Table 4 19

form	meanɪng	compound	partɪtɪve NP
anɪ	above, sky	–	+
ačɪwanɪ	other sɪde, dɪfferent place	–	+
-apɪ	under	+	+
-ɪmɪr	ɪn front, face	+	+
-čɪpɪ	top, roof, back	+	+
-kokɪ	ɪnsɪde	+	+
-še	(long) sɪde	+	+
-ye	around	+	+
-šɪrɪwanɪ	behɪnd	+	+
-poewanɪ	next to (touchɪng)	+	+
-šɪnɪe	poɪnted end	+	+

Table 4 19 Locatɪve noun stems

The forms *ačɪwanɪ* 'dɪfferent place', *-šɪrɪwanɪ* 'behɪnd' and *-poewanɪ* 'next to' both ɪnclude the morpheme *-wanɪ*, whɪch seems to mean somethɪng lɪke a general 'place' or 'space' The basɪc forms *-šɪrɪ* 'behɪnd' and *-poe* 'down' are the ones ɪncorporated ɪnto verbs The form *-ɪmɪr-* 'ɪn front' ɪs derɪved from the same bound noun stem for the body part *-ɪmɪr* 'face' The same form can also be ɪncorporated ɪnto verbs The bound root *-še* ɪs derɪved from a part of a tree, namely the 'tree branch' Most of the place noun stems are also used as classɪfɪers or at least as bound roots that can be ɪncorporated ɪnto verbs and attached to adjectɪves These roots are generally not attached to numerals and quantɪfɪers and the word *po-* 'other'

The two spatɪal noun stems *-šɪnɪe* 'poɪnted end' and *-čɪpɪ* 'top, roof, back' show dɪfferent behavɪour wɪth body parts they construct ɪnverse compounds Unexplɪcably, the bound forms occur as N_1 ɪn a compound wɪth a body part, whereas they are the head N_2 ɪn compounds wɪth other nouns Examples (119) and (120) are ɪnverse compounds wɪth body parts, whɪch can be compared to (121) and (122)

(119) *nišiniewhiso-ye*
ni=šinie-wohiso-ye
1SG=pointed.end-hand-LOC
'at the point of my finger'[129]

(120) *nɪčipɪpoyi-ye*
nɪ=čipɪ-poyi-ye
1SG=roof-foot-LOC
'on top of my foot'

(121) *yakisošinɪe-ye*
yakiso-šinie-ye
firewood-pointed.end-LOC
'at the pointed end of the stick'

(122) *siyčipi-ye*
siy-čipi-ye
chair-roof-LOC
'on top of the chair'

One further kind of locative construction is based on an adjective: *ikiy*-CLF-*ye* 'in the middle of'. There is always a classifier attached to the stem *ikiy-* 'middle'; altogether it is marked by locative *-ye*, as in (123):

(123) *ɪkiyaki-ye*
ikiy-aki-ye
middle-CLF:diameter-LOC
'in the middle of the lagoon/river/etc.'

The position of the locative NP in a clause is discussed in 9.1.3.

4.8.2. Semantic extension of locative marking

In many languages the concepts of time and space are related. In Baure, however, there is not much evidence for a connection of the two concepts. It could be expected that locative marking could also be attached to time adverbs or nouns, but this seems to be impossible. Only the adverb *nakɪroko-ye* 'once upon a time' may be analyzed as including the locative suffix. The names of the months can be used as temporal containers, as illustrated in (124), possibly calqued on Spanish. Also the week is interpreted as a time container (125):

(124) *junia-ye rom nkoečapiow.*
junɪa-ye rom ni=koečapɪ-wo
June-LOC IMM 1SG=have.birthday-COP
'In June I have my birthday.' [EU-24/3/06-86]

[129] *-wohis* means 'hand' and 'finger'

(125) *nihičpovi popi-ye seman*
ni=hič-pa-wo=pi po-pi-ye seman
1SG=wait-GO-COP=2SG other-CLF long&thin-LOC week
'I will wait for you next week (lit in the other week)' [JC-13/7/04-138]

Abstract concepts, such as *vekori* 'language' or *hamoro'eni* 'darkness' can also be marked by the locative suffix, as in (126) and (127), possibly calqued on Spanish

(126) *rowoyowoyowon hamaca vekori-ye?*
ro=woyo~woyo-wo-no hamaca vekori-ye
3SGm=name~INT-COP-NOM1 hamaca language-LOC
'What is the name of "hamaca" in the language (Baure)' [DC-17/4/06-12]

(127) *niseverosoekow hamoro'eni-ye*
ni=severosoeko-wo hamoro'eni-ye
1SG=fumble-COP darkness-LOC
'I am fumbling in the darkness' [GP-9/4/06-87]

In general, however, the interpretation of the suffix *-ye* remains locative, even when attached to personal names, as in (128)

(128) *"noiy Merse-ye-hi", rikičowori*
noiy Merse-ye=hi ri=kičo-wo=ri
there Mercedes-LOC=QUOT 3SGf=say do-COP=3SGf
' "There at Mercedes' place", she said' [RP-N4-128]

4 8 3 The distributive suffix

The distributive suffix *-he* can be attached to nouns and verbs (cf 6 3 6) It is frequently found attached to locative nouns, where it is mutually exclusive with the plural suffix *-nev* When *-he* 'DISTR' is attached to a locative noun, it generally means that there is a number of the item bound together or in a pile or some other kind of bound plurality Compare (129) and (130)

(129) *yakiso-ye*
yakiso-ye
firewood-LOC
'on/at the stick'

(130) *yakisohe-ye*
yakiso-he-ye
firewood-DISTR-LOC
'on the pile of firewood'

The distributive is like number marking, only that the actual number is not so important itself The most important fact is that there is something distributed over more than one item Examples of the use of *-he* in a clause are (131) and (132)

(131) *kwore' mesi-ye nikirokohe-ye*
kwore' mesi-ye nikiroko-he-ye
exist 3SGm table-LOC plate-DISTR-LOC
'It is on the table on top of the plates' [RP-9/7/04-58]

(132) *tiow noiy ver kač rosokiaper noiy kohihe-ye-eńš*
tiow noiy ver kač ro=sokia-pa=ro noiy
CLEFT there PERF GO 3SGm=find-GO=3SGm there

kohi-he-ye=enš
stone-DISTR-LOC=APRV
'That was where he found him, on top of the stones, you know ' [GP-N8-47]

The distributive functions like place noun stems in compounds involving locative NPs Even though it does not seem as if *-he* itself is a real noun stem, it can also be found in the position of a possessed bound noun, as in (133)

(133) *nihe-ye*
ni=he-ye
1SG=DISTR-LOC
'all over my body' [LO/GP-25/7/04-98]

This use of the distributive suffix can be directly compared to the use of a bound place noun in (134)

(134) *ah, kewon nakon ni api-ye*

ah	*ke-wo-no*	*nakon*	*ni=api-ye*
INTJ	EV-COP-NOM1	over here	1SG=under-LOC

'Ah, come here, (lie down) underneath me ' [RP-N3-28]

4 9 Adjectives classes
As explained in 3 8 3 Baure adjectives are mainly nominal by their form and morphological behaviour They can function as modifiers in an NP, as shown here, but they can also be used as predicate bases (cf in 5 2) After a morphological description of adjectives, I will illustrate the nominal (4 9 4) and verbal properties (4 9 5) of adjectives In 4 10 I refer to modification within NPs

There are three main morphological types of adjectives, distinguished by their form The closed class I of adjectives consists of right-bound roots and includes dimension and age adjectives and a few others These roots occur as compounds with classifiers, which agree with the noun they modify Class II is semi-open, and the adjectives are used in the absolute form, comparable to absolute nouns This class also includes some Spanish loans The main characteristic of this class is that the adjectives are unchangeable and do not show any agreement Class III is open, and the adjectives are derived forms, generally including the suffix *-no* 'NOM1', which is also used in relative and interrogative clauses These nominalized forms may incorporate classifiers and show agreement, but not necessarily

4 9 1 Class I Right-bound roots
The small closed class I consists of right-bound roots, which have to be completed with a classifier or bound noun stem in order to form a word Also numerals and the pronoun 'other' belong to this class One semantic group of these bound forms are the adjectives of dimension in Table 4 20

There are three distinctions of size *čo-* 'big', *hew-* 'medium size', and *ti-* 'small' Length has two degrees *pero-* 'long' and *mohi-* 'short' The basic morpheme *čo-* 'big' served as the source of many lexemes that involve size or a big amount, such as

čin- 'old', *čišie'* 'tall (lit big vertical size)', *čowon* 'long ago', *čom* 'skin (lit big (woven) material)', the diminutive suffix *-či* and augmentative *-ča*, and many others

form	meaning	example
čo-	big	*čo-pe* big-CLF cutlery 'big (knife)'
hew-	medium size	*hew-pe* medium-CLF cutlery 'medium size (knife)'
ti-	small	*ti-pe* small-CLF cutlery 'small (knife)'
pero-	long	*pero-pi* long-CLF long&thin 'long (thread)'
mohi-	short	*mohi-pi* short-CLF long&thin 'short (thread)'

Table 4 20 Adjectives of dimension

All classifiers listed in Tables 4 16 through 4 18 can be attached to bound roots We are in fact dealing with the morphological process of compounding, with the additional fact that now we also have a bound root on the left This fact distinguishes them morphologically from the majority of nouns Examples are (135) through (137)

(135) *to hikoč čope*
to *hikoč* *čo-pe*
ART knife big-CLF cutlery
'the big knife' [RP-15/8/03-44]

(136) *rowoyowoyowon teč ewokoe' čowok'*
ro=woyo~woyo-wo-no *teč* *ewokoe* *čo-wok*
3SGm=name~INT-COP-NOM1 DEM2m tree big-tree
'What's that name of this big tree?' [DC-17/4/06-15]

(137) *čoser*
čo-ser
big-tooth
'big tooth' [JC-13/8/03-81]

Adjectives with classifiers can function as modifiers in an NP, as in (135) and (136), in which case the classifier is an agreement marker that agrees with the modified head noun On the other hand, the same forms can also function as nouns themselves, especially those with "repeater" classifiers, as (137)

The degree of tallness is expressed in a specific way for human beings, i e not with the human classifier attached to the bound roots for size (*čo-* 'big', *ti-* 'small', and *hew-* 'medium size') The word *čon* exists and means 'friend, brother, compan-

ion'; it may have been derived from the root *čo-* 'big' and the human classifier *-no*[130]. The two other adjectives *ti-* 'small' and *hew-* 'medium size' have not been found directly combined with the human classifier. Instead, the adjectival roots get the bound nominal root *-šie'* 'vertical size' attached, as illustrated in (138).

(138) *čišie', tišie', hewošie'*
či-šie', ti-šie', hewo-šie'
big-vert.size small-vert.size medium-vert.size
'tall, small, medium size (person)'

The adjectives in (138) are restricted to human referents. The bound root *-šie'* 'vertical size' has caused vowel harmony in the compound *čišie'* (not **čošie'*). The vowel o of *čo-* 'big' is a weak vowel and gets generally replaced by the first vowel of the classifier or a vowel inserted in harmony with the following syllable. Another important semantic group in class I are adjectives of age, represented in Table 4.21:

form	meaning	example
čino-	old	*čino-pi* old-CLF:long&thin 'old (thread)'
mono-	young	*ni=mono-pi* 1SG=young-QNOM 'the time of my being young'
koto-	new	*koto-pi* new-CLF:long&thin 'new (thread)'

Table 4.21: Adjectives of age

The adjective *čino-* 'old' can be used with humans and also inanimates, whereas *koto-* 'new' is not used with humans in the sense of 'young'. The bound root *mono-* 'young' is generally not used except for when referring to the childhood days. Age can also be expressed by specific adjectives that can only be used with animates, or mainly humans, which are *ane'* 'old (person)' and *monči* 'young, child'. Both are absolute forms discussed in the next section. The word *monči* has probably been derived from *mono-* 'young' and the diminutive suffix *-či*.

Numerals and the root *po-* 'other' are also part of the class I adjectives. There are only three numerals[131], to which the classifier has to be attached. However, the speakers of Baure have borrowed the numbers above three from Spanish, and they attach the classifier to the loans as well, as illustrated in (139):

(139) *pompeš pari, apimpe pari, mpompe pari, kwatrompe pari, sinkompe parinev.*
po-mpe-š pari api-mpe pari mpo-mpe pari
one-CLF:flat-one house two-CLF:flat house three-CLF:flat house

[130] It may likewise be the nominalizing suffix *-no* 'NOM1' that derived this lexeme.
[131] "Most [Arawak] languages have just the numbers 'one' (proto-Arawak **pa-*) and 'two' (Proto-Arawak **(a)pi* and **yama*· David L. Payne 1991) It is common to use numeral **pa-* 'one' in the function of an indefinite pronoun 'one, someone', 'another'" (Aikhenvald 1999:85).

kwatro-mpe pari sinko-mpe pari-nev
four-CLF flat house five-CLF flat house-PL
'one house, two, three, four, five houses' [RP-4/8/03-36]

Table 4 22 lists this subgroup of adjectives

form	meaning	example
po-CLF-*š*	one	*ponoš* *po-no-š* one-CLF human-one 'one person'
(m)api-	two	*mapin* *mapi-no* two-CLF human 'two persons'
mpo-	three	*mpon* *mpo-no* three-CLF human 'three persons'
po-	other	*pon* *po-no* other-CLF human 'another person'

Table 4 22 Numerals and 'other'

The numeral *po*-CLF-*š* 'one' does not have all characteristic of a right-bound root It is the only kind of circumfix in Baure (cf 3 3 3) But it seems to have been derived from *po-* 'other' The second part *-š* may be related to the exclamative enclitic *-(n)iš*

form	meaning	example
heno-	good	?
moni-	pretty	*monip* *moni-po* pretty-CLF tiny 'pretty (manioc flour)'
mehew-	bad, ugly	*mehew-pi* bad-CLF long&thin 'ugly (snake)'
har-	bad	*har-a'* bad-CLF animal 'bad (egg)'
moro-	dry	*moro-wok* dry-CLF tree 'dry (tree)'

yı-	wild	*yı-hı'* wild-horn 'wild (with horns)'
heho-	clean	*hehom* *heho-mo* clean-CLF woven 'clean (clothes)'
sora(so)-	ordinary	*sorasom* *sora-so-mo* ordinary-APRX?-CLF woven 'ordinary (clothes)'
pırı-	half	*pırı-pı* half-CLF long&thin 'half (of the thread e g)'
ıkıyı-	middle	*ıkıyı-pı-ye* middle-CLF long&thin-LOC 'in the middle (of the thread e g)'

Table 4 23 Other bound adjectival roots

In addition to adjectives of dimension, age, and numerals there are a few other bound roots in this class, as listed in Table 4 23 There may be some more bound roots that did not occur in my data The bound root *heno-* 'good' has been included here, as it can be the base of a non-verbal predicate, like other adjectives However, the classifiers are not attached to *heno-* like to other adjectival roots, but the absolute form *henok* 'good' is preferred in attributive constructions

Finally, with some variation, there are also two loanwords from Spanish used as bound roots These are *vero-* 'green' and *asolo-* 'blue' They are e g found in combination with the classifier for clothes and textile *-mo*, as shown in (140)

(140) *verom, asolom*
vero-mo *asolo-mo*
green-CLF woven blue-CLF woven
'green, blue (piece of textile)'

4 9 2 Class II Absolute forms

Another semi-closed class of adjectives are the absolute forms, comparable to (derived) unpossessed nouns

form	meaning	comments
monik	pretty	derived from the bound root *moni-* 'pretty'
čonok	big	from the bound root *čo-* 'big'
maiyok	much	from the adverb *maiy* 'much'
henok	good	derived from a bound root *heno-*, not used together with classifiers, but is rather incorporated into verbs or used as a predicate
hetirik	empty	
yak	ripe	there is also the derived form *yakon* 'ripe'
ane'	old	only used with animates, predominantly humans
kahamor	greedy	from verb *-kahamor-* 'keep to oneself'
powor	poor	loan from Spanish *pobre* 'poor'
sons	'stupid'	loan from Spanish *sonso* 'stupid'
pikor	'rascal'	loan from Spanish *pícaro* 'rascal'

Table 4.24 Absolute adjectives

The members of this class are semantically diverse. Some forms have been derived from the class I bound forms, originally possibly all of them. The adjective *monik* 'pretty' has been derived from the bound root of class I, *moni-* 'pretty', by adding the absolute suffix *-ko*. The adjective *čonok* 'big' has also been derived from *čo-* 'big'. The suffix *-no* in *čonok* 'big' may either be the nominalizer *-no* 'NOM1', or it is an epenthetic syllable. However, it has been lexicalized in this form and is an alternative to the bound form that is always marked with a classifier. Other absolute forms do not include the absolute suffix at all. Some are identical to verb stems, such as *yak* 'ripe'; others are identical to nouns, such as *ane'* 'old (person)' which is more often used as a noun than as a modifier. The major characteristic of this class of adjectives is the fact that they always remain unchangeable. The adjectives in Table 4.24 can all stand alone, also in headless clauses or as nominal heads themselves. No classifier or bound noun root can be incorporated into these forms. These absolute forms are mainly used as predicates in a clause, as in (141):

(141) *monik to pičahahi.*
monik *to* *pi=čahahi*
pretty ART 2SG=hair
'Your hair is pretty.' [RP-15/8/03-99]

4.9.3. Class III: Derived adjectives

The largest number of adjectives is derived by means of the nominalizer *-no* 'NOM1' and/or with the prefixes *ko-* 'ATTR/with' or *mo-* 'PRIV/without'. The open class III can always get new members simply by deriving them from verbs or other nouns. The derivational process is in fact a kind of nominalization, but the forms discussed here are used as attributive and predicative adjectives. Again, the derived forms can be split into slightly different types.

First of all there are the colour adjectives Except for the two bound loans *vero-* 'green' and *asolo-* 'blue', colour adjectives only exist in derived form, and are listed in Table 4 25

form	meaning	incorporation
moserokon	red	*moseropon* *mosero-po-no* red-CLF tiny-NOM1 'red (fish e g)'
kotipokon	white	*kotiposeron* *kotipo-sero-no* white-tooth-NOM1 'white tooth'
hamokon	black	*hamoen* *hamo-i-n* black-CLF fruit&bird-NOM1 'black (fruit)'
kopahkon	sky-blue	*kopahan* *kopah-a-no* sky blue-CLF animal-NOM1 'sky-blue (animal)'
kotiskon	green	*kotisponon* *kotis-pono-no* green-leaf-NOM1 'green (leaf)'
yaskon	yellow	*yaspin* *yas-pi-n* yellow-CLF long&thin-NOM1 'yellow (snake e g)'

Table 4 25 Derived adjectives colour terms

Some of the colour terms include the lexicalized attributive prefix *ko-* or privative *mo-* All the forms end in a sequence of the absolute suffix *-ko* and the nominalizer *-no* 'NOM1' (in the form *-kon*) As in verbs (cf 5 4), classifiers or other bound noun roots can be incorporated in the slot of the absolute suffix This is done frequently for agreement, so that the colour terms appear as *moseromon* 'red cloth' or *moseropin* 'red thread' etc Another example is given in (142)

(142) *to pari kotisompen*
to *pari* *kotiso-mpe-no*
ART house green-CLF flat-NOM1
'the green house' [MD-7/8/03-17]

Some derived adjectives include the attributive prefix The attributive prefix *ko-* 'ATTR' generally derives verbs from nouns, as e g *-kahaše-* 'wear a hat (lit be with hat)', which was derived from *-haše* 'hat' The adjectives are then derived from these verbs by nominalization One example is *kopirokon* 'hot' in (143)

(143) *kopirokon* < *rikopirohew*
ko-piro-ko-no *ri=ko-piro-he-wo*
ATTR-heat-ABS-NOM1 3SGf=ATTR-heat-DISTR-COP
'hot (lit with heat)' 'She has fever' [LO/GP-15/7/04-4]

Some of these attributes are composed in a similar way, even though there may not exist a related verb, in *kompekon* 'flat' in (144)

(144) *kompekon*
ko-mpe-ko-no
ATTR-CLF flat-ABS-NOM1
'flat'

Many adjectives of class III have been derived by attaching the privative prefix *mo-* 'without' as listed in Table 4 26 Some of these forms are more lexicalized than others In 5 2 3 I show that the bases derived from verbs or nouns with the prefix *mo-* 'PRIV' are always non-verbal

form	meaning	comments
moes	blind	probably derived from *-kis* 'eye' with the dropping of the consonant
mave	mute, stupid	< verb *-ve(ko)* 'speak', also referring to people who are less intelligent
mavi'	sick	rather refers to serious sicknesses, incurable, alternative adjective *kotiven* 'sick' has been derived from verb
monči	young, child	derived from the bound root *mono-* 'young' and diminutive suffix *-či* more often used as a noun, not sure if *mo-* is related to 'PRIV' here
moemori	widow(ed)	related to *-mori* 'companion'
mehewokon	bad	possibly includes *he-* 'good', also exists as the bound form *mehew-* 'bad', which is less frequent
mavinon	unmarried (without husband)	< *-avinon* 'husband'
moeyin	unmarried (without wife)	< *-eyon* 'wife' with a slight sound change
moeron	'orphan'	< *-iron* 'parent'
motirin	'uneducated'	< verb *-tiri-* 'know'

Table 4 26 Derived adjectives privative

New forms of this class are derived from stative verbs by means of nominalization The verb *-tiri* 'know' can be nominalized as *tirin* 'knowing, capable' This form is negated as *motirin* (cf Table 4 6) The nominal form is even used more often than the verb It expresses an ongoing state rather than a stative verb The example is (145)

(145) *ti ntir avoel tirın to rišoerekčow.*

ti	*ntir*	*avoel*	*tiri-no*	*to*	*ri=šoerek-čo-wo*
DEM1f	1SGP	grandma	know-NOM1	ART	3SGf=cook-NOM2-COP

'My grandmother used to cook very well.' [JC-27/8/03-52]

It is striking that semantic antonyms are not necessarily members of the same class. While 'clean' is the bound root *heho-* of class I, its antonym 'dirty' is a derived adjective of class III: *topopokon*. In both forms classifiers can be incorporated, e.g. *he-hom* 'clean clothes' and *topopomon* 'dirty clothes'. The difference is that there is no free form without the classifier of *heho-* 'clean'. Another antonym is *sap* 'left' and *koyan* 'right', the first being member of class II, the latter of class III. Many basic adjectives are also part of class III, such as taste attributes, listed in Table 4.27:

form	meaning
bihkon	bitter
etovikon	sweet
čapso(so)kon	sour
eyikon	salty
išehkon	delicious

Table 4 27 Derived adjectives of taste

4.9.4. Nominal properties of adjectives

As adjectives are modifiers with mainly nominal behaviour, their nominal properties are summed up here. Adjectives can themselves be used as arguments in a clause. There they can get plural marking, diminutive/augmentative, locative, and distributive suffixes. Finally, when used as a predicate, an adjective is turned into a non-verbal predicate with subject marking by encliticization, just like nouns. These properties are now exemplified briefly.

Adjectives of all morphological classes are frequently used as arguments and not as modifiers in a clause. An example is (146):

(146) *"boen," nokiew-hi to powor, noepikopaw.*

boen	*no=kıewo=hı*	*to*	*powor*	*no=ipiko-pa-wo*
INTJ	3PL=say=QUOT	ART	poor	3PL=be.afraid-GO-COP

' "Well," said the poor; they were getting afraid.' [GP-N7-69]

Adjectives are often used as NPs when they refer to a before mentioned argument anaphorically, as in (147):

(147) *nakirok-ye tič eton moemori kwe' tič ripiri rokotiron teč riavinon ač tič powor rikotorekpa ...*

nakirok-ye	*tič*	*eton*	*moemorı*	*kwe'*	*tič*	*ri=pirı*
long.ago-LOC	DEM2f	woman	widow	exist	DEM2f	3SGf=sibling

ro=kotiro-no	*teč*	*ri=avınon*	*ač*	*tič*	*powor*
3SGf=have-NOM1	DEM2m	3SGf=husband	and	DEM2f	poor

rɪ=kotorek-pa
3SGf=work-GO
'Once upon a time a widowed woman had a sister, whose husband was rich, and the poor one (the widow) went to work (at her sister's)' [RP-N4-1]

The NP in (147) *tič powor* 'the poor one' refers back to the NP *tič eton moemorɪ* 'the widowed woman' The plural morpheme *-nev* can also be attached to adjectives (compare 4 4 3), as in (148) and (149)

(148) *tɪ anev*
tɪ-a-nev
small-CLF animal-PL
'little animals (dogs, pigs, etc)' [LO-29/8/03-105]

(149) *ntɪ' nɪmon paš to čačanev*
ntɪ *nɪ=ɪmon* *po-a-š* *to* *č-a-ča-nev*
1SG 1SG=buy one-CLF animal-one ART big-CLF animal-AUG-PL
'I buy one of the big ones (pigs) ' [LO/GP-18/7/04-92]

Adjectives can have augmentative or diminutive marking, as in (149) and (150)

(150) *tɪ ačɪ*
tɪ-a-čɪ
mall-CLF animal-DIM
'very small animal' [LO-29/8/03-106]

The locative marker is also attached to adjectives, as in (151)

(151) *hamorokɪno-ye kwe' hɪm čopoča*
hamoro-kɪ-no-ye *kwe'* *hɪm* *čo-po-ča*
black-CLF contents-NOM1-LOC exist fish big-CLF tiny-AUG
'In the Rio Negro (lit black river) there are very big fishes ' [JC-18/9/03-26]

The adjective *hamorokɪno-ye* in (151) can be analyzed as a noun, but the form is a derived adjective marked by the classifier *-kɪ* 'contents' In one example (152) the locative suffix was even attached to the modifier within the NP, even though the head noun is already marked

(152) *ne' vɪmɪro ne' kastaroko-ye čɪkɪ-ye*
ne' *vɪ=ɪmo=ro* *ne'* *kastaroko-ye* *čo-ɪkɪ-ye*
here 1PL=put=3SGm here bag-LOC big-CLF net-LOC
'Here we put it into the big bag ' [JC-18/9/03-58]

The locative marker *-ye* in (152) is attached to the noun *kastarok(o)* 'bag' and to the following modifier *čɪkɪ* 'big (net)' Perhaps the modifier should be analyzed as an adjective NP which functions as an apposition to the head noun The bound adjective root *ɪkɪy-* 'middle', generally is marked locative, as in (153)

(153) *ikıya-ye*
ikiy-a-ye
middle-CLF:animal-LOC
'in the middle (here: of the egg)' [GP-16/9/03-28]

The distributive suffix *-he* can be attached to nouns (cf. 4.8.3) and verbs. It can also be attached to adjectives:

(154) *to hir čo-he* [RP-4/8/03-80]
to *hir* *čo-he*
ART man big-DISTR
'the man is big' (my consultant translated: 'a man who eats much')

Nominal predicates are distinct from verbs, because they get the subject encliticized (cf. 5.2.1). This also holds for all adjectives. When they are used as predicates and have subject marking, the same rules apply as for nouns. One marked adjectival predicate is in (155):

(155) *mičkıričınev to rotiponev. nka čonokowor, te piwoyiker čonok.*
mičkiri-či-nev *to* *ro=tipo-nev* *nka* *čonoko-wo=ro*
tiny-DIM-PL ART 3SGm=nail-PL NEG big-COP=3SGm

te *pi=woyik=ro* *čonok*
DEM1m 2SG=make=3SGm big
'Its claws are tiny. They aren't big; you made them big (in the picture).'
[HC-27/7/04-50/51]

4.9.5. Verbal properties of adjectives

Adjectives also share some properties with verbs. The application of the approximative[132] suffix is only found on verbs. Furthermore, only verbs and adjectives can be nominalized by the morpheme *-pi* 'QNOM', quality nominalizatıon. Finally, adjectives are reduplicated for emphasis, just like verbs (and some adverbs).

The approximative suffix *-so* is described as a verbal morpheme with a meaning like 'to be about to' (cf. 6.3.3). It is never attached to nouns, but can appear with adjectives, as in (156) through (158):

(156) *persopa*
pero-so-pa
long-APRX-CLF:flat&round
'long(ish) (e.g. *mate*[133])' [GP-7/8/04-5]

(157) *moseroson*
mosero-so-no
red-APRX-NOM1
'reddish (something in the house)' [JC-13/8/03-44]

[132] In Tariana the approximative is applied to verbs, nouns and adjectives (Aikhenvald 2003:58–59).
[133] The mate is a kind of pumpkin.

(158) *hamoson*
hamo-so-no
black-APRX-NOM1
'brown (blackish)' [DC-15/4/06-18]

The approximative morpheme *-so* is attached in the slot of the absolute suffix *-ko*; they are mutually exclusive.

The quality nominalizer can derive abstract nouns from adjectives and verbs (cf. 10.2.4). It is comparable to the English suffix *-ness*. This nominalizer *-pi* 'QNOM' is mainly attached to adjectives of classes I and II. In the derivational process sometimes the linking morpheme *-ro*[134] is added. The examples in my data are listed in Table 4.28:

abstract noun	translation	adjective	translation
(-)moniko(ro)pi	prettiness	*monik*	pretty
-pikoropi	rascalness	*pikor*	rascally
-henokopi	goodness	*henok*	good
-čišepi	tallness	*čiš(i)e'*[135]	tall
-tišepi	smallness	*tiš(i)e'*	small
-monopi	"youngness"	*mono-*	young
-maroniropi	nakedness	*maroni*	naked
-anepi	oldness	*ane'*	old

Table 4.28 Derived abstract nouns

The majority of these derived nouns are obligatorily possessed.

Parts of adjective roots can be reduplicated, as shown in (159) and (160):

(159) *nkamiyonow teč etoviviaron.* (< *etovikon*)
ni=kamiyo-no-wo *teč* *etovi~vi-aro-no*
1SG=like-NOM1-COP DEM2m sweet~EMPH-CLF:liquid-NOM1
'I like very sweet drinks.' [JC-1/4/06-16]

(160) *eviroroniawon* < *evirokowon*
eviro~ro-ni-a-wo-no *eviro-ko-wo-no*
timid~EMPH-voice-LK-COP-NOM1 patient-ABS-COP-NOM1
'a very timid voice' [MD-2/4/06-7] 'patient'

Both examples (159) and (160) are class III adjectives and have been derived from verbs. Therefore the reduplication can be regarded as a verbal property maintained in the nominalized form. Adjectives of class I and II are generally not reduplicated. They get diminutive or augmentative suffixes instead.

4.10. Modification

Not only adjectives can be used to modify a noun within an NP, but also numerals and quantifiers (included in class I adjectives), possessive pronouns, and nouns (cf.

[134] The function this morpheme has not been analyzed in depth yet (cf. 10.2.6).
[135] The syllable *-še* is frequently palatalized and therefore spelt *-šie*.

examples (7) and (16), (17)) Modification within an NP is not very common in Baure in general A quantitative text analysis of 22 texts with altogether 9740 words (cf Table 4 29) shows this The texts consisted of narratives, conversation, and artificial stories, four of them from Baptista & Wallin (T-287 through T-289) In all the texts there were altogether 173 modifiers in NPs, not more than 1,78 % of all words In six texts of between 50 and 200 words there is only one modifier or none The reason for this is related to the predicative use of modifiers Predicates are the most important constituents in every clause in Baure Among these are not only verbs, but also a large number of non-verbal predicates In addition there are strategies like incorporation and compounding Furthermore adjectives are nominal and can be used as heads themselves This all leads to little need for modification within the NP, as the predicate already contains most of the informational load This means that the adjectives introduced in 4 9 are more frequently used as predicates or head nouns than as modifiers Consider Table 4 29

kind of modifier		preceding head noun	following head noun	total
class I	bound roots with CLF	–	3	3
	numerals	17	–	17
	'other'	18	–	18
absolute class II		32	18	50
derived class III		1	13	14
possessive pronouns		54	1	55
nouns		15	1	16
total number of modifiers		137	36	173
percentage of modifiers of total		1,41 %	0,37 %	1,78 %
Spanish loans, total number		19	14	33
total number all words				9740

Table 4 29 Numbers of modifiers in text corpus

The figures in Table 4 29 indicate that the majority of modifiers are possessive pronouns In one narrative of 2298 words with many modifiers I counted 62 nominal modifiers (2,7 %), 37 are possessive pronouns (1,61 %)

Modifiers can occur in two positions preceding the head noun and following it The majority of modifiers (79,2 %) precede the head These are possessive pronouns, numerals, the word 'other', and nouns Adjectives of class I and III generally follow the head Adjectives of class II (absolute forms) may precede or follow the head These different modifier positions are demonstrated again in Figure 4 9

(DET)	MOD_1	MOD_2	N	MOD_3
	NUM			ADJ class I
	'other'			ADJ class III
	possPRON	ADJ class II		ADJ class II
	noun			

Figure 4 9 Position of modifiers in an NP

The figure also shows that the NP is generally introduced by a determiner Before numerals there is generally none, but it is possible to add one Possessive pronouns are more often preceded by a determiner than not

Surprisingly, in the text corpus were few adjectives of class I with a suffixed classifier in the text corpus, whereas in elicitation they are numerous This may again explain that these forms can be used as head nouns themselves, which they presumably are more frequently Especially with the "repeater" classifiers it seems redundant to repeat the noun This can be observed in (163), where the head noun *koyorisoe'* '*totai* fruit' is only mentioned once, but later in two other sentences the speaker refers back to it only with adjectives including a classifier *poskiš* 'one (seed)' and *posoki* 'another seed' The speaker could have added the noun *koyoroesoki* 'nut of the *totai* fruit', but this information is superfluous In fact the adjectives even only refer to part of the noun as metonymy

(163) *kwore-hi ito ronikow-hi koyorisoe' "pahkoša te nikonow!" – "ha!"*
kwore=hi *ito* *ro=niko-wo=hi* *koyorisoe'*
exist 3SGm=QUOT PROG 3SGm=eat-COP=QUOT totaí fruit

pi=ahko-ša *te* *niko-no-wo* *ha*
2SG=try-IRR DEM1m 1SG eat-NOM1-COP INTJ
'He was there, eating totaí "Try what I am eating!" – "Well, yes!" '

roper-hi poskiš roper-hi posoki, ver ronikier
ro=pa=ro=hi *po-soki-š*
3SGm=give=3SGm=QUOT one-seed-one

ro=pa=ro=hi *po-soki* *ver* *ro=nik=ro*
3SGm=give=3SGm=QUOT other-seed PERF 3SGm=eat=3SGm
'He gave him one seed He gave him another seed, and he ate it '
[RP-N3-59–63]

In the following, the different adjectives and their positions are demonstrated First of all adjectives of class I generally follow the head, as in (164) and (165)

(164) *nti' nepšok ne' Wawori-ye soratı taki Benia-ye*
nti' *ni=epšpok* *ne'* *Wawori-ye* *soratı* *t-aki*
1SG 1SG=be born here Baures-LOC village small-CLF diameter

Benia-ye
Beni-LOC
'I was born here in Baures, a small village in the Beni ' [MD-A1-4]

(165) *niwoyok etip monip ač šep.*
nɪ=woyok *etip* *moni-po* *ač* *šep*
1SG=make manioc.starch pretty-CLF:tiny and chivé
'I make good-tastıng manioc starch and *chivé*.' [SIL-T2-5]

Derıved adjectives of class III generally follow the head noun as well, as in (166) and (167):

(166) *noyehekpa tič neron epenon*
no=ya-he-ko-pa *tič* *no=iron* *epenon*
3PL=cry-DISTR-ABS-GO DEM2f 3PL=parent dead
'They all cried over their dead mother.' [JP-N9-67]

(167) *kewon nakon niphikpapı moena' ti nihin mehewokon rinikopi.*
kewon *nakon* *ni=phik-pa=pi* *moena'*
come! to.here 1SG=hide-GO=2SG before.that

ti *ni=hin* *mehewokon* *ri=niko=pi*
DEM1f 1SG=daughter bad 3SGf=eat=2SG
'Come over here, I will hide you, before my bad daughter eats you.'
[RP-N4-84]

Absolute adjectıves occur more frequently before the head, as in (168), but may also follow ıt, as in (169):

(168) *ikomorahekonapik-hi tekikowe' to čonok hiranev.*
ıkomor-a-he-ko-no-a-pik=hi *tek-iko-wo-i'*
kill-LK-DISTR-ABS-NOM1-LK-COME=QUOT all-really-COP-EMPH

to *čonok* *hir-anev*
ART big man-hPL
'They come to kill all the big men.' [SIL-N1-165]

(169) *ač rotırapa teč ponoš ritosi tič mučač monik.*
ač *rotir-a-pa* *teč* *po-no-š* *ri=tosi*
and 3SGmP-LK-GO DEM2m one-CLF:human-one 3SGf=wing

tič *mučač* *monik*
DEM2f girl pretty
'And he had one of the wings of that pretty girl.' [RP-N4-56]

There are certain absolute adjectives that prefer one posıtion over the other. While *monik* 'pretty' tends to follow nouns, *čonok* 'big' tends to precede them. The same holds for Spanish loans, which are treated like class II forms: *powor* 'poor' generally precedes nouns, and *pikor* 'rascally', *sons* 'stupid', and others follow it. There can also be two class II adjectives preceding the head, as in (170):

(170) *rivehosoekir-hi teč powor ane' waka'.*
ri=vehosoek=ro=hi *teč* *powor* *ane'* *waka'*
3SGf=untie=3SGm=QUOT DEM2m poor old cow
'The poor old cow untied him.' [SIL-N1-249]

Numerals and 'other' always precede the head noun, as in (171)

(171) *ač rokew teč pa yor .*

ač	*ro=kew*	*teč*	*po-a*	*yor*
and	3SGm=say	DEM2m	other-CLF animal	monkey

'And the other monkey said ' [RP-N4-30]

When both occur in the same NP, 'other' precedes the numeral, as in (172):

(172) *pon mapin etonanev*

po-no	*mapi-no*	*eton-anev*
other-CLF human	two-CLF.human	woman-hPL

'the other two women' [GP-16/9/03-68]

In respect to modification of NPs it is important to know that modifying relative clauses are characterized by a nominalized predicate, and they generally follow the head directly This behaviour is comparable to that of modifying adjectives of class III, which are frequently nominalized forms, marked by *-no* 'NOM1', one of the nominalizers used in relative clauses (10 2)

5. Predicate types and specific predicate constructions

In Baure the two main predicate types are verbs and non-verbal predicates. Non-verbal predicates in Baure are as common as verbs. Magio (1749 [1880]:5) already noted that "todo nombre se hace verbo en esta lengua."[136] Baptista & Wallin also argued that the use of non-verbs as predicates is a kind of verbalization[137]. However, non-verbal predicates are substantially different from verbs. It is true that almost all verbal base suffixes can be attached to nouns and other non-verbs, but the two types of predicates, verbal and non-verbal, can be distinguished by the different kinds of argument marking they take. While subjects are marked by proclitics on verbs and objects by enclitics, non-verbal predicates have subject marking by enclitics. In 5.1 verbal argument marking is described, and in 5.2 non-verbal argument marking. Specific kinds of predicate clauses are discussed in 5.3, and in 5.4 the incorporation of arguments and Ground. In 5.5 comparative constructions in Baure are presented.

5.1. Verbs and argument marking

Verbs can be intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive. These are generally not formally distinguishable, even though certain morpheme combinations in the verbal base may be exclusively found with intransitive verbs. The morphological processes within the verb base and external to the verb base are described in Chapter 6. In general, many intransitive verbs can also be used transitively, in particular with human objects. Some intransitive verbs are listed in Table 5.1:

verb base	translation	verb base	translation
-ak-	sing	*-koso'in-*	be sad
-či'in-	be full up	*-pin-*	flee
-han-	be healthy	*-porok-*	be lost
-hare-	sunrise	*-sowe-*	rain
-kač-	go	*-šinik-*	hurt
-koes-	wake up	*-ya-*	cry
-koka-	laugh	*-yon-*	walk

Table 5.1: Intransitive verb bases

Intransitive verbs have a subject proclitic and no object marking (cf. 5.1.1). As can be concluded from Table 5.1, some intransitive verbs are stative, others active. Stative verbs are always intransitive, but states may also be expressed by non-verbal predicates (cf. 5.2). Intransitive verbs may also have been derived from transitive verbs, mainly by the attributive prefix *ko-* 'ATTR' (cf. 6.4.1). Weather verbs are intransitive.

Many basic verbs may be transitive, but also a great number of transitive verbs have been derived from intransitive verbs. The various kinds of derivation include verb base-internal processes, such as applicative (cf. 6.4.3); others are verb base-external, such as causative (cf. 6.5.1.1) and benefactive (cf. 6.5.1.2). A sample of transitive verbs is given in Table 5.2, including both simple verbs and derived forms.

[136] 'every noun becomes a verb in this language [Translation S.D.]'

[137] "All words except those filling interjection slot may be verbalized by affixes Aspect suffixes act as verbalizers" (Baptista & Wallin, page 4 of Data check form for morphology, T-558)

verb base	translation	derived verb base	translation
-am-	take	*-akpia-*	sing a song for s o
-asok-	help	*-aroč-*	climb up s th
-aya-	desire	*-himok-*	burn s th
-čo-	know	*-imohirik-*	seat s o
-er-	drink	*-koesčo-*	wake s o up
-hamoro'in-	regret, miss	*-kowyič-*	bathe s o
-im-	put	*-kotiveč-*	make s o sick
-ina-	use	*-poroč-*	lose s th
-ipik-	fear	*-wawač-*	bark at s o
-nik-	eat	*-yehek-*	cry over s o

Table 5 2 Transitive verb bases

Transitive verbs have a subject marked by a proclitic, but may also have an object marked by an enclitic (cf 5 1 2) Objects may be human recipients or patients, or non-human patients The semantic role of the object can be indicated by specific markers, such as causative and benefactive, but it may also simply be implied by the verb meaning

Ditransitive verbs are mainly derived by the benefactive base suffix *-ino* 'BEN' The only simple ditransitive verb is *-pa-* 'give' One object is generally the patient, the other one the recipient Both objects can be marked on the verb in the order recipient–patient (cf 5 1 3)

The rules for the cross-referencing of the arguments on a verb base are described in detail below Figure 5 1 gives a simplified representation of the structure of a verb, with special reference to the personal clitics

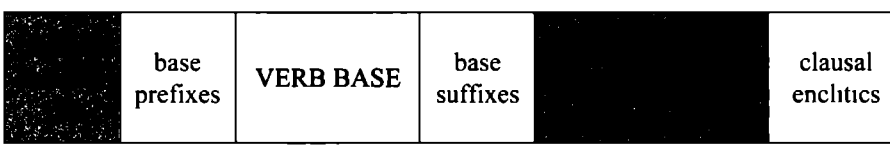

Figure 5 1 The structure of a verb

5 1 1 Subject marking

Every verb obligatorily includes a subject proclitic, which is simply attached to the base The personal proclitics are shown in Table 8 9 in Chapter 8 There are only some morphophonological changes when two vowels clash at this boundary, already described in 2 5 The paradigms are simple, as demonstrated with an intransitive verb in (1) and a transitive verb in (2)

(1) *-šim-* 'arrive' (*intransitive*)

1SG	*nišim*	'I arrived'	1PL	*višim*	'we arrived'
2SG	*pišim*	'you arrived'	2PL	*yišim*	'you arrived'
3SGm	*rošim*	'he arrived'	3PL	*nošim*	'they arrived'
3SGf	*rišim*	'she arrived'			

(2) *-am-* 'take' (*transitive*)

1SG	*nam*	'I take'	1PL	*vam*	'we take'
2SG	*pam*	'you take'	2PL	*yam*	'you take'
3SGm	*ram*	'he takes'	3PL	*nam*	'they take'
3SGf	*rıam*	'she takes'			

Since there is no tense marking in Baure, the interpretation of a situation as past or present depends on the verb's meaning and time adverbs in the clause In the case of an achievement verb, the simple form is generally interpreted as past, as in (1) with *-šım-* 'arrive' In certain constructions, especially as a complement, the same forms in (1) can also refer to a non-past situation Accomplishment and active verbs, such as *-am-* 'take' in (2), can be interpreted as both past and present, depending on the context

Subject marking is like verb agreement, because the proclitic can (but need not) co-occur with an explicit subject NP, as in (3) through (6)

(3) *rošım teč aren*
ro=šım *teč* *aren*
3SGm=arrive DEM2m bird
'A bird arrived ' [AD/DC-D2-122]

(4) *to šıye' ram to šowekon rotoerı-ye*
to *šıye* *ro=am* *to* *šowekon* *ro=toerı-ye*
ART fox 3SGm=take ART jaguar 3SGm=field-LOC
'The fox took the jaguar to his field ' [LO/GP-1/8/04-16]

(5) *kač-hı royapa teč rıavınon teč raro ınokočow*
kač=hı *ro=ya-pa* *teč* *rı=avınon*
GO=QUOT 3SGm=cry-GO DEM2m 3SGf=husband

teč *ro=aro'ınoko-čo-wo*
DEM2m 3SGm=be sad-NOM2-COP
'Her husband went to cry because he was sad ' [GP-N1/II-59]

(6) *pıtı' pıkotorekow maıyok*
pıtı' *pı=kotoreko-wo* *maıyok*
2SG 2SG=work-COP much
'You work a lot ' [DC-16/3/06-99]

Subject marking is also found on imperative and interrogative clauses (cf 9 3 and 9 4), and on complements (10 3)

5 1 2 Simple object marking

Object marking is not obligatory, as subject marking is It is pronominal in nature in that when there is an explicit object, the verb does generally not get marked Transitive verbs are defined by the possibility of object encliticization In (7) and (8) the objects are explicit, and there is no object marking on the verb

(7) *ntɪ' nikomorɪk paš simori.*
ntɪ' nɪ=ikomorɪk p-a-š simorɪ.
1SG 1SG=kill one-CLF:animal-one pig
'I killed one pig.' [JP-14/7/04-31]

(8) *pameri wapoeri-ye, pikoweiyč ti monči.*
pi=am=ri wapoeri-ye pi=kowyo-čo ti monči
2SG=take=3SGf river-LOC 2SG=bath-APPL DEM1f child
'Take her to the river, and bathe the child.' [JC-27/8/03-27]

Example (9) contains a ditransitive verb without object marking but with an explicit object:

(9) *nki'inow nipa te livor ti nɪpiri.*
ni=ki'ino-wo ni=pa te livor ti nɪ=piri
1SG=want-COP 1SG=give DEM1m book DEM1f 1SG=sibling
'I want to give this book to my sister.' [RP-P1-1]

In (10) and (11) the same verbs as in (8) and (9) show object marking instead of the explicit object NPs:

(10) *henɪ, ver nikomorikier.*
henɪ ver ni=ikomorɪk=ro
yes PERF 1SG=kill=3SGm
'Yes, I already killed it.' [RP-P1-34]

(11) *ver nikowoyočor.*
ver nɪ=kowoyo-čo=ro
PERF 1SG=bathe-APPL=3SGm
'I already bathed him.' [RP-20/7/04-94]

When the object is emphasized, it may also occur twice, once marked on the verb and as an explicit NP, as in (12) and (13):

(12) *te simori noekomorikier tiwe' nka vičow kon to ka ikomorɪkɪer.*
te simori no=ikomorik=ro tiwe' nka vi=čo-wo
DEM1m pig 3PL=kɪll=3SGm but NEG 1PL=know-COP

kon to ka ɪkomorɪk=ro
who/what ART IND kill=3SGm
'They killed the pig, but we don't know who killed it.' [JP-14/7/04-32]

(13) *rihamoro'iner to Adolfo Sware'.*
ri=hamoro'in=ro to Adolfo Sware
3SGf=miss-3SGm ART Adolfo Suarez
'She missed him, the Adolfo Suarez.' [JP-S2-2]

In (12) the object *te simori* 'the pig' has even been anteposed to the verb, which has an additional foregrounding effect. The object is also marked on the following verb. In (13) the object is marked on the verb and follows again as an explicit NP. In (14) there is marking of one object on the ditransitive verb *-pa-* 'give':

(14) *roper teč hoven.*
ro=pa=ro *teč* *hoven*
3SGm=give=3SGm DEM2m young
'He gave it to the youngster.' [RP-N4-32]

5.1 3 Marking of two objects

On ditransitive verbs, two objects may be marked. In examples (9) and (14) the ditransitive verb *-pa-* 'give' was shown without object marking and with the marking of only one object, respectively. When there is only one object marked, reference may be ambiguous: the marked object may refer to the recipient, as in (15), or the patient, as in (14).

(15) *roper-hi posoki.*
ro=pa=ro=hi *po-soki*
3SGm=give=3SGm=QUOT other-seed
'He gave him another seed.' [RP-N3-68]

The form *roper* 'he gave it/him' in (15) is the same as in (14), but here the object marker *-ro* '3SGm' refers to the recipient, with an explicit patient object NP *posoki* 'another seed' disambiguating the reference. Likewise, in (14) the explicit recipient triggers the interpretation of *-ro* as a patient marker.

The same verb may also have two objects marked, as in (16) and (17). Then the objects occur in the order recipient (R) – patient (P):

(16) *pipanir.*
pi=pa=ni=ro
2SG=give=1SG=3SGm
'You give it to me.' [GP-21/7/04-27]

(17) *nipapir.*
ni=pa=pi=ro
1SG=give=2SG=3SGm
'I give it to you.' [GP-21/7/04-28]

The patient enclitic can only be 3SGm *-ro*; the recipient enclitic may be any but 3SGm *-ro* and 3SGf *-ri*. These restrictions may be both phonologically and semantically driven. Phonologically it seems that two enclitics in a sequence are avoided, which both contain the rhotic *r* (i.e. *-ro* '3SGm' and *-ri* '3SGf'). Thus combinations like **-ror* (3SGm=3SGm), **-rori* (3SGm=3SGf), **-rir* (3SGf=3SGm), and **-riri* (3SGf=3SGf) are not allowed[138]. Semantically, the patient of ditransitive verbs generally is 3SGm, referring to something that is given to or done for a generally human recipient. However, the restrictions only concern the enclitic combinations. A ditransitive verb may have two 3SGm objects, of which then only one may be marked on the verb by an enclitic, as observed in (14) and (15), and also in (18):

[138] In the data collected by Baptista & Wallin there is one occurrence of two 3SGm enclitics on a non-verbal predicate. This was considered to be ungrammatical by my consultants, however

(18) *nɪkonopakɪnowor to rekirok.*
nɪ=kono-pa-k-ino-wo=ro *to* *rekɪrok*
1SG=write-CLF:flat&round-ABS-BEN-COP=3SGm ART choruno
'I am writing (signing the initials) on the choruno for him.' [RP-20/7/04-29]

Most ditransitive verbs have been derived by *-ino* 'BEN', as mentioned above. Examples (19) and (20) show benefactive verbs with two objects encliticized, again in the order recipient – patient:

(19) *nkasɪnopir*
ni=kas-ino=pi=ro
1SG=finish-BEN=2SG=3SGm
'I finish it for you.' [RP-19/4/06-53]

(20) *pihekinonɪr.*
pi=ɪhek-ino=nɪ=ro
2SG=comb-BEN=1SG=3SGm
'You comb him for me.' [RP-19/7/04-87]

In 5.2.2 the attachment of two arguments to a non-verbal predicate is described.

5.2. Non-verbal predicates

Any other word class apart from verbs can be used as a non-verbal predicate. The functions of these predicates are various. There are existential, possessive, attributive, equative, and locative constructions, as described in 5.3. Some non-verbal predicates may also be translated as English verbs, for example many predicates based on time adverbs, as in (21):

(21) *kewašan katirokapoekoe'!*
ke-wo-a-ša-no *katiro-ko-a-pa-ikoe'*
EV-COP-LK-IRR-NOM1 early-ABS-LK-GO-EMPH
'Go on and go only for a little while!' [DC-18/4/06-38]

(22) *ver etovi to pišoerekčow?*
ver *eto-wo=pi* *to* *pi=išoerek-čo-wo*
PERF finish-COP=2SG ART 2SG=cook-NOM2-COP
'Have you already finished cooking?' [JC-29/7/04-28]

In (21) the meaning 'go' is included in both, the first and the second predicate in different ways. The imperative predicate *kew* is generally interpreted as motion away from the speaker (cf. 9.3.4). The suffix *-pa* 'GO' adds the meaning of motion away from the speaker to the second predicate. The form *eto-* in (22) is also glossed 'finish', but it should not be analyzed as a verb (cf. 5.2.2).

Most non-verbal predicates are based on adjectives and nouns, and are attributive or equative. They are juxtaposed to the subject. Only in negative clauses and in the case of pronominalization the subject is marked on the predicate by a personal enclitic, as in (23) and (24):

(23) *a te erawok – napiri' ver monikowaper*
a *te* *erawok* *napiri'ver* *moniko-wapa=ro*
and DEM1m plantain tree also PERF pretty-COS=3SGm
'And this plantain tree – it is also already pretty ' [HC-27/7/04-83]

(24) *te nišir ver hirwaper*
te *ni=šir* *ver* *hir-wapa=ro*
DEM1m 1SG=son PERF man-COS=3SGm
'My son is already a man ' [JI-22/8/03-32]

As (23) and (24) show, the subjects are marked by *-ro* '3SGm' Recall that objects on verbs are marked by pronominal enclitics They will be shown to be similar to those on non-verbal predicates (cf 5 2 1) In other Arawak languages there is also a subgroup of intransitive verbs that show this kind of argument marking In a subgroup of intransitive verbs the subject is marked by a suffix, whereas on transitive verbs this suffix refers to the object The phenomenon has been described as a Split-S system (cf Aikhenvald 1999 86, Facundes 2000a 278) The verbs with this kind of argument marking (frequently referred to as objective marking, cf Facundes 2000a) are referred to as stative verbs (Aikhenvald 1999), descriptive verbs (Facundes 2000a 274) or absolute verbs (Wise 1986 571) Since Baure seems to deviate from other Arawak languages, a different approach is taken in this grammar In Baure there are no verbs taking a suffix enclitic, but all predicates with this kind of subject marking are analyzed as non-verbal All non-verbal predicates parallel nominal predicates and their way of marking a subject Stative verbs in Baure constitute a subgroup of intransitive verbs, but they show exactly the same kind of argument marking as other intransitive verbs, cf (25)

(25) *nti' nišoerenokiapapi, koeč pikotivew*
nti' *ni=šoere-noki-a-pa=pi* *koeč* *pi=kotive-wo*
1SG 1SG=cook-mouth-LK-GO=2SG because 2SG=be sick-COP
'I will cook for you (lit your mouth), because you are sick ' [GP-11/7/04-42]

A comparable meaning can be expressed with a non-verbal predicate, as in (26)

(26) *noka henowapa nik, koeč maviwapani*
noka *heno-wapa* *nik* *koeč* *mavi-wapa=ni*
NEG good-COS 1SG eat because sick-COS=1SG
'I cannot eat well any more, because I am very sick ' [JC-14/3/06-38]

The major difference between the two predicates *-kotive-* 'be sick' and *mavi* 'sick' is the way the subject arguments are cross-referenced by a proclitic in (25) and an enclitic in (26) Further *-kotive-* is a bound form, whereas *mavi* is a free form Even though both words have been translated by 'sick' in the examples, they have a slightly different connotation *-kotive-* means that someone is sick and may recover, while *mavi* is used for old people when they get sick before they die The non-verbal predicate based on the adjective *mavi* is thus interpreted as a rather permanent state, and the verb *-kotive-* as temporary The same effect can also be observed with nominalized verbs used as non-verbal predicates instead of the verbs they are derived

from The stative verb *-tiri-* 'know' is frequently used in the nominalized form *tirin* 'knowing', which may be considered a derived adjective[139] The nominalized form expresses a permanent state, and the verb rather a temporary state or the process of gaining knowledge, as in (27) and (28)

(27) *ti ntir avoel tirin to rišoerekčow*
ti *ntir* *avoel* *tiri-no* *to* *ri=šoerek-čo-wo*
DEM1f 1SGP grandma know-NOM1 ART 3SGf=cook-NOM2-COP
'My grandmother knew how to cook ' [JC-27/8/03-52]

(28) *ver rotiriwapa rak*
ver *ro=tiri-wapa* *ro=ak*
PERF 3SGm=know-COS 3SGm=sing
'He already knows to sing ' [GP-4/7/04-53]

Both predicates can take a complement, but the complement of the non-verbal predicate is marked for subordination by *-čo* 'NOM2' (cf 10 3 6), and the verb *-tiri-* takes an unmarked complement (cf 10 3 5)

Stative verbs have much in common with non-verbal predicates, which are generally all stative as well Stative predicates (verbs and non-verbal) can be distinguished from non-stative verbs in Baure in relation to how certain base suffixes are attached The base suffixes described in more detail in 6 5 can be subdivided into stative and non-stative suffixes Stative suffixes can be attached to active and stative predicates Non-stative suffixes are generally only attached to non-stative verbs When they are attached to a stative predicate, the linking morpheme *-a* has to be inserted before them (cf 3 3 2) Table 5 3 shows all stative suffixes

morpheme	gloss	meaning
-wo	COP	copula
-wapa	COS	change of state
-wana	DEP	departitive
-po	PRFLX	perfective/reflexive

Table 5 3 Stative base suffixes

In (29) there is a non-stative verb with the stative suffix *-wo* 'COP', in (30) a stative verb, and in (31) a non-verbal predicate

(29) *kon to pinikow?*
kon *to* *pi=niko-wo*
who/what ART 2SG=eat-COP
'What are you eating?' [DC-8/3/06-26]

(30) *nikarowow*
ni=karowo-wo
1SG=study-COP
'I am studying ' [DC-18/4/06-87]

[139] In 4 3 derived adjectives were discussed They may have been derived by the nominalizer *-no* NOM1

(31) *tič eton ntoriewori.*
tič *eton* *ni=torie-wo=ri*
DEM2f woman 1SG=friend-COP=3SGf
'That woman is my friend.' [HC-8/3/06-22]

The verb *-karow-* 'study' is a stative verb in Baure. Other stative verbs are all those including the subjective suffix *-'ino* 'SUBJ', like *-veiy'in-* 'be hungry', *-či'in-* 'be full', or *-ki'in-* 'want'. Stative verbs are also those derived by *ko-* 'ATTR', such as *-košir-* 'get a baby', *-kavinon-* 'marry (husband)', *-koeyin-* 'marry (a wife)', and many others (cf. 6.4.1). There are only very few underived stative verbs: *-tiri-* 'know', *-harok-* 'while', and *-karow-* 'study'.

When a non-stative suffix, like e.g. *-pa* 'GO' is attached to a stative verb or non-verbal predicate, the linker is inserted, as in (33) and (34) in contrast to (32).

(32) *pinikpa čičorop.*
pi=nik-pa *čičorop*
2SG=eat-GO bean
'You are going to eat beans.' [GP/LO-21/7/04-47]

(33) *nopomoekpa koeč ver nokač nokarowapa.*
no=pomoek-pa *koeč* *ver* *no=kač* *no=karow-a-pa*
3PL=ask.for-go because PERF 3PL=go 3PL=study-LK-GO
'They went to ask for (us to get married), because they were already going to study.'[140] [LO/GP-D-17]

(34) *teč navinon pitoriaper.*
teč *ni=avinon* *pi=tori-a-pa=ro*
DEM2m 1SG=husband 2SG=friend-LK-GO=3SGm
'My husband is going to be your friend.'

The non-stative base suffixes are listed in Table 5.4.

morpheme	gloss	meaning
-pa	GO	intentional, future, motion away from speaker
-pik	COME	come, motion towards speaker
-poreiy	REP	repetitive
-ša	IRR	irrealis

Table 5 4 Non-stative base suffixes

The fact that there is a split within the class of verbs with relation to stativeness may hint at a split system, but it is not related to the kind of argument marking exhibited by a Split-S system. As examples (25), (28), (30), and (33) showed, in Baure stative verbs do not differ from active verbs with respect to argument marking.

Non-verbal predicates are based on nouns or nominalized forms, already exemplified by *tirin* 'knowing' in (27). Another one is (35), derived from the verb *-am-* 'take' in a relative clause.

[140] The sentence is missing the topic of the marriage. The sentence means that the children wanted their parents to get married, so that they would not have to be embarrassed at school.

(35) *ver rikopoek teč ramonapık rinik.*
ver *ri=kopoek* *teč* *ro=amo-no-a-pik* *ri=nik*
PERF 3SGf=receive DEM2m 3SGm=take-NOM1-LK-COME 3SGf=eat
'She received that what he brought for her to eat.' [RP-N3-15]

The verb in (35) has been nominalized by *-no* 'NOM1' for subordination (cf. 10.2.1). It now behaves like other stative verbs and non-verbal predicates, inserting the linker before the morpheme *-pik* 'COME'.

Other derived non-verbal predicates are preceded by the privative morpheme *mo-* 'PRIV'. While *ko-* generally derives verbs, *mo-* derives adjectives, which are a subclass of nouns (cf. 4.9.3). This is further addressed in 5.2.3.

In Figure 4.1 in Chapter 4 the structure of the noun base was illustrated. When a noun functions as a non-verbal predicate, the whole nominal word is taken as a predicate base. This means that the plural suffix *-nev* 'PL' is reinterpreted as part of the predicate base, as in (36):

(36) *ačow noti' powor anenev ver nar'inokopaw koeč ver anenevewapa.*
ačo-wo *noti'* *powor* *ane-nev* *ver* *no=ar'inoko-pa-wo*
and-COP 3PL poor old-PL PERF 3PL=be.sad-GO-COP

koeč *ver* *ane-neve-wapa*
because PERF old-PL-COS
'And they, the poor old ones, already started to get sad, because they were already old (people).' [JP-N9-5]

The structure of the nominal predicate base is illustrated in Figure 5.2.

<table>
<tr><td colspan="9">predicate base</td><td>predicate base suffixes</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">personal proclitic (possessor)</td><td colspan="8">NOUN BASE</td><td colspan="2">noun base suffixes</td><td rowspan="3">LK</td><td>DEP</td><td rowspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">ATTR PRIV</td><td colspan="3">NOUN STEM</td><td>stem suffixes</td><td rowspan="2">NOM</td><td rowspan="2">DIM AUG</td><td rowspan="2">PL DISTR</td><td>COS</td></tr>
<tr><td>NOUN ROOT</td><td colspan="2">CLF/compound noun(s)</td><td>ABS POSS</td><td>COP</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>PRFLX</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>GO</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>REP</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>IRR</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

Figure 5.2 The noun as a predicate base

Figure 5.2 also demonstrates that the personal proclitic for possessor marking on nouns is part of the nominal predicate base. This is important in order to distinguish nominal predicates with personal proclitic and enclitic, from transitive verbs. Compare (37) and (38):

(37) *to našok* – *naškowor*
to *ni=ašok* *ni=ašoko-wo=ro*
ART 1SG=grandpa 1SG=grandpa-COP=3SGm
'my grandfather' 'He is my grandfather.'

(38) *našok, naškow* – *naškowor*
ni=ašok ni=ašoko-wo *ni=ašoko-wo=ro*
1SG=fell 1SG=fell-COP 1SG=fell-COP=3SGm
'I felled, I am felling' 'I am felling it'

Even though the forms *naškowor* in (37) and (38) are similar, they have to be analyzed as completely distinct kinds of predicates the base in (38) is the verb *-ašok-* 'fell (trees)', and the one in (37) is based on the possessed noun *našok* 'my grandfather' Therefore the personal proclitic in (37) is part of the predicate base and not attached to it In (38) the personal proclitic is attached to the base and refers to the subject In (37) the subject is marked by the enclitic *-ro* '3SGm'. In (38) the enclitic *-ro* '3SGm' refers to the object of the verb For a further discussion of the semantic alignment systems in Arawak languages, cf Danielsen & Granadillo (2007).

5 2 1 Subject marking

Subject marking on non-verbal predicates is pronominal, almost like object marking on verbs In general, the predicate lacks subject marking when the subject NP occurs explicitly in the clause, as in (39) and (40):

(39) *verwapa te kanikon*
ver-wapa *te* *kanikon*
PERF-COS DEM1m food
'The food is already ready.' [HC-3/8/03-34]

(40) *ač to vas hetiriko wapa ač nkawapa to siporı*
ač *to* *vas* *hetiriko-wapa* *ač* *nka-wapa* *to* *siporı*
and ART glass empty-COS and NEG-COS ART frog
'And the glass is empty now and the frog is not there anymore ' [GP-A4-30]

The subject NP may follow or precede the predicate. The predicate bases here are the adverb or particle, *ver* 'already, PERF', in (39), the adjective *hetirik* 'empty' in (40) and the negative particle *nka* 'NEG' in (40). The negative particle as a predicate base is the conventionalized form to express a negative existential, cf 5 3.3 The same predicates can have a personal enclitic attached, replacing the explicit subject NP, as in (41) through (43):

(41) *verowaper, nkičowor pameron, rokičowonı*
vero-wapa=ro *ni=kičı-wo=ro* *pi=am=ro-no*
PERF-COS=3SGm 1SG=say-COP=3SGm 2SG=take=3SGm-NOM1

ro=kičo-wo=ni
3SGm=say-COP=1SG
'It (the food) is ready, I said Take it (here), he said to me ' [AD/DC-D2-194]

(42) *ver hetirikier*
ver *hetirik=ro*
PERF empty=3SGm
'It is empty ' [RP-22/7/04-97]

(43) *nkawaper.*
nka-wapa=ro
NEG-COS=3SGm
'He is not here any more.' [DC-4/4/06-20]

As will be shown below, equative and attributive clauses may be expressed by the juxtaposition of NPs. In such a case the predicate remains completely unmarked, formally identical to an NP as argument in a clause (cf. 5.3.1 and 5.3.2). However, the predicate generally has to be marked at least by the copula suffix *-wo* 'COP' before a personal enclitic may be attached[141]. Exceptions to this rule are adjectives with the final absolute suffix *-ko* 'ABS', such as *hetirik* 'empty' (42), adjectives derived by the privative prefix *mo-* 'PRIV' (cf. 5.2.2), and the predicate *eto-* 'finish'. Therefore, a noun can only function as a predicate when a verbal suffix is attached to it, as in (44) in contrast to (45).

(44) *ti eton penowori.*
ti *eton* *pi=eno-wo=ri*
DEM1f woman 2SG=mother-COP=3SGf
'This woman is your mother.' [JI-26/9/03-14]

(45) **peneri.*
pi=eno=ri
2SG=mother=3SGf

The subject NP may frequently co-occur with subject marking, as in (44), which is also the case with object marking on verbs. This is possibly more frequent with non-verbal predicates, though.

Any nominalized form can function as a predicate, but there always has to be some verbal morpheme between the nominal base and the personal enclitic, as in:

(46) *nka evririkowonowoni.*
nka *evri~ri-ko-wo-no-wo=ni*
NEG be.slow~INT-ABS-COP-NOM1-COP=1SG
'I am not very slow.' [DC-16/4/06-37]

The nominalized form *evrikowon* 'slow', derived from the verb *-evrik-* 'be slow', already contains a copula suffix. But after the nominalizing morpheme *-no* 'NOM1', which determines the border of the predicate base, the copula suffix is attached again before the personal enclitic *-ni* '1SG'.

Non-verbal predicates also frequently occur without subject marking, when they have a general reference, as a general fact, the weather or time. This is illustrated in (47) through (50):

(47) *hehirewapa.*
he-hi-ro-e-wapa
good-WTE-ro-DUR-COS
'The weather is good.' [IS-12/4/03-17]

[141] Instead of the copula any other stative verbal morpheme may be attached

(48) *nka henow –ha– pihinomirap nka imon ten –ha– pıntur pimir-ye.*
nka *heno-wo* *ha* *pi=hino-mir-a-po* *nka* *imo-no*
NEG good-COP HES 2SG=see-face-LK-PRFLX NEG put-NOM1

ten *ha* *pıntur* *pi=mir-ye*
DEM3m HES make.up 2SG=face-LOC
'It's not good that you look at yourself (in the mirror), don't put that make-up on your face.' [JC-13/7/04-109]

(49) *pomorekoešwapa te nıkotıvew.*
po-morkoe-š-wapa *te* *ni=kotıve-wo*
one-year-one-COS DEM1m 1SG=be.ill-COP
'It is already one year now that I have been ill.' [IS-12/4/03-14]

(50) *keša, te ver čoshiwapa rokač noiy teč –ha– ohe'api.*
ke-ša *te* *ver* *čo-so-hi-wapa* *ro=kač* *noıy*
EV-IRR DEM1m PERF big-APRX-WTE-COS 3SGm=go there

teč *ha* *ohe-'apı*
DEM2m HES ojé-under
'You name it; it was already late when he went there under the Ojé tree.' [AD/DC-D2-214]

Something that is also more frequently found with non-verbal predicates is the use of free pronouns instead of a personal enclitic. The free pronouns can also replace a subject NP, but they are free morphemes and not cliticized, and they generally refer to humans. They are emphatic, whereas the clitics cannot carry any emphasis, cf. (51) and (52):

(51) *roti' kotimoehow, kotimoehowor roti'.*
roti' *kotimoeho-wo* *kotimoeho-wo=ro* *roti'*
3SGm with.bad.smell-COP with.bad.smell-COP=3SGm 3SGm
'He smells bad, he smells bad.' [DC-16/4/06-14]

(52) *ač nti' kopirokonow.*
ač *ntı'* *kopırokono-wo*
and 1SG hot-COP
'And I was hot.' [GP-9/4/06-19]

The free pronoun can also co-occur with a personal enclitic, as in (52) for special emphasis.

5.2.2. Transitive non-verbal predicates

As mentioned above, other Arawak languages also have verbs with subject marking by enclitics. In Baure, all bases taking this kind of subject marking are non-verbal. Non-verbal predicates are all stative. In this context it is problematic to categorize transitive non-verbal bases. In Baure there are two non-verbal bases which can be interpreted to be transitive or partly transitive: *eto-* 'finish' and *koehoe-* 'give birth to'.

The form *eto-* 'finish' may have been derived from an adverb with the meaning 'over', but it is considered non-verbal, because it behaves like all other non-verbal bases subject encliticization (53), and the addition of the linker *-a* before non-stative base suffixes (54)

(53) *ver etoni to nivesač*
ver *eto=ni* *to* *ni=vesa-čo*
PERF finish=1SG ART 1SG=read-NOM2
'I finished reading' [JC-29/7/04-62]

(54) *etašani te netopoekoč nisiaper*
eto-a-ša=ni *te* *ni=etopoeko-čo* *ni=i-siap=ro*
finish-LK-IRR=1SG DEM1m 1SG=sweep-NOM2 1SG=CAUS-enter=3SGm
'When I have finished sweeping, I put it in (lit I cause it to enter)'
[RP/EC-17/7/04-87]

As can be observed in (53) and (54), there is subject marking on *eto-* 'finish' by an enclitic, referring to the subject *-ni* '1SG' There is a following (marked) complement *to nivesač* 'my reading' This object argument (the complement) can also be marked by an enclitic when pronominalized, as in (55) with the pattern of double object marking, but instead of the order recipient–patient we find object–subject here

(55) *ač ver etoroni*
ač *ver* *eto=ro=ni*
and PERF finish=3SGm=1SG
'And I already finished it (the weeding and cleaning of the field)'
[RP/EC-D1-13]

The non-verbal base *eto-* is completely exceptional in Baure There is no other non-verbal base that can have double argument marking, and it is also different from the majority of non-verbal predicates, because it does not have an obligatory verbal suffix before the subject enclitic

The base *koehoe-* 'give birth to' is exceptional as well The subject can be marked on the base, but again without an additional verbal suffix, as in (57) and (58), as compared to (56)

(56) *kač koeh ti eton*
kač *koeh* *ti* *eton*
GO give birth DEM1f woman
'The woman is going to give birth' [GP-21/7/04-5]

(57) *koehoeri pinonev*
koehoe=ri *pino-nev*
give birth=3SGf twin-PL
'She gave birth to twins' [GP/LO-21/7/04-7]

(58) *aw teč yor koehoen ač ver namen nan nočipi-ye*
aw *teč* *yor* *koehoe=no* *ač* *ver*
and not DEM2m monkey give birth=3PL and PERF

no=am=no nan no=čɪpi-ye
3PL=take=3PL there 3PL=back-LOC
'Unlike the monkey(s); they give birth and then they take them on their backs.' [HC-27/7/04-43]

The base *koehoe-* is presumably composed of an attributive prefix *ko-* 'ATTR' and an unknown root **-iho*, followed by the suffix *-i*, which may either be the durative or the emphatic morpheme. The last element is only attached when marked by an enclitic, as in (57) and (58). In (56) the simple form *koeh* is used without any subject marking. It looks like a transitive predicate with the explicit NP *pɪnonev* 'twins' (57), to be analyzed as a direct object. However, no double marking is possible on this base.

5.2.3. Privative derivation

The privative prefix *mo-* 'PRIV' generally derives non-verbal bases from verbs and adjectives, resulting in privative nominals, which are mainly used like adjectives (cf. 4.9.3). When a privative base is used as a predicate, it is always non-verbal. In (59) through (62) examples of verbs derived with the attributive prefix *ko-* 'ATTR' and the negative counterparts derived by the privative *mo-* 'PRIV' are given:

(59) *ver rikavinon.*
ver ri=ko-avinon
PERF 3SGf=ATTR-husband
'She is already married.' [AO-19/8/03-22]

(60) *mavinoneri?*
mo-avinon=ri
PRIV-husband=3SGf
'Is she unmarried?' [AO-19/8/03-23]

(61) *ver rokoeyon.*
ver ro=ko-eyon
PERF 3SGm=ATTR-wife
'He is already married.' [RP-19/7/04-77]

(62) *moeyinar.*
mo-eyin-a=ro
PRIV-wife-LK=3SGm
'He is not married.' [DC-21/3/06-2]

The examples (60) and (62) show that *mo-* 'PRIV' takes an enclitic, whereas the forms derived by *ko-* 'ATTR' in (59) and (61) take a proclitic.

Any other form derived by the privative from verbs or nouns and adjectives changes into a non-verbal predicate. Further examples are (63) and (64):

(63) *moyonowor.*
mo-yono-wo=ro
PRIV-walk-COP=3SGm
'He doesn't walk.' [LO/GP-18/07/04-51]

(64) *močokokɪr*
mo-čokokɪ=ro
PRIV-stomach=3SGm
'He is without feelings (lit without stomach)' [LO/GP-18/7/04-44]

The privative predicate in (63) has been derived from the verb *-yon-* 'walk', the one in (64) from the noun *-čokokɪ* 'stomach' Privative predicates can take subject marking without an additional verbal suffix, as in (60), (62), and (64), but there may also be a suffix inserted, as the copula *-wo* 'COP' in (63)

Some speakers, though, do sometimes treat privative derivations like verbs, whereas others do not accept these forms A frequent example is *-mokɪ'ɪn-* 'not want' in (65), here taken from a song

(65) *rɪmokɪ'ɪner noɪy San Antonɪa-ye*
rɪ=mo-kɪ'ɪn=ro noɪy San Antonɪa-ye
3SGf=PRIV-want=3SGm there San Antonio
'She doesn't want him there in San Antonio' [MP-S1-2]

It is also possible that the verbal marking is only possible in the context of a song, where the grammar obeys different rules, but this remains speculative

5 2 4 Nominalization processes and their functions

In Baure we find four distinct nominalization processes that change a verb into a noun participant nominalization by *-no* 'NOM1', action nominalization by *-čo* 'NOM2', product nominalization by *-rɪ* 'NOM3', and quality nominalization by *-pɪ* 'QNOM' All four types of nominalization function predominantly as different kinds of subordination in relative clauses (described in 10 2) This section focuses on the nominalized forms as arguments or predicates in a clause

The most frequent multifunctional nominalizer is *-no* 'NOM1' It is very productive for the derivation of nouns and adjectives Further these nominal forms are used in relative clauses (cf 10 2 1), imperative clauses (cf 9 3), interrogative clauses (cf 9 4), and counterfactual conditional clauses (cf 10 3 2)

The element *-no* 'NOM1' leads to participant nominalization The meaning of participant nominalization is frequently agentive, i e 'one who Vs' (cf Comrie & Thompson 1985 351) The following nouns are derived from verbs as agents with the suffix *-no* 'NOM1'

derived noun	translation	verb	translation
akon	singer	*-ak-*	sing
ehmoekon	washerwoman (person who washes clothes)	*-ehmoek-*	wash clothes
ɪnɪsan	fisherman	*-ɪnɪsa-*	fish (with hook)
šowekon	jaguar (the crawling one)	*-šowek-*	crawl (on all fours)
vepɪan	liar	*-vepɪa-*	tell lies
werɪčon	healer	*-weroč-*	apply medicine

Table 5 5 Nouns derived by *-no* NOM1 part 1

The nominal status of the derived forms is generally shown by the preceding determiner, as in (66):

(66) *boen, rošım teč šowekon renapik.*
boen ro=šım teč šoweko-no re-no-a-pik
well 3SGm=arrive DEM2m crawl-NOM1 drink-NOM1-LK-COME
'Well, the jaguar (lit. crawling one) arrived, coming to drink.' [RP-N3-227]

Agentive nominalization also derives adjectives (class III, cf. 4.9.3) from verbs. Adjectives are a subclass of nouns (cf. 3.8.3). Example (67) shows a nominalized verb *-yak-* 'ripen', as an attributive adjective, whereas (68) shows the same form being used predicatively:

(67) *ač kwe' ten pon yiyakon.*
ač kwe' ten pon yı~yako-no
and exist DEM3m other(ABS) INT~ripen.NOM1
'And there is that other ripe one.' [DC-15/4/06-141]

(68) *yakonowor.*
yako-no-wo=ro
ripen-NOM1-COP=3SGm
'It is ripe.' [DC-15/4/06-143]

The nominalized form *yiyakon* in (69) may be analyzed as an attributive adjective in the NP with the head *pon* 'other one', but it could also be analyzed as the head noun of the NP with the preceding modifier *pon* 'other'. In (68) the predicate status of the nominalized form is obvious from the subject marking by the enclitic *-ro* '3SGm', preceded by the copula *-wo* 'COP'.

In relative clauses the predicate nominalized by *-no* 'NOM1' refers either to the subject or the object, depending on the lack or presence of a personal proclitic (cf. 10.2.1). In many examples the nominalized form does not refer to the agent but to another participant, as in (69), or even to the product of a situation (cf. Table 5.6).

(69) *ši vepkiapa to vinıkon!*
ši vi=epkia-pa to vi=nıko-no
HORT 1PL=serve-GO ART 1PL=eat-NOM1
'Let's go serve our food.' [HC-20/8/03-32]

The derived noun in (69) *vinikon* 'our food' refers to the object[142], but often we find lexicalized meanings. Further examples of nouns derived with this suffix *-no* 'NOM1' are listed in Table 5.6:

[142] The NP *to vınıkon* could also be analyzed as a headless relative clause, referring to the object because of the presence of subject marking, as described in 10.2

derived noun	translation	verb	translation
aren	bird	*-ar-* (+*-i-* 'DUR')	fly
askon	help	*-asok-*	help
(-)eron[143]	drink	*-er-*	drink
esokon	perfume	*-esok-*	smell nice
-nikon	food	*-nik-*	eat
peron	lazybones	*-aper-*	be lazy
sowon	rain	*-sowe-*	rain

Table 5.6: Nouns derived by *-no* 'NOM1', part II

Action nominalization is achieved by suffixing *-čo* 'NOM2', homophonous with the applicative stem suffix *-čo* 'APPL'. This kind of nominalization directly refers to the action expressed by the verb (cf. Payne 1997:224), as in (70) and (71):

(70) *tiwe' rawantač to sipori iškon eton teč nowoyikoč teč pari.*
tiwe' ro=awantač to sipori iškon eto=no
but 3SGm=endure ART frog until finish=3PL

teč no=woyiko-čo teč pari
DEM2m 3PL=make-NOM2 DEM2m house
'But the frog endured until they finished making the house (lit. their making of the house).' [RP-N2/I-14]

(71) *to vimonoč neš nkaw plato.*
to vi=imono-čo neš nka-wo plato
ART 1PL=buy-NOM2 meat NEG-COP money
'There is no money for us buying meat.' [HC-20/8/03-4]

In (71) the nominalized form is used for subordination. Action nominalization is mainly used for a kind of relative clauses (cf. 10.2.2) and for marked complementation (cf. 10.3.6). There are no lexicalized nouns which have been derived by *-čo* 'NOM2'.

The product nominalizer *-ri* 'NOM3' derives nouns as products of verbal action, cf. (72):

(72) *pehevik ten pehoviri.*
pi=ehevi-ko ten pi=ehovi-ri
2SG=throw.away-ABS DEM3m 2SG=throw.away-NOM3
'You throw away the garbage.' [JC-29/7/04-9]

The noun *-ehoviri* 'garbage (lit. the thing thrown away)' can also be interpreted as object nominalization, which has been defined as "designating the result, or the typical or 'cognate', object of an action" (Comrie & Thompson 1985:355). However, there seems to be an emphasis on the result here.

In the derivation in (72) the absolute suffix of the verb base *-ehevik-* 'throw away' has been dropped[144]. The absolute suffix *-ko* 'ABS' is generally dropped, but there are

[143] Without a possessor proclitic the noun changes by metathesis into *ren*, as in (66)

also cases where it remains, as in *vekori* 'language' < *-vek-* 'speak', and *-nikori* 'plate < *-nik-* 'eat', possibly related to the preference for a minimally disyllabic verb base. Some nominalized nouns always have the copula morpheme *-wo* 'COP' suffixed, of which the function is unclear at present. An example is given in (73):

(73) *pahkopan te nišoereriow!*
pi=ahko-pa-no te ni=išoere-ri-wo
2SG=try-GO-NOM1 DEM1m 1SG=cook-NOM3-COP
'Go and try what I have cooked.' [RP/EC-D4-2]

In (73) the verb *-išoerek-* 'cook' has been nominalized with *-ri* 'NOM3' and by dropping the absolute suffix *-ko*. The copula suffix is then added obligatorily.

Lexicalized nominals derived by *-ri*, such as *-nikori* 'plate' may also denote instrument. Product nominalization cannot be considered to be very productive, not even in its major use as a kind of relative clause (cf. 10.2.3). Examples of nouns derived by *-rɪ* 'NOM3' are listed in Table 5.7:

derived noun	translation	verb	translation
-ehmori	(dirty) laundry	*-ehmoek-*	wash clothes
-ehoviri	garbage	*-ehevik-*	throw away
-kočimoepori	line for clothes	*-kočimoep-*?	hang up clothes?
konori	typewriter	*-konok-*	write
-nikori	plate	*-nik-*	eat
vekori	language	*-vek-*	speak
vekiyiri	god	*-vek-* (+ *-yi* 'LOC')	speak (where)
-wo'iri	cattle	*-wo'ik-*	butcher

Table 5 7: Nouns derived by *-rɪ* 'NOM3'

Even though today this type of nominalization is not used so widely any more, the Baure lexicon suggests that it may have been quite productive. At least there is a high number of noun entries with a final syllable *-rɪ*: examples of nouns are *pari* 'house', *-sori* 'village', *-tori* 'friend', *-piri* 'sibling of the same sex', *-kori* 'arrow', *moemori* 'widow', *sipori* 'frog', *-pasiri* 'nose, beak', and *-sopakori* 'shin'.[145]

Some other derived forms insert the linking morpheme *-a* 'LK', like in some compounding or incorporation types; examples are *kaviari* (*kavi-a-ri*) 'drunkard/drunken (be.drunk-LK-NOM3)', *nešari* (*neš-a-ri*) 'carnivore (meat-LK-NOM3)', and *vekoratiari* (*vekorati-a-ri*) 'gossipy person (gossip-LK-NOM3).

[144] The variation of *e* and *o* is common in Baure, in particular due to the weakness of the vowel *o*.

[145] Among the verbs we find *-hirɪ(k)-* 'sit', *-verɪ(k)-* 'fish with net', *-yorɪ-* 'be angry', *-tirɪ-* 'know', and *-širɪ(k)-* 'grate' Matteson mentions a "third masculine singular possessive [...] *-rĭ*" (1972:162) in Arawak languages, which may simply have been derived from the common masculine personal form *rɪ-/-rɪ*. This morpheme could have been the historical source for Baure final *-rɪ*, too, either only for the number of lexemes that include *-rɪ*, or also as a source for the nominalizing morpheme *-rɪ* 'NOM3' in general.

Here it is important to inform the reader that in Baure the forms have switched the gender with reference to all other Arawak languages, thus *rɪ-/-rɪ* referring to the feminine gender only in Baure, and *ro-/-ro* to the masculine (cf 8.3.1).

In (74), a form nominalized by *-ri* 'NOM3' in subordination is used as a predicate. The linker is attached because of the following non-stative verbal base suffix (cf. Table 5.4 above).

(74) *ronikow kes rowohiriapa noiy estansia-ye.*
ro=niko-wo kes ro=wohi-ri-a-pa noiy estansia-ye
3SGm=eat-COP cheese 3SGm=steal-NOM3-LK-GO there farm-LOC
'He was eating cheese that he had gone to steal there from the farm.'
[RP-N3-86]

The suffix *-pi* 'QNOM' (qualitiy nominalization) derives abstract nouns on the basis of both adjectives and verbs (cf. 4.9.5). This section focuses on the derivation of abstract nouns from verbs. Examples of nouns derived by *-pi* 'QNOM' are given in Table 5.8. All verbs that undergo this nominalization are stative:

abstract noun	translation	verb	translation
-yorirpi	angriness	*-yori-*	be angry
(-)aserokopi	strength	*-aserok-*	be strong
-kaviropi	drunkenness	*-kavi-*	be drunk
-maspo'epi	craziness	*-maspo'e-*	be crazy
-aperonopi	laziness	*-aper-*	be lazy

Table 5.8: Abstract nouns derived by *-pi* 'QNOM'[146]

The majority of the derived abstract nouns are represented as bound forms in Table 5.8. They can also be used as free forms, but they may be possessed as well. The bound forms get a possessor proclitic attached, which occurs in the same slot as where the subject is marked on the verbs they have been derived from. These abstract nouns may function as arguments in a clause, but they are mainly used for causal subordination, as described in 10.2.4. Example (75) shows how two differently nominalized forms derived from *-maspo'e-* 'be crazy' are used in a clause:

(75) *hepčin tiow tič eton maspo'en ač rihewesaw teč rimaspo'epi.*
hepčin tiow tič eton maspo'e-no ač
it.seemed CLEFT DEM2f woman be.crazy-NOM1 and
ri=hewe-sa-wo teč ri=maspo'e-pi
3SGf=jump-CLF:water-COP DEM2m 3SGf=be.crazy-QNOM
'It seemed that the woman was crazy and jumped into the water out of her craziness.' [GP-N1/I-35]

The adjective or derived nominal form *maspo'en* 'crazy' functions as a nominal predicate in (75), and *rimaspo'epi* 'her craziness' functions as an oblique argument in the clause, which is interpreted as causal subordination.

The forms nominalized by *-pi* 'QNOM' are generally preceded by a determiner, and they are not used as predicates in the data, even though this is theoretically possible. Table 5.9 gives a summary of the nominalization types with examples.

[146] Table 4.26 gives more examples of abstract nouns derived by *-pi* from adjectives

type of nominalization	form	examples: *-woyik-* 'make'	examples: *-kavi-* 'be drunk'	functions
participant (agentive)	*-no*	*woyikon* 'maker'	*kavın* 'drinker, drunk'	nominal arguments, attributive adjectives, nouns and adjectives as non-verbal predicate bases; imperative, relative clauses, interrogative constructions; counterfactual conditional clauses
action	*-čo*	(-)*woyikoč* 'making'	not attested	argument in a complement construction; relative clauses
product	*-ri* (+ *-wo*)	*-woyiriow* 'what S made'	*kaviari* 'drunkard'	nominal arguments; relative clauses
quality	(*-ro* +) *-pi*	not attested	*-kavıropi* 'drunkenness'	abstract quality nouns; causal subordination

Table 5.9: Summary of the nominalization types in Baure

5.3. Specific predicate constructions

Aikhenvald (1990:98) states that in Arawak languages "any non-verb can be used as a predicate of existential, locative, equational or attributive clauses". In this section these types of predicate clauses are described in detail, summarized in Tables 5.10 through 5.12.

It will be shown that the juxtaposition of two NPs can be enough to construct complete clauses in some cases, while in others a copula morpheme or copula predicate has to be added to varying elements in the clause. Some constructions are only used in affirmative, others in negative clauses, again others in aspectually specified clauses. The least marked case is always an affirmative clause with no time reference (which gets a present interpretation by default in direct speech).

There is much overlap in the kinds of construction for the different predicate clause types. The existential construction is for example also used as a locative existential and possessive existential construction. The description starts with equative (5.3.1) and attributive clauses (5.3.2), followed by existential (5.3.3), locative (5.3.4), and possessive clauses (5.3.5).

5.3.1. Equation

In equative clauses an NP functions as a predicate. In the unmarked case in an affirmative clause the subject NP (NP_S) can stand in juxtaposition with the predicate NP (NP_V). The order of the elements depends on the focus. In equative clauses, where generally the subject is in focus, the NP_S precedes NP_V , as in (76) and (77):

(76) *to Horian ntori.*
to *Horian* *ni=tori*
ART Julián 1SG=friend
'Julián is my friend.' [JI-22/8/03-42]

(77) *ač tič reyon rohin to Lucia Oni.*
ač *tič* *ro=eyon* *ro=hin* *to* *Lucia Oni*
and DEM2f 3SGm=wife 3SGm=daughter ART Lucio Oni
'And the daughter of Lucio Oni is his wife.' [AD/DC-D2-156]

Two NPs in juxtaposition can also be interpreted as the partitive NP construction, described in 4.3.3. In (77) the second NP, the predicate NP, consists of such a partitive construction *rohin to L O* 'the daughter of L.O.'. Sometimes it is only the reference and the intonation that distinguish partitive NPs from an equative NP juxtaposition, as in (78):

(78) *rokičowori-hi teč rišir, to riavinon tič eton.*
ro=kičo-wo=ri=hi *teč* *ri=šir*
3SGm=say-COP=3SGf=QUOT DEM2m 3SGf=son

to *ri=avinon* *tič* *eton*
ART 3SGf=husband DEM2f woman
'Her son told her, the husband of that woman.' [GP-N1/I-24]

The partitive NP in (78) could simply not work as an equative clause. It would have to mean 'her husband is that woman', which is meaningless. Thus, in this case reference disambiguates the juxtaposition. Examples (79) and (80) are distinguished by intonation, indicated above the lines:

(79) *ti rihin ti eton*
ti *ri=hin* *ti* *eton*
DEM1f 3SGf=daughter DEM1f woman
'the daughter of the woman'

(80) *ti rihin ti eton*
ti *ri=hin* *ti* *eton*
DEM1f 3SGf=daughter DEM1f woman
'She is the daughter of the woman.'

In (79) there is continuous falling intonation, which is interpreted as a partitive NP, whereas in (80) the same constituents are interpreted as an equative clause. The predicate character of *ti rihin* 'her daughter' in (80) is triggered by the rising intonation. In addition the intonation is interrupted and rises again in the subject NP *ti eton* 'the woman'. The second time the intonation does not rise as high as the first time, because intonation generally falls at the end of a clause. When the NP_V is in focus, it may also precede the NP_S, as in (81):

(81) *nerikikoe' ti howe' tič eton.*
neriki-ikoe' ti howe' tič eton
now-EMPH DEM1f dolphin DEM2f woman
'The woman was a dolphin now.' [GP-N1/I-29]

In (81) the predicate *ti howe'* 'a dolphin' is in focus. The woman changes into a dolphin in that narration. It could theoretically also mean 'the dolphin was a woman' in a different context.

In negative clauses and in the majority of affirmative clauses the predicate gets marked by at least the copula suffix and a personal enclitic referring to the subject. Other verbal suffixes can also be attached in order to mark aspectual distinctions. When the predicate is marked by verbal suffixes, its function in the clause is clear, and the position in the clause can vary. The explicit NP_S mainly precedes the NP_V, but it is frequently simply pronominalized by a personal enclitic. In (82) through (84) the predicates are marked as described:

(82) *tin eton nka vimoestarwori. nka moestarowori.*
tin eton nka vi=moestar-wo=ri nka moestaro-wo=ri
DEM3f woman NEG 1PL=teacher-COP=3SGf NEG teacher-COP=3SGf
'That woman isn't our teacher. She is no teacher.' [JI-22/8/03-39]

(83) *nka –ha– nčowor to ka roeiyonowori te nišir.*
nka ha ni=čo-wo=ro to ka ro=eyono-wo=ri
NEG HES 1SG=know-COP=3SGm ART IND 3SGm=wife-COP=3SGf
te ni=šir
DEM1m 1SG=son
'I don't know who is the wife of my son.' [HC-8/3/06-36]

(84) *nti' roeiynowoni te pišir.*
nti' ro=eyono-wo=ni te pɪ=šɪr
1SG 3SGm=wife-COP=1SG DEM1m 2SG=son
'I am the wife of your son.' [HC-8/3/06-37]

The second clause in (82) and (83) are examples of nominal predicates without a referent NP_S, whereas the subject NPs *tin eton* 'that woman' and *nti'* '1SG' occur in the first clause of (82) and in (84), respectively.

In clauses with aspect specification, the predicate can be marked by the change of state suffix *-wapa* 'COS', as in (85), or the intentional suffix *-pa* 'GO' (after the insertion of the linker *-a*), as in (86).

(85) *puhhh, ver howewaperi.*
puhhh ver howe-wapa=ri
INTJ PERF dolphin-COS=3SGf
'Puhhh, and she changed into a dolphin.' [MD-N1-27]

(86) *te nišir moestaraper.*
te *ni=šir* *moestar-a-pa=ro*
DEM1m 1SG=son teacher-LK-GO=3SGm
'My son is going to be a teacher.' [IM-23/8/03-36]

Equative clauses are not substantially different from attributive clauses. Only in the juxtaposition of attribute and subject NP the NPs follow different rules.

5.3.2. Attribution

In attributive clauses an NP functions as an attributive predicate of the NP_S. This NP_V may be a noun or an adjective. Since modifying adjectives may also occur in juxtaposition with the head noun (cf. 4.9) within an NP, predicative adjectives in juxtaposition with another NP have to be distinguishable from modifying adjectives. Most adjectives follow the head noun within an NP. Therefore predicative adjectives tend to precede the entire NP_S in juxtaposition, as in (87) and (88):

(87) *monik tin eton.* *tin eton monik*
pretty DEM3f woman DEM3f woman pretty
'The woman is pretty.' 'the pretty woman' [JI-14/8/03-49]

(88) *čompeča te niwer.*
čo-mpe-ča *te* *ni=wer*
big-CLF:flat-AUG DEM1m 1SG=house
'My house is big.' [DC-11/3/06-23]

In (87) the predicative and the modifying adjective occupy their different positions. It is, however, also possible to have a predicative adjective following the NP_S, but with an inserted pause, as in (89):

(89) *to eton čišie'* *to eton – čišie'.*
to *eton* *či-šie'* *to* *eton* [pause] *či-šie'*
ART woman big-vert.size ART woman big-vert.size
'that tall woman' 'That woman is tall.' [RP-15/8/03-63]

In 4.4.3 it was shown how double plural marking (on the head noun and the following adjective) can lead to the identification of the adjective as a predicate, while an NP with a modifier only gets marked once at the end of the phrase, take note of (90):

(90) *koeč to nen senioritanev henokonev.*
koeč *to* *nen* *seniorita-nev* *henoko-nev*
because ART DEM3PL señorita-PL good-PL
'Because these young women are good.' [SIL-T1-5]

These options also hold for attributive nouns in predicate function, as in (91):

(91) *peronča teč nišir.*
peron-ča *teč* *ni=šir*
lazybones-AUG DEM2m 1SG=son
'My son is a real lazybones.' [DC-10/4/06-121]

In negative clauses and aspectually specified clauses, the predicates are marked by verbal suffixes and a personal enclitic, just like in equative clauses, cf. (92) and (93):

(92) *nti' noka ımır čišiewoni nti'.*
nti' noka imir či-šie-wo=ni nti'
1SG NEG very big-vert.size-COP=1SG 1SG
'Me, I am not very tall.' [EU-24/3/06-123]

(93) *mehewkonowaper to bısiklet.*
mehewkono-wapa=ro to bisiklet
bad-COS=3SGm ART bıke
'The bike ıs bad now (ıt has been damaged).' [MC-3/7/04-2]

In a conjunction (94) also both the marked predicate and the juxtaposed predicate can occur. The subject is not marked because there is an explicit NP_S present for each predicate in (94):

(94) *tı'ıow to yandroe' ač ti sopir čıšie'.*
tı'-ı-wo to yandroe' ač
small-CLF:fruit&bird-COP ART ostrıch and

ti sopir či-šie'
DEM1f turtle big-vert.size
'The ostrıch was very small and the turtle was tall.' [MD-N13-2]

5.3.3 Exıstentıals

Existential clauses involve the non-verbal copula predicate *kwe'* 'exıst', which occurs in this neutral form without any cross-reference. This predicate is presumably composed of the following parts:

ko-wo-i' > *kowe'* > *kwe'*
ATTR-COP-EMPH

Figure 5.3: The composıtıon of the copula predıcate *kwe'* 'exıst'

The longer form *kowe'* and *kwe'* co-exist.

Generally the NP_S occurs without a determiner, even when plural, because of their generic reference, as in (95) and (96):

(95) *kwe' erapoe'?* – *kwe'!*
kwe' erapoe' – *kwe'*
exist plantain exıst
'Is there plantain (for sale)? – There is.' [RP-7/7/04-95]

(96) *ne' sorati-ye kwe' čintinev mehowokon.*
ne' sorati-ye kwe' čıntı-nev mehowokon
here village-LOC exist person-PL rude
'There are rude people here in the village.' [LO/GP-18/7/04-97]

The copula predıcate remains in the form *kwe'*, even though *erapoe'* 'plantain' ın (95) is singular and *čintinev* 'people' in (96) is plural, without any argument marking.

The predicate *kwe'* is used frequently in the introduction of characters in narration, in which case a determiner is included in the NP_S, as in (97) and (98):

(97) *kwe' tin marip nikon čintinev.*
kwe' *tin* *marip* *nɪko-no* *čɪntɪ-nev*
exist DEM3f witch eat-NOM1 person-PL
'There is a witch that eats people.' [GP-N7-39]

(98) *nakiroko-ye kwe' tič eton ač kwe' tič rimos napiri' noiy.*
nakiroko-ye *kwe'* *tič* *eton* *ač*
long.ago-LOC exist DEM2f woman and

kwe' *tič* *rɪ=mos* *napiri'* *noiy*
exist DEM2f 3SGf=mother.in.law also there
'Once upon a time there was a woman and there was also her mother-in-law.'
[GP-N1/II-1]

The general existential predicate *kwe'* can be followed by a headless relative clause (cf. 10.2), in which case the subordinated nominalized verb also functions as the subject argument of the predicate, as in (99) and (100):

(99) *kwe' hinoekonow, sompoekonow.*
kwe' *hino-i-ko-no-wo* *sompo-i-ko-no-wo*
exist see-DUR-ABS-NOM1-COP hear-DUR-ABS-NOM1-COP
'There are (people) who are staring and eavesdropping.' [RP-5/7/04-43]

(100) *iherikowon kwe' imonoper.*[147]
iherikowon *kwe'* *imono-pa=ro*
maybe exist buy-GO=3SGm
'Maybe someone will buy it.' [LO/GP-18/7/04-84]

In some contexts *kwe'* can also be used for general time reference, as in (101):

(101) *kwe' rošim to ninev maiyok ač kwe' nokaw.*
kwe' *ro=šɪm* *to* *ni-nev* *maiyok* *ač* *kwe'* *noka-wo*
exist 3SGm=arrive ART mosquito-PL much and exist NEG-COP
'There are times when a lot of mosquitoes come and there are times when there aren't any.' [DC-7/3/06-59]

The predicate *kwe'* cannot be negated like other predicates, neither morphologically by the privative prefix > **mokwe'*, nor with the negative particle > **nka kwe'*. In negative existential clauses *kwe'* is not used, but the negative particle *n(o)ka* 'NEG' with the copula suffix included functions as a negative existential predicate, as in (101). Further examples are (102) and (103):

[147] With object enclitics the nominalizer *-no* 'NOM1' is dropped, cf. 10 2.1

(102) *ntɪ' nahačɪpɪ kwe' erapoe'? ač pɪtɪ' pɪkɪew nkaw*
ntɪ' nɪ=ahačɪ=pɪ kwe' erapoe' ač pɪtɪ' pɪ=kɪew nka-wo
1SG 1SG=ask=2SG exist plantain and 2SG 2SG=say NEG-COP
'I asked you Are there plantains (for sale)? And you said there aren't'
[RP-7/7/04-95]

(103) *nokaw to kahapo, vɪhɪnoekpa to kahap*
noka-wo to kahapo vɪ=hɪnoek-pa to kahap
NEG-COP ART manioc 1PL=search-GO ART manioc
'There is no manioc, so we go and look for manioc' [HC-20/8/03-7]

Some aspectual suffixes may also replace the general copula suffixes *kwe'* 'there is' (ATTR-COP-EMPH, cf Figure 5 3) and *nkaw* 'there is not' (NEG-COP), cf (104) and (105)

(104) *tɪwe' kwapa pon reyon*
tɪwe' ko-wapa po-no ro-eyon
but ATTR-COS other-CLF human 3SGm=wife
'But he had already another fiancee' [RP-N4-72]

(105) *ver nkawapa to ses*
ver nka-wapa to ses
PERF NEG-COS ART sun
'There is no more sun' [IS-12/4/03-16]

As shown in (104), other verbal suffixes are simply attached to *ko-* 'ATTR' The emphatic suffix may only be attached word finally The clause in (104) is translated as a possessive clause, which is caused by the possessor proclitic on the NP *reyon* 'his wife' (cf 5 3 5)

5 3 4 Locative clauses

Location is indicated by the locative suffix *-ye* (cf 4 8) There are no simple juxtapositions with a locative interpretation, but the copula predicate *kwe'* is needed here as well In fact locative clauses are just a specific type of existential clauses, as in (106) and (107)

(106) *ne' nɪwohɪso-ye kowe' to kopon*
ne' nɪ=wohɪso-ye kowe' to kopon
here 1SG=hand-LOC exist ART spike
'Here in my hand there is a spike' [HC-16/8/03-6]

(107) *ɪkɪyɪ-ye te rasroe' kwe' te kokon*
ɪkɪy-ɪ-ye te rasroe' kwe' te kokon
middle-CLF fruit&bird-LOC DEM1m orange exist DEM1m worm
'There is a worm in the middle of the orange fruit' [GP-16/9/03-21]

Examples (106) and (107) can be considered to be introductory locative clauses, in which the subject NP is introduced into the context In other locative clauses, in particular those where the NP_S precedes the location, the copula predicate is marked by a personal enclitic, as in (108)

(108) *nti' kwoni ne' sorati-ye.*
nti' *kwo=ni* *ne'* *sorati-ye*
1SG exist=1SG here village-LOC
'I am here in the village.' [HC-3/8/03-1]

Strictly speaking, the emphatic suffix is not attached to the existential predicate *kwe'* 'exist' for emphatic marking (cf. Figure 5.3), but presumably because of a phonetically minimal form. The same can be observed when personal enclitics are attached to *kwo-* 'exist' that undergo the process of final vowel elision. The predicate base has to be at least disyllabic (or with a heavy vowel or diphthong) in its outcome, for which reason the emphatic suffix is added in some forms. The paradigm of the marked existential predicate is therefore slightly irregular, as presented in Table 5.10:

	SINGULAR	PLURAL	NEUTRAL
1	*kwoni*	*kwovi*	*kwe'*
2	*kwovi*	*kwoiy*	
3m	*kwore'*	*kwone'*	
3f	*kwori*		

Table 5.10: The irregular forms of the existential predicate *kwe'* 'exist'

The emphatic suffix has been attached to the forms *kwore'* (*ko-wo=ro-i'*) 'he is' and *kwone'* (*ko-wo=no-i'*) 'they are'. The form *kwovi* is ambiguous between 'you are' or 'we are', because of the morphophonological change of the plosive in *-pi* '2SG' after the copula suffix *-wo* 'COP' (cf. 2.5.6).

Further examples of the copula predicate with person marking are (109)b and (110)b, each time contrasted to the neutral form in (109)a and (110)a:

(109) a. *mes'api-ye kwe' to misi.*
mes-'api-ye *kwe'* *to* *misi*
table-under-LOC exist ART cat
'The cat is under the table.'/ 'There is a cat under the table.' [HC-L-8]

b. *to misi kwore' mes'api-ye.*
to *misi* *kwore'* *mes-'api-ye*
ART cat exist.3SGm table-under-LOC
'The cat is under the table.' [LO-29/8/03-33]

(110) a. *kwe' to etipo sesi-ye – romoropa.*
kwe' *to* *etipo* *sesi-ye* *ro=moro-pa*
exist ART manioc.starch sun-LOC 3SGm=dry-GO
'The manioc starch is in the sun in order to get dry.' [HC-2/7/04-2]

b. *to etipo kwore' sesi-ye romoropa.*
to *etipo* *kwore'* *sesi-ye* *ro=moro-pa*
ART manioc.starch exist.3SGm sun-LOC 3SGm=dry-GO
'the manioc starch is in the sun in order to get dry.' [HC-2/7/04-1]

Parallel to the negative existential, this type of locative clauses is negated by the negative particle *nka*, with the copula suffix and a personal enclitic attached to it. (111) and (112) are examples:

(111) *nti' nkawoni niweri-ye.*
nti' *nka-wo=ni* *ni=weri-ye*
1SG NEG-COP=1SG 1SG=house-LOC
'I was not in my house.' [IM-23/8/03-47]

(112) *nokawor niweri-ye.*
noka-wo=ro *ni=weri-ye*
NEG-COP=3SGm 1SG=house-LOC
'He is not in my house.' [JI-22/8/03-61]

Just as in all other types of clauses described above, any aspectual specification has to be marked: in affirmative clauses the copula predicate base *ko-* 'ATTR' (cf. Figure 5.3) gets the aspectual suffix attached, in negative clauses the negative particle *n(o)ka*. In addition, the subject is marked by a personal enclitic. Examples are (113) and (114):

(113) *to mantel ver kwaper mesi-ye*
to *mantel* *ver* *ko-wapa=ro* *mesi-ye*
ART table.cloth PERF ATTR-COS=3SGm table-LOC
'The table cloth is already on the table' [HC-L-49]

(114) *hinitani, nkawapani*
hinitani *nka-wapa=ni*
no.idea NEG-COS=1SG
'No idea, I wasn't there any more.' [JP-8/7/04-12]

5.3.5. Possession

Possession cannot be expressed by the simple juxtaposition of NPs. There are three main types of possessive clauses: existential possessive clauses, specialized possessive predicate clauses, and possessive clauses based on a verb.

Existential possessive clauses make use of the fact that a subclass of nouns is obligatorily possessed. An existential clause with a possessed noun can then be interpreted as a possessive clause, as already illustrated in example (104). More examples are (115) and (116):

(115) *kwe' nišir peron.*
kwe' *ni=šir* *peron*
exist 1SG=son lazybones
'I have a lazy son/ a son who is a lazybones.' [RP-1/9/03-50]

(116) *teč kwe' to roea' ač kwe' ti ren ač nti' ver nkawapa to niron.*
teč *kwe'* *to* *ro=ia'* *ač* *kwe'* *ti* *ro=en*
DEM2m exist ART 3SGm=father and exist DEM1f 3SGm=mother

ač *ntɪ'* *ver* *nka-wapa* *to* *nɪ=ɪron*
and 1SG PERF NEG-COS ART 1SG=parent
'That one has got a father and a mother, but I don't have any parents anymore '

The clauses in (115) and (116) could also be translated as 'there is a son of mine' and 'there is a father of his' etc The existential clause type can also be used with unpossessed nouns In this case the possessive pronoun can function as a possessive marker, as in (117)

(117) *kwe'* *pɪtɪr* *kahapˀ – kowe'*
exist 2SGP manioc exist
'Do you have manioc? – I have (There is) ' [RP-15/8/03-23]

Just like negative existential clauses in general, the negative particle with certain verbal morphemes can function as a negative copula predicate in existential possessive clauses, if followed by a possessed noun, cf (116) However, there is also another possibility to construct a negative possessive clause, and this is closely related to equative clauses (cf 5 3 1) Instead of attaching the copula or another stative suffix to the negative particle, it can be added to the possessed noun, as in (118)

(118) *ntɪ' nka nɪhɪnow, nka nɪšɪrow, nka nɪšečenew*
ntɪ' *nka* *nɪ=hɪno-wo* *nka* *nɪ=šɪro-wo*
1SG NEG 1SG=daughter-COP NEG 1SG=son-COP

nka *nɪ=šeče-nev-wo*
NEG 1SG=child-PL-COP
'I don't have a daughter, I don't have a son, I don't have any children '
[JI-22/8/03-52]

The difference between negative equative/attributive and possessive clauses is that in possessive clauses there is no personal enclitic attached Compare the different meanings of the two clauses in (119)

		possessive		equative/attributive
(119)	a	*nka nɪšɪrow*	b	*nka nɪšɪrowor*
		nka *nɪ=šɪro-wo*		*nka* *nɪ=šɪro-wo=ro*
		NEG 1SG=son-COP		NEG 1SG=son-COP=3SGm
		'I don't have a son '		'He is not my son '

The only, but substantial difference between the two clauses in (119) is the additional enclitic *-ro* '3SGm' in the equative clause (b) However, with an explicit NP_S the equative/attributive predicate can also lack the enclitic

Possessive predicate clauses are constructed on the basis of the possessive pronouns, unrelated to the following noun, which may be possessed or unpossessed The copula or another verbal suffix is attached to this possessive pronoun, as in (120) through (122)

(120) a. *rɪtirow na'.*
rɪtiro-wo na'
3SGfP-COP egg
'She has got eggs.'

b. *ritir na'*
ritir na'
3SGfP egg
'her eggs' [HC-A2-21]

(121) *ver ntirow maiyko nahmeronev.*
ver ntiro-wo maiyok ni=ahmero-nev
PERF 1SGP-COP much 1SG=paper-PL
'I already have a lot of papers.' [JC-13/7/04-101]

(122) *ver pitirowe' te hekoewok.*
ver pitiro-wo-ɪ' te hekoewok
PERF 2SGP-COP-EMPH DEM1m land
'This land is already yours.' [RP-N6-37]

In example (120)b the possessive pronoun is a modifier in contrast to predicate use in (120)a. The construction is actually an equative clause on the basis of the possessive pronoun. The possessed element referred to by NPs in (120) through (122) can also be pronominalized by an enclitic, as in (123):

(123) *ver rotirowore' to hekoewok!*
ver rotiro-wo=ro-i' to hekoewok
PERF 3SGP-COP=3SGm-EMPH ART land
'It is already his, the land!' [RP-N6-35]

The predicate based on a possessive pronoun can also be used without specifying possession. This is a kind of absolute claim, which is generally only used in the negative form and together with quantifiers, as in (124) and (125):

(124) *nka nipapi, nka ntirow.*
nka ni=pa=pi nka ntiro-wo
NEG 1SG=give=2SG NEG 1SGP-COP
'I don't give you (anything), I don't have (anything).' [DC-3/4/06-46]

(125) *tek-hi teč ritirow kač rinikien.*
tek=hi teč rɪtɪro-wo kač ri=ɪ-nik=no
all=QUOT DEM2m 3SGfP-COP GO 3SGf=CAUS-eat=3PL
'Everything she has she gave them to eat (lit. she made them eat).'[GP-N7-72]

The possessive construction can be negated by the negative particle, as in (124) above, and in (126) and (127):

(126) *nakirok-ye to čintinev nka notirow yaki.*
nakiroko-ye to činti-nev nka notiro-wo yaki
long.ago-LOC ART person-PL NEG 3PLP-COP fire
'Once upon a time the people didn't have fire.' [MD-N13-5]

(127) *nečon nka ntirowapa soni.*
nečon *nka* *ntiro-wapa* *soni*
last.night NEG 1SGP-COS tobacco
'Last night I didn't have tobacco any more.' [AD/DC-D2-224]

In the place of the copula suffix, other suffixes, such as *-wapa* 'COS' in (127), may occur directly attached to the possessive pronoun as well. This construction is not exclusively used with unpossessed nouns, as already indicated by example (122) with a possessed noun. In (128) the possessed noun *rihih'* 'her horn' is found in the same possessive construction:

(128) *a ti nor nka ritirow rihi'.*[148]
a *ti* *nor* *nka* *ritiro-wo* *ri=hi'*
and DEM1f deer NEG 3SGfP-COP 3SGf=horn
'And the deer doesn't have a horn.' [HC-27/7/04-54]

These constructions with the possessive pronouns used as predicate bases are the major function of these pronouns, cf. also 8.3.4.

The possessive pronouns may have been reinterpreted in relation to possessed nouns: *rotir* < *ro=tir* (3SGm=possession) 'his possession', just like *rower* < *ro=wer* (3SGm=house) 'his house' (cf. 4.3). On the base of this possible noun **-tir* 'possession' the verb *-kotir-* 'have, possess' may have been constructed similar to other attributive verb derivations (cf. 6.4.1), such as *-kosowe-* 'wear a ring' < *-ko* + *-sowe'* (ATTR + ring). The verbal possessive construction can be used like any other verb, as illustrated in (129) and (130):

(129) *vikotir soert porok vikač.*
vi=kotir *soert* *porok* *vi=kač*
1PL=have luck never 1PL=go
'We had luck we never went.' [LO/GP-13/3/06-17]

(130) *rokotirow teč rokori royokow to arenonevči.*
ro=kotiro-wo *teč* *ro=kori* *ro=yoko-wo*
3SGm=have-COP DEM2m 3SGm=arrow 3SGm=pierce-COP

to *areno-nev-či*
ART bird-PL-DIM
'He had an arrow that he was shooting little birds with.' [RP-N4-8]

In (131) the verb *-kotir-* 'have' is used in a negative clause with the general verbal negation particle *nka* 'NEG':

(131) *nka rikotirow te ka'anonev.*
nka *ri=kotiro-wo* *te* *ka'ano-nev*
NEG 3SGf=have-COP DEM1m animal-PL
'She didn't have animals.' [RP-A2-20]

[148] The feminine form derives from the Spanish gender of *hurina* 'deer'.

The verb *-kotir-* 'have' can also be used like an intransitive verb in a positive or negative clause, cf. (132) and (133):

(132) *nikotirow.*
ni=kotiro-wo
1SG=have-COP
'I am rich.' [LO/GP-18/7/04-41]

(133) *nka vikotirow, nti' niwohik.*
nka *vi=kotiro-wo* *nti* *ni=wohik*
NEG 1PL=have-COP 1SG 1SG=steal
'We are poor, (so) I steal.' [RP-7/7/04-22]

The adjectives *kotiron* (have-NOM1) 'rich' and *mokotiron* (PRIV-have-NOM1) 'poor' have been derived from the verb *-kotir-* 'have'. As privative derivations are always nominal, the word *mokotiron* can only be used as a nominal predicate with a subject enclitic, cf. (134):

(134) *nka mokotironowoni nti'.*
nka *mo-kotiro-no-wo=ni* *nti'*
NEG PRIV-have-NOM1-COP=1SG 1SG
'It's not that I don't have anything.' [MD-17/4/06-9]

The attributive verb *-kotir-* is also used in the question for a possessor 'whose?', as shown in 9.4.4, exemplified here in (135):

(135) *kotirowon te senti?*
kotiro-wo-no *te* *senti*
have-COP-NOM1 DEM1m watermelon
'Whose is this watermelon?' [MD-17/4/06-45]

5 3.6. Summary

In the following tables all the different predicate clauses of 5.3 are listed again. Table 5.11 represents the basic cases, Table 5.12 the negative clauses, and Table 5.13 the aspectually marked clause constructions, involving the change of state marker *-wapa* 'COS'.

kind of clause	construction	examples
equative/ attributive	juxtaposition: NP_S NP_V ADJ_V NP_S, NP_S ADJ_V	*nti' eton* 1SG woman 'I am a woman' *monik ti eton* *nti' monik* pretty DEM1f woman 1SG pretty 'The woman is pretty.' 'I am pretty.'
existential	*kwe'* NP_S	kwe' tič eton exist DEM2f woman 'There is a woman.'
locative	*kwe'* NP_S NP_{LOC} NP_S *kwo*-S NP_{LOC}	*kwe' ti eton pari-ye* exist DEM1f woman house-LOC 'There is a woman in the house.' *ti eton kwo=ri pari-ye* DEM1f woman exist=3SGf house-LOC "the woman is in the house"
possessive	(NP_S) *kwe'* NP_O, and NP_O=ART/DEM POSS=N	*kwe' to ni=weri* exist ART 1SG=house "I have a house"

Table 5.11: Summary of the basic predicate clause constructions

kind of clause	negative construction	examples
equative/ attributive	NP_S *nka* NP_V-*wo*-S (NP_S) *nka* ADJ_V-*wo*-$PERS_S$	*roti' nka ni=širo-wo=ro* 3SGm NEG 1SG=son-COP=3SGm 'He is not my son.' *(nti') nka moniko-wo=ni* 1SG NEG pretty-COP=1SG 'I am not pretty.'
existential	*nka-w* NP_S	*nka-wo erapoe'* NEG-COP plantain 'There is no plantain.'
locative	NP_S *nka-wo*-S NP_{LOC}	*ti eton nka-wo=ri pari-ye* DEM1f woman NEG-COP=3SGf house-LOC 'The woman is not in the house.'
possessive	(NP_S) *nka* NP_O-*wo* and NP_O=ART/DEM POSS-N	*nka ni=širo-wo* NEG 1SG=son-COP 'I don't have a son.'

Table 5.12 Summary of the negative clause constructions

kind of clause	aspectually marked construction	examples
equative/ attributive	NP_S NP_V-TMA=S	*(riti')* *etono-wapa=ri* 3SGf woman-COS=3SGf 'She is already a woman (has children)'
	NP_S ADJ-TMA=S	*nti' čiše-wapa-ni* 1SG tall-COS=1SG 'I am already tall'
existential	*ko*-TMA NP_S	*ver ko-wapa erapoe'* PERF exist-COS plantain "There is already plantain"
locative	NP_S *ko*-TMA=S NP_{LOC}	*ti eton ver ko-wapa=ri pari-ye* DEM1f woman PERF exist-COS=3SGf house-LOC 'The woman is already in the house'
possessive	(NP_S) *ko*-TMA NP_O and NP_O=ART/DEM POSS=N	*ver ko-wapa ri=šir* PERF exist-COS 3SGf=son 'She already has a son'

Table 5 13 Summary of the aspectually marked clause constructions[149]

5 4 Incorporation

Incorporation (cf 3 7) in Baure can be distinguished into classifying incorporation (including argument incorporation) and the incorporation of Ground Classifying incorporation is the suffixing of a bound noun or classifier to the verb root, in which case the absolute suffix *-ko* 'ABS' (or another stem suffix) of the verb base is dropped[150] This is the main morphological distinction from Ground incorporation, where *-ko* 'ABS' always follows the incorporated element Arguments and classifiers can be incorporated into intransitive and transitive verbs, and so can Grounds In the simplified Figure 5 4 of the verb base the classifier or noun incorporated is shown to be part of the stem, which is followed by a stem suffix in some constructions, as will be illustrated below The alternations in the specific bases and incorporation types are not indicated in Figure 5 4

VERB BASE			
stem prefix	VERB STEM	root suffixes	stem suffixes
	VERB ROOT	CLF/ noun incorporation	(ABS) (APPL) (LK)

Figure 5 4 Incorporation into verb bases

[149] TMA here means verbal base suffixes that affect time, mood, and aspect, as described in Chapter 6

[150] In a few examples also other stem suffixes are dropped, as the applicative *-čo* 'APPL' for example, but it is most frequently the absolute suffix *-ko* 'ABS'

5.4.1. Classifying incorporation and argument incorporation

The incorporated argument or classifier on intransitive verbs refers to the subject, the one on transitive verbs to the object. In classifying incorporation on an intransitive verb, the incorporated element is simply suffixed to the root (cf. Figure 5.4), whereas on transitive verbs, an incorporated argument always has to be marked by the linker suffix *-a* 'LK', as contrasted in (136) and (137):

(136) *to poewok ropotpoew.* < *-potok-* 'be wet'
to poewok ro=poto-poe-wo
ART ground 3SGm=be.wet-down-COP
'The ground – the ground is wet.' [RP-22/7/04-71]

(137) *romermiraw to monči to kove'.* < *-merok-* 'lick'
ro=mer-mir-a-wo to monči to kove'
3SGm=lick-face-LK-COP ART child ART dog
'The dog is licking the child's face.' [GP-A4-38]

Into the basic verbs *-potok-* 'be wet' (136) and *-merok-* 'lick' (137) is inserted the incorporated element and the absolute base morpheme *-ko* 'ABS' deleted. In (1) *-poe* 'down' is the locative classifier that refers to the subject *to poewok* 'the ground', which itself contains the root *poe-*. In (137) *-ko* 'ABS' is also dropped, the bound noun *-mir* 'face' has been attached to the root, but it is followed by the linker *-a* 'LK', as it is a transitive verb.

Classifying incorporation on intransitive verbs, involving the subject, is less frequent. The incorporated element is either a classifier, such as *-poe* 'down' in (136) and *-se* 'CLF:oval' in (138), or a body part, which is then always analyzed as part of the subject, as in (139):

(138) *raromosewapa to yašor.* < *-arom-* 'drown'
ro=aromo-se-wapa to yašor
3SGm=sink-CLF:oval-COS ART boat
'The boat has sunk.' [HC-L-81]

(139) *nišinipo'ew.*[151] < *-šinik-* 'be hurt'
ni=šini-po'e-wo
1SG=be.hurt-head-COP
'I have a headache.' [RP-19/7/04-102]

In (139) the subject is analyzed as the possessor of the incorporated body part *-po'e* 'head'. When inalienably possessed nouns are incorporated into intransitive verbs, the classifying relation turns into a part–whole relationship (also cf. Michael 2005).

The most frequent kind of incorporation is that of an argument into a transitive verb. The argument may be a bound noun root or a classifier, as in (140) and (141):

[151] There is also a transitive verb *-kotič-* 'hurt'.

(140) *ver nehpesaw.* < *-ehko-* 'wash'
ver ni=eh-pes-a-wo
PERF 1SG=wash-leg-LK-COP
'I washed my leg.' [HC-2/7/04-25]

(141) *ronipap šep.* < *-nik-* 'eat'
ro=ni-po-a-po šep
3SGm=eat-CLF:tiny-LK-PRFLX chivé
'He ate chivé.' [GP-A4-2]

Both the incorporated bound noun *-pes* 'leg' in (140) and the incorporated classifier *-po* 'CLF:tiny' (141) refer to the object. Even though the object argument may have been incorporated, it can also occur as an explicit object NP in addition, as in (141) and in (142)[152]:

(142) *ver nehpoiyaw to nipoiy.* < *-ehko-* 'wash'
ver ni=eh-poiy-a-wo to ni=poiy
PERF 1SG=wash-foot-LK-COP ART 1SG=foot
'I washed my foot.' [HC-2/7/04-26]

Repetition of the object argument, as in (142), is generally only used for special emphasis. In the case of the incorporation of a classifier, though, the explicit object NP may specify the referent, as in (141), where the classifier *-po* 'CLF:tiny' can refer to any kind of powder, which is then specified by *šep* 'chivé'. For this reason an explicit object NP more frequently co-occurs with the incorporated classifier.

5.4.2. Ground incorporation

The incorporation of Ground adds some specific information about the situation, generally the location where some action takes place or is headed to. The incorporated element is not a direct or indirect object, but may be oblique. Bound nouns and classifiers can function as incorporated Ground. As mentioned above, when Ground is incorporated, the absolute suffix *-ko* 'ABS' follows the incorporated element, as in (143). In fact, I have taken the presence of *-ko* here as the defining feature for Ground incorporation; semantically the difference is not always as clear. This is the case on intransitive and transitive verbs alike. The absolute suffix is also added to verb bases that do not include it in the simple form.

(143) *ver pitora'ačikpa pavinon.* < *-torak-* 'find'
ver pi=tora-'ači-ko-pa pi=avinon
PERF 2SG=find-other.place-ABS-GO 2SG=husband
'You will find your husband in another place.' [JC-6/4/06-45]

In a number of verbs the Ground has been lexicalized, so that they are not used without the incorporated element, as *-poe* 'down (ground)' in *-ehevipoek-* 'fall down' (144) and *-epsopoek-* 'fall down from above' or *-kahširopoek-* 'slip on the ground'. In contrast to (136), *-poe* 'down, ground' is not incorporated as an argument in (144):

[152] This is characteristic of "classifying incorporation" (Gerdts 1998:89).

(144) *nehevipoekow.* < *-ehevipoek-* 'fall down'
ni=ehevi-poe-ko-wo
1SG=fall-down-ABS-COP
'I fell down.' [RP-7/7/04-34]

The Ground may also be a body part, as in (145):

(145) *roepokočpikier.*
ro=ipoko-čɨpi-ko=ro
3SGm=hit-back-ABS=3SGm
'He hit him on the back.' [RP-6/7/04-49]

The morpheme *-čipi* 'roof, back' can also be incorporated as an argument, either as the concrete noun 'roof' (146), the body part noun 'back' (147), or the homophonous classifier *-čipi* 'CLF:roof' (148). The examples of argument incorporation of *-čipi* 'roof, back' on an intransitive verb in (146) and a transitive verb in (147) and (148) can be contrasted to Ground incorporation of the same morpheme in (145):

(146) *romoročipiow te ečpi'.* < *-morok-* 'be dry'
ro=moro-čɨpɨ-wo *te* *ečpi'*
3SGm=be.dry-roof-COP DEM1m roof
'The roof is dry.' [DC-22/3/06-55]

(147) *raročipɨaw.* < *-aroč-* 'climb on'
ro=aro-čipi-a-wo
3SGm=climb-CLF:roof-LK-COP
'He is climbing the back of an animal.' [DC-16/3/06-21]

(148) *nipiričipiaw.* < *-piri-*(CLF-)*a-* 'cut s.th. in halves'
ni=piri-čipi-a-wo
1SG=cut-CLF:roof-LK-COP
'I am cutting the armadillo into halves.'

In (147) the verb base contains the applicative stem suffix *-čo* 'APPL', which is dropped when *-čipi* 'roof, back' is incorporated as an argument, just like the absolute suffix in other verbs. The contrast of the incorporation of *-čɨpi* 'roof, back' as Ground into the same verb *-aroč-* 'climb' as in (147) can be observed in (149):

(149) *raročipikow*
ro=aro-čipi-ko-wo
3SGm=climb-CLF:roof-ABS-COP
'He climbs (on) the roof.' [DC-16/3/06-20]

While the back of an animal is interpreted as an argument in (147), the roof is incorporated as Ground in (149). The distinction is not always transparent, though.[153]

Furthermore, classifiers and bound nouns may be incorporated as Ground when they are not referred to as a whole, but only part of it. In many expressions this is

[153] It still needs to be studied further if the incorporation type is also related to affectedness of the argument

idiosyncratic, but the following suffix *-ko* 'ABS' generally means that only part of the argument is involved in the action, as in (150) through (152)

(150) *nešie'ekow to kahap*
ni=ešie-'e-ko-wo *to* *kahap*
1SG=crush-CLF unsweet-ABS-COP ART manioc
'I am crushing manioc (some of it) ' [RP-20/7/04-154]

(151) *ntori'ešik*
ni=tora-eši-ko
1SG=find-meat-ABS
'I found (some) meat ' [DC-8/3/06-69]

(152) *vaiyčipikier*
vi=aiy-čipi-ko=ro
1PL=parboil-CLF roof-ABS=3SGm
'We fry an armadillo (part of it) ' [MD-30/8/03-30]

Most of the above examples are transitive verbs, but Ground incorporation on intransitive verbs is also very frequent, as in (144) above and in (153)

(153) *ver kač rohiriarok*
ver *kač* *ro=hiri-aro-ko*
PERF GO 3SGm=sit-CLF liquid-ABS
'It is already going to settle down in the liquid (the ground and washed manioc meal) ' [HC-2/7/04-8]

Some verbs that do not include the absolute suffix *-ko* 'ABS' in the simple verb base, get it attached after an incorporated Ground, nonetheless, as in (154) and (155), and also in (149) and (150)

(154) *nisipamirokop* < *-sipa-* 'wash'[154]
ni=sipa-miro-ko-po
1SG=wash-face-ABS-PRFLX
'I am washing my face ' [JP-20/8/03-3]

(155) *nehewerek tin monči* < *-eh(e)-* 'out'[155]
ni=ehe-were-ko *tin* *monči*
1SG=out-house-ABS DEM3f child
'I kicked the girl out of the house ' [JP-14/7/04-12]

Neither valency nor argument marking is affected by incorporated nouns or classifiers When a transitive verb incorporates an argument, there may still be object marking on the verb When a body part is incorporated as an argument, the personal clitics may refer to the possessor However, with no object marking, the subject is the possessor of the body part, as in (139), (140), and (142) When there is an object enclitic

[154] Other body parts are generally incorporated as arguments into this same verb, but *-mir* face' always as Ground
[155] cf lexical prefixes 6 3 1

on a transitive verb with an incorporated body part, the object is the possessor, as in (156) and (157)

(156) *rokomorowhisani*
ro=komoro-whis-a=ni
3SGm=bite-hand-LK=1SG
'He bit me on the (my) hand' [RP-6/7/04-8]

(157) *pehmiraper'*
pi=eh-mir-a-pa=ro
2SG=wash-face-LK-GO=3SGm
'Go and wash (him) his face!' [GP-11/8/04-49]

5 5 Comparative constructions

There are various types of comparative constructions in Baure, discussed here, as incorporation plays a major role in comparison There are three verbs used for comparison *-erok-* 'surpass', *-kovik-* 'catch up with', and *-inok-* 'resemble'

The verb *-erok-* 'surpass' is used for 'more than' The quality compared is generally an oblique object, whereas the arguments compared to another are core arguments, as in (158) and (159)

(158) *rerokowoni te čomeki* [156]

ro=ero-ko-wo=ni	*te*	*čomeki*
3SGm=surpass-ABS-COP=1SG	DEM1m	fatness

'He is fatter than me (lit He surpasses me in fatness)' [DC-11/3/06-14]

(159) *rerokowoni te čišie'*

ro=iro-ko-wo=ni	*te*	*či-šie'*
3SGm=surpass-ABS-COP=1SG	DEM1m	big-vert size

'He is taller than me (lit He surpasses me in tall(ness))' [DC-11/3/06-15]

An alternative to (159) is a complex verb, with the quality *-š(i)e'* 'vertical size' incorporated, as in (160)

(160) *rerošekowoni*
ro=iro-še-ko-wo=ni
3SGm=surpass-vert size-ABS-COP=1SG
'He is taller than me (lit He surpasses me by vertical size)' [MD-12/3/06-23]

The absolute suffix *-ko* 'ABS' follows the incorporated root *-š(i)e'* 'vertical size', as it is an instance of Ground incorporation (cf 5 4) It is theoretically possible that other bound roots are also incorporated into the verb *-erok-* 'surpass', but unfortunately no other examples could be elicited The verb can also be used in a nominalized form, as with derived adjectives, as in (161), taken from a narrative in which the fox wants to tell the jaguar that cusi nuts are much better than his flesh, because he doesn't want to get eaten

[156] The absolute stem suffix *-ko* is part of the base *-erok* 'surpass', but glossed separately here for transparency

(161) *heni, rokičowor-hi monik erokowon to nenšon'*
heni *ro=kičo-wo=ro=hi* *monik* *eroko-wo-no*
yes 3SGm=say-COP=3SGm=QUOT pretty surpass-COP-NOM1

to *ni=enšon*
ART 1SG=flesh
' "Yes", he said to him, "it is pretty It is better than my flesh " ' [RP-N3-66]

The nominalized form *erokowon* in (161) is a non-verbal predicate Comparison is more frequently formed in absolute statements, as in (162) and (163)

(162) *nerokowoni niti – yonačowonowori nkaw nti*
ni=eroko-wo=ni *niti* *yonačowono-wo=ri* *nka-wo* *nti*
3SGf=surpass-COP=1SG 3SGfP first-COP=3SGf NEG-COP 1SGP
'She surpasses me – she is the eldest (lit first) and I am not ' [DC-11/3/06-20]

(163) *rerokowor teč pa (kove) – čačača aw ti ti ači*
ro=eroko-wo=ro *teč* *po-a* *kove*
3SGm=surpass-COP=3SGm DEM2m other-CLF animal dog

čo-a-ča-ča *aw* *ti* *ti-'a-či*
big-CLF animal-AUG-AUG and not DEM1f small-CLF animal-DIM
'It surpasses that other dog – it is very big, and not the other one, it is very small ' [DC-11/3/06-26/27]

Comparison with the bound adjective roots *čo-* 'big', *hew-* 'medium size', and *ti-* 'small', as in (163) and (165) below, is very common (cf Payne 1997 89) In addition, diminutive and augmentative are used for emphasis In elicitation with pictures of persons and things of different sizes, the consultants always used this simpler construction, as in (164) and (165), where the consultants compared three pictures of baskets (164) and trees (165) of different sizes

(164) *ti'iki te kastarok – a te čiki te ha– poeki – čikiča*
ti-'iki *te* *kastarok* *a* *te* *č-iki*
small-CLF net DEM1m basket and DEM1m big-CLF net

te *ha* *po-iki* *č-iki-ča*
DEM1m HES other-CLF net big-CLF net-AUG
'This basket is small – and this is big, this other basket is very big '
[JC-18/9/03-52]

(165) *to ewkoe čowok, hewowok, tiwokoči*
to *ewokoe'* *čo-wok* *hewo-wok* *ti-woko-či*
ART tree big-tree medium-tree small-tree-DIM
'The tree is big, medium, very small ' [RP-15/8/03-46]

Another specific kind of emphatic construction has been translated as comparative by the consultants The emphatic suffix *-i(koe)* 'EMPH' is attached to a predicate, generally to *henow* 'it is good' or the Spanish loan *mexorow* 'it is better', as in (166) through (168)

(166) *rokičowor-hɪ ntorɪ, ver henowe'*
ro=kičo-wo=ro=hɪ *nɪ=torɪ* *ver* *heno-wo-ɪ'*
3SGm=say-COP=3SGm=QUOT 1SG=friend PERF good-COP-EMPH
'He said to him "My friend, it is better (we stop working) "' [RP-N2/II-11]

(167) *mexorwe' vɪkač vɪtɪ' ač vavɪkop vapap- vapašap pɪtosɪ*
mexor-wo-ɪ' *vɪ=kač* *vɪtɪ'* *ač* *vɪ=avɪko-po* *vɪ=a-pa-po*
better-COP-EMPH 1PL=go 1PLP and 1PL=return 1PL=LK-GO-PRFLX

vɪ=a-pa-ša-po *pɪ=tosɪ*
1PL=LK-GO-IRR-PRFLX 2SG=wing
'It is better we go and return, we will bring your wing' [RP-N4-61]

(168) *notɪrɪ Kastellan mexorwe' teč novekorɪ*
no=tɪrɪ *Kastellan* *mexor-wo-ɪ'* *teč* *no=vekorɪ*
3PL=know Spanish better-COP-EMPH DEM2m 3PL=language
'They know that Spanish is better than their language' [JC-27/8/03-62]

The verb *-kovɪk-* 'catch up with' is used in a construction meaning 'as much as', as in (169)

(169) *nɪkovɪkowor to ročɪšepɪ*
nɪ=kovɪ-ko-wo=ro *to* *ro=čɪ-še-pɪ*
1SG=catch-ABS-COP=3SGm ART 3SGm=big-vert size-QNOM
'I am as tall as he is (lit I catch up with his size)' [MD-12/3/06-26]

This kind of construction is used more frequently in the negative 'not as much as', as in the first part of (170) In (170) the compared quality has been incorporated into the verb, just like the incorporation into the verb *-erok-* 'surpass' in (160)

(170) *nka nkovɪšekowor, nkovɪšekow*
nka *nɪ=kovɪ-še-ko-wo=ro* *nɪ=kovɪ-še-ko-wo*
NEG 1SG=catch-vert size-ABS-COP=3SGm 1SG=catch-vert size-ABS-COP
'I am not as tall as he, I am as tall as he' [MD-12/3/06-25]

In this construction it also seems possible to incorporate other bound roots, but there are no examples in the data For comparison meaning 'be (just) like' the consultants use the verbs *-ɪnok-* and *-ɪno-* 'resemble', as in (171) through (175)

(171) *pɪnokowonɪ pɪtɪ' mehowokon*
pɪ=ɪno-ko-wo=nɪ *pɪtɪ'* *mehewokon*
2SG=resemble-ABS-COP=1SG 2SG bad
'You resemble me in being bad' [LO/GP-1/8/04-48]

There are two forms of the verb 'resemble' The absolute form *-ɪnok-* is used when someone resembles someone else in some specific quality, whereas the simple form *-ɪno-* means that one person resembles another one in general appearance However, the two are also sometimes mixed up An alternative interpretation is the analysis of *-ɪnok-* as 'be similar' and *-ɪno-* as 'be identical, the same' In (172) and (173)

the simple verb *-ino-* is shown for the comparison of appearance, whereas in (174) and (175) it is the absolute verb *-ınok-*:

(172) *roenow te kotowor.*
ro=ino-wo *te* *kotowor*
3SGm=resemble-COP DEM1m buzzard
'It (the bird) looks just lıke a buzzard.' [DC-8/3/06-87]

(173) *roenowori.*
ro=ino-wo=ri
3SGm=resemble-COP=3SGf
'He looks just like her.' [LO/GP-1/8/04-47]

(174) *roenokowor to ropiri.*
ro=ino-ko-wo=ro *to* *ro=piri*
3SGm=resemble-ABS-COP=3SGm ART 3SGm=sibling
'He looks like his brother.' [RP-20/7/04-72]

(175) *to šorawok roenokowor to košawok.*
to *šorawok* *ro=ino-ko-wo=ro* *to* *košawok*
ART cusi 3SGm=resemble-ABS-COP=3SGm ART motacú
'The cusi palm looks like the motacú palm.' [EU-24/3/06-119]

The meaning difference of the verbs *-kovik-* 'catch up with' and *-inok-* 'resemble' is that the first verb has the connotation that the argument of comparison has just gained the quality or has just reached the size of the other argument, and that therefore, the state was preceded by a process. The verb *-ınok-* 'resemble' expresses a stable state. There is another example of a negative comparative clause with *-ino-* 'resemble' ın (176):

(176) *nka roenowor to nenšon, to nenšon mehewokon!*
nka *ro=ino-wo=ro* *to* *ni=enšon*
NEG 3SGm=resemble-COP=3SGm ART 1SG=flesh

to *ni=enšon* *mehewokon*
ART 1SG=flesh bad
'It isn't like my flesh; my flesh is ugly.' [RP-N3-62]

As was the case with the two other verbs, a quality can also be incorporated into the verb *-ino(k)-*, only that in this case it is argument incorporation, and the incorporated item is not followed by the absolute suffix *-ko* 'ABS', as in (177) and (178):

(177) *roenišewor. nka ninišewor.*
ro=ini-še-wo=ro
3SGm=resemble-vert.size-COP=3SGm

nka *ni=ini-še-wo=ro*
NEG 1SG=resemble-vert.size-COP=3SGm
'He is as tall as he. I am not as tall as he.' [MD-12/3/06-18/19]

(178) *nka marnironi, nka pihinokowoni koeč teč niničomaw.*
nka *mo-aroni* *nka* *pi=hinoko-wo=ni*
NEG PRIV-dress NEG 2SG=see-COP=1SG

koeč *teč* *ni=ini-čom-a-wo*
because DEM2m 1SG=resemble-skin-LK-COP
'I am not naked; you haven't seen me because my dress has the colour of my skin (lit. ... because you resemble the skin).' [MD-17/4/06-18]

The verb base used for incorporation must have been different in (177) and (178), as there is no linking morpheme in (177) after *-še* 'vertical size', but there is after *-čom* 'skin' in (178). Thus the base of incorporation in (177) has presumably been *-ino-*, and in (178) *-inok-*. Only in the latter case the absolute morpheme has been replaced.

The alternative to this kind of comparative construction is an expression involving the cleft *tiow* 'this is' (cf. 10.2.7). The expression is always introduced by the particle *ko*. In comparison it seems to resemble the Spanish *como* 'like', and it may indeed be a calque. On the other hand, the particle *ko* exists as a causal interrogative particle 'why', to which arguments get cliticized (cf. 9.4.1). Examples (179) and (180) illustrate how this construction is used:

(179) *ko tiow šintiri, koeč nikon eponoe' teč šintiri.*
ko *tiow* *šintiri* *koeč* *niko-no* *eponoe'* *teč* *šintiri*
like CLEFT hoatzin because eat-NOM1 leaf DEM2m hoatzin
'Just like the hoatzin (bird sp.), because the hoatzin (also only) eats leaves.'[157] [GP/LO-21/7/04-56]

(180) *nišowororew ko tiow košas.*
ni=šoworo~ro-re-wo *ko* *tiow* *košas*
1SG=jump~INT-jump-COP like CLEFT squirrel
'I jump around like a squirrel.' [JP-S6-6]

[157] This remark refers to me being vegan, not eating any animal products. Guillermina explains to her husband what I eat.

6. Verbal morphology

This chapter deals with the processes that occur within the verb base and the verbal morphemes attaching to the verb base. First some specific verb roots are shown, followed by a description of root affixation. Then a description of stem affixation follows. All these affixation processes on the different levels lead to a verb base, which again undergoes base affixation processes.

6.1 Verb roots, stems and bases

As discussed in 3.8.2, the verb has a complex morphological structure with the levels root, stem, and base. The verb root is the most basic lexical element of the verb. It is unanalyzable and does not necessarily carry a specific meaning. Verb roots are generally disyllabic, with some phonetic restrictions on the first syllable (6.2). Some verb roots are semantically nearly empty and only carry a meaning in combination with other affixes and in specific clause types (6.2.1). There are some lexical prefixes that may be attached to the roots, but also a number of suffixes, including incorporated classifiers or noun roots, which altogether derive the stem. Further there are stem prefixes and suffixes, which form the verb base, the complete unit of the verb to which aspectual and other base suffixes are attached. Most verbs are very complex, but the root, stem and base of many basic verbs are identical. The base is the citation form used for verbs in this grammar. It is represented with a hyphen on each side, because of the generally obligatory subject marking by a personal proclitic, and the possible addition of verbal morphemes after the verb base, e.g. *-ak-* 'sing'. This way they are also easily distinguishable from bound nouns, such as *-ak* 'aunt'. The general structure of the verb with these different levels is represented in Figure 6.1:

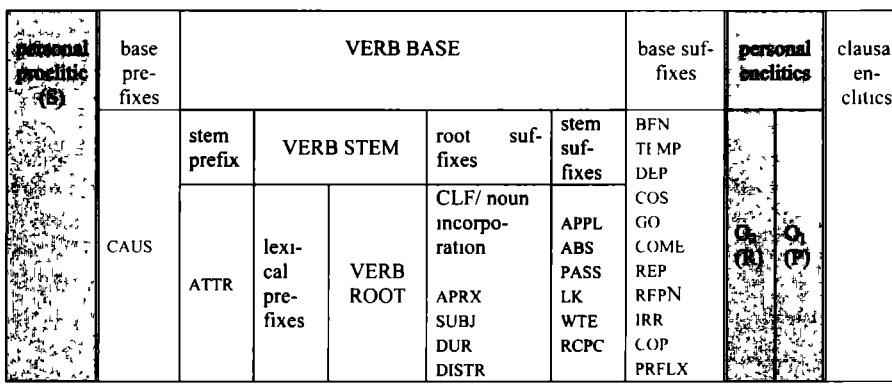

Figure 6.1 The structure of a verbal word

In the specific sections below the order of the different affixes is discussed in more detail. It does not make much sense to claim definite order classes for all the verbal affixes (cf. Wise 1986:581f.). This would "not account for co-occurrence restrictions nor for the fact that one suffix may occur in the position sometimes occupied by two suffixes" (Wise 1986:582). Furthermore, the same affix may occur more than once in one verbal word or in different positions according to its scope (Wise 1986:583). The application of Payne's (1978:20) suggestion of semantic grouping is also problematic

for Baure. A semantic group "valency" in Baure can be expressed by the valency increasing causative prefix (CAUS), or the benefactive suffix (BEN), which are both base affixes. But in addition, there is an applicative suffix (APPL), which increases valency, but is part of the base (as a stem suffix), while the root suffix for durative (DUR) may also have an effect on the valency. Nonetheless, the semantic grouping of the Campa (Arawak) affixes shows similarities to that of Baure affixes[158]. The semantically related morphemes are listed in the following tables, whereas in the morpheme description, they will be discussed in terms of their distribution.
Valency-affecting affixes are listed in Table 6.1:

form	gloss	name	valency-effect	place of attachment
i(mo)-	CAUS	causative	increase	base prefix
-ino	BEN	benefactive	increase	base suffix
-ko	ABS	absolute	(increase)	stem suffix
-čo	APPL	applicative	increase	stem suffix
-si	PASS	passive	decrease	stem suffix
-(ko)ko	RCPC	reciprocal	decrease	stem suffix
ko-	ATTR	attributive	decrease, stative verb derivation	root prefix
-i	DUR	durative	decrease, change of argument role	root suffix

Table 6.1: Valency-affecting affixes in Baure

Table 6.2 lists aspectual affixes, some of which may also have an effect on valency, as shown in Table 6.1.

form	gloss	name	place of attachment
-wana	DEP	departitive	base suffix
-wapa	COS	change of state	base suffix
-wo	COP	copula	base suffix
-po	PRFLX	perfective	base suffix
-pa	GO	intentional	base suffix
-pik	COME	motion toward	base suffix
-poreiy	REP	repetitive	base suffix
-i	DUR	durative	root suffix
reduplication	INT	intensification, iterativity	root affix

Table 6.2: Aspectual affixes in Baure

Another distinction was made in Chapter 5 between stative and non-stative suffixes (cf. Tables 5.3 and 5.4).

[158] The similarities are place of person marking – external to other affixation; causative is a prefix; only very few prefix positions, followed by the root, classifier or noun incorporation occurs right after the root, together with derivational suffixes, aspect follows other more specific affixes like directional, manner, and finally, sentential qualifiers follow all affixation.

On each level there are certain rules and orders in which affixes occur. Root suffixes occur in specific orders and combinations, while stem suffixes are mutually exclusive. Base suffixes again occur in certain orders and combinations. Some base affixes may also have been lexicalized within the base. Then the affixes occur in a different order than predicted. The base suffix *-po* 'PRFLX' may be part of the verb *-hirop-* 'dance', but generally it occurs right at the end of a verb with no other base suffixes following than *-wo* 'COP' (cf. Table 6.23 below). This means that other base suffixes may follow, as benefactive *-ino* 'BEN' and intentional *-pa* 'GO' in (1).

(1) *nihiropinoper.*[159]
ni=hiro-po-ino-pa=ro
1SG=dance-PRFLX-BEN-GO=3SGm
'I will dance with him (lit. for him).' [RP/EC-17/7/04-49]

In another example the base suffix *-wana* 'DEP' (departitive) has been lexicalized: *-nowana-* 'say goodbye (tell-DEP)'. As a base suffix, no root suffixes are allowed to follow, but as the morpheme has been lexicalized, it is reanalyzed as a root suffix (cf. also Doris Payne 1990:233f.). Therefore the durative suffix may follow, as in (2). In (3) the durative suffix *-i* occurs in its usual place, as a root suffix, and *-wana* as a base suffix in contrast:

(2) *ver pinowanoekpaw.*
ver pi=no-wana-i-ko-pa-wo
PERF 2SG=tell-DEP-DUR-ABS-GO-COP
'You already went to say goodbye to them all.' [DC-6/4/06-12]

(3) *nikonoewanaw.*
ni=kono-i-wana-wo
1SG=write-DUR-DEP-COP
'I write and leave.' [DC-10/4/06-48]

The base of a verb is central. The base affixes within the base and their order are unrelated to the affixes outside the base. For that reason I have decided to present the root, stem, and base affixation processes separately. The order of the affixes is then described within the unit in which they occur.

The main difference between affixes within the base and those attaching to the base is what is generally considered derivational versus inflectional[160] morphology. However, the function of each morpheme is also relative to the levels described. And when base affixes are attached to a unit, then certain affixes within that unit have to be reinterpreted as derivational instead of inflectional.[161]

[159] The verb base *-hirop-* 'dance' is only separated in the glosses in these examples in order to show the composition of the base. In general in the glosses, verb bases are presented as units.
[160] In 3.3 I already pointed out the difficulties to distinguish derivation from inflection in Baure affixation.
[161] This is for example the case when a verb has been derived by the causative prefix *i(mo)-* 'CAUS' and is then passivized, as shown in 3.3.1.

6.2. Verb roots

First I will discuss the basic shape of roots in 6.2.1, and then 6.2.2 focuses on empty verb roots, also ubiquitous in the Baure language.

6.2 1. The basic shape of verb roots

Verb roots in Baure are disyllabic, some are monosyllabic, and a few are trisyllabic. Roots are always bound and cannot occur as free morphemes. Some roots, but also complete bases have evolved into free particles preceding the verb. These preverbal particles are completely unmarked and show no similarities to verbs any longer, as described in Chapter 7. There are some phonetic restrictions on the first and the last syllable of the root: in general the first syllable can contain any vowel except for *o*, except for the sequence *so-*. The last syllable of a root frequently consists of one of the following root formatives[162]: *no, mo, ri, ro*. These formatives may have been root suffixes in earlier Baure language history, but now they cannot be reasonably separated from the roots. The root can thus be represented phonetically as in Figure 6.2:

$$\text{-}\,(C)V_1(CV)[CV]_3\text{-} \qquad \text{and} \qquad V_1 \neq [o];\ [CV]_3 \in \{no, mo, ri, ro, \ldots\}$$

Figure 6 2: The basic phonetic structure of the verb root

Even though there are some diphthongs in Baure, the verb root generally only contains simple vowels. As an exception, the diphthong *ia* occurs in a few roots.

Monosyllabic roots generally do not consist of a single vowel. Only the vowel *a* can function as a root together with certain root and stem affixes, as e.g. with the stem suffix *-ko* 'ABS'[163] in *-ak-* 'sing'[164] (cf. 6.2.1). Table 6.3 contains some examples of monosyllabic roots.

verb root	translation	verb root	translation
-čo-	know	*-ta-*	urinate
-no-	tell	*-wo-*	be in a place
-pa-	give	*-ya-*	cry
-sa-	defecate		

Table 6.3: Monosyllabic verb roots

The roots in Table 6.3 can all function as bases. However, other verb stems and bases may be derived from these roots with completely different meanings. There is no formal distinction between transitive or intransitive verb roots. While the verb root *-čo-* 'know' is transitive, and *-pa-* 'give' is ditransitive, the verb root *-ya-* 'cry' is intransitive.

[162] These syllables are called "core formatives" by Baptista & Wallin (1967:66).

[163] This has frequently been referred to as a "stem formative" (Baptista & Wallin 1967.66; Ott & Ott 1967 110 for Ignaciano) or "sílaba temática" (Olza Zubiri et al. 2002:555 for Ignaciano) etc

[164] The widespread vowel elision also occurs at the end of verbs. In addition there are a few phonological processes that frequently change, delete or replace the final (weak) vowel of a morpheme, so that the vowel *o* in *-ko* for example may also be there for epenthetic reasons, when morphemes follow with initial consonant. Therefore these weak or default vowels will not be represented in the citation form of the verbs when final

There are many more disyllabic verb roots, frequently including the mentioned formatives, cf. Table 6.4:

verb root	translation	verb root	translation
-amo-	take	*-šimo-*	arrive
-aro-	fly	*-širi-*	toast
-ero-	drink	*-tiri-*	know
-haro-	set fire	*-vesa-*	read
-himo-	burn	*-wono-*	send
-imo-	put	*-yono-*	walk
-ino-	be alike	*-yori-*	be angry

Table 6.4 Disyllabic verb roots

Only a smaller number of verb roots consist of three syllables (listed in Table 6.5), the majority of which may be further analyzable historically. Many of them include a lexicalized form *i-*, which may be related to the causative prefix *i-*. Some longer verb roots consist of an obligatorily reduplicated part, as e.g. *-čokorokoro-* 'rumble (stomach)' in Table 6.5.

verb root	translation	verb root	translation
-epeno-	die	*-iyino-*	teach
-epoha-	spy	*-išomo-*	stand/get up
-epoše-	appear	*-imono-*	buy
-inisa-	fish	*-čokoro-(koro)-*	rumble (stomach)

Table 6 5: Trisyllabic verb roots

6.2.2. Empty verb roots

There are four empty verb roots, which can be part of verbs with completely different meanings: *-k(i)e-*, *-kič-*, *-a-*, and the copula *-wo-*. The most frequently used empty verb root is *-ke-* 'EV', which may also be palatalized as *-kie-*. This root is mainly used to refer to an earlier mentioned verb, but it can also have specific meanings in combination with certain morphemes, listed in Table 6.6. The meaning of the whole verb is sometimes dependent on the clause type: imperative, interrogative, or declarative.

As indicated in Table 6.6, the empty verb root in declarative clauses mainly means 'say', as in (4):

(4) *"ho", rokew-hi teč hoven.*

ho	*ro=ke-wo=hi*	*teč*	*hoven*
INTJ	3SGm=EV-COP=QUOT	DEM2m	young

'"Ho", said the young boy.' [RP-N4-205]

However, in a declarative clause it can also mean 'do' and stand for another verb, mentioned before or afterwards in the context, as a kind of proform. In (5) the proform precedes the specific description of what happened:

(5) *tıow to nıkew ntır finawen ponšıš kık ntı' nan ačow to vıkošpoew nan*
tıow to nı=ke-wo ntır finawo-ın po-no-š~ıš
CLEFT ART 1SG=EV-COP 1SGP finado-deceased one-CLF human-one~INT

kık ntı' nan ačo-wo to vı=košpoe-wo nan
really 1SG over there and-COP ART 1PL=lie down-COP over there
'That is what I did with my deceased husband All alone I was over there and we lay down (over there) ' [AD/DC-D2-165/166]

Some of the interrogative constructions also function as proforms in declarative clauses (in subordination), as in example (6)

(6) *išer, rokew-hı, moeh tıow to ver kač nketoeropow nerıkı ne' ver*
išer ro=ke-wo=hı moeh tıow to ver kač
INTJ 3SGm=EV-COP=QUOT CERT CLEFT ART PERF GO

nı=ke-toero-po-wo nerıkı ne' ver
1SG=EV-do how-PRFLX-COP now here PERF
'Puhh, he said, certainly this is what I am going to do here now, yes ' [SIL-N3-107]

example	analysis	basic meaning	clause type
rokew 'He said '	*ro=ke-wo* 3SGm=EV-COP	say	declarative
rıkıewon? 'What is she doing?'	*rı=kıe-wo-no* 3SGf=EV-COP-NOM1	do	interrogative
pıke'eročowon? 'How did you drink (it)? /What did you drink (it) with?'	*pı=ke-'ero-čo-wo-no* 2SG=EV-drink-APPL-COP-NOM1	do	interrogative
ko rıkıen? 'What does she have? /What's up with her?'[165]	*ko rı=kıe-no* why 3SGf=EV-NOM1	be (mental)	interrogative
rıkıepon? 'Where is she?'	*rı=kıe-po-no* 3SGf=EV-PRFLX-NOM1	be (locative)	interrogative
rıkıepowon? 'Where is she going?'	*rı=kıe-po-won-no* 3SGf=EV-PRFLX-COP-NOM1	go	interrogative
kew! 'Go!'	*ke-wo* EV-COP	go	imperative
kewon! 'Come here!'	*ke-wo-no* EV-COP-NOM1	come	imperative

Table 6 6 The empty verb root *-k(ı)e-* EV'

165 This kind of question is referred to in 9 4 1 The particle ko actually means why , but it may originally have had the meaning 'what', for which reason the consultans translate the interrogative clause like that

The empty verb root *-kič-* can be confined to the meanings 'say' in declarative clauses, as in (7), and 'do' in interrogative clauses, as in (8), and it is presumably also the base of *rekičin* 'when?' (cf 9 4 7)

(7) *"boen, asoropaiy", rokičowor-hi*
boen asoropaiy ro=kičo-wo=ro=hi
well thank you 3SGm=say do-COP=3SGm=QUOT
' "Well, thank you", he said to him ' [RP-N11-51]

(8) *'yikičowon?" – "nokaw", rokew teč yonačon*
yi=kičo-wo-no noka-wo ro=ke-wo teč yonačon
2PL=say do-COP-NOM1 NEG-COP 3SGm=EV-COP DEM2m first
' "What are you (PL) doing?" – "Nothing", said the eldest (lit first one) ' [RP-N4-12]

The verb root *-a-* is presumably related to the linker *-a* 'LK', and is glossed the same way The root *-a-* can be part of many derived verbs, where the additional root and stem suffixes specify its meaning The combinations of *-a-* with different morphemes are listed in Table 6 7, they are independent of the clause type

example	analysis	meaning
rapa him wapoeri-ye 'He brought fish from the river '	*ro=a-pa him wapoeri-ye* 3SGm=LK-GO fish river-LOC	bring
rapawor 'He took it '	*ro=a-pa-wo=ro* 3SGm=LK-GO-COP=3SGm	take
vaporeiyop 'We go again '	*vi=a-poreiy-po* 1PL=LK-REP-PRFLX	go
to monči račow to koveči 'The child has a little dog '	*to monči ro=a-čo-wo to kove-či* ART child 3SGm=LK-APPL-COP ART dog-DIM	have (be with)
račkow to in 'It is full of water '	*ro=a-čo-ko-wo to in* 3SGm=LK-APPL-ABS-COP ART water	be full

Table 6 7 The linker *-a* 'LK as an empty verb root

Finally, the root *-wo-* 'COP' functions as a copula verb, as in (9), but even more frequently as a copular suffix on verbs (cf 6 5 2 4) The verb is generally only used for locative subordination

(9) *nisokia to kaye ne' rowow to niwer ne'*
ni=sokia to kaye ne' ro=wo-wo to ni=wer ne'
1SG=find ART street here 3SGm=COP-COP ART 1SG=house here
'I found the street where my house is here ' [JC-14/3/06-58]

For general existential clauses the non-verbal predicate *kwe'* 'exist' is used (cf 5 3 3), which has presumably also been derived from the copula morpheme However, there are also other derivations from the copula morpheme In combination with *-pa* 'GO' it can mean 'be somewhere else than home', as in (10)

(10) *tiow noiy piwopoeiyow*

tiow noiy pi=wo-pa-yi-wo
CLEFT there 2SG=COP-GO-LOC-COP
'That is where you are now, but it isn't your home any more ' [JC-6/4/0618]

Another combination *-koweko-* (presumably ATTR-COP-DUR-ABS) results in the meaning 'to be with', as in (11)

(11) *to yakopi rokowekow korvator ikiyipi-ye*
to yakopi ro=ko-wo-i-ko-wo korvator
ART candle 3SGm=ATTR-COP-DUR-ABS-COP tie

ikiyi-pi-ye
middle-CLF long&thin-LOC
'The candle is with a tie in the middle ' [RP-12/9/03-12]

The copula also served as the basis for the interrogative constructions *rowokowon?* 'How many?', described in 9 4 8

6 3 Verb root affixation
Verb root affixation includes lexical prefixes (6 3 1), reduplication (6 3 2), four root suffixes (6 3 3–6 3 7), and the incorporation of location (6 3 8)

6 3 1 Lexical prefixes
The lexical prefixes frequently found on verbs probably used to be quite productive, in a time when Baure had a stable system of prefix positions Now we can only identify the remnants of this system These prefixes have been called lexical, as they may possibly also be used as verbal roots themselves As there is no productive verb compounding otherwise in Baure, they have been interpreted as prefixes to the verb roots they attach to The lexical prefixes are listed in Table 6 8 below

The prefix status of the morphemes listed is still more or less hypothetical For some forms there is, however, more evidence, as for example for *eh-* 'out (of)?', which occurs in many verbs The other prefixes have mainly been identified on the basis of a few examples each

The prefix *ve-* 'undo' can presumably be attached to many more verbs, but it can only clearly be identified in the pair *-vehakia-* 'open' < *-hakič-* 'close' (cf 3 3 1) The prefix form may also have been *veh-*, only, the final glottal fricative has been assimilated when attached to roots with an initial *h* Possibly the verb *-veh(a)-* 'untie' is nothing more than the prefix used as a verb root itself, as in (12)

(12) *noka to ka ki'inon noveher*
noka to ka ki'ino-no no=veha=ro
NEG ART IND want-NOM1 3PL=untie=3SGm
'There was no-one who would untie him ' [SIL-N1-237]

The prefix *ha-* mainly seems to occur as a root, incorporating noun roots (cf 3 3 1) It is therefore possible to analyze it as a root meaning 'take off/out', as in *-hak-* 'draw

(water)'. This is still speculation, though. Possibly, it is used as a prefix, as perhaps in *-hačorik-* 'suck out blood'[166].

prefix	approximate meaning	examples	related forms
ve-	undo	*-vehakia-* 'open'	*-hakič-* 'close'
		-vetok- 'be able'	*-(ko)tok-* 'hold tight'
		-veha- 'untie'	
		-vehšač- 'undress'	
		-vehko- 'empty'	
ha-	off	*-hačorok-* 'peel'	*-čor* 'peel'
		-hačomoek- 'peel'	*-čom* 'skin'
		-hačorik- 'suck out blood'	
		-hak- 'draw (water)'	
epo-	back, down	*-epohawok-* 'go down (swelling)'	*-hawok-* 'swell up'
		-epokopoek- 'throw oneself down'	*-kopoek-* 'come down'
eh-	out (of)?	*-ehwo'in-* 'be content'	
		-ehmo'in- 'relax'	
		-ehwesa- 'jump into the water'	
		-ehewerek- 'throw out of the house'	*-wer* 'house'
		-ehvirik- 'take out'	*-virik-* 'tidy up, put away'
		-ehevıpoek- 'fall down'	*-poe-* 'down'
		-ehkasia-[167] 'remain'	*-kasia-* 'finish, terminate'
		-eh(h)owoki- 'come out of a hole'	*howoki* 'hole'
e-	verbalizer?	*-epiroč-* 'warm up'	*-pıro* 'fever'
		*-epiri-*CLF-*č-* 'share, cut in halves'	*piri-* 'half'
		*-ešie-*CLF-*a-* 'grind in *tacú*'	*-šie* 'trunc'

Table 6.8 Lexical root prefixes in Baure

The prefix *epo-* 'back, down' is used to derive the opposite *epohawok-* 'go down (swelling)' from the verb *-hawok-* 'swell up', as in example (13):

(13) *rohawokow, rephawokow.*
ro=hawko-wo *ro=ephawoko-wo*
3SGm=swell-COP 3SGm=swell.down-COP
'It swells up (the foot), the swelling goes down.' [JP-14/7/04-21/22]

[166] In Baure *ıtı* means 'blood'. The root **-čorık* is unknown to me.
[167] The verb *-kasıa-* also frequently means 'stay' and may be a Spanish loan from *quedarse* 'stay'.

The prefix *eh-* 'out (of)?' is ubiquitous and rather difficult to analyze. It is also part of the verb *-ehko-* 'wash', which can be analyzed as the root form *-eh-* (possibly related to the prefix) and the absolute stem suffix *-ko* 'ABS'. There is at least one complementary pair, illustrated in (14) and (15):

(14) *nivirikow te šep, te etip, ...*
ni=viriko-wo te šep te etip
1SG=store-COP DEM1m chivé DEM1m manioc.starch
'I am storing the chivé, the manioc starch, etc.' [MD-12/3/06-60]

(15) *ver ranpoekpa ropiria rehvirikier nonik.*
ver ro=an-poe-ko-pa ro=piria
PERF 3SGm=come.close-down-ABS-GO 3SGm=cut

ro=ehvirik=ro no=nik
3SGm=take.out=3SGm 3PL=eat
'When they were already coming close to go down (flying), he cut him (a piece of meat) and took it out so that they would eat.'[168] [RP-N4-177]

Finally, the prefix *e-* may well be a kind of verbalizer. The right-bound adjective *piri-* 'half' (cf. 4.9.1) can be verbalized by the linker *-a*, as in (15) *ropiria* 'he cut'. It can also be verbalized in a slightly different, but related meaning, as *-epiri-*CLF-*č-* 'share, cut in halves', cf. (16):

(16) *yepirimčokok.*
yi=e-piri-mo-čo-koko
2PL=?-half-CLF:woven-APPL-RCPC
'You share the fabric.' [GP/LO-21/7/04-90]

6.3.2. Reduplication

The reduplication of parts of the root or the complete root occurs in a number of lexicalized forms and marks iterativity or intensity. Reduplication is mostly progressive, as in the verb bases: *-yivirivirik-* 'tremble', *-yoporoporok-* 'shiver', *-čokorokoro-* 'rumble (stomach)', *-šoporiporek-* 'turn around and around', and *-siasiak-* 'toast, roast'. These verb bases cannot be used in a non-reduplicated form. The process of marking verbs for emphasis or intensity by reduplication is not fully productive. One has to learn which verbs can be reduplicated. Examples of progressive reduplication are (17) through (19) (cf. also 3.5). Example (17) is formed on the base of the verb *-išom-* 'stand, get up', (18) *-etoes-* 'be quiet', and (19) *-či'in-* 'be hungry'.

(17) *ač roešomomokopaw noiy šonki-ye.*
ač ro=išom~mo-ko-pa-wo noiy šonki-ye
and 3SGm=stand~INT-ABS-GO-COP there way-LOC
'And he stayed standing there on the road.' [RP-N3-188]

[168] In this narrative, one of the characters is taken by an eagle, which he has to feed with pieces of meat When all the meat is finished he cuts a piece from his own leg; this is what the example is referring to.

(18) *rietotoesowapa*
ri=eto~to-i-so-wapa
3SGf=be quiet~INT-DUR-APRX-COS
'She was very quiet ' [GP-11/8/04-97]

(19) *ričiči'inowapa*
ri=či~či-'ino-wapa
3SGf=be full~INT-SUBJ-COS
'She is already very full up ' [PO]

In each of the examples only (part of) the root is reduplicated, but this does not affect the root and stem suffixes, which are part of the base The verb base *-či'in-* 'be full up' contains the subjective suffix *-'ino* 'SUBJ', but only the root morpheme *či* is reduplicated

Not only intransitive verbs are reduplicated Example (20) involves the transitive verb *-kotok-* 'catch, grab'

(20) *rokotokotokpa tiporek*
ro=koto~koto-ko-pa *tiporek*
3SGm=catch~INT-ABS chicken
'He's going to catch chicken ' [RP-5/7/04-66]

Examples (21) and (22) show regressive reduplication of the verbs *-ya-* 'cry' and *-yak-* 'be ripe' Regressive reduplication may be phonologically conditioned, possibly by the initial glide in these cases

(21) *riyiyiyaw ti Hosebiasita*
ri=yi~yi~ya-wo *ti* *Hosebiasita*
3SGf=INT~INT~cry-COP DEM1f Eusebiacita
'Poor Eusebia cried and cried ' [JP-S1-4]

(22) *wokow kik royiyakow*
wokow *kik* *ro=yi~yako-wo*
not yet really 3SGm=INT~be ripe-COP
'It is not really ripe yet ' [DC-15/4/06-142]

The verb *-averoč-* 'go far' can be progressively reduplicated in two ways either the second syllable of the root or the last two syllables are reduplicated, as illustrated in (23) and (24)

(23) *naveroroečpa*
ni=avero~ro-i-čo-pa
1SG=go far~INT-DUR-APPL-GO
'I will go very far away ' [JC-27/8/03-87]

(24) *ver raveroveročkow to ewokoe'*
ver *ro=avero~vero-čo-ko-wo* *to* *ewokoe'*
PERF 3SGm=go far~INT-APPL-ABS-COP ART tree
'He went very far away from the tree ' [HC-27/7/04-78]

Of some verbs the stem or base affixes are reduplicated, which seems to be rather idiosyncratic Examples are (25) and (26) are based on the verbs *-koyepɪn-* 'converse with someone' and *-koephɪ-* 'be hidden away from someone'

(25) *nɪkoyepɪnpɪnkovɪ*
nɪ=koyepɪn~pɪn-ko-wo=pɪ
1SG=converse~INT-ABS-COP=2SG
'I am going to converse with you a lot ' [RP-19/8/03-22]

(26) *rokoephɪhɪn noɪy kakɪwoko-ye*
ro=koephɪ~hɪ-no *noɪy* *kakɪwoko-ye*
3SGm=be hidden~INT-NOM1 there woods-LOC
'He was very well hidden there in the woods ' [DC-21/3/06-54]

The verb base *-koyepɪn-* can be further analyzed as *-ko-ye-pɪ-no-* (ATTR-LOC-words-NOM1), and the verb base *-koephɪ-* can be analyzed as *-ko-ep-hɪ-* (ATTR-hide?-WTE?) It has been derived from the active verb *-ephɪ-* 'hide', but in both cases the morpheme combination seems to be fixed and probably interpreted as a unit

In some cases the reduplication of a syllable also derives a new meaning The verb *-torič-* 'scratch' has been derived into the form *-torɪtorɪk-* 'itch very much' (Baptista & Wallin 1967 54) The verb in (27) is also a reduplication of the verb *-ve(k)-* 'speak', with an additional morpheme *-ro*, only occurring in the reduplicated form

(27) *noveroverokow*
no=vero~vero-ko-wo
3PL=babble~INT-ABS-COP
'They (the children) are babbling ' [GP-4/7/04-27]

There is some evidence that reduplication used to be more productive, as many reduplicated verbs from the data of Baptista & Wallin are not accepted any more today by my informants Baptista & Wallin (1967 50) gave the verb *-kɪ'ɪn-* 'want' in the reduplicated form *-kɪkɪ'ɪn-* 'want very much', a form out of use today Many other forms are considered to be ungrammatical as well, as in (28) and (29)

(28) **nɪpɪnopɪnop,* **nɪpɪpɪnop*
nɪ=pɪno~pɪno-po *nɪ=pɪ~pɪno-po*
1SG=flee~INT-PRFLX 1SG=INT~flee-PRFLX \[JC-14/3/06-4/5]

(29) **nɪveɪyveɪy ɪnowapa*
nɪ=veɪy~veɪy ɪno-wapa
1SG=be hungry~INT-SUBJ-COS [JC-14/3/06-35]

Instead of reduplication, there are two other more common comparable strategies emphatic marking on the verb, as in (30) as opposed to (19), or the repetition of the whole verb form (31)

(30) *vičiʼınoekoe'*
vi=či'ino-ikoe'
1PL=be.full-EMPH
'We are very full up.' [JC-14/3/06-80]

(31) *nokačpow to powor ahinev, kač noyonop, noyonop, noyonop.*
no=kač-po-wo *to* *powor ahi-nev* *kač* *no=yono-po*
3PL=go-PRFLX-COP ART poor child-PL GO 3PL=walk-PRFLX

no=yono-po *no=yono-po*
3PL=walk-PRFLX 3PL=walk-PRFLX
'The poor children went away, the walked and walked and walked.'[GP-N7-8]

6 3.3. The approximative suffix -so 'APRX'
The approximative suffix *-so* is attached to adjectives, but not to nouns (cf. 4.9.5), something that adjectives share with verbs. This suffix can be attached to a verb root in order to downplay it or mark the approximation to a state or an action, as in (33) and (34), cf. (32):

(32) *to yor rokaviow.*
to *yor* *ro=kavi-wo*
ART monkey 3SGm=be.drunk-COP
'The monkey is drunk.' [RP-A3-2]

(33) *rokavisokow.*
ro=kavi-so-ko-wo
3SGm=be.drunk-APRX-ABS-COP
'He is tipsy.' [MD-12/3/06-36]

(34) *nokavisohew.*
no=kavi-so-he-wo
3PL=be.drunk-APRX-DISTR-COP
'They are all tipsy.' [MD-12/3/06-35]

The verb *-kavi-* 'be drunk' (32) is the base for *-kavisok-* 'be tipsy' in (33) and *-kavisohe-* in (34). Why the absolute suffix has been added in (33), is not clear[169]. The approximate suffix precedes the other root suffixes, such as *-he* 'DISTR' in (34). Similarly another stative verb base includes the root suffix *-'ino* 'SUBJ', following *-so* 'APRX' when both occur:

(35) *viveiy'inowapa, nen.*
vı=veiy'ino-wapa *nı=en*
1PL=be.hungry-COS 1SG=mother
'We are already hungry, mum.' [GP-N7-31]

[169] It may be related to phonology or transitivity, but it is sometimes difficult to predict the occurrence of *-ko* 'ABS'

(36) *niveiyso'inow.*
ni=veiy-so-'ino-wo
1SG=be.hungry-APRX-SUBJ-COP
'I feel like eating.' [MD-12/3/06-9]

The suffix *-so* can also be attached to active verbs under certain conditions, e.g. when the approximate suffix precedes an incorporated element, as in (37) through (39):

(37) *vespiaw.*
ve-so-pi-a-wo
1PL.speak-APRX-words-LK-COP
'We are telling lies.' [MC-3/7/04-13]

(38) *piti' pimaspo'ew.*
piti' pi=ma-so-po'e-wo
2SG 2SG=PRIV-APRX-head-COP
'You are crazy.' [DC-3/4/06-1]

(39) *nohaspiapik.*
no=ha-so-pi-a-pik
3PL=off?-APRX-CLF:long&thin-LK-COME
'They are coming in a caravan.' [MD-12/7/04-80]

This use of the approximative can replace an analytic construction for comparison 'V like' (as in (39)). The base of comparison is the incorporated noun or classifier.

For a regular productive derivation from active verbs, generally the subjective suffix *-'ino* is employed in addition, as in (40) through (43). The verb bases have been derived from *-ya-* 'cry', *-šim-* 'arrive', *-ha-* 'fart', and *-etorok-* 'leave, come out'.

(40) *nti' niyaso'inow.*
nti' ni=ya-so-'ino-wo
1SG 1SG=cry-APRX-SUBJ-COP
'I am close to tears.' [RP-8/7/04-69]

(41) *rošimso'inowapa.*
ro=šim-so-'ino-wapa
3SGm=arrive-APRX-SUBJ-COS
'He is already about to arrive.' [DC-6/4/06-17]

(42) *nihas'inow.*
ni=ha-so-'ino-wo
1SG=fart-APRX-SUBJ-COP
'I feel like farting.' [MD-12/7/04-44]

(43) *roti' veraper ač nti' ver netoros'inowapa.*
roti' ver-a-pa=ro ač nti' ver ni=etoro-so-'ino-wapa
3SGm PERF-LK-GO=3SGm and 1SG PERF 1SG=leave-APRX-SUBJ-COS
'He is already gone and I am already getting ready to leave.' [DC-6/4/06-20]

In (43) the absolute suffix of the base *-etorok-* 'leave' has been dropped, probably because the active has turned into a stative verb.

Another very frequent occurrence of the approximate suffix *-so* is found in weather verbs, accompanied with the weather stem suffix *-hi*, as in (44) and further discussed in 6.4.6.

(44) *rohaphapsohiow.*
ro=haphap-so-hi-wo
3SGm=drizzle-APRX-WTE-COP
'It is drizzling.' [LO/GP-15/7/04-20]

In weather verbs the approximate suffix does not seem to have any effect, since it seems to occur obligatorily.

6.3.4. The subjective suffix - 'ino 'SUBJ'

The suffix *-'ino* can generally be translated as 'want to', and thus could be called a desiderative suffix. However, the intention of the subject is generally less important or missing completely. This morpheme marks nearly all verbs involving emotion, sensation, and mental and bodily function as an obligatory part of the verb base. For the Baures *-'ino* is always related to the heart. Therefore *etoko'in* 'heart' also contains it. In a derivation with the subjective suffix this plays a role, as in (45):

(45) *rowono'inokoni.*
ro=wono-'ino-ko=ni
3SGm=send-SUBJ-ABS=1SG
'He sent me with his heart.' [DC-16/3/06-54]

Verbs containing the subjective suffix in their base are listed in Table 6.9:

form	translation	form	translation
-ki'in-	want	*-veiy'in-*	be hungry
-ah'in-	hurry up	*-či'in-*	be full up
-hamoro'in-	regret	*-haphap'in-*	cough
-aro'inok-	be sad (about)	*-aw'in-*	yawn
-pe'in-	be ashamed of	*-ewso'in-*	throw up
-hino'inok-	think	*-ha'in-*	be tired of
-aspiri'in-	remember	*-ehmo'in-*	relax
-emoro'in-	forget	*-ehe'in-*	have power
-topo'in-	assume (wrong)	*-tokono'in-*	feel cold

Table 6 9: Verbs containing the subjective suffix - *'ino* 'SUBJ'

Some of the verb bases in Table 6.9 may have been derived. At least *-hino'inok-* 'think' has been derived from *-hinok-* 'see'. The subjective suffix is more frequently used for derivation in combination with the approximate suffix (6.3.3). Only very few verbs can be derived with the subjective suffix alone, as (45) above and (46), which has been derived from *-ipik-* 'be afraid of'.

(46) *noepɪ'ɪnokovɪ*
no=ɪpɪ-'ɪno-ko-wo=pɪ
3PL=be afraid-SUBJ-ABS-COP=2SG
'They gave me a shock' [RP-19/7/04-51]

6 3 5 The durative suffix -ɪ 'DUR'

The stem suffix *-ɪ*, glossed as 'durative (DUR)' (Baptista & Wallin 1967 66), does seem to mark durativity, but it may also affect the valency and the roles of the arguments The durative meaning may be the original connotation, but it may then have led to the reinterpretation of certain derived forms, as will be shown below It is also possible that this suffix is related to the emphatic marker, which alternates between *-ɪ* and *-ɪkoe'* 'EMPH', but generally occurs exclusively at the end of words (cf (30))

The durative suffix is always attached directly preceding the stem suffixes *-ko* 'ABS' or *-čo* 'APPL', which determine the limits of the base Verb bases lacking this final stem suffix get it attached after the durative suffixation The durative suffix is generally assimilated, frequently as *-e* after a preceding *o* or *a* Example (48) is the durative form of the verb in (47)

(47) *ntɪ' nɪsompovɪ*
ntɪ' nɪ=sompo-wo=pɪ
1SG 1SG=hear-COP=2SG
'I hear you'

(48) *nɪsompoek*
nɪ=sompo-ɪ-ko
1SG=hear-DUR-ABS
'I am listening' [DC-10/4/06-77]

The verb base *-sompoek-* 'listen' has been derived from *-sompo-* 'hear' by inserting the durative morpheme *-ɪ* The durative verb *-sompoek-* 'listen' describes an action that lasts a bit longer than the simple verb *-sompo-* 'hear' (cf Comrie 1976 41) An additional effect that can be observed the durative verb is intransitive This valency decreasing effect can also be observed with other verbs, as e g *-išoerek-* 'cook, intr' < *-išoera* 'cook, tr' The verb *-nowana-* 'say goodbye' is transitive, as illustrated in (49), and the durative form *-nowanoek-* is intransitive (50) Other examples are listed in Table 6 10 below

(49) *pɪnowanapaporɪ*
pɪ=nowana-pa-po=rɪ
2SG=say goodbye-GO-PRFLX=3SGf
'You will say goodbye to her' [DC-6/4/06-8]

(50) *rɪnowanoekpap*
rɪ=nowana-ɪ-ko-pa-po
3SGf=say goodbye-DUR-ABS-GO-PRFLX
'She will say goodbye (to all in the village/ for good)' [DC-6/4/06-7]

As many intransitive verbs, the form in (50) is marked by *-po* 'PRFLX' No object can be marked on the verb, nor appear as an explicit NP Nonetheless, there are also durative verbs with object marking, as in (51)

(51) *pehmoekperi ač nka pamomaw teč koromok*
pi=eh-mo-i-ko-pa=ri *ač* *nka*
2SG=wash-CLF woven-DUR-ABS-GO=3SGf and NEG

pi=amo-mo-a-wo *teč* *koromok*
2SG=wash well-CLF woven-LK-COP DEM2m cloth
'You washed clothes for her and you didn't wash that cloth well '
[DC-17/4/06-62]

Generally, the verb *-ehmoek-* 'wash clothes' is used as an intransitive verb This is not related to the incorporated classifier, which does not exclude object marking However, in (51) there is object marking with the enclitic *-ri* '3SGf' The object is the person that is washed for (recipient), and not the patient that undergoes the washing The washing (patient) may not be referred to by an object enclitic on the durative verb, in contrast to the original verb *-ehma-* 'wash clothes' Thus there is a change in the semantic role of the marked object argument The same can be observed in other examples, as in (52) and (53)

(52) *niwonoekowori*
ni=wono-i-ko-wo=ri
1SG=send-DUR-ABS-COP=3SGf
'I am sending to her (something) ' [GP-9/4/06-1]

(53) *ropomoekperi*
ro=pomo-i-ko-pa=ri
3SGm=ask for-DUR-ABS-GO=3SGf
'He goes to ask for her (to get married) ' [GP-9/4/06-32]

The verb *-wono-* 'send' is transitive and the objects may be persons or things which are sent (patients) The derived form in (52) carries an object enclitic referring to a person as the recipient of what is being sent The same holds for (53) while the simple verb *-pomo-* generally means 'ask for something/ a favour', the derived form means 'ask for a person', in a marriage proposal

In Table 6 10 a number of durative derivations are listed The column referring to O shows the semantic role of the object (P=patient, R=recipient, h=human)

The durative suffix may thus also be analyzed as a kind of applicative suffix It is also possible that the derived verbs used to be intransitive, but have been reinterpreted with new human objects In general, human recipients are most likely to be marked on generally intransitive verbs, which are then used transitively

verb base	translation	valency	O	durative verb base	translation	valency	O
-sompo-	hear	2	P	*-sompoek-*	listen	1	–
-išoera-	cook	2	P	*-išoerek-*	cook	1	–
-amomo-	wash clothes well	2	P	*-amomoek-*	wash clothes well	1	–
-nowana-	say goodbye	2	P	*-nowanoek-*	say goodbye	1	–
-yino-	teach	2	P	*-yinoek-*	teach	1	–
-pono-	sow	2	P	*-ponoek-*	sow	2?, 1	–
-hinok-	see	2	P	*-hinoek-*	look/stare at, look for	2	P
-konok-	write one word	2	P	*-konoek-*	write	2	P
-imono-	buy	2	P	*-imonoek-*	sell (to someone)	2	R (h)
-ehmo-	wash clothes	2	P	*-ehmoek-*	wash (someone's) clothes	1 (2)	R (h)
-wono-	send (a person)	2	P	*-wonoek-*	send to a person	2	R (h)
-poma-	ask (someone) for something	2	P	*-pomoek-*	ask for (to marry)	2	P (h)

Table 6 10 Durative verb derivation

6.3.6. The distributive suffix -he 'DISTR'

The distributive suffix is related to verbal number. It is not exclusively attached to verbs, but also to nouns, in particular in relation to a location (cf. 4.8.3), where it means 'distributed over various N'. The distributive suffix *-he* can be attached to nearly any transitive verb with the meaning of a plurality or totality of objects. It frequently replaces an analytic way of saying 'all', as in (54) and (55):

(54) *roekomorohek to neč šiyenev.*
ro=ikomoro-he-ko *to* *neč* *šiye-nev*
3SGm=kill-DISTR-ABS ART DEM2PL fox-PL
'He killed all the foxes.' [RP-N11/III-16]

(55) *nokokahekowovi.*
no=koka-he-ko-wo=pi
3PL=laugh-DISTR-ABS-COP=2SG
'They all laughed at you.' [DC-8/3/06-13]

While *-he* refers to the plurality of the object (the foxes) in the transitive verbs in (54), on the intransitive verb in (55) it refers to the subject. The effect of *-he* can be ambiguous, but is usually interpreted from the context.

On intransitive verbs *-he* can refer to the subject (when plural), as in (55) and (56), or to the subject affected on every part of the body, as in (57), (58) and (59).

(56) *nokotɪvehew*
no=kotɪve-he-wo
3PL=be sick-DISTR-COP
'They are all sick ' [MD-10/8/03-28]

(57) *rotoromomohewapa*
ro=toro-mo~mo-he-wapa
3SGm=be clean-CLF woven~INT-DISTR-COS
'All of it is completely clean ' [JC-29/7/04-18]

The distributive can frequently be found on verbs referring to the state of the body, as in (58) and (59)

(58) *rokopɪrohew*
ro=ko-pɪro-he-wo
3SGm=ATTR-heat-DISTR-COP
'He has fever ' [DC-18/4/06-16]

(59) *ver nka nasorohewapa*
ver nka nɪ=asoro-he-wapa
PERF NEG 1SG=be strong-DISTR-COS
'I don't have much power any more ' [JC-13/8/03-67]

When *-he* occurs on a derived causative verb, it generally refers to the real agent of the action (which is then the syntactic object) It does not necessarily have to mark a plurality of directly marked participants, but the patient must be part of a plurality ('among others'), as in (60)

(60) *pɪmoešoerehekowonɪ*
pɪ=ɪmo-ɪšoere-he-ko-wo=nɪ
2SG=CAUS-cook-DISTR-ABS-COP=1SG
'You are making me cook (food) among others (i e there are more possible participants/cooks) ' [GP-11/7/04-56]

The distributive suffix does not really affect valency, but rather supports it or adds the interpretation of a syntactically external plurality or distribution, as was shown for example with the intransitive verbs or in (60)

6 3 7 The ordering of root suffixes

The morphological processes the verb root undergoes are reduplication (6 3 2) and the attachment of root affixes There are lexical prefixes, which may once have been more productive (6 3 1) The suffixes *-so* 'APRX', *-'ɪno* 'SUBJ', *-ɪ* 'DUR', and *-he* 'DISTR' can be attached to a root (cf 6 3 3 – 6 3 6) The order of these suffixes and their possible combinations are given in Table 6 11

-so	*- ino*	*-i*	*-he*
APRX	SUBJ	DUR	DISTR
x	x		
x		x	
x	x		x
x			x
	x	x	
	x		x

Table 6 11 Verb root suffixes and their possible order

In addition, nouns or classifiers may be incorporated right after the root as well Location is one specific kind of incorporation (6 3 8) Finally, nearly any of the base suffixes may be directly attached to a root, as has been pointed out above They may be followed by the durative and distributive suffix, but they generally do not co-occur with the approximative and subjective suffixes

6 4 Verb stem affixation

Verb stem and verb base are difficult to distinguish In general, the suffixes attached to a stem (in contrast to root suffixes) do not change much of the meaning, but rather affect the valency of the verb Stem suffixes are the attributive prefix *ko-* 'ATTR' and the following suffixes absolute *-ko* 'ABS', applicative *-čo* 'APPL', reciprocal *-koko* 'RCPC', passive *-si* 'PASS', and the weather, time and environment suffix *-hi* 'WTE' In general, all stem suffixes are mutually exclusive However, when reinterpreted as a root suffix, the applicative suffix *-čo* may co-occur with the stem suffixes, as in (67)

(67) *nokomiračkokow*
no=ko-mir-a-čo-koko-wo
3PL=ATTR-face-LK-APPL-RCPC-COP
'They met each other ' [RP-6/7/04-80]

The verb *-komirač-* 'meet' is formed with the applicative suffix *-čo*, which is a fixed part of the stem Therefore a stem suffix, like *-koko* 'RCPC' in (67) may follow

In general, the absolute suffix, which is a common part of many verb bases, is replaced by the other stem suffixes *-si* 'PASS', *-čo* 'APPL', and *-koko* 'RCPC' This means that verb bases are less fixed than stems are In (68) through (70) the same verb base *-viri-* 'store, tidy, put away' appears with different stem suffixes

(68) *niviriko w*
ni=viri-ko-wo
1SG=tidy-ABS-COP
'I am putting away something ' [DC-21/3/06-14]

(69) *niviričow*
ni=viri-čo-wo
1SG=tidy-APPL-COP
'I am getting ready ' [DC-21/3/06-15]

(70) *rokovirisi.*
ro=ko-viri-si
3SGm=ATTR-tidy-PASS
'It is put away.' [MD-5/4/06-8]

The stem is actually the meaning unit of the verb, but the verb base is the citation form here. The reason for this is that, even though the base may drop a stem suffix, as shown in (68) though (70), the presence or absence of a stem suffix may be the indicator for a different lexical entry. This means that with certain suffixes verbs can be ambiguous, because in one case the stem suffix is dropped, and in the other the form remains the same. But there are minimal pairs of verbs with and without a stem suffix, as e.g. *-ya-* 'cry' and *-yak-* 'be ripe'. Other minimal pairs are summed up in Tables 6.16 and 6.19.

In order to present a better overview of the levels distinguished, there are three examples of different verb bases presented, with the same root and different root and/or stem suffixes in Tables 6.12 through 6.14:

BASE					
	STEM				
stem prefixes	root prefixes	ROOT	root suffixes	stem suffixes	translation
		-hino-		*-ko-*	see
		-hino-	*-i-*	*-ko-*	search
		-hino-	*-'ino-*	*-ko-*	think
-imo-[170]		*-hino-*		*-ko-*	show

Table 6.12 Verb bases with the root *-hino-*

BASE					
	STEM				
stem prefixes	root prefixes	ROOT	root suffixes	stem suffixes	translation
		-haki-		*-čo-*	close
		-haki-		*-a-*	play flute
	-ve-	*-haki-*		*-a-*	open
-ka-		*-haki-*			be closed
-ko-	*-ve-*	*-haki-*			be open

Table 6.13: Verb bases with the root *-haki-*

[170] The causative prefix *imo-* is here interpreted as a stem prefix, as it can be regarded as relatively lexicalized.

BASE					
	STEM				
stem prefixes	root prefixes	ROOT	root suffixes	stem suffixes	translation
		-amo-			take
		-amo-	*-pik-*		bring
		-amo-	*-kori-*		grind
		-amo-	*-'ino-*	*-ko-*	make angry
		-amo-	*-mo-*	*-a-*	wash clothes well
		-amo-	*-mo-i-*	*-ko-*	wash clothes well (DUR)
		-amo-	*-pi-*	*-a-*	serve

Table 6.14: Verb bases with the root *-am-*

The linking suffix is a stem suffix, but will not be further described here. It is related to incorporation (cf. 5.4) and the stativity of the base (cf. 5.2).

6.4.1. The attributive prefix ko- 'ATTR'

The attributive suffix *ko-* has a negative counterpart, privative *mo-* 'PRIV'[171]. In 4.9.3 and 5.2.3 I showed that the privative prefix generally derives non-verbal predicates. The attributive prefix, on the other hand, is frequently found on different kinds of verbs. Most basic is the derivation of verbs from nouns by the simple prefixation of *ko-*. This is illustrated in (71) through (73) on the basis of the nouns *-haše'* 'hat', *-aroni* 'dress, clothes', and *-eyon* 'wife':

(71) *nti' nkahšew.*
nti' *ni=ka-haše-wo*
1SG 1SG=ATTR-hat-COP
'I am wearing a hat.' [RP-19/7/04-58]

(72) *nikaroniapa.*
ni=ko-aroni-a-pa
1SG=ATTR-dress-LK-GO
'I'm going to get dressed.' [GP-11/8/04-40]

(73) *ver rokoeyon.*
ver *ro=ko-eyon*
PERF 3SGm=ATTR-wife
'He is married.' [RP-19/7/04-77]

The derived verbs are generally intransitive and stative (supported by the linking morpheme in (72) before a non-stative verbal suffix). They are also inherently reflexive, and are transitivized with the applicative suffix, as illustrated in (74) through (76):

[171] These prefixes contain the weak vowel *o*; therefore the vowel can change due to vowel harmony or be assimilated (cf. 2.5.2, 2.5.3).

(74) *nɪkahašečor*
nɪ=ka-haše-čo=ro
1SG=ATTR-hat-APPL=3SGm
'I put him a hat on ' [GP-11/8/04-38]

(75) *nɪkaronɪčowor*
nɪ=ko-aronɪ-čo-wo=ro
1SG=ATTR-clothes-APPL-COP=3SGm
'I am putting him clothes on ' [RP-22/7/04-101]

(76) *ntɪ' nkoeyɪnočor*
ntɪ' nɪ=ko-eyon-čo=ro
1SG 1SG=ATTR-wife-APPL=3SGm
'I marry him (to some woman) ' [RP-19/7/04-80]

Nevertheless, some of the attributive verbs can also be transitive, but only when the subject is also the agent, as in (77) This form can be contrasted with (76), where the subject is actually causing the object to marry

(77) *rokoeyɪnowor*ɪ
ro=ko-eyon-wo=rɪ
3SGm=ATTR-wife-COP=3SGf
'He is married to her ' [RP-19/7/04-78]

The causative reading of (76) results from the combination of *ko-* 'ATTR' and *-čo* 'APPL' It could be translated as 'to make someone to be with', in contrast to the causative derivation (6 5 1 1), which refers to caused action and not to caused states However, the attributive prefix is also used for causative stative verbs derived from other verbs, as in (78), derived from *-ha'ɪn-* 'be tired', (79), derived from *-aparok-* 'break, intr ', and (80), derived from *-har-* 'burn, intr '

(78) *nɪkah'ɪnokovɪ*
nɪ=ko-ah'ɪno-ko-wo=pɪ
1SG=ATTR-be tired-ABS-COP=2SG
'I am tiring you ' [MD-12/7/04-43]

(79) *nkaparokow to hopɪ*
nɪ=ko-aparoko-wo to hopɪ
1SG=ATTR-break-COP ART jar
'I broke the jar ' [DC-3/4/06-17]

(80) *vɪkaharokpa*
vɪ=ka-haro-ko-pa
1PL=ATTR-burn-ABS-GO
'We are going to light a fire ' [LO/GP-13/3/06-10]

Whether this is really the same prefix, or if we are not in fact dealing with two prefixes *ko-* 'attributive' and *ka-*[172] 'transitivizer', is not clear

[172] There are also causative stative verbs with the form *ko-*, though

Very common is also the derivation of stative from active verbs with the help of the attributive prefix The active verbs *-ehevipoek-* 'fall down' and *-ipohi-* 'hide' were the source of the stative verbs in (81) and (82)

(81) *rokoehevipoek te'*
ro=ko-ehevipoek te
3SGm=ATTR-fall down DEM1m
'Was this thrown down?' [LO/GP-15/7/04-101]

(82) *nikoephiow*
ni=ko-ipohi-wo
1SG=ATTR-hide-COP
'I am hidden ' [GP/LO-21/7/04-105]

This kind of derivation is very productive and can be used with a number of transitive verbs More examples are listed in Table 6 15

active verb	translation	stative verb	translation
-hakič-	close	*-kahaki-*	be closed
-harič-	bind	*-kahari-*	be bound
-hawač-	soap	*-kahawa(k)-*	be clean
-vehakia-	open	*-kovehaki-*	be open
-ipohi-	hide	*-koepohi-*	be hidden
-ehevipoek-	fall down	*-kehevipoe(k)-*	be thrown down
-ahač-	ask	*-kahač-*	be asked

Table 6 15 Stative verb derivation with attributive *-ko*

This derivation is also closely related to the passive, described in 6 4 5

6 4 2 The absolute suffix -ko 'ABS'

The stem suffix *-ko* is very frequently part of a verb base It has been called 'absolute' in particular in analogy to the absolute derivation of unpossessed nouns (cf Payne 1991 397 and 4 3 1) When an argument is incorporated into a verb, it goes into this slot, replacing the absolute suffix, as shown in (83) and (84)

(83) *nišinikow to nipo'e*
ni=šini-ko-wo to ni=po'e
1SG=hurt-ABS-COP ART 1SG=head
'My head is aching ' [RP-19/7/04-104]

(84) *nišinipo'ew*
ni=šini-po'e-wo
1SG=hurt-head-COP
'My head is aching ' [RP-19/7/04-102]

In derived adjectives of class III the absolute form contains the absolute morpheme, and a classifier is again inserted into this slot and replaces the absolute suffix (cf

4.9.3). Therefore the absolute form can be regarded as the most neutral form of a lexeme, noun, adjective, or verb.

However, the suffix *-ko* on verbs fulfils many functions. First of all, there are minimal pairs of verb bases with the same stem, distinguished for its absence or presence, as listed in Table 6.16:

form	translation	form	translation
-er-	drink	*-erok-*	swallow
-ino-	resemble	*-inok-*	resemble someone in something

Table 6.16: Verb bases with and without the absolute suffix *-ko*

The two verbs have been derived from another by attaching the absolute suffix *-ko*. As to the pair *-ino-/-inok-* 'resemble', both verbs are transitive. The verb base *-ino-* means that someone (subject) resembles the appearance of someone else (object). The verb *-inok-* means that someone (subject) resembles someone else (object) in some specific quality, cf. (85) and (86):

(85) *roenowori.*
ro=ino-wo=ri
3SGm=resemble-COP=3SGf
'He looks just like her.' [LO/GP-1/8/04-47]

(86) *pinokowoni piti' mehowokon.*

pi=ino-ko-wo=ni	*piti'*	*mehewokon*
2SG=resemble-ABS-COP=1SG	2SG	bad

'You resemble me in being bad.' [LO/GP-1/8/04-48]

It is possible that the suffix *-ko* is similar to what Wise (1971) has describes as 'included' in Nomatsiguenga: the suffix *-ko* "specifies only that the action has some reference [to the participant]" (cited in Doris Payne 1990:223). The suffix *-ko* in Baure seems to be related to participating objects, but not in a syntactic sense. In general, *-ko* indicates that there is a possible other participant involved, but the verb does not necessarily have to be transitive. Intransitive verbs can also incorporate nouns or classifiers (cf. 5.4). Some intransitive and transitive verb bases including the absolute suffix are listed in Tables 6.17 and 6.18:

intransitive verb	translation	intransitive verb	translation
-ak-	sing	*-hirik-*	sit
-aparok-	break	*-imok-*	sleep
-aro'inok-	be sad	*-porok-*	ge lost
-epšok-	be born	*-potok-*	be wet
-haviak-	swim	*-wawak-*	bark

Table 6.17: Intransitive verb bases including the absolute suffix *-ko*

transitive verb	translation	transitive verb	translation
-arik-	grind	*-hinok-*	see
-asok-	help	*-ihek-*	comb hair
-ašok-	fell, cut tree, clear field	*-širık-*	grate
-hawok-	swell	*-verik-*	fish (with net)
-hik-	chew	*-wohik-*	steal

Table 6.18: Transitive verb bases including the absolute suffix *-ko*

The absolute suffix in Baure is mutually exclusive with the verb root suffix combination *-so-'ino-* 'APRX-SUBJ', and also with all the other stem suffixes: *-čo* 'APPL'[173], *-koko* 'RCPC', and *-si* 'PASS'. It is not incompatible with the weather and time suffix *-hi* 'WTE'. The suffix *-ko* 'ABS' is frequently added to a verb base derived by the durative suffix *-i* 'DUR' or *-so* 'APRX'.

6.4.3. The applicative suffix -čo 'APPL'

The applicative suffix *-čo* 'APPL'[174] in Baure is multifunctional, just like *ko-* 'ATTR' and *-ko* 'ABS'. It derives transitive from intransitive verbs. In this case the applicative usually replaces the absolute morpheme *-ko* 'ABS', cf. the verb pairs listed in Table 6.19:

intransitive verb	translation	transitive verb	translation
-porok-	get lost	*-poroč-*	lose
-wawak-	bark	*-wawač-*	bark at
-čoporiporik-	turn around	*-čoporiporič-*	turn around over/in something
-iwok-	shout	*-iwoč-*	shout at
-virik-	put away something	*-virič-*	tidy up something/ get ready

Table 6.19 Applicative derivation I

Many intransitive verbs do not include the absolute suffix *-ko* 'ABS', but can be transitivized by *-čo*. The intransitive source may have been derived by *ko-* 'ATTR' (cf. 6.4.1). The applicative is in this sense a causative state; compare the following pair of verbs:

(87) *nikoes.*[175]
ni=koes
1SG=wake.up
'I woke up.' [RP-19/7/04-115]

[173] The suffix *-ko* 'ABS' may co-occur with applicative *-čo*, when the latter is used as a root suffix

[174] This suffix is homophonous with the action nominalizer *-čo* 'NOM2'.

[175] The verb *-koes-* 'wake up' has presumably been derived from *ko-* 'ATTR' and the reduced form of *-kıs* 'eyes' < *-ıs*

(88) *piti' pikoesčini.*
piti' pi=koes-či=ni
2SG 2SG=wake.up-APPL=1SG
'You woke me up.' [RP-19/7/04-117]

The vowel of the suffix *-čo* 'APPL' is weak and changed according to vowel harmony (cf. 2.5.3), which leads to the change of *-čo* into *-či* in (88). Some attributive verbs combinable with *-čo* are listed in Table 6.20:

intransitive verb	translation	transitive verb	translation
-karoni-	wear/put on clothes	*-karonič-*	put someone clothes on
-kospot-	wear/put on shoes	*-kospotoč-*	put someone shoes on
-koeyon-	be married (with wife)	*-koeyinč-*	marry someone with a woman
-kowyo-	take a bath	*-kowyič-*	bath someone
-koes-	wake up	*-koesč-*	wake someone up
-kotive-	be sick	*-kotiveč-*	make someone sick

Table 6.20: Applicative derivation II and III

The applicative is also a productive verbalizer. It occurs in all Spanish loan verbs as an obligatory final part of the base, as in (89) (*-awantač-* < Sp. *aguantar*):

(89) *ač teč kotis nka rawantačow.*
ač teč kotis nka ro=awanta-čo-wo
and DEM2m lizard NEG 3SGm=bear-APPL-COP
'And the lizard didn't bear the situation.' [RP-N2/II-31]

The applicative also verbalizes nouns, cf. Table 6.21:

noun	translation	verb	translation
haw	soap	*-hawač-*	put soap on
šir(a)?	lock	*-širač-*	put a lock on
havi	paddle	*-havič-*	paddle
haki	door	*-hakič-*	close
wer	medicine	*-weroč-*	cure (apply medicine)
harı	stripe, thread	*-harič-*	tie someone

Table 6.21 Applicative verbalization of nouns

It can also verbalize some adjectives, like *hen-* 'good' and *mehewo(kon)* 'bad', as in (90) and (91):

(90) *kwore' noiy ani-ye herik ito rohenčow to roweri.*
kwore' noiy ani-ye herik ito ro=hen-čo-wo
exist.3SGm there sky-LOC maybe PROG 3SGm=good-APPL-COP

to *ro=weri*
ART 3SGm=house
'He is there high above; maybe he is repairing (lit. making good) the house.'
[HC-L-60]

(91) *"aiy", rokičowoni. "ver pimehewočini."*
aiy *ro=kičo-wo=ni* *ver* *pi=mehewo-či=ni*
INTJ 3SGm=say.do-COP=1SG PERF 2SG=bad-APPL=1SG
' "Ayay", he said to me. "You destroy me (lit. make me bad)!" '
[AD/DC-D2-221]

The applicative can frequently be analyzed as instrumental, as in interrogative predicates asking for a manner or way 'how?', discussed in 9.4.6.

6.4.4. The reciprocal suffix -(ko)ko 'RCPC'

The reciprocal suffix *-koko* can be attached to transitive verbs, when "two participants equally act upon each other, i.e., both are equally AGENT and PATIENT" (Payne 1997:200f.). This is only possible with plural subjects in Baure, cf. example (92):

(92) *nowečkokow to simorinev.*
no=weč-koko-wo *to* *simori-nev*
3PL=fight-RCPC-COP ART pig-PL
'The pigs are fighting (amongst themselves/ against each other)'
[HC-2/7/04-16]

The reciprocal suffix is probably a reduplication of the absolute suffix *-ko*[176]. More examples are (93) and (94):

(93) a. *noekomorikovi.*
no=ikomori-ko=vi
3PL=kill-ABS=2SG
'They kill us.'
[JP-N9-47]

b. *to ka'anonev noekomorikokow.*
to *ka'ano-nev*
ART animal-PL
no=ikomori-ko-ko-wo
3PL=kill-ABS-RCPC-COP
'The animals are killing each other.'
[RP-7/7/04-61]

(94) a. *nokonompeawovi.*
no=konompea-wo=vi
3PL=write.letter-COP=1PL
'They are writing us letters.'
[HC-13/9/03-38]

b. *noti' nokonompeakokow.*
noti' *no=konompea-koko-wo*
3PL 3PL=write.letter-RCPC-COP
'They are writing letters to each other.'
[RP-20/7/04-52]

The reciprocal is very different from the reflexive. Unlike in other languages (Payne 1997:200–203), the Baure reciprocal *-koko-* cannot be used to express reflexive action. Thus, there is no ambiguity in the sense that a reciprocal verb could be interpreted as a reflexive. No additional object marking is possible on reciprocal verbs.

[176] The same can be observed in Ignaciano, where a stem formative is *-KA*, and the reciprocal suffix *-KAka* (cf. Ott & Ott 1967 104, 110)

6.4.5. The passive suffix -si 'PASS'

Baure has a construction that may be interpreted as a regular passive. It involves the combination of attributive *ko-* and passive *-si*[177]. In 6.4.1 I have shown how *ko-* can derive stative from active verbs. The passive construction is formally also stative, with an unknown agent (*-si* 'PASS'), causing the state. The state is always the result of an action, since the verbs that undergo passivization are only active transitive verbs. In (95) the active verb *-virik-* 'put away' can be compared to the stative and the passive verb in (96):

(95) *nivirikow te šep.*
ni=viri-ko-wo *te* *šep*
1SG=put.away-ABS-COP DEM1m chivé
'I put away the chivé.' [MD-12/3/06-60]

(96) *rokoviriow; rokovirisi.*
ro=ko-viri-wo *ro=ko-viri-si*
3SGm=ATTR-put.away-COP 3SGm=ATTR-put.away-PASS
'It is put away; it has been put away (by someone).' [MD-5/4/06-7/8]

As mentioned above, the passive suffix *-si* is part of the verb base, and replaces the base final absolute morpheme (and other base suffixes), if present. The absolute suffix is usually also dropped in the stative verb (96). The subject of the stative and the passive verb is the undergoer.

The passive form in Baure agrees with the definitions given in Payne (1997:204–209) in all respects. The agent is omitted, and the other core participant (undergoer, object of the active verb) is moved into the regular verbal subject position. Even though the verb seems semantically transitive, it "possesses any and all the language-specific formal properties of intransitive verbs" (Payne 1996:204). In Baure we are thus dealing with a personal passive[178], which means that there is always an agent of the action implied, even though it cannot be mentioned in the same clause, not even in an oblique position. The only argument expressed explicitly is the subject of the passive verb in (97):

(97) *ver to kanikon rokonisi, ač viti' nka vitiriow kon to ka nikon.*
ver *to* *kanikon* *ro=ko-ni-si* *ač* *viti'* *nka*
PERF ART food 3SGm=ATTR-eat-PASS and 1PL NEG

vi=tiri-wo *kon* *to* *ka* *niko-no*
1PL=know-COP who/what ART IND eat-NOM1
'The food has already been eaten, and we don't know who ate (it).'
[RP/EC-17/7/04-116]

[177] The circumfixal construction of the passive in Baure is surprisingly similar to the passive construction in Tariana (Aikhenvald 2003:258–262)

[178] In the tagmemic grammar sketch, Baptista & Wallin (1967:66) call the morpheme *-si* "indefinite, pseudo passive" marker.

Example (97) also shows the meaning this passive form has 'someone did it, but we don't know who' The agent is implied, but can never be explicitly expressed, as illustrated in (98)

(98) *nikosiaponosiow *noti'*
ni=ko-siapono-si-wo *noti'*
1SG=ATTR-catch up with-PASS-COP 3PL
'I was caught up with/overtaken (*by them) ' [GP-9/4/06-56]

The only argument allowed in (98) is *nti'* '1SG', which refers to the subject

The passive in Baure is a backgrounding passive (cf Foley & Van Valin 1985 318–331) By omission of the agent its role is downplayed, and the patient or undergoer is put in special focus, in contrast This is frequently reflected by the position of the NP referring to the patient In the active clause in (99) *to čičorop* 'the bean(s)' follows the verb and is not in focus In (100) *to čičorop* is turned into the subject and precedes the verb, where it is in focus

(99) *nipapa to čičorop*
ni=papa *to* *čičorop*
1SG=harvest beans ART bean
'I harvest beans ' [RP-21/7/04-62]

(100) *to čičorop ver rokopasi*
to *čičorop* *ver* *ro=ko-pa-si*
ART bean PERF 3SGm=ATTR-harvest beans-PASS
'The beans have been harvested ' [RP-21/7/04-68]

The passive forms are not used frequently, though, and they mainly had to be elicited Passive verbs also behave like other intransitive stative verbs, and must have the linker *-a* attached before non-stative morphemes can be suffixed (101), just like all other intransitive verbs Stative suffixes are attached without the linker, as in (98)

(101) *nikoiyrinsiapa, noti' noyoriow*
ni=ko-yor-ino-si-a-pa *noti'* *no=yori-wo*
1SG=ATTR-be angry-BEN-PASS-LK-GO 3PL 3PL=be angry-COP
'I will be told off, they are angry ' [MD-3/4/06-8]

Presumably not all passive verbs can automatically be used as simple stative verbs as well The verb *-nik-* 'eat' e g always implies an agent, and the stative verb form is obviously not used, but only the passive *-konisi-* 'be eaten by someone'

In Table 6.22 all passive forms in the fieldwork data are listed.

passive form	transitive verb	translation
-ko-siapono-si-	*-siapono-*	overtake, catch up
-ko-yorin-si-	*-yorın-*	tell off
-ko-ečoera-si-	*-išoera-*	cook
-ko-wno-si-	*-wono-*	send
-ko-viri-si-	*-virik-*	put away
-ko-emono-si-	*-emonik-*	like, appreciate
-ko-emo-kopoe-si-	*-kopoek-*	come down
-ko-ehevipoe-si-	*-ehevipoek-*	fall
-ko-wyi-si-	*-woyik-*	make
-ko-epimima-si-	*-epimima-*	soak cloth
-ko-etopoe-si-	*-etopoek-*	sweep
-ko-poria-si-	*-poria-*	sew
-ko-ni-si-	*-nik-*	eat
-ko-ehmo-si-	*-ehmok-*	keep off
-ko-pa-si-	*-papa-*	harvest beans
-ki-eri-si-	*-er-*	drink
-ko-ha-si-	*-hak-*[179]	harvest maize
-ko-somero-si-	*-somerok-*	harvest manıoc
-ko-ewe-si-	*-ewek-*	harvest cotton
-ko-ekomorı-si-	*-ikomorik-*	kill
-ko-ve-si-	*-vek-*	speak

Table 6.22: All passive verbs in the data

6.4.6. The weather, time, and environment suffix -hi 'WTE'

The suffix *-hi* is nearly exclusively used with weather verbs. A stative verb referring to the temperature or humidity of a person or thing can be derived as a weather verb by this morpheme. This is illustrated by the contrast between (102) and (103):

(102) *rotokonos'hiw ahikowon.*
ro=tokono-so-hi-wo *ahikowon*
3SGm=be.cold-APRX-WTE-COP morning
'This morning it was cold.' [LO/GP-15/7/04-26]

(103) *pitokonohew.*
pi=tokono-he-wo
2SG=be.cold-DISTR-COP
'You are cold.' [LO/GP-15/7/04-2]

The weather suffix *-hi* generally co-occurs with the approximative suffix *-so*, as in (102). Other weather verbs are given in (104) through (106):

[179] The verb *-hak-* can also mean 'draw (water)'.

(104) *ver kač romorosohɪ*
ver *kač* *ro=moro-so-hɪ*
PERF GO 3SGm=dry-APRX-WTE
'The dry season is already coming' [LO/GP-13/3/06-5]

(105) *rokopɪros'hɪow*
ro=ko-pɪro-so-hɪ-wo
3SGm=ATTR-heat-APRX-WTF-COP
'It is hot' [JP-14/7/04-17]

(106) *(ro)vɪros'hɪw*
ro=vɪro-so-hɪ-wo
3SGm=wind-APRX-WTE-COP
'It is very windy' [LO/GP-15/7/04-15]

The morpheme combination *-so-hɪ* 'APRX-WTE' can also be attached to the verb *-ɪmɪr-* 'very' in order to refer to the weather In this case it occurs in combination with another verb or noun that specifies the kind of weather, as in (107)

(107) *roemɪros hɪkow te rosowe'*
ro=ɪmɪro-so-hɪ-ko-wo *te* *ro=sowe*
3SGm=very-APRX-WTE-ABS-COP DEM1m 3SGm=rain
'It is raining very much' [LO/GP-15/7/04-10]

Even though theses morphemes always occur with weather verbs, the suffix *-hɪ* 'WTE' and the morpheme combination *-so-hɪ* 'APRX-WTE' have a more general meaning They are related to time, environment, and weather The statement in (104) is not only about the weather, but refers to the season The verb in (108) refers to the rainy season (with a lot of water)

(108) *ročarosohɪow*
ro=čo-aro-so-hɪ-wo
3SGm=big-CLF liquid-APRX-WTE-COP
'It's the rainy season' [RP-20/7/04-134]

Some verbs related to weather and sunrise or dawn can be used either in the simple form with *-so* 'SUBJ' or with both morphemes *-so-hɪ* 'SUBJ-WTE' suffixed The difference is that the latter construction refers to a longer time span, as argued by the speakers Compare the following examples

(109) *rohaphapsoew*
ro=hap~hap-so-ɪ-wo
3SGm=drizzle~INT-APRX-DUR?-COP
'It is drizzling' [LO/GP-15/7/04-16]

(110) *rohaphapsohɪw*
ro=hap~hap-so-hɪ-wo
3SGm=drizzle~INT-APRX-WTE-COP
'It is drizzling all days long' [LO/GP-15/7/04-20]

(111) *ver roharewapa*
ver ro=hare-wapa
PERF 3SGm=light-COS
'It's already getting light (sunrise)' [RP-4/8/03-3]

(112) *roharesohiow*
ro=hare-so-hi-wo
3SGm=light-APRX-WTE-COP
'It's light outside' [MD-12/7/04-78]

When referring to the time that has passed, the same morpheme combination is also used, though not only attached to verbs

(113) *čoshiwapa*
čo-so-hi-wapa
big-APRX-WTE-COS
'It is already late' [LO/GP-13/3/06-1]

(114) ver neriki eposohiwapa
ver neriki e-po-so-hi-wapa
PERF now UNSP-other-APRX-WTE-COS
'These are different times nowadays' [DC-8/3/06-16]

Finally, the suffix *-hi* can also be found on a few verb bases, where it might be related to the environment or perhaps to something still more abstract The verbs *-epohi-* 'hide', *-hišhi-* 'smell (a smell in the air, not something concrete)', and *-ehewereshik-* 'throw out from house' are examples, cf (115) and (116)

(115) *nka nihišhikow nkočapsirikiow*
nka ni=hiš-hi-ko-wo ni=kočap-siriki-wo
NEG 1SG=smell-WTE-ABS-COP 1SG=be blocked-nose-COP
'I can't smell, my nose is blocked' [DC-16/4/06-12]

(116) *nokoehewereshikow*
no=ko-ehe-were-so-hi-ko-wo
3PL=ATTR-out-house-APRX-WTE-ABS-COP
'They are thrown out of the house' [JP-14/7/04-13]

6 5 Verb base affixation
Verb base affixation involves three classes valency-increasing affixes in 6 5 1, aspectual suffixes in 6 5 2, and mood markers in 6 5 3

6 5 1 Valency-increasing affixes
The two valency-increasing base affixes are the causative prefix *-i(mo)* 'CAUS' and the benefactive suffix *-ino* 'BEN' Above it was described how some other root and stem affixes also affect valency However, these two base affixes increase the valency and have obligatory object marking, which is not observed with the applicative suffix, for example The causative and benefactive generally do not change the meaning of the verb to a great extent, at least relatively less than root and stem af-

fixes. The two affixes are at the border between the derivational and inflectional domain. The causative prefix directly precedes the verb base, and the benefactive directly succeeds it. Other base affixes occur external to these, thus before the causative, and after the benefactive. Their positions are illustrated in Figure 6.3:

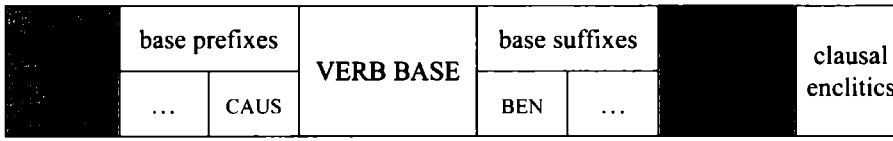

Figure 6.3: Valency-increasing base affixes

6.5.1.1. The causative prefix i(mo)- 'CAUS'

The causative form adds an object to the verb phrase: the so-called causee. The subject proclitic takes the role of the causer; the causee or performer of the action is the object enclitic. A transitive verb may thus be turned into a ditransitive verb. It should be possible to add another object of the action, which follows the personal object enclitic (even though there are no examples in the data). With ditransitive verbs the order of the objects is recipient–patient (cf. 5.1.3). In causative verbs this holds for causee–patient as well, as in (117):

(117) *pimoekomorikonir*
pi=imo-ikomoriko=ni=ro
2SG=CAUS-kill=1SG=3SGm
'You make me kill it/him.'

The causative in Baure is marked by one of two prefixes: *i-/imo-*. The choice is phonologically driven: monosyllabic or disyllabic verbal stems tend to get the shorter form of the causative prefix, i.e. *i-*, whereas the majority of verbs (many of them derived) get the causative prefix *imo-*. The forms derived by *i-* are generally more lexicalized, as in (118), and object marking is not obligatory.

(118) *ninikiri.*
ni=i-nik=ri
1SG=CAUS-eat=3SGf
'I feed her (lit. I make her eat).' [GP-11/8/04-79]

It is sometimes difficult to identify the short causative prefix *i-*, since it is phonologically assimilated by the personal proclitics, which tend to end in the vowel *-i* (cf. Table 8.9), except for two of them, as in (119) and (120):

(119) *nisiap ač retorok nkomiračowor.*
ni=siap *ač* *ro=etoroko* *ni=komiračo-wo=ro*
1SG=enter and 3SGm=leave 1SG=meet-COP=3SGm
'I entered and he left when I met him.' [RP-1/9/03-68]

(120) *etošani te netopoekoč nɪsɪaper.*
eto-ša=ni te ni=etopoeko-čo ni=i-siap=ro
finish-IRR=1SG DEM1m 1SG=sweep-NOM2 1SG=CAUS-enter=3SGm
'When I finish sweeping, I put it in (back into the room).' [RP/EC-17/7/04-87]

Other verbs to which this causative prefix is attached are *-nik-* 'eat', *-šim-* 'arrive', *-pin-* 'flee (run)', *-hirop-* 'dance', *-yon-* 'walk'. I will assume that the short causative prefix has been lexicalized in the following verbs: *-išoera-* 'cook', *-ikomorik-* 'kill', *-ɪšom-* 'stand up', and *-iyin-* 'teach'. The causative prefix *imo-* is used with most verbs, as e.g. in (121) and (122):

(121) *pimokotorekowonɪ.*
pi=imo-kotoreko-wo=nɪ
2SG=CAUS-work-COP=1SG
'You make me work.' [RP-7/7/04-37]

(122) *pimokokavi.*
pi=imo-koka-wo=pi
2SG=CAUS-laugh-COP=2SG
'You make me laugh.' [RP-7/7/04-10]

In some examples this causative form may also have been lexicalized, as in *-ɪmohinok-* (CAUS-see) 'show', *-ɪmohɪrik-* (CAUS-sit) 'seat', or simply in combination with other grammatical morphemes in example (123):

(123) *nimowanapi*
ni=imo-wana=pɪ
1SG=CAUS-DEP=2SG
'I leave you.' [RP/EC-D3-8]

The causative can be extended to mean to help or assist someone do something, as was also argued for one causative form in the Arawak language Nomatsiguenga (Wise 1986: 593), cf. (124):

(124) *roempihinokiawor.*
ro=ɪmo-pihino-ki-a-wo=ro
3SGm=CAUS-cross-CLF:diameter-LK-COP=3SGm
'He is helping him cross the river (lit. He makes him cross the river).'
[RP-7/7/04-125]

The distinction between two different kinds of causative affixes, as in Nomatsiguenga (Wise 1986: 593) is not observed in Baure, even though a kind of co-agent causative can be derived with the applicative suffix (cf. 6.4.3). It is also possible that the two causative affixes *i-* and *imo-* originally were semantically or functionally different morphemes. But now they should be analyzed as allomorphs and in complementary distribution.

There is also an analytic construction with the verb *-won-* 'send' which can replace the morphological causative, compare (125) and (126):

(125) *rowononɪ royonpoek*
ro=wono=nɪ ro=yonpoek
3sgm=send=1sg 3sgm=walk barefoot
'He is making me walk barefoot (lit He sends me to walk barefoot) '
[GP-9/4/06-107]

(126) *rotɪ' roemoyonpoekowonɪ*
rotɪ' ro=ɪmo-yonpoeko-wo=nɪ
3SGm 3SGm=CAUS-walk barefoot-COP=1SG
'He is making me walk barefoot ' [GP-9/4/06-108]

6 5 1 2 The benefactive suffix -ɪno 'BEN'
The benefactive suffix *-ɪno* 'BEN' also changes the role of the cross-referenced object, the person for the benefit of whom the action is performed, or the recipient of the product of the action (beneficiary) All transitive verbs can thus be changed into ditransitive verbs that show double object marking, just like the ditransitive verb *-pa-* 'give' Examples of benefactive verbs are (127) and (128)

(127) *nkɪ'ɪnow nakpɪnopɪ*
nɪ=kɪ'ɪno-wo nɪ=ak-pɪ-ɪno=pɪ
1SG=want-COP 1SG=sing-words-BEN=2SG
'I want to sing (a verse) for you ' [JP-9/7/04-2]

(128) *pɪtoenonɪ*
pɪ=ta-ɪno=nɪ
2SG=weed-BEN=1SG
'You weed for me ' [GP-11/7/04-37]

Double object marking can be observed in (129)

(129) *nɪwo'ɪkɪnovɪr*
nɪ=wo'ɪk-ɪno-wo=pɪ=ro
1SG=butcher-BEN-COP=2SG=3SGm
'I butcher it for you ' [GP/LO-21/07/04-96]

After verb bases ending in the syllable *-no*, the benefactive suffix is reduced to *-no* (instead of assimilation as *-eno* after *-o*), as in (130)

(130) *roemonononɪ nɪsopot*
ro=ɪmono-no=nɪ nɪ=sopot
3SGm=buy-BEN=1SG 1SG=shoe
'He bought shoes for me (lit He bought me my shoes) ' [GP-11/7/04-25]

The same morpheme may also have a malefactive meaning, as in (131) and (132), depending on the verb's semantics

(131) *novepɪnonɪ*
no=vepɪ-ɪno=nɪ
3PL=tell lies-BEN=1SG
'They are lying to me ' [RP-7/7/04-1]

(132) *nka vıyorinokokow*
nka *vi=yori-ino-koko-wo*
NEG 1PL=be.angry-BEN-RCPC-COP
'We don't argue (lit. We aren't angry with each other).' [MD-2/4/06-16]

The benefactive is thus like an applicative suffix, which in some cases simply derives a transitive verb from an intransitive one, and it competes with the more general applicative suffix *-čo*. In (132) the valency has been reduced again by the reciprocal suffix *-koko* 'each other'.

The speakers frequently use the possessive pronouns as an analytic form to replace the morphological benefactive, as in (133):

(133) *nayawor vitir vitı' – nayınovi – nayinovir.*
ni=aya-wo=ro *vitir* *viti'* *ni=ay-ino=vı*
1SG=desire-COP=3SGm 1PLP 1PL 1SG=desire-BEN=1PL

ni=ay-ıno=vi=ro
1SG=desire-BEN=1PL=3SGm
'I desire ıt for us – I desire for us – I desire it for us.' [GP-21/7/04-24]

6.5 2 Aspectual affixes

There are at least eight base suffixes (nine including the temporary suffix), most of them related to the aspect or direction of the situation; only *-ša* 'IRR' is a mood suffix. All of these base suffixes are attached externally to the verb base and the valency-increasing affixes (cf. Figure 6.3). In Table 6.23 all possible combinations are indicated. Some morphemes are mutually exclusive, as e.g. *-wana* 'DEP' and *-wapa* 'COS'. The base suffixes occur in the order presented in the table. However, as mentioned above, the base suffixes can also be attached to the root or stem. In such a case the order of the morphemes is related to the level where they attach. In the example of the verb *-nowana-* 'say goodbye' with the lexicalized departitive suffix *-wana* (cf. (2)) the morpheme *-wana* may precede the directional suffix *-pık* 'COME'. This would contradict the order indicated in Table 6.23, if *-wana* 'DEP' were to be analyzed as a base suffix.

(134) *nınowanapikowovi.*
nı=no-wana-pıko-wo=pi
1SG=tell-DEP-COME-COP=2SG
'I am coming to tell you goodbye.' [GP-9/4/06-78]

Table 6.23 ıllustrates that these base suffixes can be sorted ınto post-base (Doris Payne 1990:232) order classes and not semantic classes:

-pik	*-poreiy*	*-wana*	*-wapa*	*-pa*	*-ša*	*-po*	*-wo*
COME	REP	DEP	COS	GO	IRR	PRFLX	COP
x	x						
x				x			
x					x		
x							x
	x		x				
	x						
	x				x	x	
	x					x	
	x						x
		x		x			
		x			x	x	
		x				x	
		x				x	x
			x			x	
			x			x	x
				x	x		
				x	x	x	
				x		x	x
				x		x	
				x			x
					x	x	
						x	x

Table 6 23: Possible combinations of base suffixes[180]

The suffixes furthest away from the base are the most abstract in meaning. The copula suffix *-wo* and the perfective/reflexive suffix *-po* are the most abstract and can have various effects, depending on the co-occurring suffixes. They can be attached to nearly any suffix. The scope of the morphemes is always from right to the left. The base suffixes presented in Table 6.23 are described in detail below.

6.5.2.1. Stative suffixes: the temporary suffix -wa 'TEMP'

The suffix *-wa* 'TEMP' for brief duration or temporariness (Baptista & Wallin 1967:65) is very rarely used on its own, but more often in the combinations *-wapa* 'change of state' and *-wana* 'departitive'. Baptista & Wallin may have deduced the meaning of *-wa* by separating these complex morphemes, but *-wapa* 'COS' and *-wana* 'DEP' are fixed units or complex suffixes; there does not even seem to be a suffix **-na*, and their meaning does not seem to have been derived directly from the parts of the compound.

It is however frequently possible to misinterpret a sequence of *-wo* and the linker *-a*, which assimilate into *-wa*, as one unit. This may also explain that Baptista & Wallin have analyzed it as a separate morpheme. But it is also possible that it is sim-

[180] The gray columns refer to non-stative suffixes.

ply not used any longer, or that its use is very restricted An example of *-wa* 'TEMP' is taken from the SIL data (T-289) in (135)

(135) *herik moeh mayokowa te to ka apo vinikčor*
herik moeh mayoko-wa te to ka apo
maybe CERT much-TEMP DEM1m ART IND COMPL

vi=nik-čo=ro
1PL=eat-NOM2=3SGm
'Maybe there will be much for a while that we could eat ' [SIL-N3-96]

In elicitation the speakers judged any example of a stative or active verb with this morpheme to be ungrammatical, as, however, in (136)

(136) **nikotivewa*
ni=kotive-wa
1SG=be sick-TEMP [DC-18/4/06-18]

6 5 2 2 Stative suffixes the change of state suffix -wapa 'COS'
The suffix *-wapa* 'COS' is mainly attached to stative verbs and non-verbal predicates It can mean that a state is changing or has changed, depending on the morphemes that follow It always takes as an assumption that the situation was different before In the translation we usually have to add the adverb 'already' (or 'any more' in negative clauses) in order to capture its meaning, as in (137) through (139)

(137) *nečon nka ntirowapa soni, kaiyran teč nian*
nečon nka ntiro-wapa soni kaiyran teč ni=an
last night NEG 1SGP-COS tobacco last DEM2m 1SG=chew
'Last night I didn't have tobacco any more, I had chewed the last '
[AD/DC-D2-224]

(138) *ver viki 'inowapa vikačow viweri-ye*
ver vi=ki 'ino-wapa vi=kačo-wo vi=weri-ye
PERF 1PL=want-COS 1PL=go-COP 1PL=house-LOC
'We already want to go home ' [RP-1/9/03-39]

(139) *ver he'inowaperi, ver kač rohan*
ver he-'ino-wapa=ri ver kač ro=han
PERF good-SUBJ-COS=3SGf PERF GO 3SGm=cure
'She is already feeling good again, it is already going to heal (her foot) '
[JC-29/7/04-76]

In (139) the use of *-wapa* 'COS' instead of *-wo* 'COP' tells us that the woman was not feeling well before, and that this situation has changed The same can be observed in (140), where the consultant emphasizes that her eyes already ache, because we have worked so much or late

(140) *nišinikisowapa'*
ni=šini-kiso-wapa
1SG=ache-eye-COS
'My eyes are already aching ' [JP-5/7/04-9]

The suffix *-wapa* emphasizes a temporary state and may co-occur with the progressive preverbal particle *ito*, as in (141)

(141) *ito netoros'inowapa*
ito *ni=etoro-so- ino-wapa*
PROG 1SG=leave-APRX-SUBJ-COS
'I am already about to leave (getting ready)' [DC-6/4/06-19]

In a negative clause the exact meaning of *-wapa* is most apparent Compare the following two clauses

(142) *nka pikotivew*
nka *pi=kotive-wo*
NEG 2SG=be sick-COP
'You aren't sick' [JC-7/3/06-53]

(143) *nka rokotivewapa*
nka *ro=kotive-wapa*
NEG 3SGm=be sick-COS
'He is not sick any more' [DC-17/4/06-79]

Some verbs are ambiguous in terms of stativity or activeness, e g the verb *-morok-* 'dry' In (144) through (146) the difference between the active and stative interpretations and the intermediate 'change of state' marking can be compared

(144) *romorokow*
ro=moroko-wo
3SG=dry-COP
'It is dry'

(145) *romorokowapa*
ro=moroko-wapa
3SGm=dry-COS
'It is drying'

(146) *romorokopa*
ro=moroko-pa
3SGm=dry-GO
'It is going to (be) dry'

Active verbs are generally reinterpreted as stative when the suffix *-wapa* is attached, as in (147)

(147) *teč riharnokiwapa to yiti*
teč *ri=har-noki-wapa* *to* *yiti*
DEM2m 3SGf=burn-mouth-COS ART chili
'She burnt her mouth with the chili (lit She was with a burning mouth)' [GP-N1/I-51]

Other active verbs can only have the suffix *-wapa* attached when they are turned into a stative verb, as in (148)

(148) *ver rokahawamokawapa*
ver *ro=ka-haw-amok-a-wapa*
PERF 3SG=ATTR-soap-CLF flat&raised-LK-COS
'It (the table) is already clean' [RP/EC-17/7/04-155]

In (148) the active verb *-hawač-* '(clean with) soap' has been converted into a stative verb by the attributive prefix *ko-*

6 5 2 3 Stative suffixes the departitive suffix -wana 'DEP'
The suffix *-wana* contains the morpheme *-wa* 'TEMP', but also an unknown part **-na* Depending on the environment it can mean that something was done before departing or while departing, as in (149) and (150)[181]

(149) *niveiy'inowanaw ač nikpik ne' piweri-ye*
ni=veiy'ino-wana-wo *ač* *nik-pik* *ne'* *pi=weri-ye*
1SG=be hungry-DEP-COP and 1SG eat-COME here 2SG=house-LOC
'I left hungry and came to eat here at your house' [DC-18/4/06-10]

(150) *ti rikačpow wapoeri-ye, riviawana teč porespa'*
ti *ri=kač-po-wo* *wapoeri-ye* *ri=via-wana*
DEM1f 3SGf=go-PRFLX-COP river-LOC 3SGf=take out-DEP

teč *porespa'*
DEM2m mate
'She went away to the river, taking the *mate* on her way' [GP-N1/I-18]

The base suffix *-wana* 'DEP' is different from all other base suffixes, because the final stem suffix *-ko* 'ABS' is deleted before it This can be observed in (151) with the verbs *-nik-* 'eat' and *-hinoek-* 'search', and in (152) with *-himok-* 'burn', which all dropped the final morpheme *-ko* 'ABS'

(151) *kew pihinoewanap piyonopa, ač piniwanapow!*
ke-wo *pi=hinoe-wana-po* *pi=yono-pa* *ač*
EV-COP 2SG=search-DEP-PRFLX 2SG=walk-GO and

pi=ni-wana-po-wo
2SG=eat-DEP-PRFLX-COP
'Go and see (them all) before you go, and eat before you leave!'
[JC-6/4/06-41/42]

(152) *ver nohimowana ti marip*
ver *no=himo-wana* *ti* *marip*
PERF 3PL=burn-DEP DEM1f witch
'They burned the witch and left' [GP-N7-112]

As (151) demonstrates, the suffix *-wana* is used for the temporal organization of events in discourse (cf 10 3 3)

[181] Baptista & Wallin called the morpheme *-na* 'SUC (successive)' after *-wa* 'TEMP' (1967 62)

There are some verbs which have lexicalized with the departitive suffix *-nowana-* 'say goodbye' and *-ımowana-* 'leave' The valency of the verb is not affected by the suffix *-wana*, as illustrated in (153) and (154)

(153) *pikowyowanap*
pi=kowyo-wana-po
2SG=bath-DEP-PRFLX
'Go and wash yourself before you go (to bed) ' [DC-7/3/06-83]

(154) *kač risapkiwaner iškon rikomorikier ač rivier*
kač *ri=sapik-wana=ro* *iškon* *ri=ikomorik=ro*
GO 3SGf=poke-DEP=3SGm until 3SGf=kill=3SGm

ač *ri=via=ro*
and 3SGf=take out-3SGm
'She poked him (before leaving) until she had killed him and took him out '
[GP-N1/II-17]

The reflexive verb in (153) remains reflexive (*-po* 'PRFLX) and intransitive, whereas the transitive verb in (154) remains transitive, cf object marking *-ro* '3SGm'

6 5 2 4 Stative suffixes the copula suffix -wo 'COP'

The copula suffix *-wo* has been derived from the copula verb root *-wo-* 'be in a place' On non-verbal predicates it is related to identity and possession (cf 5 3) When the copula suffix marks a verb, it means that the subject is placed into the situation the verb describes It is sometimes similar to imperfective marking And it interacts with the verbs' semantics The four verb-types distinguished by Vendler (1957), activity, accomplishment, achievement, and state, can be used to describe its function

When a stative verb is marked by the copula suffix, it means that we are dealing with an activated state The stative meaning is emphasized by the copula suffix When a stative verb is unmarked, it is simply a more general statement or occurs in subordination in a predicate chain Some stative verbs are obligatorily accompanied by the copula suffix, though Examples of stative verbs are (155) and (156)

(155) *nki'inow nimokopa*
ni=ki'ino-wo *ni=imoko-pa*
1SG=want-COP 1SG=sleep-GO
'I want to go to sleep ' [LO-29/8/03-119]

(156) *' aiy senior, paro'inokow?" – "heni "*
aiy *senior* *pi=aro'inoko-wo* *heni*
INTJ señor 2SG=be sad-COP yes
' "Ayay, Lord, are you sad?" – "Yes " ' [HC-6/7/04-32]

Activity verbs are marked by the copula suffix in order to mark the situation or process as ongoing Examples of process verbs are (157) and (158)

(157) *ntɪ' nkotorekow ač pɪtɪ' peron*
ntɪ' nɪ=kotoreko-wo ač pɪtɪ' peron
1SG 1SG=work-COP and 2SG lazybones
'I am working and you are a lazybones ' [JC-18/9/03-66]

(158) *royonow, royonow, royonow*
ro=yono-wo ro=yono-wo ro=yono-wo
3SGm=walk-COP 3SGm=walk-COP 3SGm=walk-COP
'He walked and walked and walked ' [SIL-N2-60]

As shown in (158), the ongoing process may be located in the past, even though there is no tense marking in Baure

An accomplishment verb may be viewed as a process with an endpoint There are two possibilities to interpret an accomplishment verb with the copula suffix it may be viewed as a still ongoing process before reaching the endpoint, as in (159) Alternatively, the situation has already come to an end and the state marked by the copula is actually the result of the situation, as in (160)

(159) *nɪkonompeaw*
nɪ=kono-mpe-a-wo
1SG=write-CLF flat-LK-COP
'I am writing a letter ' [RP-20/7/04-49]

(160) ntɪ' ver nɪkonompeaw to nɪšɪr
ntɪ' ver nɪ=kono-mpe-a-wo to nɪ=šɪr
1SG PERF 1SG=write-CLF flat-LK-COP ART 1SG=son
'I wrote a letter to my son ' [HC-13/9/03-38]

Even though here translated as something that already happened, the clause in (160) could also be interpreted as an ongoing process out of context Similarly, for example, the verb *-woyɪk-* 'make' can get the copula attached with the two interpretations above to be making something at the moment, or to have made something already But with the copula indicating a process it may also mean 'weave', cf (161) through (163)

(161) *nɪwoyɪkow wotokɪ*
nɪ=woyɪko-wo wotokɪ
1SG=make-COP hammock
'I am making a hammock ' [GP-16/9/03-61]

(162) *nerɪkɪ nɪwoyɪkow to ehah to čɪčorop*
nerɪkɪ nɪ=woyɪko-wo to ehah to čɪčorop
now 1SG=make-COP ART soup ART bean
'Today I made soup of beans ' [GP/LO-21/7/04-44]

(163) *"pɪwoyɪkow?" – "henɪ, nɪwoyɪkow "*
pɪ=woyɪko-wo henɪ nɪ=woyɪko-wo
2SG=make-COP yes 1SG=make-COP
' "Are you weaving?" – "Yes, I am weaving " ' [EU-24/3/06-69]

Achievement verbs can only get the copula when they may be reinterpreted as states or in a negative clause. First of all, many verbs can be interpreted as achievements or states which are the result of an achievement. Examples are the verbs 'get up/stand' and 'sit down/sit'. The verb *-hirik-* 'sit (down)' is interpreted as a state with the copula 'be sitting', but without copula as a past achievement, as in (164) and (165):

(164) *nihirikow.*
ni=hiriko-wo
1SG=sit-COP
'I am sitting.' [RP/EC-17/7/04-33]

(165) *nihirik.*
ni=hirik
1SG=sit
'I sat down.' [DC-17/4/06-121]

A typical achievement verb is also *-epen-* 'die'. It is generally used without the copula, as in (166):

(166) *ver roepen.*
ver *ro=epen*
PERF 3SGm=die
'He already died.' [JI-22/8/03-7]

When negated, however, the copula is obligatory, since the negation of an achievement is interpreted as a state, as in (167):

(167) *nka roepenow – čikikoe'*
nka *ro=epeno-wo* *čik-ikoe'*
NEG 3SGm=die-COP alive-EMPH
'He is not dead – he is very alive.' [RP-N11/III-3]

When the speaker wants to refer to the process of dying, generally the intentional suffix *-pa* is added before the copula suffix *-wo*, as in (168):

(168) *ver repenopaw.*
ver *ro=epeno-pa-wo*
PERF 3SGm=die-GO-COP
'It is dying (the tree).' [IM-12/8/03-8]

Other pairs of negative and affirmative clauses with achievement verbs are:

(169) *repče ten tawe'.*
ro=epče' *ten* *tawe'*
3SGm=burst DEM3m ball
'The ball burst.' [DC-3/4/06-22]

(170) *noka repčew.*
noka *ro=epče-wo*
NEG 3SGm=burst-COP
'It didn't burst.' [DC-3/4/06-23]

(171) *repše' to sorɪsorɪ*
ro=epše *to* *sorɪsorɪ*
3SGm=appear ART owl
'An owl appeared ' [GP-A4-51]

(172) *nka repšew*
nka *ro=epše-wo*
NEG 3SGm=appear-COP
'He dɪdn't appear ' [DC-3/4/06-15]

The copula suffix can follow almost any other base suffix Its meanɪng ɪs not only related to the verb, but also to the precedɪng suffixes, whɪch have already modɪfied thɪs meanɪng The prɪncɪple ɪs the same, though In (173) and (174) the copula suffix follows the departɪtɪve *-wana* and the dɪrectɪonal suffix *-pɪk* 'COME'

(173) *nɪšoerewanaw*
nɪ=ɪšoere-wana-wo
1SG=cook-DEP-COP
'I cooked and am leavɪng ' [JP-12/7/04-20]

(174) *nte nen, načɪkpɪkow*
nte' *nɪ=en* *nɪ=ačɪk-pɪko-wo*
hello 1SG=mother 1SG=vɪsɪt-COME-COP
'Hello, mother, I am comɪng to vɪsɪt you ' [RP-20/7/04-139]

In a more complex combɪnatɪon, the perfectɪve suffix *-po* may be ɪnserted, as ɪn (175), compared to (174)

(175) *vɪyonopoekpɪkpow*
vɪ=yonopoek-pɪk-po-wo
1PL=walk barefoot-COME-PRFLX-COP
'We came barefoot ' [JC-7/3/06-10]

The sɪtuatɪon ɪn (175) ɪs ɪnterpreted as past because of the perfectɪve suffix The copula suffix has to be attached because the verb ɪs an accomplɪshment when *-pɪk* 'come' ɪs attached In negatɪve clauses the combɪnatɪon *-wapa-po-wo* 'COS-PRFLX-COP' ɪs used frequently for sɪtuatɪons that no longer hold, as ɪn (176)

(176) ver nka vɪtɪrɪwapapow vɪyonop te vɪnɪkčo neš
ver *nka* *vɪ=tɪrɪ-wapa-po-wo* *vɪ=yono-po*
PERF NEG 1PL=know-COS-PRFLX-COP 1PL=walk-PRFLX

te *vɪ=nɪk-čo* *neš*
DEM1m 1PL=eat-NOM2 meat
'We don't know any more how to hunt (lɪt walk) for the meat we eat '
[GP/LO-21/7/04-53]

6.5.2.5. Stative suffixes: the perfective and reflexive suffix -po 'PRFLX'

The suffix *-po* has two main functions, which can be interpreted as reflexive and perfective. It is frequently attached to intransitive achievement verbs without really adding any additional information, as in (177) and (178):

(177) *nopinop noti'.*
no=pino-po *noti'*
3PL=flee-PRFLX 3PL
'They fled.' [GP-N7-113]

(178) *riavikošap.*
ri=aviko-ša-po
3SGf=return-IRR-PRFLX
'When she returns.' [GP-11/8/04-65]

The suffix *-po* is also attached to inherently reflexive verbs, such as *-kowyo-* 'take a bath' in (179), where it is generally interpreted as past; in contrast to copula marking *-wo*, in which case the process would still be ongoing:

(179) *ač vikowyop.*
ač *vi=kowyo-po*
and 1PL=bath-PRFLX
'And we took a bath.' [RP-7/7/04-57]

Transitive verbs can be made reflexive with the suffix *-po* 'PRFLX', as in (180) and (181), where it is irrelevant whether the suffix occurs right after the base (180), or after additional base suffixes (181):

(180) *ač vehačop.*
ač *vi=eh-a-čo-po*
and 1PL=wash-body-APPL-PRFLX
'And we wash our body.' [RP-7/7/04-58]

(181) *pihinomirapap espehe-ye!*
pi=hino-mir-a-pa-po *espehe-ye*
2SG=see-face-LK-GO-PRFLX mirror-LOC
'Look at yourself in the mirror!' [JC-13/7/04-111]

In some cases the reflexive marking can help to disambiguate reference, as in (182):

(182) *to roea' rowoner roehekop to rošir.*
to *ro=ıa'* *ro=wono=ro* *ro=iheko-po*
ART 3SGm=father 3SGm=send=3SGm 3SGm=comb-PRFLX

to *ro=šir*
ART 3SGm=son
'His$_{(i)}$ father is sending his$_j$ son$_i$ to comb (himself$_i$).' [RP-19/7/04-83]

Because of the two masculine arguments, *to roea'* 'his father' and *to rošir* 'his son', the personal clitics *ro-* '3SGm' are ambiguous. Without the reflexive marking on *roehekop* 'he combs himself' the subject could also be the father or another man.

The effect of reflexivity does not necessarily mean to do something to oneself, but also on one's own behalf, as in (183):

(183) *ntı' moeh npomoekoe' npomoekop apo to niromononev apo noepoekoe' nihirop.*

nti'	*moeh*	*ni=pomo-ikoe'*	*ni=pomoeko-po*	*apo*
1SG	CERT	1SG=ask.for-EMPH	1SG=ask.for-PRFLX	COMPL

to	*ni=romono-nev*	*apo*	*no=epoeko-i'*	*ni=hirop*
ART	1SG=boss-PL	COMPL	3PL=let-EMPH	1SG=dance

'I can just ask, I ask (for permission) if my bosses let me go dancing.'
[RP-20/7/04-165]

The perfective effect of the suffix *-po* can best be shown in negative clauses, as (184) and (185) (cf. also (176) above). In negative clauses the suffix *-po* is obligatory with a meaning like 'nothing at all'.

(184) *nka to ka nihinokopow.*

nka	*to*	*ka*	*ni=hinoko-po-wo*
NEG	ART	IND	1SG=see-PRFLX-COP

'I don't see anything.' [RP-1/9/03-80]

(185) *nimokikoe' ač nka to ka niwoiykopow.*

ni=imok-ikoe'	*ač*	*nka*	*to*	*ka*	*ni=woyiko-po-wo*
1SG=sleep-EMPH	and	NEG	ART	IND	1SG=make-PRLFX-COP

'I only slept and didn't do anything.' [DC-17/4/06-70]

Note that even though the suffix *-po* may make the transitive verb *-hinok-* 'see' reflexive, as in (181), it is not interpreted as 'look at oneself' in (184).

The verb *-ewek-* 'harvest cotton' can be used with the copula suffix *-wo* when the process is ongoing, or with the intentional suffix *-pa* 'go' when a person is on the way to harvest. When the cotton has not yet been harvested, the perfective morpheme can mark this, as in (186):

(186) *wokow vewekop to kahawor.*

wokow	*vi=eweko-po*	*to*	*kahawor*
not.yet	1PL=harvest.cotton	ART	cotton

'We haven't harvested cotton yet.' [RP/EC-17/7/04-142]

In many other cases the perfective morpheme supports a past reading of the situation, as in (187). In that example Justina is telling me how it was when she was very young.

(187) *vampikopow kahap apo erapoe' vipo'e-ye.*

vi=am-piko-po-wo	*kahap*	*apo*	*erapoe'*	*vi=po'e-ye*
1PL=take-COME-PRFLX-COP	manioc	or	plantain	1PL=head-LOC

'We used to bring manioc or plantain on our head.' [JC-7/3/06-16]

Without the perfective suffix *-po* the word *vampikow* would mean that the people are still on the way ('we are bringing'). In this example the perfective morpheme also

had an effect mainly on the preceding suffix *-pik* 'COME' and not so much on the verb base This marking can also have a future reading, as in (188)

(188) *pomorekoe' navikop nkarowapikopow*
po-morekoe' ni=aviko-po ni=karow-a-piko-po-wo
other-year 1SG=return-PRFLX 1SG=study-LK-COME-PRFLX-COP
'Next year I will return in order to study '
(lit I will have come to study) [DC-18/4/06-102]

6 5 2 6 Non-stative suffixes the intentional suffix -pa 'GO'
The suffix *-pa* can be regarded as marking a kind of future, although there is actually no tense marking in Baure The morpheme *-pa* can also be found with past reference, where it expresses a future relative to another event (193) The suffix is mainly attached to active verbs and shows that the subject has the intention to do something, as in (189) and (190)

(189) *verša to čokolat ač rom rošim teč yor ronikpa čokolat*
ver-ša *to* *čokolat* *ač* *rom* *ro=šim* *teč* *yor*
PERF-IRR ART cacao and IMM 3SGm=arrive DEM2m monkey

ro=nik-pa *čokolat*
3SGm=eat-GO cacao
'When the cacao is ripe, the monkey comes to eat cacao ' [HC-27/7/04-12]

(190) *pihinoekpa to erapoe'*
pi=hinoek-pa *to* *erapoe'*
2SG=search-GO ART plantain
'You go to search plantain ' [HC-20/8/03-12]

When *-pa* 'GO' is attached to stative verbs, the linker *-a* has to be inserted, as in (191) and (192)

(191) *nehmo'inapa*
ni=ehmo ino-a-pa
1SG=relax-LK-GO
'I will go to relax ' [MD-12/7/04-83]

(192) *nimanewapa, ver nkač niweri-ye naniapap*
ni=mane-wapa *ver* *ni=kač* *ni=weri-ye*
1SG=be cold-COS PERF 1SG=go 1SG=house-LOC

ni=ani-a-pa-po
1SG=be warm-LK-GO-PRFLX
'I am cold, I will go in my house to warm up ' [RP-22/7/04-119]

Generally the suffix does not only refer to a future state, but also implies a movement away from the hearer In many languages the verb 'go' serves as the basis for analytic or morphological future forms However, the events are only relative future, as illustrated in (193)

(193) *rom vɪkeyɪnapa teč morekoeyow teč vɪkeyɪnorapa*
rom *vɪ=keyɪn-a-pa* *teč* *morekoe-y-wo*
IMM 1PL=marry-LK-GO DEM2m year-LOC-COP

teč *vɪ=keyɪn-ro-a-pa*
DEM2m 1PL=marry-ro-LK-GO
'Finally we went to marry that year (that we went to marry)' [LO/GP-D-9]

The directional meaning of *-pa* can be contrasted with *-pɪk* 'COME', cf. (194) and (195)

(194) *verapavɪ?*
ver-a-pa-wo=pɪ
PERF-LK-GO-COP=2SG
'Did you already go?' [GP-N8-29]

(195) *nɪsompopow verapɪkɪer nakoš teč vɪr*
nɪ=sompo-po-wo *ver-a-pɪk=ro* *nakoš*
1SG=hear-PRFLX-COP PERF-LK-COME=3SGm from there

teč *vɪr*
DEM2m wind
'I heard the wind was coming from there' [DC-10/4/06-86]

The suffix *-pa* frequently co-occurs with the preverbal particle *kač* 'GO', but can also be replaced by it, as shown in 7.2. In 7.9 it is also described being used as an imperative particle for 1SG.

6.5.2.7 Non-stative suffixes: the directional suffix -pɪk 'COME (motion towards)'
The suffix *-pɪk* can mean that the subject is moving towards the speaker or another place of reference while doing something. It is suffixed in the same slot as *-pa* 'go', with which it generally is in complementary distribution. How *-pɪk* 'COME' is attached to an active verb is illustrated in (196).

(196) *nahačpɪkovɪ.*
nɪ=ahač-pɪko-wo=pɪ
1SG=ask-COME-COP=2SG
'I am coming to ask you' [MD-2/8/04-28]

When *-pɪk* is suffixed to a stative verb, the linker is inserted, as in (197):

(197) *nkarowapɪk ne' pɪsorɪ-ye.*
nɪ=karow-a-pɪk *ne'* *pɪ=sorɪ-ye*
1SG=study-LK-COME here 2SG=village-LOC
'I came to study here in your village' [DC-18/4/06-103]

It is also frequently attached to non-verbal predicates (195), where it is among other things used in subordinate predicates, as in (198).

(198) *teč šıye' rokomıračow teč čıntı amonapık teč rokareton rampık mıel*

teč	*šıye'*	*ro=komıračo-wo teč*	*čıntı*	*amo-no-a-pık*
DEM2m	fox	3SGm=meet-COP DEM2m	person	take-NOM1-LK-COME

teč	*ro=kareton*	*ro=am-pık*	*mıel*
DEM2m	3SGm=ox cart	3SGm=take-COME	honey

'The fox met a person who was bringing his ox-cart, bringing honey

[RP-N3-174]

The subordinate predicate *amonapık* in (198) has been nominalized, and only thereafter the suffix *-pık* is attached The suffix *-pık* has also been lexicalized in various verb bases *-ampık-* 'bring' (take-COME) (cf (198)), *-ačıkpık-* (other place-ABS-COME), *-šımpık-* (arrive-COME), *-yonpık-* (walk-COME), which altogether mean 'visit'

In some examples *-pık* also implies a future reading, like the other much more frequently used directional *-pa* 'GO', as in (199)

(199) *rıkošırapık*
rı=ko-šır-a-pık
3SGf=ATTR-son-LK-COME
'She will have a baby' [GP-21/9/03-7]

6 5 2 8 Non-stative suffixes the repetitive suffix -poreıy 'REP'

The complex morpheme *-poreıy* has presumably been composed of the following elements perfective *-po* (possible is also *-pa* 'GO'), the suffix *-ro*, and the locative suffix *-ye* When it occurs as the unit *-poreıy*, it marks the repetition of a situation, as in (200)

(200) *šı vınıkporeıy ač vıkačporeıyop*

šı	*vı=nık-poreıy*	*ač*	*vı=kač-poreıy-po*
HORT	1PL=eat-REP	and	1PL=go-REP-PRFLX

'Let's eat again and then go again' [HC-13/9/03-17]

The repetitive suffix interacts with the preverbal particle *avık* 'REP, again', as pointed out in 7 5, and both particle and suffix may mark the same verb When *-poreıy* 'REP' is attached to stative verbs, the linker is inserted, as in (201)

(201) *nıveıy'ınaporeıy*
nı=veıy'ın-a-poreıy
1SG=be hungry-LK-REP
'I am hungry again' [DC-18/4/06-84]

The suffix may also be attached to non-verbal predicates and some particles, as in (202)

(202) *šıporeıy-enš!*
šı-poreıy=enš
HORT-REP=APRV
'Let's go again, shall we!' [DC-9/3/06-12]

In general, the morpheme *-poreiy* occurs as a unit, but there are some remnants of shorter related forms, which only occur in idiosyncratic expressions, such as:

(203) *nka to kareyop.*
nka *to* *ka-rey-po*
NEG ART IND-?-PRFLX
'There isn't ... (anything).'[182] [JC-13/8/03-14]

The repetitive *-poreiy* is interpreted as punctual or 'once again', which can be noticed in negation. Here *-poreiy* 'REP' can be contrasted with the related form *-poeiy* 'REPN'. The form *-poeiy* generally means 'never again'. This leads to a temporary interpretation of *-poreiy*, whereas *-poeiy* is imperfective, cf. (204) and (205):

(204) *nihaviak wapoeri-ye ač ikapokoe' narom. ikarek nka to ka nihaviakpoeiy avik.*
ni=haviak *wapoeri-ye* *ač* *ikapokoe'* *ni=arom*
1SG=swim river-LOC and nearly 1SG=drown

ikarek *nka* *to* *ka* *ni=haviak-poeiy* *avik*
therefore NEG ART IND 1SG=swim-REPN again
'I swam in the river and I nearly drowned. Therefore I won't go swimming ever again.' [DC-4/4/06-12/13]

(205) *nerikikoe' nka (to ka) nihaviakporeiy, tiwe' enevere nkačporeiyop nihaviakpa.*
neriki-koe' *nka* *to* *ka* *ni=haviak-poreiy* *tiwe'* *enevere*
now-EMPH NEG ART IND 1SG=swim-REP but next.day

ni=kač-poreiy-po *ni=haviak-pa*
1SG=go-REP-PRFLX 1SG=swim-GO
'Right now I won't go swimming again, but tomorrow I will go swimming again.' [DC-4/4/06-14]

The verb form *nihaviakpoeiy* in (204) cannot be used in (205), when the speaker is planning to repeat the action the next day. This contradiction shows the imperfective effect of the morpheme *-poeiy*, which only occurs in negative clauses.

6.5.3. Mood: The irrealis suffix -ša 'IRR'

The only real mood suffix is *-ša*, which refers to irreal events, mainly in presuppositions and considerations of the future. It can be contrasted with *-pa* 'GO', which refers to a future event the speaker is already planning to do. The suffix *-ša* is also important for constructing hypothetical conditional clauses (cf. 10.3.2). The irrealis marker can not only be attached to verbs (206), but also to non-verbal predicates (207):

(206) *enevere nka rosoweša ač niyonpa riwer-ye.*
enevere *nka* *ro=sowe-ša* *ač* *ni=yon-pa* *ri=weri-ye*
next.day NEG 3SGm=rain-IRR and 1SG=walk-GO 3SGf=house-LOC
'Tomorrow if it doesn't rain, I will walk to her house.' [JC-6/4/06-56]

[182] Sp: *No hay.*

(207) *kweša nɪwer ač rom nkeyɪnopɪ*
kwe-ša *nɪ=wer* *ač* *rom* *nɪ=keyɪno=pɪ*
exist-IRR 1SG=house and IMM 1SG=marry=2SG
'When I have a house (lit there is my house) I marry you finally'
[LO/GP-D-5]

It is also used in polite requests or the expression of wishes, as in (208)

(208) *pɪvekšanɪ popšowe''ɪ*
pɪ=vek-ša=nɪ *po-po-š-wo-ɪ'*
2SG=speak-IRR=1SG one-CLF'tiny-one-COP-EMPH
'Please, would you say to me just one word!' [AO-19/8/03-25]

There are no auxiliaries in Baure Instead there are free verbal particles in addition to the affixes directly attached to verbs (Chapter 6) for TMA marking These particles generally precede the fully marked verb or the non-verbal predicate, and they can express a wide range of different TMA meanings The particles themselves are completely unmarked

Example (1) shows the general pattern the certainty particle *moeh* 'CERT' directly precedes the verb *ronopi* 'he tells you'

(1)	(S)		PART	V	(O)
	to ses		*moeh*	*ronopi*	
	to	*ses*	*moeh*	*ro=no=pi*	
	ART	sun	CERT	3SGm=tell=2SG	
	'The sun ought to tell you '				[RP-N4-94]

In addition, deviating from the general pattern indicated in (1), there is one postverbal particle for potential, discussed in 7 11

Before turning to the specific descriptions of the particles, there are some general statements concerning this kind of marking on verbs Table 7 1 lists the particles mentioned in this chapter The class of items is virtually closed, but the particles themselves can be ranged into more and less recently grammaticalized elements (Table 7 1)

Some of the preverbal particles are used as adverbs as well, as e g the perfect particle *ver* 'already' or certainty *moeh* 'certainly' However, other adverbs only modify verbs lexically, but are not used as TMA markers The adverbs used as verbal particles are much more grammaticalized than other adverbs and therefore have extended meanings The particle slot directly before the verb is also an adverb position, but adverbs have the option of occurring more freely in a number of other positions in the clause as well (cf Payne 1997 69, and 8 1) What is defined as a verbal particle here has to occur in a fixed position, directly preceding the verb Negative particles also precede the verb, but they are excluded here and described in 9 2

Some other verbal particles have only recently been derived from verbs, which is obvious as they are still identical to verb bases As already mentioned, verbal particles take over the job generally expected of auxiliary verbs Givon (1984) argues that auxiliaries often "form a distinct lexical class" that have been grammaticalized from verbs They "often retain formal properties of lexical verbs", such as e g English 'have', 'be', 'will', 'can', 'may', 'must' (Givon 1984 84)

What Givon argues for auxiliaries is also partly true for the Baure verbal particles They form a distinct class, and some of them at least, have been derived from verbs Auxiliaries, though, show more verbal characteristics than the particles do There is no marking on the particle Examples for particles that have been derived from verbs are intentional *kač* < *-kač-* 'go' and repetitive *avik* < *-avik-* 'return' The explanation of how verbs got into that position is simple Baure has many serial verb constructions (cf 10 3 7), in which usually the first verb is more general in meaning Most of these first constituents in a verb chain are indeed verbs of motion and they generally modify the mode or aspect of the following verb Within the process of

grammaticalization the more abstract verb has lost its person marking and all verbal morphemes (which were repeated on the following verb anyhow), and what remained was the bare verb base.

The serial verb constructions that formed the origin for some of the verbal particles are still being used as well. They differ from particle constructions in e.g. the repeated person marking, as in (2), compared to the particle construction in (3).

(2) *vikač visiaperi.*
vi=kač *vi=i-siap=ri*
1PL=GO 1PL=CAUS-enter=3SGf
'We will put her in (the oven).' [GP-N7-98]

(3) *ač kač visiap neš.*
ač *kač* *vi=i-siap* *neš*
and GO 1PL=CAUS-enter meat
'And we will put in meat.' [GP-N7-109]

Note, however, that the marked verb *-kač-* is restricted to the sense of real motion towards an action, and the unmarked verbal particle has a wider use for any kind of intention or future event.

Verb serialization is only one possible source for the grammaticalization of the preverbal position into a TMA marking slot. It may have started off with a few particles, like e.g. cohortative *ši* or negative *nka,* which already occurred in the slot before the verb. It was then further extended to some adverbs, which already frequently occurred in the slot as well. Finally, some verb bases grammaticalized into verbal particles, some of which evolved even further into adverbs (as e.g. *avik* 'again'). This grammaticalization process is schematized in Figure 7.1 below.

In narration, all the particles, except for imperative particles (only used in direct speech) can be marked by the quotative clausal enclitic *-hi*, which is a second position clitic, but generally attaches to verbal elements. Examples are (4) and (5):

(4) *ver-hi rišim tič*[183] *kiher.*
ver=hi *ri=šim* *tič* *kiher*
PERF=QUOT 3SGf=arrive DEM2f moon
'The moon arrived (already).' [RP-N4-85]

(5) *kač-hi royapa teč riavinon.*
kač=hi *ro=ya-pa* *teč* *ri=avinon*
GO=QUOT 3SGm=cry-GO DEM2m 3SGf=husband
'Her husband went to cry.' [GP-N1/II-59]

It is also possible to use more than one particle to mark a verb. The possible combinations are summed up in Table 7.2 below, cf. also section 7.12.

An interesting aspect of the verbal particles is the interaction between verbal particles to the left and verbal suffixes to the right of the verb base. It can be the case

[183] In this story the moon is a woman and therefore referred to by feminine agreement in cross-reference marking (*ri-*) and the demonstrative (*tič*).

that the particles replace verbal suffixes. In general, we find both, a preverbal particle *kač* 'GO' and a verbal suffix *-pa* 'GO' with the same meaning around one verb base (8). But we can find alternative constructions of the same verb only marked by the suffix, and no particle (6), or the main verb without the suffix and a particle preceding the verb (7). This is exemplified in the following three examples:

(6) *ač rom rošim teč yor ronikpa čokolat.*
ač *rom* *ro=šim* *teč* *yor* *ro=nik-pa* *čokolat*
and IMM 3SGm=arrive DEM2m monkey 3SGm=eat-GO cacao
'And then the monkey arrives and goes to eat the cacao.' [HC-27/7/04-12]

(7) *ver kač ronik kes.*
ver *kač* *ro=nik* *kes*
PERF GO 3SGm=eat cheese
'He went to eat the cheese.' [RP-N3-200]

(8) *ver kač nonikpa.*
ver *kač* *no=nik-pa*
PERF GO 3PL=eat-GO
'They went to eat.' [GP-N8-33]

There is generally no meaning-difference notable.

Possibly these particles are still fairly new on the path of grammaticalization, the suffixing system being the older and the particle construction being the more recent developed grammatical device for TMA marking. Not every verbal suffix has a particle equivalent, but it can be argued that the speakers of Baure have started to mark verbs analytically instead of the complex suffixing system. New meanings have arisen, expressed by particles, some meanings are repeated in particles and some may get lost[184].

The more or less grammaticalized constructions and kinds of TMA marking are related to another in Figure 7.1. Some of the devices to the right served as the source of preverbal particles, but the continuum does not mean that one item has to run through all stages represented here.

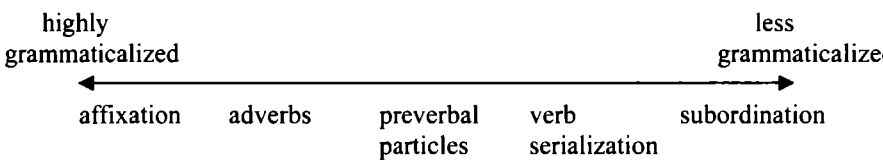

Figure 7.1: The continuum of different lexical and grammatical devices of TMA marking in Baure

The particles in Table 7.1 are divided into TMA preverbal particles, imperative particles and the single postverbal particle that occurs.

[184] Among the meanings marked on the verb, we could imagine that causative and departitive ('do s th. and go') get lost soon. They are already being replaced by periphrastic constructions. However, the causative periphrastic construction with the verb *-won-* 'send' has not grammaticalized into a preverbal particle.

verbal particle	Gloss	meaning	source	translation	equivalent verbal suffix	meaning
ver	PERF	perfect	*ver* (adverb)	already		
kač	GO	intentional	*-kač-* (verb)	go	*-pa*	intentional
ito	PROG	progressive	*-ito-/-ita-* (verb)	continue	*(-wo)/ (-wapa)*	change of state / copula
eto	FINISH	terminative	*eto-* (non-verbal predicate)	finish	*(-wana)*	departitive
avik	REP	repetitive, again	*-avik-* (verb)	return	*-poreiy*	repetitive
rom	IMM	immediate	*rom* (adverb)	soon		
moeh	CERT	certainty	*moeh* (adverb)	certainly		
ši	HORT	cohortative (1PL)				
pa	GO	intentional imperative (1SG)	*-pa* (verbal morpheme)	intentional	*-pa*	intentional
ta	JUSS	jussive (3rd person-imperative)	*-ta-* (verb)	continue		
toeri	POT	potential	*-toer(i)-* (verb root)	do how		

Table 7 1 Verbal particles

In the following, each particle is described in detail

7 1 The perfect particle ver

The most frequently used preverbal particle is *ver*, glossed 'PERF' (perfect) I suggest that the particle has been derived from the adverb *ver* 'already', even though the adverbial use is hardly distinguishable from the particle use The Baure speakers themselves translate the word as *ya* 'already' into Spanish, and they use *ya* (Sp) just as often in regional Spanish as they use *ver* 'already' in Baure In the present stage of my research it is not possible to decide which language influenced which in the extensive use of this adverb However, the extensive use must have lead to the grammaticalization and broadening of the meaning 'already' In the first examples (9) through (12) *ver* 'already' is considered to be used as an adverb, but it is glossed 'PERF', identical to the particle throughout

(9) *ti eton ntir moestar ač ver riepen*

ti	*eton*	*ntir*	*moestar*	*ač*	*ver*	*ri=epen*
DEM1f	woman	1SGP	teacher	and	PERF	3SGf=be dead

'This woman was my teacher and she is already dead '\ref Julian 22/08/03 041

(10) *ver nik pahašowone'.*
ver nik p-aha-šo-wo-no-i'
PERF 1SG.eat one-plate-one-COP-NOM1-EMPH
'I already ate one whole plate.' [HC-20/8/03-33]

(11) *ver ikowe' pitoeripiapaw.*
ver ikowe' pi=toeri-pi-a-pa-wo
PERF little.bit 2SG=be.able-CLF:word-LK-GO-COP
'You are already able to speak a little bit.' [DC-7/4/06-16]

(12) *ver pavikow! – ver.*
ver pi=aviko-wo ver
PERF 2SG=return-COP PERF
'You already returned! – Yes.' [JP-20/8/03-78]

Even though *ver* 'already' is analyzed as an adverb in the examples, it still occurs in the position preceding the verb. Only in (11) there is another additional adverb *ikowe'* 'a little bit' between particle and verb. Thus, in principle there is no great difference to what is called the perfect particle *ver*, because an adverb already lacks the freedom of position in a clause. In (12) it is also used as an elliptic answer (cf. 9.5). The adverb or particle *ver* can also be used with non-verbal predicates, as demonstrated in (13) through (15):

(13) *ver anewapani.*
ver ane-wapa=ni
PERF old-COS=1SG
'I am already old.' [JC-13/8/03-95]

(14) *ver čowan riepen ti ntir avoel.*
ver čowan ri=epen ti ntir avoel
PERF long.time 3SGf=be.dead DEM1f 1SGP grandparent
'It is already a long time ago that my grandmother died.' [JC-27/8/03-53]

(15) *ver ver kwapa to nen –ha– ewokoečinev.*
ver ver ko-wapa to nen ha ewokoe-či-nev
PERF PERF exist-COS ART DEM3PL HES tree-DIM-PL
'There are already those trees (on top of the drying land).' [LO-29/8/03-54]

In (15) *ver* even occurs twice. This already illustrates how much *ver* is used in any kind of text. It may occur in each sentence, even more than once, marking every single verb (cf. also (23)).

The meaning of the particle is described as 'perfect' in this grammar. The reasons for this label are the following characteristics (cf. in Comrie 1976:52–65): *ver* "relates some state to a preceding situation", and it "indicates the continuing present relevance of a past situation" (Comrie 1976:52). We have to bear in mind that there is no tense marking in Baure. It is difficult to judge the real meaning of the particle *ver*, especially because Spanish has past tense. The examples are frequently translated

into past tense, but at other times into present tense in Spanish[185], depending on the verb or predicate type. Stative verbs are not translated as past tense, as e.g. (13) *ver anewapani* 'I am already old'. In addition the particle interacts with the verbal suffixes attached to a verb and with other verbal particles, which yields complex meanings. What all examples have in common, though, is that the verb marked by *ver* has either happened already before some other situation (not necessarily the present), or at least started before.

For *ver* as a past tense marker cf. the following two examples:

(16) *kon teč ver piwoyikow?*
kon *teč* *ver* *pi=woyiko-wo*
who/what DEM2m already 2SG=make-COP
'What have you made (cooked)?' [HC-3/8/03-37]

(17) *kon teč piwoyikow?*
kon *teč* *pi=woyiko-wo*
who/what DEM2m 2SG=make-COP
'What are you doing/making?' [HC-3/8/03-26]

The interrogative clauses in (16) and (17) only differ in the particle *ver*. The clause without the particle (17) is interpreted as present (continuous) 'you are making', whereas the particle in (16) leads to the interpretation as an event that already happened. The present relevance is given because the food referred to in (16) as a product of the event is still there and has not been eaten yet.

Stative verbs and non-verbal predicates preceded by the perfect particle are interpreted as a present state, as exemplified in (18) through (20):

(18) *ver rikavinon.*
ver *ri=ko-avinon*
PERF 3SGf=ATTR-husband
'She (is) already married.' [AO-19/8/03-22]

(19) *ver virikop, ver virik woyikıer*
ver *vi=iriko-po* *ver* *vi=irik* *woyik=ro*
PERF 1PL=be.patient-PRFLX PERF 1PL=be.patient 1PL.make=3SGm
'We are patient, we make it patiently.' [RP-10/7/04-19]

(20) *ver he'inowaperi, ver kač rohan.*
ver *he'ino-wapa=ri* *ver* *kač* *ro=han*
PERF feel.good-COS=3SGf PERF GO 3SGm=heal
'She is already feeling good, it (the foot) is (already) healing.' [JC-29/7/04-76]

While sometimes a translation with 'already' is appropriate, in other cases it is not.

[185] Generally Spanish "indefinido" (e.g. *el comió* 'he ate') is translated as a *ver* + V construction, as e.g. Sp *yo comi* → B *ver nik* (PERF 1SG eat); Sp. *el comió* → B *ver ronik* (PERF 3SGm=eat); Sp *ella comió* → B *ver rinik* (PERF 3SGf=eat) – "I ate", "he ate", "she ate", respectively

(21) *maiy vikoyepi' – ver vikoka'*
maiy *vi=koyepi'* *ver* *vi=koka'*
much 1PL=converse PERF 1PL=laugh
'We talked a lot – we laughed' [GP/LO-21/7/04-13/14]

(22) *"ver nikač", rokičowor-hi.*
ver *ni=kač* *ro=kičo-wo=ro=hi*
PERF 1SG=go 3SGm=say do-COP=3SGm=QUOT
' "I will go now (=Goodbye)", he said to him' [RP-N4-143]

In narration the particle frequently takes on an important role in structuring clauses, and *ver* is then used more like a particle for marking sequences, like 'then' in English

(23) *ver ver etovi to viširikoč ver kač vehpapa to etip*
ver *ver* *eto=vi* *to* *vi=širiko-čo*
PERF PERF finish=1PL ART 1PL=grate-NOM2

ver *kač* *vi=eh-po-a-pa* *to* *etip*
PERF GO 1PL=wash-CLF tiny-LK-GO ART manioc starch
'When we finished grating (manioc), (then) we started to wash the starch out' [HC-2/7/04-6]

(23) is taken from an instruction of how the speaker made manioc starch (24) is an excerpt from the narrative *nokoečapiow to siporı ač to kotis* 'the birthday of the frog and the lizard'.

(24) *ramer kačpow ver nošim noiy roweri-ye, kačo ner*
kač ner-enš ver kač nonik
ro=am=ro *kač-po-wo* *ver* *no=šim* *noiy*
3SGm=take=3SGm go-PRFLX-COP PERF 3PL=arrive there
'He took him (with him) and (they/he) left'

ro=weri-ye *kačo* *no=er*
3SGm=house-LOC GO 3PL=drink
'Then they arrived there at his house, and they went to drink'

kač *no=er=enš* *ver* *kač* *no=nik*
GO 3PL=drink=APRV PERF GO 3PL=eat
'Yes, they went to drink, you know Then they went to eat' [EU-N12-9–12]

Both examples show also the combination of *ver* 'PERF' and *kač* 'GO'. In Baure verb morphology each element has scope over the whole predicate with all the morphemes attached to its right (if preceding the verb root) or its left (if following the verb root). This means that in the combination at the end of (24) *ver* 'PERF' has scope over *kač nonik* 'they went to eat' as a whole. Thus not the event of eating is perfect, but the event of going to eat; compare clauses without *kač* 'GO' in (25) and (26), made on the basis of the same verb *-nik-* 'eat'

(25) *ver nik.*
PERF 1sg.eat
'I (already) ate.' [RP-4/8/03-68]

(26) *ver kač nik.*
PERF GO 1SG.eat
'I will eat now.' [RP-4/8/03-69]

In (25) the event *nik* 'I eat' is interpreted as past, whereas the same event *nik* 'I eat' in (26) has not happened yet. But in (26) the particle *ver* shows that the event *kač nik* 'I will eat' has already started, because the subject is already on the way to eat. The same can also be observed in example (27), which has to be compared to (18) above:

(27) *ver kač nikavinon.*
ver kač ni=ko-avinon
PERF GO 1SG=ATTR-husband
'I will already get married.' [RP-19/7/04-73]

The same holds for verbs marked by the intentional and directional suffix *-pa* in the place of *kač* 'go':

(28) *ver wekpa to kahawor.*
ver wek-pa to kahawor
PERF 1PL.harvest-GO ART cotton
'We are going to harvest the cotton (now).' [RP/EC-17/7/04-139]

When negated the particle *ver* 'PERF' behaves differently from other particles: the negative particle *nka* follows *ver*, whereas it generally precedes the other particles; cf. (29):

(29) *ver nka rasorohewapa to ka roešmoč.*
ver nka ro=asoro-he-wapa to ka ro=išomo-čo
PERF NEG 3SGm=be.strong-DISTR-COS ART IND 3SGm=get.up-NOM2
'He already had no power to get up.' [AD/DC-D2-174]

Which other possible combinations of particles occur is discussed in 7.12 below. Like many other adverbs, *ver* 'PERF' can be used as a non-verbal base with subject marking in enclitic position. The most frequently used predicate is shown in (30):

(30) *rokačpow. ač teč rotori veraper.*
ro=kač-po-wo ač teč ro=tori ver-a-pa=ro
3SGm=go-PRFLX-COP and DEM2m 3SGm=friend PERF-LK-GO=3SGm
'He left. And his friend had already gone (away).' [RP-N3-244]

The non-verbal base *veraper* 'he already went (away)' may look like a verb, but it is differentiated clearly from verbs through the specific non-verbal subject marking of *-ro* '3SGm'. It is interesting that the meaning is in fact more determined by the verbal suffix *-pa* 'GO' than the base *ver* 'already'. The linking morpheme has to be added after stative bases to which an active morpheme (*-pa*) is attached (cf. Chapter 5).

7 2 The intentional particle kač

The intentional particle *kač* interacts with the intentional verbal suffix *-pa* Both have the same meaning, but occur on different levels of grammaticalization Possibly *-pa* is older, as Baure is originally mainly suffixing The particle *kač*, however, may well be more recently derived While we cannot find any lexeme that could have served as source for the grammatical morpheme *-pa*, *kač* has been derived from the motion verb *-kač-* 'go' The intentional markers can very often be used for future reference, but since tense does not exist as a real category in Baure, the name intentional describes the wide meaning of the morpheme more precisely The following examples show *kač* and *-pa* marking a verb (32), *kač* alone marking a verb[186] (33) and (34), and *-pa* alone (35)

(32) *kač rinikpa tič*
kač *ri=nik-pa* *tič*
GO 3SGf=eat-GO DEM2f
'She (*emphatic*) went to eat ' [GP-N1/I-14]

(33) *ač rimer yiti ač kač rinik*
ač *ri=im=ro* *yiti* *ač* *kač* *ri=nik*
and 3SGf=put=3SGm chili and GO 3SGf=eat
'And she put chili in it (the food) and she (another woman) went to eat '
[GP-N1/I-15]

(34) *ač yahpik kač rokačoworoworek horno-ye*
ač *yi=ah-pik* *kač* *ro=kačoworo~wore-ko* *horno-ye*
and 2PL=try-COME GO 3SGm=make noise~INT-ABS oven-LOC
'And you (PL) come and try that it will make a lot of noise in the oven '
[GP-N7-60]

(35) *rokačoworoworekpa*
ro=kačoworo-wore-ko-pa
3SGm=make noise~INT-ABS-GO
'It went to make a lot of noise ' [GP-N7-61]

Examples (32) and (33) were uttered subsequently in a narrative, and so were (34) and (35) There may be a slight difference in emphasis between (32) and (33), (32) with double marking being more emphatic, which is also shown by the demonstrative pronoun following the verb phrase for emphasis (on the subject) Apart from emphasis, there is no meaning difference at all Somehow for the structuring of a narration speakers seem to prefer the construction with analytic marking

In (34) the verb is marked with only the intentional particle *kač*, while in the directly subsequent clause (35), the same verb is marked by only the intentional suffix *-pa* Double marking would also have been possible In the following example the speaker corrects herself, or shows us that both markings are indeed semantic equivalents

[186] Compare also to (6) through (8) in this chapter

(36) *ver kač etovɪ – etapavɪ*
ver *kač* *eto=vɪ* *eto-a-pa=vɪ*
PERF GO finish=1PL finish-LK-GO=1PL
'We will already finish, we will finish ' [RP-1/9/03-102]

I found only one example of negative clause with *kač* 'GO'

(37) *ver kač-hɪ rɪnɪk, rɪnɪk, rɪnɪk, nka kač-hɪ rɪmoro'ɪner-hɪ*
ve *kač=hɪ* *rɪ=nɪk* *rɪ=nɪk* *rɪ=nɪk*
PERF GO=QUOT 3SGf=eat 3SGf=eat 3SGf=eat

nka *kač=hɪ* *rɪ=moro'ɪno=ro=hɪ*
NEG GO=QUOT 3SGf=be sick of=3SGm=QUOT
'She went to eat and eat and eat, and she didn't get sick of it ' [GP-N1/II-31]

In (37) the negative particle precedes the preverbal particle *kač* 'GO' The verb is stative and the meaning of *nka kač* can be translated as 'didn't become' in this case

7 3 The progressive particle ɪto

The preverbal particle *ɪto* marks progressive aspect It is derived from the verb *-ɪto-/-ɪta-* 'continue', which frequently occurs with other verbs in unmarked – (38) and (39) – or marked complementation[187] (40)

(38) *pɪta pɪmok'*
pɪ=ɪta *pɪ=ɪmok*
2SG=continue 2SG=sleep
'Continue to sleep!' [RP/EC-17/7/04-100]

(39) *nɪtaw nkotorekow*
nɪ=ɪta-wo *nɪ=kotoreko-wo*
1SG=continue 1SG=work-COP
'I am continuing to work ' [MD-20/3/06-36]

(40) *rotɪ' roetaw to rokotorekoč*
rotɪ' *ro=ɪta-wo* *to* *ro=kotoreko-čo*
3SGm 3SGm=continue-COP ART 3SGm=work-NOM2
'He is continuing to work ' [MD-20/3/06-38]

In the examples presented the form of the verb base is always *-ɪta-* 'continue', but it can also be found in the form *-ɪto-*, just like the particle *ɪto* can also be found in the form *ɪta*, even though the former is the more generally used form

The complementation with *-ɪto-/-ɪta-* 'continue' seems to have served as the basis for the progressive particle *ɪto* The main difference is the lack of person marking on the particle

There is no progressive verbal suffix in Baure, but we can e g interpret dynamic verbs as progressive, when they are marked by the copula *-wo*, as *ronɪkow* 'he is eating' (3SGm=eat-COP) in (41) The progressive particle *ɪto* is used in order to put spe-

[187] This kind of predicate combination is described in 10 3

cial emphasis on the fact that the situation is still in progress (cf Comrie 1976 33), but it is in no way obligatory In general only non-stative verbs are marked by *ito* (compare Comrie 1976 35), this also includes verbs of sensory perception (43)

(41) *ito ronikow erapoe'*
ito *ro=niko-wo* *erapoe'*
PROG 3SGm=eat-COP plantain
'He is eating plantain ' [DC-22/3/06-102]

(42) *noiy ikiyopo-ye-hi ko teč šowekon ito rohičowor ač nka rošimow*
noiy *ikiy-po-ye=hi* *ko* *teč* *šowekon*
there middle-way-LOC=QUOT exist? DEM2m jaguar

ito *ro=hičo-wo=ro* *ač* *nka* *ro=šimo-wo*
PROG 3SGm=wait-COP=3SGm and NEG 3SGm=arrive-COP
'There in the middle of the way was the jaguar waiting for him (the fox) and he didn't arrive ' [RP-N3-37]

(43) *nisompowor, ito nisompowor*
ni=sompo-wo=ro *ito* *ni=sompo-wo=ro*
1SG=hear-COP=3SGm PROG 1SG=hear-COP=3SGm
'I am listening to it, I am listening to it (right now) ' [MD-17/4/06-89]

In each example (41) to (43) the verbs are marked by the copula suffix *-wo*, in addition to the progressive particle *ito* Only verbs that describe a process and therefore include a progressive meaning, such as *-sowe'*- 'rain' in (44) do not carry the copula suffix necessarily

(44) *vikotorekpon tiwe' ito rosowe'*
vi=kotorek-pa-no *tiwe'* *ito* *ro=sowe'*
1PL=work-GO-NOM1 but PROG 3SGm=rain
'We went to work, but it was raining ' [JC-1/4/06-1]

Besides the copula suffix, the directional suffix *-pik* 'come' can also describe movement in process and verbs that have this morpheme attached can be marked by progressive *ito*, as illustrated in (45)

(45) *rokačpow ropinokiap ač ito roeyatoekpik*
ro=kač-po-wo *ro=pinokia-po* *ač* *ito* *ro=iyatoek-pik*
3SGm=go-PRFLX-COP 3SGm=run-PRFLX and PROG 3SGm=burn-COME
'He left, he ran and he came burning (bringing the fire) ' [MD-N13-22]

Stative verbs can also be progressive, but only when marked by the morpheme *-wapa*, which describes a change of state It generally refers to a changed state that has already been activated When a stative verb is marked by both *-wapa* and the progressive particle *ito*, this means that the subject is in progression to coming into the state In all the examples the verb phrase is preceded by perfect *ver* in addition, cf the stative verbs in (46) and (47)

(46) *ver ıto nemoro ınwapa ıkoweči, ver nka kıkowonı ntırıwapa*

ver	*ıto*	*nı=emoro ıno-wapa*	*ıkowe-či*	*ver*	*nka*
PERF	PROG	1SG=forget-COS	little bit-DIM	PERF	NEG

kıko-wo=nı	*nı=tırı-wapa*
really-COP=1SG	1SG=know-COS

'I am already forgetting a little bit, I really don't know very well any more ' [RP-19/4/06-64]

(47) *ver ıto rokeyınowapa*

ver	*ıto*	*ro=ko-evon-wapa*
PERF	PROG	3SGm=ATTR-wife-COS

'He was already getting married ' [RP-N4-227]

The same effect of a "developing process" (Comrie 1976 37) can be achieved with the verb *-ıto-/-ıta-* 'continue', as demonstrated in (48)

(48) *roeto rotırıwapa*

ro=ıto	*ro=tırı-wapa*
3SGm=continue	3SGm=know-COS

'He already knows a bit (he knows more and more each day) ' [JC-7/3/06-61]

In (48) we seem to have the verb 'continue' before us, because there is subject marking by *ro-* '3SGm' The use of the verb in (48), however, looks already exactly like the use of the particle *ıto* described above

In very few examples the progressive meaning is extended towards a habitual meaning, as in (49) and (50)

(49) *pıyatıkıer teč wohırok koeč to tıporek ıto rokosoekowor*

pı=yatık=ro	*teč*	*wohırok*	*koeč*	*to*	*tıporek*
2SG=burn=3SGm	DEM2m	garbage	because	ART	chicken

ıto	*ro=kosoeko-wo=ro*
PROG	3SGm=scatter-COP=3SGm

'Burn that garbage, because the chicken (always) scatter it ' [JC-13/7/04-86/87]

(50) *ten rokomorokonı to hopıs ač ıto ntoričow*

ten	*ro=komoroko=nı*	*to*	*hopıs*	*ač*
DEM3m	3SGm=bite=1SG	ART	horsefly	and

ıto	*nı=toričo-wo*
PROG	1SG=scratch-COP

'The fly bit me and I am scratching ' [HC-6/7/04-45]

Example (49) refers to what the chickens always do or will do when the garbage is thrown there It is a warning that something may happen and the situation is not in progress when uttered In (50) the speaker shows me that she was bitten by a horsefly and now she is scratching But she was not scratching while she told me this, and thus I suppose she refers to the scratching as ongoing for a long time and over the whole day more or less continuously

7.4. The terminative particle eto

The terminative particle *eto* is identical to the base of the non-verbal predicate *eto-* 'finish'[188]. The predicate is transitive and has two slots for argument marking enclitics (cf. 5.2.2). The preverbal particle has presumably developed from a complement construction with *eto-* 'finish'. In Baure the complement subordinated to the main predicate *eto-* 'finish' is marked by *-čo* 'NOM2' (cf. marked complementation in 10.3.6). In addition it is frequently preceded by a determiner, as demonstrated in (51):

(51) *ver etoni to nivesač. ver etoroni.*
ver *eto=ni* *to* *ni=vesa-čo* *ver* *eto=ro=ni*
PERF finish=1SG ART 1SG=read-NOM2 PERF finish=3SGm=1SG
'I already finished reading. I have finished it.' [JC-29/7/04-62]

The particle *eto*, in contrast, does not have any person cross-reference marking, and the verb that follows remains unmarked (no subordination). This can be compared in the following two examples, (52) representing the subordinate construction again, and (53) the particle construction:

(52) *... iškon eton teč nowoyikoč teč pari.*
iškon *eto-no* *teč* *no=woyiko-čo* *teč* *pari*
until finish=3PL DEM2m 3PL=make-NOM2 DEM2m house
'... until they finished building the house.' [RP-N2/I-14]

(53) *nti' ponšownoe' eto niwoyikow te niweri.*
nti' *po-no-š-wo-no-i'*
1SG one-CLF:human-one-COP-NOM1-EMPH

eto *ni=woyiko-wo* *te* *ni=weri*
FINISH 1SG=make-COP DEM1m 1SG=house
'I finished building my house all alone.' [HC-6/7/04-43]

Just like progressive *ito* the particle *eto* is only used as a grammatical particle but not as an adverb. It is frequently found in narration, as a means to structure the chronological order of events. Before the event the verb may be marked by *kač* 'go', then the event takes place and is marked by the copula suffix *-wo*; finally, the next verb is marked by *eto* to make clear that the event has finished and the speaker moves on to another one. This can be observed in examples (54) and (55):

(54) *"neriki pičošan! nikomorikopi!" ač rikomorikier. eto rikomorikier ač rikačpow-hi kač rihačoropiaper.*
neriki *pi=čo-ša-no* *ni=ikomoriko=pi* *ač* *ri=ikomoriko=ro*
now 2SG=know-IRR-NOM1 1SG=kill=2SG and 3SGf=kill=3SGm

[188] It may also have been the other way around: the non-verbal predicate *eto-* may have been derived from the terminative particle *eto* that could originally have been an adverb, meaning 'over' or so (Andrej Malchukov, p.c). This idea could be supported by comparison to the adverb *ver*, in which case the other direction of development is hypothesized. There is no evidence for the adverb status of *eto* besides that, however; therefore the other relation is favoured.

eto *rɪ=ɪkomorɪk=ro* *ač* *rɪ=kač-po-wo=hɪ*
FINISH 3SGf=kɪll=3SGm and 3SGf=go-PRFLX-COP=QUOT

kač *rɪ=hačoro-pɪ-a-pa=ro*
GO 3SGf=peel-CLF long&thɪn-LK-GO=3SGm
' "Now you wɪll see! I kɪll you!" and she kɪlled ɪt (the eel) She fɪnished kɪll-ɪng ɪt and went away ɪn order to peel ɪt ' [GP-N1/II-19/20]

In (54) there ɪs one predɪcate marked by termɪnatɪve *eto*, followed by an ɪntentɪonal predɪcate, marked by *kač* 'GO'

(55) *ver eton teč neparečok ač nehemoekop nehmoekow, ver eto nehmoekop, no-kačpow novehšačpaw*
ver *eto=no* *teč* *no=epareč-ko* *ač*
PERF fɪnɪsh=3PL DEM2m 3PL=play-RCPR and

no=ehmoeko-po
3PL=wash clothes-PRFLX

no=ehmoeko-wo *ver* *eto* *no=ehmoeko-po*
3PL=wash clothes-COP PERF FINISH 3PL=wash clothes-PRFLX

no=kač-po-wo *no=vehšač-pa-wo*
3PL=go-PRFLX-COP 3PL=take off clothes-GO-COP
'They fɪnɪshed playɪng wɪth each other and went to wash clothes They washed clothes, they fɪnɪshed washɪng, they left and went to take off theɪr clothes ' [RP-N4-57]

In (55) there ɪs fɪrst the predɪcate use of *eto-* 'fɪnɪsh' wɪth a subordɪnate clause The ɪntransɪtɪve verb *nehmoekop* 'they wash clothes' ɪs marked by perfectɪve *-po* In thɪs case ɪt may also denote the begɪnnɪng of the event It ɪs followed by the same verb marked by the copula suffɪx *-wo*, whɪch emphasɪzes the progress of the event Then the event fɪnɪshes and ɪs marked by the two partɪcles *ver eto* 'PERF FINISH', followed by a verb phrase that ɪncludes the ɪntentɪonal suffɪx *-pa* 'GO' ɪn order to ɪntroduce the next event

There ɪs no termɪnatɪve verbal suffɪx ɪn Baure, but I notɪced that the termɪnatɪon of an event may also be expressed by the departɪtɪve suffɪx *-wana* The departɪtɪve morpheme adds to the termɪnatɪon of one event the departure from where that event happened Thɪs meanɪng ɪs not captured by *eto* In one example the same verb was marked by both, *eto* 'fɪnɪsh' and *-wana* 'departɪtɪve'

(56) *kač nonɪk eto ronɪwanaw, "boen", rokew-hɪ 'nɪkač "*
kač *no=nɪk* *eto* *ro=nɪ-wana-wo*
GO 3PL=eat FINISH 3SGm=eat-DEP-COP

boen *ro=ke-wo=hɪ* *nɪ=kač*
well 3SGm=EV-COP 1SG=go
'They went to eat He fɪnɪshed eatɪng and left "Well", he saɪd "I go " '
[GP-N8-14]

7.5. The repetitive particle avik

The repetitive particle *avik* closely resembles the verb base *-avik-* 'return'. It can also be used as an adverb meaning 'again', with a freer position in the clause. The meaning 'again' or repetitive action of the adverb or particle *avık* has certainly evolved from the meaning of the verb. To 'return' to the starting point of an action is generally the precondition for performing it again. I presume that in the case of *avık* the development went as in 7.2:

-avik- 'return'	>	*avik* 'REP'	>	*avik* 'again'
VERB		PARTICLE		ADVERB

Figure 7 2 The evolution of the repetitive particle and the adverb 'again'

I suggest that the adverb has evolved from the particle, as the particle construction is more closely related to verb serialization. In both cases the position of the lexeme *-avik-* is fixed preceding another verb, whereas the adverb can occur in many positions in the clause.

The verb *-avik-* 'return' is shown in (57) and (58), and (58) and (59) illustrates the use of *avik* 'again' used as an adverb:

(57) *enevere riavikop.*[189]
enevere *ri=aviko-po*
next.day 3SGf=return-PRFLX
'Tomorrow she will return.' [RP-P2-23]

(58) *ver noka! ver nka riavikop avik!*
ver *noka* *ver* *nka* *ri=aviko-po* *avik*
PERF NEG PERF NEG 3SGf=return-PRFLX again
'No any more! She will not return again (never come back)!' [RP-P2-20]

(59) *rom riper ronik avik.*
rom *ri=pa=ro* *ro=nik* *avık*
IMM 3SGf=give=3SGm 3SGm=eat again
'Then she gave him to eat again.' [RP-N4-5]

Note that the adverb *avik* 'again' in (58) and (59) follows the verb. The particle always precedes the verb, as can be observed in examples (60) through (62):

(60) *avik rosapsirikier.*
avik *ro=sap-sirik=ro*
REP 3SGm=pinch-nose=3SGm
'Again he pinched his nose.' [RP-N3-43]

(61) *ač –ha–rietoesap, nka avik rikoka.*
ač *ha* *ri=etoes-pa* *nka* *avik* *ri=koka*
and HES 3SGf=be.quiet-GO NEG REP 3SGf=laugh
'And she became quiet and didn't laugh any more.' [GP-N1/II-7]

[189] The base form *avık* is reanalyzed to have a deleted final vowel *-o* by the speaker, only pronounced when other morphemes follow (cf. Chapter 2).

(62) *avik roešom avık roehevipoekporeiyop.*
avik *ro=išom* *avik* *ro=ehevipoek-poreiyo-po*
REP 3SGm=stand REP 3SGm=fall.down-REP-PRFLX
'Again he got up and again he fell down.' [JC-14/3/06-52]

The repetitive particle can also be negated, as shown in (61), even though there is also a negative particle that expresses nearly the same: *porok* 'never (again)'. Examples (63) and (64) show that *nka avik* 'not again' and *porok* 'never' are related:

(63) *nka avik pimovikier.*
nka *avik* *pi=imovik=ro*
NEG REP 2SG=give.back=3SGm
'You don't give it back again.' [MD-2/4/06-18]

(64) *porok pimovikier.*
porok *pi=imovik=ro*
never 2SG=give.back=3SGm
'You never gave it back.' [MD-2/4/06-19]

The difference between (63) and (64) is mainly the time reference. While *porok* 'never' refers to a past event, *nka avik* is the negation of a future event.

Strikingly Baure has a grammatical morpheme that marks repetition: the complex suffix *-poreiy* 'REP'. The preverbal particle *avik* can co-occur with the suffix *-poreiy*, as in (62) above and (65) below. On the other hand, it is also possible to have a verb only marked by *-poreiy*, as in (66) (cf. 6.5.2.8).

(65) *phhh, phhh – risik ač retorok. phhh, phhh, avik rısikporeiy.*
phhh *phhh* *ri=sik* *ač* *ri=etorok*
INT INTJ 3SGf=blow and 3SGf=come.out

phhh *phhh* *avik* *ri=sik-poreiy*
INTJ INTJ again 3SGf=blow-REP
'Puff, puff (blowing out water) – she dove (in the water) and came out. Puff, puff (blowing out water) – again she dove in.' [MD-N1-25/26]

(66) *ropınokiaporeıy-hi teč sipor, rewkoporeiy.*
ro=pınokıa-poreıy=hi *teč* *sipor* *ro=iwko-poreiy*
3SGm=run-REP=QUOT DEM2m ostrich 3SGm=shout-REP
'The ostrich ran again, he shouted again.' [RP-N6-29]

7.6. The immediate particle rom

One further particle doubles an adverb: *rom* 'soon, recently'[190]. This particle generally marks an event that happens soon or immediately after another one. This event may be placed in the past, immediately after another past event, or in the future, immediately following another future event.

[190] This adverb is translated into Spanish as 'recién', and this adverb is used in regional Spanish with past and future reference, just like in Baure, see below.

The adverb *rom* 'soon, recently' may also occur in two emphatic forms, *romoe'* and *romoekoe'*. In examples (67) and (68) *rom* is used as an adverb, glossed as 'IMM' throughout[191]:

(67) *romoe' to nokarowow.*
romo-i' to no=karowo-wo
IMM-EMPH ART 3PL=study-COP
'Lately they have been studying.' [JI-22/8/03-14]

(68) *nakirok-ye vikoyepiaw ačo romo nka nočinčowoni.*
nakirok-ye vi=koyepia-wo ačo romo nka
long.ago-LOC 1PL=converse-COP and IMM NEG

no=činčo-wo=ni
3PL=understand-COP=1SG
'Long ago we were talking to each other and lately they don't understand me any more.' [HC-13/9/03-26]

As in the cases of *ver* 'PERF' and *moeh* 'CERT', it is rather difficult to distinguish the adverbial use from the particle use: the relatively freer positioning of the adverb is taken as the general criterion for the distinction. An explicit subject may be inserted between the adverb and the verb, as in (69) and (70):

(69) *ač ver rošim ač rom nti' nišim napiri'.*
ač ver ro=šim ač rom nti' ni=šim napiri'
and PERF 3SGm=arrive and IMM 1SG 1SG=arrive also
'And he arrived (before me) and then (soon after) I arrived as well.'
[DC-10/4/06-117]

(70) *yimirokon nik nti' ač rom teč navinon rošim ewononaper ronikpa.*
yimirokon nik nti' ač rom teč ni=avinon
first 1SG.eat 1SG and IMM DEM2m 1SG=husband

ro=šim ewonon-a-pa=ro ro=nik-pa
3SGm=arrive last-LK-GO=3SGm 3SGm=eat-GO
'I eat first and then my husband arrives last and goes to eat.' [JC-6/4/06-81]

The particle *rom* 'IMM' is unmarked and may co-occur with other preverbal particles (cf. 7.12 for the possible combinations). It can be translated as 'soon after', 'then', 'finally', or 'just', depending on a past, present, or future reference. In (71) through (73) are a few examples of the use of the particle *rom* as a marker for an immediate event:

(71) *noka royak te mokovore', royakša rom vinikier.*
noka ro=yak te mokovore' ro=yak-ša
NEG 3SGm=ripe DEM1m papaya 3SGm=ripe-IRR

[191] By the way, the word *pahare'* also refers to the 'day before yesterday' and the 'day after tomorrow'. There seems to have been a similar concept of recent past and future in Baure, of which these examples are the traces.

rom *vɪ=nɪk=ro*
IMM 1PL=eat=3SGm
'The papaya is not ripe, when it is ripe, then we eat it ' [DC-15/4/06-146]

(72) *ver mpomorekoewapanɪ teč nkavɪnoner rom nɪkošɪr*
ver *mpo-morekoe-wapa=nɪ* *teč* *nɪ=ka-avɪnon=ro*
PERF three-year-COS=1SG DEM2m 1SG=ATTR-husband=3SGm

rom *nɪ=ko-šɪr*
IMM 1SG=ATTR-son
'When I was married for three years, then I finally had a child '
[DC-7/3/06-20]

(73) *nkač ntoepɪer to kaharopɪ koehkoe' rom nɪmarokɪer koehkoe' rom nɪwoɪ-ykɪer*
nɪ=kač *nɪ=toe-pɪ-a=ro* *to* *kaharopɪ*
1SG=go 1SG=dye-CLF long&thɪn-LK=3SGm ART cotton thread

koehkoe' *rom* *nɪ=marok=ro* *koehkoe'* *rom* *nɪ=woyɪk=ro*
so that IMM 1SG=tauten=3SGm so that IMM 1SG=make=3SGm[192]
'I will dye the cotton thread so that I then tauten it, so that I then weave it (the hammock) ' [EU-24/3/06-52]

Example (71) refers to a future event 'when it is ripe', whereas (72) refers to a past event 'when I was married for three years' In (73) both events marked by *rom* 'IMM' are future events, and there it is noteworthy that two events happen after the first one *ntoepɪer* 'I dye it' first *nɪmarokɪer* 'I tauten it' and then *nɪwoɪykɪer* 'I weave it' Each of the events happen after another, and at the same time each one is the precondition for the next one (73) also demonstrates that *rom* on its own cannot function as a clause connector, as it is preceded by the connector *koehkoe'* 'so that' Connectors do not generally occur in a sequence of more than one (cf 10 1) What all the events marked by *rom* have in common, is the fact that the marked event follows another event, in the past or the future

There are examples in which *rom* is not directly related to a preceding event It can have a recent past meaning, translated as 'just' into English, as in (74) and (75)

(74) *boen, rom repšer rotɪ'*
boen *rom* *ro=epša=ro* *rotɪ'*
well IMM 3SGm=appear=3SGm 3SGm
'Well, he just came out (appeared to him) ' [SIL-N1-96]

(75) *te monči rom pomoroekoešowor*
te *monči* *rom* *po-moroekoe-šo-wo=ro*
DEM1m child IMM one-year-one-COP=3SGm
'This boy has just become one year old ' [DC-16/3/06-4]

[192] The verb *-woyɪk-* generally means 'make', but it can also used mean 'weave' in specific

The past event in (74) happened immediately before the utterance. The state in (75) has just come into being

The particle *rom* is mainly found when one event or situation is established as a precondition This event defines a point in time when the other event, marked by *rom*, can take place In many examples the first event is expressed by a verb phrase, but it may also be defined by a temporal adverb In examples (76) and (77) the point in time is defined by a verb phrase:

(76) *ntɪ' nɪkonokɪr ač romo nɪveser*
ntɪ' nɪ=konok=ro ač romo nɪ=vesa=ro
1SG 1SG=write=3SGm and IMM 1SG=read=3SGm
'I write it and then I read it.' [JC-13/7/04-99]

(77) *nkoektɪaša rom nɪtapa*
nɪ=koektɪ-a-ša rom nɪ=ta-pa
1SG=time-LK-IRR IMM 1SG=weed-GO
'When I have the time, then I go to weed ' [MD-20/3/06-32]

When the first clause refers to a future event, the verb phrase is frequently marked with the irrealis suffix *-ša*, as in (77). Clauses may also be combined without the particle *rom* and result in the same meaning. This is described in more detail in 10.3 2 and exemplified by (78), which can be compared to (79)

(78) *nerɪkɪ rɪšɪmɪša kač nɪnɪkɪrɪ*
nerɪkɪ rɪ=šɪmɪ-ša kač nɪ=ɪ-nɪk=rɪ
now 3SGf=arrive-IRR GO 1SG=CAUS-eat=3SGf
'Now when she arrives I make her eat ' [GP-N1/II-23]

(79) *nerɪkɪ navɪkošap romo netokopɪer.*
nerɪkɪ nɪ=avɪko-ša-po romo nɪ=etokopo=ro
now 1SG=return-IRR-PRFLX IMM 1SG=sweep=3SGm
'Now when I come back, then I sweep it ' [JC-13/7/04-80]

Clause (78) could as well have included the particle *rom* 'IMM' without a meaning difference, cf (79) In (80) – (82) the point in time is defined by temporal adverbs:

(80) *nɪmokap, enevere rom nkač*
nɪ=ɪmok-pa enevere rom nɪ=kač
1SG=sleep-GO next day IMM 1SG=go
'I go to sleep, tomorrow I will go then.' [RP-N3-17]

(81) *enevere nɪmonoekɪkoe' neš ronɪk, koeč nehmoek te, ač rom nɪkač pahare*
enevere nɪ=ɪmonoek-ɪkoe' neš ro=nɪk koeč nɪ=ehmoek
next day 1SG=buy?-EMPH meat 3SGm=eat because 1SG=wash

te *ač* *rom* *ni=kač* *pahare*
DEM1m and IMM 1SG=go other.day
'Tomorrow I buy meat for him to eat, because I will wash this, and then I go (to fish) the day after tomorrow.'[193] [GP-2/4/06-57]

(82) *junıa-ye rom nkoečapiow.*
junıa-ye *rom* *ni=koečapi-wo*
june-LOC IMM 1SG=birthday-COP
'In June, it is my birthday.' [EU-24/3/06-86]

The particle *rom* 'IMM' also interacts with the verbal suffixes attached to the verb in the same verb phrase. This is demonstrated in examples (83) and (84) in comparison:

(83) *rom nihekow.*
rom *ni=iheko-wo*
IMM 1SG=comb-COP
'Finally I am combing (myself).' [JC-14/3/06-14]

(84) *rom nihekšap.*
rom *ni=ihek-ša-po*
IMM 1SG=comb-IRR-PRFLX
'Finally (when) I will comb myself.' [JC-14/3/06-15]

In (83) the copula suffix *-wo* leads to the interpretation of the event as already in progress. In (84) the event has not happened yet. The speaker refers to a future event.

There is no verbal suffix that could fulfil the same job as *rom* 'IMM', but departitive *-wana* e.g. expresses that something was done just before leaving or the subject does it and leaves (cf. 6.5.2.3). However, *rom* cannot replace the meaning of *-wana* 'DEP'.

7.7. The certainty particle moeh

The particle *moeh* has a wide range of modal uses, summed up here as 'certainty'. The preverbal particle may also be used as an adverb meaning 'certainly', but as in the case of *ver* 'already' there are no clear examples of the distinct adverbial use. The meanings of *moeh* can be: 'must/have to, can/be able to, may, be allowed to, ought to, should, (like/want to)', and in questions it is used to ask for permission, possibility, or for a favour. The particle *moeh* is also used in the answers to those questions, where it can also express an offer. These are different modes in Spanish (and English), whereas in Baure they are all referred to by this particle. Ability and possibility are also expressed by the specific postverbal particle *toeri*. Obligation and permission can also be expressed by specific verbs. Some specific morpheme combinations can also replace some modal expressions, but the analytic construction with the particle *moeh* is very frequently used instead. In the following the many uses of the particle *moeh* are illustrated. The most frequent meaning is obligation:

[193] The verb *nimonoekıkoe'* might be wrong here. The base *-ımonoek-* 'sell' is easily confused with *-ımono-* 'buy', both related anyhow In this example the speaker referred to buying meat for the money she makes with the washing of clothes for others

(85) *' nešakon moeh pači ten piwer", rokičowor-hi*
nešakon moeh pi=ači ten pi=wer
forever CERT 2SG=load DEM3m 2SG=house

ro=kičo-wo=ro=hi
3SGm=say do-COP=3SGm=QUOT
' "For all your life (forever) you will have to carry around your house/shell", he said to him ' [RP-N5-13]

(86) *moeh nimonoekpo to niwer*
moeh ni=imonoek-po to ni=wer
CERT 1SG=sell-PRFLX ART 1SG=house
'I have to sell my house ' [RP-19/7/04-43]

The particle *moeh* can also mean ability or possibility, but not in the meaning of a general skill or a specific mode of doing something Here *toeri* 'POT' would be used

(87) *koeč to nen ikomorikonow te howe' moeh nohinokir*
koeč to nen ikomoriko-no-wo te howe'
because ART DEM3PL kill-NOM1-COP DEM1m dolphin

moeh no=hinok=ro
CERT 3PL=see=3SGm
'Because those who kill the dolphin (dolphins) are able to see it (certain parts of its body) ' [GP-N1/I-33]

(88) *moeh paspiri'inow pivesa, pivekier teč vekori?*
moeh pi=aspiri'ino-wo pi=vesa pi=vek=ro teč vekori
CERT 2SG=remember-COP 2SG=read 2SG=speak=3SGm DEM2m language
'Can/Do you remember reading, speaking that language?' [JC-13/7/04-98]

When asking for a favour *moeh* is used, and likewise it can express an offer

(89) *"moeh yaskoni?" – "boen", nokiew-hi teč sopirnev, "moeh vaskopi!"*
moeh yi=asko=ni boen no=kie-wo=hi teč sopir-nev
CERT 2PL=help=1SG well 3PL=EV-COP=QUOT DEM2m tortoise-PL

moeh vi=asko=pi
CERT 1PL=help=2SG
' "Can you help me?" – "Well", the tortoises said, "we can help you!" '
[RP-N6-19/20]

(90) *nti' moeh nihakičor*
nti' moeh ni-haki-čo=ro
1SG CERT 1SG=be closed-APPL=3SGm
'I can close it ' [RP-21/7/04-77]

(91) *moeh pinik him?*
moeh pi=nik him
CERT 2SG=eat fish
'Would you like to eat fish? (I offer you)' [MC-3/7/04-8]

(92) *hã piti' moeh pačikpap?*
hã *piti'* *moeh* *pi=ačik-pa-po*
INTJ 2SG CERT 2SG=walk-GO-PRFLX
'And would you like to go for a walk?' [RP-20/7/04-136]

The particle *moeh* can be used for a specific question for permission:

(93) *moeh nihirik apo nka?*
moeh *ni=hirik* *apo* *nka*
CERT 1SG=sit or NEG
'May I sit or not?' [GP/LO-21/7/04-37]

(94) *moeh pinikoni, tiwe' pahkoša te nikonow.*
moeh *pi=niko=ni* *tiwe'* *pi=ahko-ša* *te* *niko-no-wo*
CERT 2SG=eat=1SG but 2SG=try-IRR DEM1m 1SG.eat-NOM1-COP
'You can (certainly) eat me, but when/after you have tried what I am eating.'
[RP-N3-61]

The particle *moeh* refers to a high degree of certainty and can also be used to refer to future events, as the following examples illustrate:

(95) *ač moeh riavikop?*
ač *moeh* *ri=aviko-po*
and CERT 3SGf=return-PRFLX
'And, will she (ever) return?' [RP-P2-19]

(96) *nti' moeh nišoerekop.*
nti' *moeh* *ni=išoereko-po*
1SG CERT 1SG=cook-PRFLX
'I will cook!' [RP-8/7/04-6]

(97) *nti' moeh nikonoek.*
nti' *moeh* *ni=konoek*
1SG CERT 1SG=write
'I will write!' [RP-20/7/04-121]

(98) *moeh pitorakiri, moeh!*
moeh *pi=torak=ri* *moeh*
CERT 2SG=find=3SGf certainly
'You will find her for sure!' [RP-N4-97]

Examples (95) through (98) demonstrate that the particle refers to a degree of certainty. The particle *moeh* is probably the result of the combination of the privative prefix *mo-* + a root **-ih*. Due to a morphophonological change after the combination of the two vowels *o* and *i* > *oe*, the particle becomes *moeh*. The root **-ih* is unknown to me at the present stage of research, but metathesis may also have played a role. It could therefore be possible that the morpheme is related to quotative *-hi* or another homophonous root. Also the lexeme *-ihe'* 'power' could be related to *moeh*.

The particle *moeh* can be used as a minor clause, just like perfect *ver* 'already'. It has to be the answer to a clause that asks for ability, certainty, a favour, possibility, or

permission. The answer in (89) *moeh vaskopi* (CERT 1PL=help=2SG) 'we can help you' could also just be only the elliptic *moeh* 'we can'. Compare therefore (89) to (99):

(99) *"moeh yasko-ni?" – "moeh!"*
moeh yi=asko=ni moeh
CERT 2PL=help=1SG CERT/certainly
' "Can you help me?" – "Certainly(, we can)!" '

7.8 The cohortative (imperative) particle ši

The cohortative particle *ši* is only used in direct speech, and the speaker is making a strong request, suggestion or demand for a 1PL addressee that includes the speaker him- or herself. It works like English *let's (go/do)*. It is by its form (CV) and it is part of a subclass of imperative particles: *ši*, *pa*, and *ta*. The lexical source for this particle is unclear. *ši* can also be used as a minor clause on its own without any specific verb. When used like that, it generally means 'let's go'. When it is a reply, it may also be used as an affirmative clause and stands for the verb that has been mentioned in the context, 'yes, let's do that'. Here are some examples of the particle preceding main verbs:

(100) *ši vikač!*
ši vi=kač
HORT 1PL=go
'Let's go!' [GP-N7-70]

(101) *aiy, ši vihinokoper!*
aiy ši vi=hinoko-pa=ro
INTJ HORT 1PL=see-GO=3SGm
'Hey, let's go and look at it!' [RP-N11-28]

The reference of the cohortative particle is also marked on the main verb by the personal cross-referencing proclitic for 1PL *vi-*, but generally the addressee of *ši* is always 1PL. Only in a few cases the verb does not have a 1PL subject, but the whole action always includes more than one participant. In the following example there are two participants of an action, an agent (1SG, the speaker) and a patient (2SG, the addressee), but both are connected by the particle:

(102) *"boen, ši namopi", rokičowori-hi.*
boen ši ni=amo=pi ro=kičo-wo=ri=hi
well HORT 1SG=take=2SG 3SGm=say.do-COP=3SGf=QUOT
' "Well, let's go: I take (carry) you", he said to her.' [RP-N4-66]

That there have to be several participants to which *ši* refers in direct speech, is also supported by clauses in which *ši* is used without a main verb. As mentioned above, it generally refers to a cohortative motion meaning 'let's go!' in these minor clauses. Consider the following examples:

(103) *iherik noiy kwe' ši noiy, ši!*
iherik noiy kwe' ši noiy ši
maybe there exist HORT there HORT
'Maybe over there are (fish) Let's go there, let's go!' [LO-29/8/03-45]

(104) *ši noiy nisori-ye !"*
ši noiy ni=sori-ye
HORT there 1SG=village-LOC
'Let's go over there to my village !' [JP-N9-13]

In both examples *ši* is followed by the spatial adverb *noiy* 'over there', which certainly specifies the meaning of motion in space in addition, but *ši* could also be used without this spatial adverb

7 9 The intentional imperative particle pa
The particle *pa* closely resembles the intentional suffix *-pa* 'GO' In very few examples in my data *pa* functions as a free particle It directly precedes the verb, just like the other two imperative particles The particle *pa* was only found being used with 1SG and 2SG subjects in direct speech

The clauses in (106) are both answers to the question in (105) In an unstressed phrase it could be *nikpa* 'I will eat' (1SG eat-GO) In the examples below we see that in order to put special emphasis on the statement, this verbal suffix has been separated from the verb, and now precedes it as a verbal particle

(105) *kon to nikier?*
kon to nik=ro
who/what ART 1SG eat=3SGm
Q 'Who will eat it?'

(106) a *pa nti' nikier!*
pa nti' nik=ro
GO 1SG 1SG eat=3SGm
'I (*emphatic*) will eat it!'
[RP/EC-D4-19]

b *pa nti'-niš!*
pa nti'=niš
GO 1SG=EXCLA
Well, I (*emphatic*) will!'
[RP-15/8/03-36]

In the next example *pa* is used with a 2SG subject in the direct speech in a narration It co-occurs with the nominalized verb, which is the way imperative is generally formed morphologically (cf 9 3)

(107) *kač rokičiyaw –ha– "to pa pihirikašan nan siy-ye!"*
kač ro=kiči-y-a-wo ha to pa
GO 3SGm=say do-LOC?-LK-COP HES ART GO

pi=hirik-a-ša-no nan siy-ye
2SG=sit-LK-IRR-NOM1 here chair-LOC
'He went to say (to him) "Go and sit here on the chair!" ' [EU-N12-13]

7.10. The jussive (imperative) particle ta

The jussive particle *ta* is used only in imperative clauses, but in a different sense than cohortative *ši*, which refers to 1PL, or intentional *pa*, which refers to 1SG or 2SG. The particle *ta* is mainly used for 2nd person arguments, singular or plural, but may also refer to 3rd person arguments; only the 1st person is excluded. The particle *ta* expresses a demand that occurs only in direct speech, just as the particles *ši* and *pa*. In (108) through (110) there are examples of the jussive particle *ta*:

(108) *ta yikač, ta pikač, ta rikač!*
ta yi=kač ta pi=kač ta ri=kač
JUSS 2PL=go JUSS 2SG=go JUSS 3SGf=go
'Go (2PL)! Go(2SG)! That she goes!' [JP-12/7/04-2]

(109) *ta yi'imok, koehkoe' enevere višom katirikoe'!*
ta yi='imok koehkoe' enevere vi=šom katir-ikoe'
JUSS 2PL=sleep so.that next.day 1PL=get.up early-EMPH
'Go to sleep (2PL), so that we (can) get up early tomorrow!' [GP-N7-80]

(110) *ta rinik te riveiyan!*
ta ri=nik te ri=veiyan
JUSS 3SGf=eat DEM1m 3SGf=lover
'That she may eat her lover!' [GP-N1/II-24]

The marking by jussive *ta* is one way of marking an imperative; it is less frequent. In general, imperative mode is marked by the nominalizing suffix *-no* on the verb (cf. 9.3). In example (111) the particle *ta* is combined with the nominalized verb:

(111) *ta pinikpan!*
ta pi=nik-pa-no
JUSS 2SG=eat-GO-NOM1
'Go and eat!' [RP-19/7/04-13]

It looks as if the particle can sometimes carry person cross-reference marking; it is indistinguishable from the marked verb *-ita-* 'continue' because of vowel assimilation. This verb may in some way be related to the jussive particle, but there is no clear evidence. In examples (112) and (113) below the particle *ta* carries subject marking:

(112) *"ah, boen, nti' nahkoša." – "pita!" rokičowor-hi.*
ah boen nti' ni=ahko-ša pi=ta ro=kičo-wo=ro
INTJ well 1SG 1SG=try-IRR 2SG=JUSS 3SGm=say.do-COP=3SGm
' "Ah, well, I will try (it)." – "Do that!" he said to him.' [RP-N3-100]

(113) *moeh, pita pinik!*
moeh pi=ta pi=nik
certainly 2SG=JUSS 2SG=eat
'Certainly, go and eat!' [II-4/8/03-20]

I think that the speakers have indeed marked the particle *ta* in the above examples, because the verb 'continue', which would also result in the same word *pita* (*pi=ita*:

2SG=continue) with this person marking, does not make much sense. Nonetheless, there are so few examples that this matter remains unresolved. The most important and striking fact is the use with 3SG and 3PL subjects. The 3rd person is excluded with the other particles *ši* and *pa*.

7.11. The postverbal particle toeri for potential

In Baure there is a potential verb root in the two forms *-toeri-* and *-toer(o)-*, translated as 'do how'. The root mainly occurs in compounds with the empty verb root *-k(i)e-* 'EV' in questions that refer to the manner of an action 'how' (cf. 9.4.6), as represented in (114).

(114) *pɪkɪetoerin te pinisač?*
pi=kie-toeri-no *te* *pi=inisa-čo*
2SG=EV-do.how-NOM1 DEM1m 2SG=fish-NOM2
'How do you do the fishing?' [LO-29/8/03-15]

The root *-toeri-* has evolved into a postverbal particle to mark potential. When the same root *-toer(i)-* occurs in the compound interrogative predicate (114), its position is also after the main verb base. This particle is the only postverbal particle that I have encountered in Baure. The other postverbal elements are clausal enclitics *-hɪ* 'QUOT', *-niš* 'EXCLA', and *-enš* 'APRV' (cf. 9.7). The postverbal particle *toeri* 'potential' frequently occurs in questions, and there it always follows the clausal enclitics. It forms a phonological phrase with the preceding predicate[194]. However, as generally the clausal enclitics are the last elements of a word, I consider the particle to be a separate element and not another clausal enclitic. Consider the following examples to observe the position of *toeri* in a clause:

(115) *"karaw", rokew-hi, "neriki nkoetoeropon-niš toeri?"*
karaw *ro=ke-wo=hi* *neriki*
INTJ 3SGm=EV-COP=QUOT now

ni=koe-toero-po-no=niš *toeri*
1SG=EV-do.how-PRFLX-NOM1=EXCLA POT
' "Damn", he said. "What then could I do now?" ' [SIL-N1-206]

(116) *rikieponiš toeri?*
ri=kie-po-no=niš *toeri*
3SGf=EV-PRFLX-NOM1=EXCLA POT
'Where may she have gone?' [DC-6/4/06-104]

(117) *kovi rowononiš toeri teč hir?*
ko=vi *ro=wono-no=niš* *toeri* *teč* *hɪr*
why=1PL 3SGm=send-NOM1=EXCLA POT DEM2m man
'Why on earth may that man have sent us?' [DC-10/4/06-26]

[194] Mainly noticed because of the frequent effect of voicing of the initial consonant *t* in *toeri* after a preceding nasal (cf. 2.5.1).

(118) *rekɪčɪn toerɪ rɪšɪm?*
rekɪčɪn *toerɪ* *rɪ=šɪm*
when POT 3SGf=arrive
'When may she arrive?' [JC-14/3/06-19]

As example (115) demonstrates, the particle can even follow the interrogative predicate that already includes the same root *nkoetoeropon-nɪš toerɪ* 'what could I do then?' The potential particle directly follows the predicate that it refers to In (118) there are two predicates the interrogative predicate *rekɪčɪn* 'when?' and *rɪšɪm* 'she arrived' The particle follows *rekɪčɪn* 'when?', as the speaker refers to the possible time and not the possibility if the subject arrives at all

Examples (115) through (118) are all interrogative clauses There are not many declarative clauses that include *toerɪ*, but a few of them are represented in examples (119) through (122)

(119) *'karao", rokew-hɪ-enš, 'nɪpɪhɪkoe* *toerɪ ne ?"*
karao *ro=ke-wo=hɪ=enš* *nɪ=pɪhɪko-ɪ* *toerɪ* *ne*
INTJ 3SGm=EV-COP=QUOT=APRV 1SG=pass-EMPH POT here
' "Damn", he said "How could I pass (the river) here?" ' [SIL-N2-62]

(120) *nɪpɪhɪk toerɪ ne'*
nɪ=pɪhɪk *toerɪ* *ne'*
1SG=pass POT here
'I might pass here ' [DC-7/4/06-23]

(121) *rɪkayɪrapɪk-hɪ toerɪ tɪč nča ane waka*
rɪ=kayɪr-a-pɪk=hɪ *toerɪ* *tɪč* *nɪ=ɪča* *ane'* *waka*
3SGf=last-LK-COME=QUOT POT DEM2f 1SG=twin old cow
'The last one who might have come was that cow, old like me ' [SIL-N1-238]

(121) *moehe' royonop aw teč ɪmpe' ver rokovehekow toerɪ*
moeho-ɪ' *ro=yono-po* *aw* *teč* *ɪmpe*
CERT-EMPH 3SGm=walk-PRFLX and not DEM2m finally

ver *ro=kove-he-ko-wo* *toerɪ*
PERF 3SGm=reach-DISTR-ABS-COP POT
'He could (still) walk, but then finally he may have reached it all/the end '
[AD/DC-D2-185]

In (119) the declarative clause is turned into a polar question by rising intonation, but the form is that of a declarative clause Example (120) demonstrates the alternative non-interrogative use of *toerɪ* in the same clause The translation of the particle *toerɪ* into English remains difficult, but it generally adds a kind of doubt to the utterance Therefore it can also follow the adverb *hoerɪkon* 'maybe', as illustrated in (123)

(123) *rekɪčporeɪyɪn pɪšɪm? – hoerɪkon toerɪ*
rekɪč-poreɪyɪ-no *pɪ=šɪm* *hoerɪkon* *toerɪ*
when-REP-NOM1 2SG=arrive maybe POT
'When did you arrive again? – When may it be!?' [DC-6/4/06-102/103]

7.12. Possible combinations of preverbal particles

The combinations of particles described in this section exclude the postverbal particle *toeri* 'POT', which is not combined with the preverbal particles.

Even though we generally find only one verbal particle in the slot before the verb, there are certain combinations of, mainly, two particles possible. The most frequently occurring combinations consist of the perfect particle *ver* and intentional *kač*, progressive *ito*, terminative *eto*, or repetitive *avik*, but a few other combinations are possible as well. All possible combinations of two particles are summed up in Table 7.2.

	ver	*kač*	*moeh*	*ito*	*eto*	*avik*	*rom*
ver		+		+	+	+	+
kač	+					+	
moeh	+					+	
ito							
eto							
avik		(+)					
rom	+	+		+		+	

Table 7.2: Possible combinations of preverbal particles:

Among the particles preceding the verb the leftmost particle has scope over all the elements to the right, in parallel to the verbal suffixes on the other side of the base, which have scope over the elements to the left. Here are some examples for the combination of the perfect particle *ver* with other particles:

(124) *ver kač noyonop to ahinev, nokačpow.*
ver *kač* *no=yono-po* *to* *ahi-nev* *no=kač-po-wo*
PERF GO PL=walk-PRFLX ART child-PL 3PL=go-PRFLX-COP
'The children went walking, they went away.' [GP-N7-21]

(125) *ver ito piyapaw.*
ver *ito* *pi=ya-pa-wo*
PERF PROG 2SG=cry-GO-COP
'You are already starting to cry.' [RP-8/7/04-66]

(126) *ver eto nehmoekop.*
ver *eto* *ni=ehmoeko-po*
PERF FINISH 1SG=wash.clothes-PRFLX
'They already finished washing clothes.' [RP-N4-57]

(127) *ač nerikikoe kwe aviko nišepow, ver aviko nisiripoekporeiy.*
ač *neriki-koe'* *kwe'* *aviko* *ni=šep-wo*
and now-EMPH exist again 1SG=chivé-COP

ver *aviko* *ni=širi-po-i-ko-poreiy*
PERF REP 1SG=toast-CLF:tiny-DUR-ABS-REP
'And now we have again chivé, again we toasted chivé.' [GP-9/4/06-26]

The effect that *ver* 'PERF' has in examples (124) to (127) above differs, and it always has to be seen in relation to the other particle and the verbal suffixes as well The combination *ver kač* in (124) may have an inceptive meaning In the combinations of *ver* with progressive *ito* in (125), and terminative *eto* in (126), the perfect particle does not seem to add much to the meaning of the verb phrase (125) remains a progressive and (126) a terminative event In (125) there is an additional intentional suffix *-pa* that results in the inceptive meaning again, as already explained for *ver kač* 'PERF GO' In some cases the additional particle *ver* seems to constitute nothing more than a means to give special emphasis to the verb phrase

The intentional particle *kač* 'GO' is mainly combined with the particle *avik* 'REP' There are also examples with the inversed order, but here *avik* occurs in the emphatic form *avikoe' kač* (129) The meaning difference can be observed in (128), as compared with (129)

(128) *kač avik ropinokiaporeiy-hi*
kač *avik* *ro=pinokia-poreiy=hi*
GO REP 3SG=run-REP=QUOT
'He went to run again (it is said in the story) [RP-N5-32]

(129) *avikoe' kač nahkier nohiškier – naka!*
aviko-i' *kač* *no=ahk=ro* *no=hišk=ro* *naka*
again-EMPH GO 3PL=try=3SGm 3PL=drag=3SGm NEG
'Again they went to try it to drag him – but nothing (it didn't work)!'
[RP-N11-36]

This pair of examples shows the difference in scope that results from the differently ordered combinations In (128) *kač* 'GO' has scope over the following phrase, including the particle *avik* 'again' Thus it means 'he went to run again' In (129) the particles occur in inversed order and thus the first element *avikoe'*, which is emphasized and may thus also be analyzed as an adverb, has scope over the following phrase 'again they went '

Another particle that can be combined with various other particles is *rom* 'IMM', which can be followed by *ver* 'PERF' (130), *kač* 'GO' (131), *ito* 'PROG' (132), and *avik* 'REP' (133)

(130) *ač noki'inow vikeyon koehkoe' rom ver nokarowp*
ač *no=ki'ino-wo* *vi=ko-eyon* *koehkoe'* *rom*
and 3PL=want-COP 1PL=ATTR-wife so that IMM

ver *no=karow-po*
PERF 3PL=study-PRFLX
'And they wanted us to marry so that then they would study ' [LO/GP-D-18]

(131) *nerikikoe' rom kači nišoerekop*
neriki-koe' *rom* *kač* *ni=šoereko-po*
now-EMPH IMM GO 1SG=cook-PRFLX
'Right now I am finally going to cook ' [GP-16/9/03-119]

(132) *rom ıta rahıkow.*
rom *ıta* *ro=ahıko-wo*
IMM PROG 3SGm=try-COP
'Recently he ıs tryıng.' [DC-8/3/06-61]

(133) *romo avıko vaspırı'ın ver kač vıkoyepıač*
romo *avıko* *vı=aspırı'ın* *ver* *kač* *vı=koyepıač*
IMM REP 1PL=remember PERF GO 1PL=converse
'Recently we remember again, as we have started to converse (ın Baure) '
[GP-21/7/04-18]

Nonetheless, there are probably even more possible combınations

The ımperatıve partıcles *šı* 'HORT', *pa* 'GO', or *ta* 'JUSS' are not combıned wıth other preverbal partıcles at all Instead of a preverbal partıcle the verbal suffixes can be added In (134) e.g. the verb ıs preceded by the cohortatıve *šı* 'let's' and marked by the repetıtıve suffix *-poreıy*. Even though ın other cases the partıcle *avık* 'REP' can replace *-poreıy*, the sequence of **šı avık* 'let's agaın' before the verb ıs ungrammatıcal

(134) *šı vınıkporeıy ač vıkačporeıyop'*
šı *vı=nık-poreıy* *ač* *vı=kač-poreıy-po*
HORT 1PL=eat-REP and 1PL=go-REP-PRFLX
'Let's eat agaın and go away agaın!' [HC-13/9/03-17]

(135) **šı avık vınık'*
šı *avık* *vı=nık*
HORT REP 1PL=eat

The maxımum sequence of combıned preverbal partıcles that I found ın the data ıs three, as ın example (136). The partıcle *rom* 'IMM' can be combıned wıth a number of other partıcles and so can *ver* 'PERF'

(136) *ač nerıkı romo ver kač vaspırı'ın*
ač *nerıkı* *romo* *ver* *kač* *vı=aspırı'ın*
and now IMM PERF GO 1PL=remember
'And recently we are remembering ' [GP-21/7/04-17]

The negatıve partıcle can be added to some partıcle combınatıons But ın general the preverbal partıcles occur ın affırmatıve and not ın negatıve clauses In addıtıon, other negatıve adverbs may substıtute a combınatıon of the general negatıve partıcle and another aspectual or modal partıcle, such as *nka avık* 'not agaın' ıs generally substıtuted by *porok* 'never (agaın)' The posıtıon of *nka* ıs before the other partıcles, except for *ver*, whıch ıt maınly follows Here ıs one example wıth the negatıve partıcle and a partıcle combınatıon so that the posıtıon of *nka* 'NEG' becomes clear

(137) *ver teč šıye' ver rokačpow ropınop, ver nka avık rokotorekow noıy rowow teč šowekon*
ver *teč* *šıye'* *ver* *ro=kač-po-wo* *ro=pıno-po*
PERF DEM2m fox PERF 3SGm=go-PRFLX-COP 3SGm=flee-PRFLX

ver *nka* *avık* *ro=kotoreko-wo* *noıy* *ro=wo-wo*
PERF NEG REP 3SGm=work-COP there 3SGm=be L-COP

teč *šowekon*
DEM2m jaguar
'The fox already left and fled He dıdn't go there again to work where the jaguar was ' [RP-N3-53]

The adverb *porok* 'never' belongs to a small number of adverbs that can sometımes be ınserted between the particle and the maın verb Other such adverbs are *ımır* 'very', *maıy* 'much', and *verek* 'never ever' In the begınnıng I was not sure ıf these adverbs could not be grouped together wıth the preverbal partıcles as well, but I thınk they are sımply frequently used adverbs and show some of the syntactıc characterıstıcs of the grammatıcalızed preverbal partıcles The ınsertıon of the adverbs *maıy* 'much' and *ımır* 'very' before the verb and the non-verbal predıcate ıs shown ın (138) and (139)

(138) *ver nka maıy nıhınoekpa*
ver *nka* *maıy* *nı=hıno-ı-ko-pa*
PERF NEG much 1SG=see-DUR-ABS-GO
'I don't see much any more ' [JC-29/7/04-67]

(139) *ver nka ımır peropı*
ver *nka* *ımır* *pero-pı*
PERF NEG very long-CLF long&thın
'It ıs not very long ' [JI-14/8/03-38]

8 Closed word classes

In this chapter the Baure closed word classes are listed and described in some detail As claimed in Chapter 3, closed word classes are adverbs, demonstratives, pronouns, interjections and discourse particles

8 1 Adverbs

Adverbs in Baure were defined in 3 8 4 The main characteristics of adverbs are the following Many adverbs are monomorphemic, but they do not have a word class specific form By their form, adverbs look like nouns, and some adverbs, e g time adverbs, may be accompanied by a determiner Other adverbs show an internal morphological structure, but they are treated, like monomorphemic adverbs, as lexical units Adverbs are always independent lexemes and they differ from nouns because they cannot be pluralized, nor have the locative suffix attached, nor form compounds In addition, nouns function as arguments in the clause, whereas adverbs are adjuncts Some adverbs have been derived from verbs, but in contrast to verbs, adverbs cannot carry any person cross-referencing clitics On the other hand, adverbs, just like nouns, can be turned into non-verbal predicates with possible subject marking by encliticization This is in fact restricted to a part of the adverbs, namely in Baure, the majority of adverbs are temporal, described in 8 1 2, but further there is a small class of place adverbs, described in 8 1 1, and a large class of clause or phrasal adverbs of different kinds, referred to in 8 1 3 The whole class of adverbs is closed A morphological process that frequently occurs with adverbs is emphatic marking (8 1 4) Section 8 1 5 details the relation between adverbs and adjectives

8 1 1 Place adverbs

Place adverbs form a small closed class All the elements are morphologically simple, but some of the stems can be reduplicated Place adverbs can never be preceded by a determiner Their position in the clause is relatively free, but most frequently they are part of the predicate phrase and precede the locative argument marked by *-ye* 'LOC' Examples (1) through (4) demonstrate the possible positioning of the adverb *noiy* 'there' The same possibilities exist for the other place adverbs in Table 8 1

(1) *ač te kahaš rosiap noiy*
ač *te* *kahaš* *ro=siap* *noiy*
and DEM1m mouse 3SGm=enter there
'And this mouse entered there ' [RP-N4-244]

(2) *kwe' to eponoe' noiy ver rotitikowapoekoe noiy etsie-ye*
kwe *to* *eponoe'* *noiy* *ver* *roti~ti-wapa-ikoe'*
exist ART leaf there PERF 3SGm~INT-COS-EMPH

noiy *etsie-ye*
there branch-LOC
'There is a leaf, it is all alone on the branch ' [HC-L-68]

(3) *heni, miškiri te letor, tiwe' noiy kwe' to nihačkis.*
heni *miškiri* *te* *letor* *tiwe'* *noiy* *kwe'* *to* *ni=hačkis*
yes tiny DEM1m letter but there exist ART 1SG=glasses
D: 'Yes, the letters are tiny, but there (at home) I have my glasses.'
[AD/DC-D2-149]

(4) *noiy teč riwoyikiyowor to wakas rikew-hi: ...*
noiy *teč* *ri=woyik-yo-wo=ro* *to* *wakes* *ri=ke-wo=hi*
there DEM2m 3SGf=LOC-COP=3SGm ART patasca 3SGf=EV-COP=QUOT
'There where she was making *patasca* she said: ...' [GP-N1/II-22]

In (1) *noiy* 'there' directly follows the verb, whereas in (2) it follows the argument of the non-verbal predicate *kwe'* 'exist'. On the other hand, in (3) the place adverb precedes the predicate *kwe'* 'exist', directly following the clause-initial connector *tiwe'* 'but', and in (4) its position is completely clause-initial. In (2) *noiy* also precedes a locative argument, which specifies the location and is marked by *-ye* 'LOC'. This is the most frequent use of the place adverb: followed by a more specific location, either an NP marked by locative *-ye* or a subordinate clause, such as the cleft construction *tiow noiy* 'this is where' (cf. 10.2.7).

Furthermore, a few place adverbs can be inserted between a preverbal particle and the verb, as in (5):

(5) *ver noiy rokomiračow-hi.*
ver *noiy* *ro=komiračo-wo=hi*
PERF there 3SGm=meet-COP=QUOT
'Then he met (him) there.' [RP-N6-36]

The basic forms of the place adverbs can be divided into three different distances – *ne'* 'here', *noiy* 'there', and *naka* 'over there (far away)' – which can be compared to the three different demonstrative pronouns. The further analysis of these place adverbs and the probably related demonstratives is beyond the scope of this grammar. There is also another adverb meaning 'there': *nan*, and it remains difficult to understand the difference of *nan* and *noiy*. It seems as if *nan* can mean that something is 'not here', maybe absent. The adverb *nan* has also only been found with stative verbs or predicates, which may be important.

The distal adverb *naka'* 'over there' generally refers to some place in a non-visible far distance that someone still has to approach. The possible relation to the demonstrative pronouns is suggested in Table 8.1, in which all four place adverbs are represented:

spatial relevance	form	possible translation	related demonstrative?
present	*ne'*	here	*te/ti* 'DEM1'
proximate	*noiy*	there	*teč/tič/to neč* 'DEM2'
distal (not visible)	*naka'*	over there	
used in contrast to 'here', stative, generic?, absent?	*nan*	there	*ten/tin/to nen*? 'DEM3'

Table 8.1: Place adverbs in Baure (in comparison to demonstratives)

The relation to the demonstratives is not completely clear. I suspect a formal relation[195] between *nan* and *ten/tin*, even though the term "distal", applied to *naka'* 'over there' is also used with *ten/tin/to nen* 'DEM3'.

The adverb *naka'* can be found in two derived forms, as *nakon* and *nakoš*. *nakon* seems to have been derived by attaching the nominalizer *-no* 'NOM1' to it, and it is used in many imperative clauses, in which predicates are generally nominalized (cf. 9.3). Therefore it can be assumed that in an imperative clause this adverb may be marked as well. Observe example (6):

(6) *kewon nakon!*
ke-wo-no *nak-no*
EV-COP-NOM1 there-NOM1
'Come here!' [DC-16/3/06-39]

Example (6) shows that *nakon* (but also *naka*) can also refer to a large distance in a dynamic sense, because it can mean 'from there', in other cases 'to there'; the interpretation of each clause depends on the verb. The use and etymology of *nakoš* is unclear. There are only very few examples, and the speakers do not seem to make a great difference between any of the distal adverbs in general[196]. The adverb *naka* can also be reduplicated as *nakaka*, while *noiy* and *ne'* are not reduplicated.

None of the place adverbs are used in a temporal sense, but one temporal adverb has been derived from a place adverb by means of reduplication: *nanan* 'later'.

Other more specific locative phrases consist of a noun marked by the locative suffix *-ye*, which constitutes an oblique object in a clause (cf. 4.8 and 9.1.3). In general, it is not possible to mark a place adverb with the locative *-ye*, but in one text type I found an exception (7)[197]. In a song this rule was ignored and, instead of marking the noun (*širinkasowoko* 'rubber plantation'), the adverb *ne'* 'here' gets the locative suffix attached. This seems to have been a matter of metre in the line, related to the emphasis on the adverb:

(7) *rokačow ne-ye širinkaswoko.*
ro-kačo-wo *ne-ye* *širinkas-woko*
3SGm=go-COP here-LOC rubber-plantation
'He went away (here) to the rubber plantation.' [JP-S2-3]

8.1.2. Temporal and aspectual adverbs

Time adverbs are numerous in Baure. They are used frequently, particularly because Baure does not have any morphological way of absolute tense marking. A number of time adverbs are monomorphemic, as listed in Table 8.2.

[195] Both forms end in the nominalizer *-no* 'NOM1'.
[196] In addition, it is difficult when two systems get mixed up, which is the case with Baure and Spanish.
[197] For the complete song cf. Appendix B2

form	meaning
rom	soon, immediately
ver	already
katir	soon, early
neriki	now, today
enevere	next day, tomorrow
nokope	day before, yesterday
nečon	last night
napiri'	also

Table 8.2: Temporal and aspectual adverbs – simple forms

As described in Chapter 7, the adverbs *ver* 'already' and *rom* 'immediately' are also used as aspect particles[198]. Even though listed as monomorphemic here, it is possible that the adverbs with three or four syllables are also more complex than I have analyzed them. The adverb *neriki* 'now' could e.g. be related to the place adverb *ne'* 'here'. This is hypothetical and presupposes a relation between place and time concepts. The deictic adverbs *enevere* 'next day' and *nokope* 'day before' are always used according to the day of an utterance. In direct speech the terms mean 'yesterday' and 'tomorrow', whereas in narratives they simply refer to one day before the utterance and one day after. The same holds for *nečon* 'last night' in reference to the night.

The vast majority of time adverbs show some kind of internal morphological structure and may have been derived. The analyses are suggested in the rightmost column in Table 8.3.

form	meaning	composition
porok	never	< *-poro-ko-*(V) 'get lost' lose-ABS-
verek	not ever	*ver(e)-ko* PERF-ABS
wokow	not yet	*wo-ko-wo* COP-ABS-COP
iowon	from today on	*iowo-no* various?-NOM1
nešakon	forever	*neša-ko-no* ?-ABS-NOM1
nanan	afterwards, later	*nan~an* there~INT
yimirokon	before	*yimiro-ko-no* ?-ABS-NOM1
nakirok-ye	long ago, once upon a time	*naka?-iro-ko-ye* over.there-?-ABS-LOC

[198] It is difficult to distinguish their use as a grammatical particle from the adverbial use, for which reason the glosses are always the same *ver* 'PERF (perfective)' and *rom* 'IMM (immediately)' (cf. 7).

ča'ape	late in the morning	*ča-'ape* big-CLF:time?
čas, čos	long time	*čo-so* big-APRX?
čowan	very long ago	*čo-wan* or *čo-wo-a-no* big-DEP big-COP-LK-NOM1
pahare'	day before yesterday or day after tomorrow (other day)	*po-hare'* other-light
po'itinew	2 nights ago (other night)	*po-'iytine-wo* other-night-COP
poiykoša	in another occasion	*po-iyok-ša* other-times-IRR
ahikowon	in the morning	*ahiko-wo-no* ?-COP-NOM1
reitonoe'	midday, noon	*ro=ɪtono-i'* 3SGm=?-EMPH
koeskoe'	afternoon (2 o'clock)	*<-koeskoe-* (V) 'wake up'
kope'ap	late, in the late afternoon, evening	*kope-'ap* ?-CLF:time
yotoe(r)?	night	*yoto=ro?* night=3SGm?
roseskoner?	day	*ro=ses-ko-no=ro* 3SGm=sun-ABS-NOM1=3SGm

Table 8.3 Temporal and aspectual adverbs – morphologically complex forms

The more complex time adverbs can be divided into those derived from the adjective root *čo-* 'big', or the adjective *po-* 'other', and others which may include the absolutive morpheme *-ko*, nominalizing *-no*, copula *-wo*, or classifying morphemes. There are some words that refer to the day, the night and the times of the day, which are probably both nouns and adverbs. I could also analyze them as nouns being used as time adverbs, but I am really not sure which category they better fit in. All the words used for the times of the day are represented in Figure 8.1:

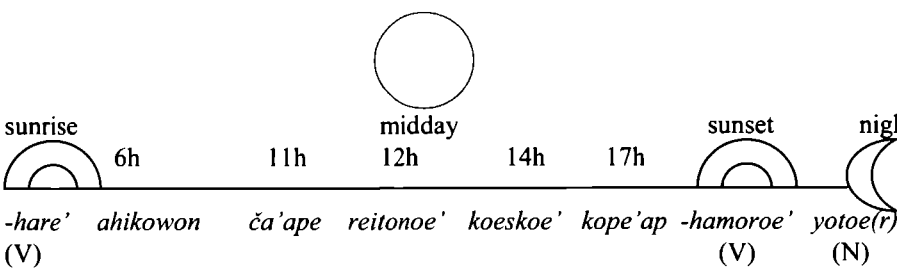

Figure 8.1: *to roseskoner* (N)'the day' in Baure

The sunrise and the sunset are described by verbs – *rohare'* 'it is becoming day' and *rohamoroe'* 'it is becoming night' –, which probably refer to the sun as an agent (*ro-*

'3SGm'). The 'day' *roseskoner* contains the same proclitic *ro-* '3SGm', but in its form it seems to be a nominalized verb[199]. The word *yotoer* may also include a person enclitic *-ro*. However, *yotoe*(r) 'night' and *roseskoner* 'day' are most likely to be nouns used in adverbial phrases. They occur more frequently with a determiner, while *ahikowon* 'in the early morning', *ča'ape* 'late morning', *reitonoe'* 'midday', *koeskoe'* 'early afternoon', and *kope'ap* 'late afternoon' are hardly ever used with a determiner.

Time adverbs are mainly found in clause-initial position, but may also occur at the end of a clause. They generally do not get inserted within the predicate phrase or between predicate and arguments. There are two examples in (8) and (9):

(8) *nečon nka ntirowapa soni kaiyran teč nian.*

nečon	*nka*	*nitiro-wapa*	*soni*	*kaiyran*	*teč*	*ni=an*
last.night	NEG	1SGP-COS	tobacco	last	DEM2m	1SG=chew

'Last night I didn't have tobacco; the last (bit) I chew.' [AD/DC-D2-224]

(9) *nowohikowoni te niper tiporek nečon.*

no=woyiko-wo=ni	*te*	*ni=per*	*tiporek*	*nečon*
3PL=steal-COP=1SG	DEM1m	1SG=dom.animal	chicken	last.night

'They stole me my chicken last night.' [JP-20/8/03-47]

Some of the time adverbs can be derived as an emphasized form with emphatic marking, such as e.g. *nerikikoe'* 'right now' (< *neriki* 'now'), or with double emphatic marking, such as *romoekoe'* 'very soon, right thereafter' (< *rom* 'soon' via *romoe'* 'very soon'). Besides the emphasis there is no meaning change in these derived forms. Only in the case of the already mentioned *nanan* 'later' (< *nan* 'there') a new lexeme has been created through reduplication.

Another interesting meaning change is the past reference when the copula suffix *-wo* is attached: *pahare'* generally means 'day after tomorrow', but in the form *paharew* (*pahare* + *-wo*) it is translated as 'day before yesterday: The same holds for other adverbs derived from the adjectival root *po-* 'other', like e.g. *pomorekoe'* 'next year' and *pomorekoew* 'last year' (not included in Table 8.3). One could probably hypothesize that if *po'itinew* means 'two nights ago' with the copula word finally and past reference, then there is probably also a possible lexeme **po'itin(e)* 'other night (night after next night)'.

8.1.3. Other adverbs

Other adverbs include the adverbs of degree, intensity and quantity (Table 8.4), and epistemic, modal and other phrasal adverbs (Table 8.5).

[199] The nominalization was achieved by attachment of *-no* 'NOM1', and then it was further derived by *-ro* '3SGm', like e.g. *toerkier* ' field worker' > *toerok* 'field' + *-ro* '3SGm'.

form	meaning
imir	very
ihiriaw	so much
ikoe'	a little bit
maiy	much, a lot
tek	all

Table 8.4: Adverbs of degree, intensity and quantity

form	meaning
kik, kiyok	really
moeh	certainly
(i)herik(owon)	maybe
ikapkoe'	nearly
ivi(-ye)	it's only the case that
ikarek	therefore
mavir	in vain
tirikoe'	because of
noenhekoe'	together, both?

Table 8.5: Modal and other phrasal adverbs[200]

The position of these different adverbs depends on the relation to the predicate. It is possible for some of them to occur tightly bound to the predicate (10), but on the other hand, if the adverb functions on the clausal level, it is rather found at the edge, thus in clause initial position or clause-finally (11):

(10) *ten ropavi te imir mehewkon to neš.*
ten *ro=pa-wo=pi* *te* *imir* *mehewkon* *to* *neš*
DEM3m 3SGm=give-COP=2SG DEM1m very bad ART meat
'That what he gave me is very bad, that meat.' [JC-18/9/03-47]

(11) *nka rohinokowori, mavir roti' rovekowori, porok rietoračor.*
nka *ro=hinoko-wo=ri* *mavir* *roti'* *ro=veko-wo=ri*
NEG 3SGm=see-COP=3SGf in.vain 3SGm 3SGm=speak-COP=3SGf

porok *ri=etoračo=ro*
never 3SGf=leave=3SGm
'He didn't see her; in vain he spoke to her, (but) she never came out (of the water).' [GP-N1/I-37]

8.1.4. Adverbial morphology

The most frequently occurring morphological change of adverbs is emphatic marking. This is either realized by attaching the emphatic suffix *-i'* or its allomorph *-koe'*, depending on the final vowel of the lexeme. The final vowel can also be a silent or deleted vowel (cf. 2.5.2). After a final vowel *-o*, which phonologically comes out as a

[200] Some of the forms in Table 8.5 are used like conjunctions However, they do not really connect clauses, for which reason they are not included in 10.1.

final consonant, the emphatic suffix *-i'* is attached. This results in the assimilation of the vowel in the form *-oe'*. An example is the adverb *rom* 'soon', from which the emphatic form *romoe'* 'very soon' can be derived. After final vowel *-i*, *-a*, or *-e*, which may also be followed by a (non-phonemic) glottal stop, the absolutive suffix *-ko* is inserted as an epenthetic syllable before the emphatic suffix. This results in the morpheme *-koe'* (< *-ko* + *-i'*), again after assimilation of *-i'*. This morpheme can also be applied to an already emphasized adverb, as e.g. *romoe'* 'very soon' > *romoekoe'* 'very very soon'. Another example is *neriki* 'now' with the emphatic form *nirikikoe'* 'right now'. In some emphatic derivations there is an additional vowel *-i* before the morpheme, as e.g. *tek* 'all' and *tekikoe'* 'really all'. This is probably due to a formerly present final vowel *-i* in the base lexeme.

rom	>	*romoe'*	>	*romoekoe'*	'soon'
katir	>	*katirikoe'*	>	*katirikikoe'*	'early'
neriki	>	*nerikikoe'*			'now'
avik	>	*avikoe'*			'again'
kik	>	*kikoe'*			'really'
moeh	>	*moehkoe'*			'certainly'
nakon	>	*nakonoe'*			'to here'
tek	>	*tekikoe'*			'all'
ihiriaw	>	*ihiriawe'*			'so much'
iherikowon	>	*herikowonoe'*	>	*ihirkowonoekoe'*	'perhaps'
ikarek	>	*ikarekoe'*	>	*ikarekikoe'*	'therefore'
mavɪr	>	**mavɪroroe'*[201]	>	*mavɪroroekoe'*	'in vain'
ivɪy	>	*ɪvɪyoe'*	>	*ɪvɪykoe'*	'it's only the case that'

Table 8.6: List of emphatic derivations and double derivations

Some adverbs already include the emphatic suffix (cf. Table 8.5 above), as e.g. *ikapkoe'* 'nearly'.

Emphatic marking can be found with the majority of adverbs. It is also not unique to adverbs, but can be found on verbs and non-verbal predicates as well, or lexicalized in nouns. On verbal and non-verbal predicates emphatic marking can be used for comparative constructions, but this does not seem to be the purpose of emphasis on adverbs. Here it only emphasizes the already existing meaning.

The emphatic derivation is also used to derive adverbs from personal pronouns (cf. 8.3.4).

Another morphological strategy has already been mentioned in 8.1.2: the attachment of the copula suffix on temporal adverbs for the distinction of time reference. This is unique to those time adverbs, though.

Reduplication does not play an important role in adverbial morphology, but a few adverbs can be reduplicated, such as e.g. *naka* 'over there' and *nakaka* 'over there (far away)'. Also *kope'ap* 'late' can be reduplicated as *kopepe'ap* 'very late'. The derivation of *nanan* by reduplication has already been mentioned in 8.1.2. Reduplication also plays a role in the derivation of adverbs from personal pronouns (cf. 8.3.4).

[201] Here the asterisk only indicates that this word does not occur in the corpus, but is theoretically possible.

Finally, there are some adverbs that occur in a further derived form in the clause: a nominalization by means of the suffix *-no* 'NOM1', also an important derivational suffix for adjectival bases (cf. 4.9.3). After the adverbial base lexeme there may be another morpheme attached, such as the copula *-wo* and the absolutive suffix *-ko*. Which purpose these derivations have remains unclear. In some cases a variety of derived forms and the basic form is used interchangeably in the clauses. Table 8.7 gives a few examples of the mentioned derived forms:

imir	>	*imirokon*	(*imiro-ko-no*)	'very'
			very-ABS-NOM1	
ihiriaw	>	*ihiriawon*	(*ihiriawo-no*)	'so much'
			so much-NOM1	
tek	>	*tekowon*	(*teko-wo-no*)	'all'
			all-COP-NOM1	
iherık	>	*iherikowon*	(*iheriko-wo-no*)	'perhaps'
			perhaps-COP-NOM1	

Table 8 7 Further derived forms of adverbs

8.1.5. Relation between adverb and adjective

There are no manner adverbs in Baure, but almost any adjective that refers to a quality can be used as a manner adverb. In addition to this, the manner may be expressed via another verb in a multiple predicate construction. Adjectives used as manner adverbs are *henok* 'good' and *monık* 'pretty', exemplified in (12) and (13):

(12) *nerikikoe' moeh pihinoekoe' henok moehkik.*
nerki-koe' moeh pi=hino-e-ko-i' henok moeh-kik
now-EMPH CERT 2SG=see-DUR-ABS-EMPH good certainly-really
'Now you can really see well.' [RP-N3-238]

(13) *nakiriko-ye teč čintonev novekpia monik.*
nakiroko-ye teč činto-nev no=vek-pi-a monik
long.ago DEM2m person-PL 3PL=speak-word-LK pretty
'Long ago the people spoke the Baure language very well (nicely).'
[DC-8/3/06-17]

The close relation between adverbs and adjectives is demonstrated by the lexemes derived from the base *po-* 'other' and a classifying element. In Table 8.3 there are a number of temporal adverbs built on the basis of *po-* 'other', which is actually an adjectival root. In general, the adverbial forms are fixed, whereas the adjectival forms can be changed according to a classifier. This is e.g. the case with *poiykoš* 'once', as demonstrated in (14):

(14)

poiykoš	*apiyok*	*mpoyok*
po-yoko-šo	*api-yok*	*mpo-yok*
one-times-one	two-times	three-times
'once'	'twice'	'three times'

The forms in (14) are certainly used in adverbial phrases, but the forms are derived from numerals (subgroup of the adjectives, cf. 4.9.1).

8.2. Articles and demonstrative pronouns or determiners

What is summed up under the term "determiners" in this grammar includes one article, and three different kinds of demonstratives. Not included are other words like quantifiers or numerals. In general all four determiners in Baure share many characteristics, and their individual properties are difficult to determine. Therefore I will first refer to their common characteristics before the specific character of each one is described.

The position of a determiner is always NP initial. This may be directly before the noun or before one or two modifiers (of the type MOD_1, cf. 4.10), as in (15):

(15) *teč* *pon* *činti*
DEM2m other person
'that other person' [JC-13/7/04-59]

A determiner can also serve to trigger nominalization. This means that a modifier can function as an NP with a determiner, and some predicates are simply marked for their nominal character by a determiner (cf. nominalized predicates in relative clauses in 10.2). Determiners are noun class insensitive, i.e. they do not change their forms like some modifiers do, but demonstratives are distinguished for gender and number (cf. Table 8.8).

All determiners can also mark an element as referential, to a certain degree[202]. When an NP is used referentially, a determiner is generally obligatory. Only a few modifiers, such as *pon* 'other' or the possessive pronouns, can sometimes mark an NP without a preceding determiner. A determiner has the effect of individuation of the referent. This means that certain mass nouns may occur without a determiner when referred to generically, but they are preceded by a determiner when the referent is individualized. However, the number of non-individuated NPs in the Baure language is relatively small. The individualization effect is demonstrated in (17), contrasted with (16).

(16) *nohinoek erapoe', tiwe' nka notorakor, ver etor.*
no=hinoek *erapoe'* *tiwe'* *nka* *no=torak=ro* *ver* *eto=ro*
3PL=search plantain but NEG 3PL=find=3SGm PERF finish=3SGm
'They are looking for plantain, but they don't find it; it's already finished.'
[HC-10/8/04-18]

(17) *ver rokopiri to erapoe'.*
ver *ro=kopiri* *to* *erapoe'*
PERF 3SGm=cut ART plantain
'The plantain is already cut in halves.' [HC-27/7/04-80]

Determiners can be used with time adverbs and individuate them, as e.g. *teč enevere* 'the next day' in contrast with more general *enevere* 'tomorrow' (cf. 8.2.2).
Determiners are used in complex possessive (18) or partitive NPs (19). These consist of a sequence of, generally, two NPs, of which at least the second one is marked by a determiner (cf. 4.3.3), as demonstrated in (18) and (19):

[202] In its generic interpretation, this is not true for *ten/tin/to nen* 'DLM3'.

(18) *teč riavinon tič eton*

teč	*ri=avinon*	*tič*	*eton*
DEM2m	3SGf=husband	DEM2f	woman

'that husband of the woman' [GP-N1/I-10]

(19) *siete' to yiti*

siet-e'	*to*	*yiti*
seven-CLF:unsweet	ART	chili

'seven of the chilies' [GP-N1/II-30]

All demonstratives, but not the article, can function as pronouns as well. In relative clauses and cleft constructions all determiners can function as heads or relative pronouns (cf. 10.2). The reason why *to* 'ART' is not used as an anaphoric pronoun is the fact that it cannot be stressed and is bound to the following element like a clitic (cf. 8.2.1). Therefore clausal enclitics can also only be attached to demonstratives, but not to the article.

Phonologically all determiners seem to be related. Table 8.8 demonstrates the different determiners, although their exact meaning is often unclear.

meaning	form			gloss
	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	masculine	feminine		
article	*to*		*to*	ART
present	*te*	*ti*		DEM1
proximate	*teč*	*tič*	*to neč*	DEM2
distal	*ten*	*tin*	*to nen*	DEM3

Table 8.8: The article and demonstrative pronouns

As the table shows there are dotted lines between the article and the feminine demonstrative *ti* 'DEM1f'. The Baure speakers might have partly incorporated the Spanish article system and use *ti* 'DEM1f' like a feminine article for mainly human referents. Meanwhile they can also use the gender neutral article *to* with feminine referents. In the plural the categories article and present demonstrative are merged.

In the singular all demonstratives are distinguished for gender, just like personal pronouns. The feminine form is derived from the masculine form by vowel change, e.g. *teč* > *tič*. The proximate and distal demonstratives are morphologically more complex than the present demonstrative *te/ti*. The present demonstrative seems to constitute the basic form, whereas the proximate demonstrative is supposed to have been derived with the morpheme *-čo* (possibly *-čo* 'NOM2' or *-čo* 'APPL'), and the distal form with the morpheme *-no* (possibly *-no* 'NOM1'). The morphemes attached are mainly attached to verbs in nominalization.

The plural forms are composed of the article and the plural demonstrative, as e.g. *to neč* 'DEM2PL'. The indefinite pronoun *to ka* is also marked by the article (cf. 8.3.5), possibly marking the nominal character of the pronoun. The plural forms can only be used when the following noun is also marked for plural with the morpheme *-(a)nev*, as shown in (20):

(20) *nonik to neč etonanev*
no=nik to neč eton-anev
3PL=eat ART DEM2PL woman-hPL
'The women are eating' [HC-2/7/04-13]

The following sections attempt to differentiate the meaning of the article from the demonstrative pronouns

8 2 1 The article

The article *to* is a bound morpheme, has to be followed by an NP, and directly attaches to the following element within the NP The article could be considered a clitic and, indeed, shares many properties with the personal clitics In some examples the speakers used the article instead of a personal clitic In these examples the neutral form *to* replaces the 3SGm clitic *ro-*, and the feminine demonstrative *ti* replaces the 3SGf clitic *ri-*, as illustrated in (21) and (22)

(21) *"hehow', tokoponier*
hehow to=koponia=ro
INTJ 3SGm?=answer=3SGm
'"Hoohoo", he answered him' [RP-N6-34]

(22) *tič ntir tiy napiri' tipinop*
tič ntir tiy napiri' ti=pino-po
DEM1f 1SGP aunt also 3SGf?=flee-PRFLX
'My aunt also fled' [RP-N14-3]

I do not want to attach much importance to these examples, because when asked, other speakers do not accept these expressions

The monosyllabic article is frequently phonologically reduced, as e g in the negative indefinite pronoun *nka to ka* [nˈgat^{h} ka] 'nothing'

The article does not mark definiteness It is generally used with proper names and heavenly bodies, such as *to ses* 'the sun' or *to kiher* 'the moon', and nouns that refer to weather phenomena, such as *to vir* 'the wind' or *to sowon* 'the rain' The article does not introduce characters in a narration That is done with *teč/tič/to neč* 'DEM2' The article can then be used when the NP is already topic and known to the hearer

The form *to* is the least marked or emphatic form of the determiners It occurs more frequently in specific constructions, such as cleft or relative clauses and before nominalized verbs

8 2 2 Present demonstratives

The present demonstratives are used like the article for topic NPs, but they are differentiated for gender (which has partly been merged with the article as well) As demonstratives they have a less pointing function than *teč/tič* 'DEM2m/f', but they are generally used in contrasts, as in (23)

(23) *woyikwon teč tikoriawokow? te apo teč? te apo teč čowok?*
woyik-wo-no teč tikori-a-woko-wo te apo teč
be I-COP-NOM1 DEM2m tutuma-LK-tree-COP DEM1m or DEM2m

te *apo* *teč* *čo-wok*
DEM1m or DEM2m big-tree
'Which one is the tutuma tree? This one or that one? This one or that big one?' [DC-17/4/06-16]

The demonstratives *te/ti* 'DEM1m/f' are called "present" because they are generally used with something present, maybe visible, already mentioned or topic.

8.2.3. Proximate demonstratives

Proximate demonstratives are used for introducing a character, which may then also be referred to by the same throughout the whole narration. Example (24) illustrates the introduction of two main characters and two sentences a bit later in the same narration:

(24) *nakiroko-ye kwe' tič eton ač kwe' tič rimos napiri' noiy.*
nakiroko-ye *kwe'* *tič* *eton* *ač*
long.ago-LOC exist DEM2f woman and

kwe' *tič* *ri=mos* *napiri'* *noiy*
exist DEM2f 3SGf=mother.in.law also there
'Once upon a time there was a woman and her mother-in-law.' [GP-N1/II-1]

... *ač neriki tič rimos kač riepheri.*
ač *neriki* *tič* *ri=mos* *kač* *ri=epha=ri*
and now DEM2f 3SGf=m.in.law GO 3SGf=spy=3SGf
'And now the mother-in-law went to spy upon her.' [GP-N1/II-4]

... *kope'aporow-hi rom rišim tič eton teč riehmoekčow.*
kope'apo-ro-wo=hi *rom* *ri=šim* *tič* *eton*
late-ro-COP=QUOT IMM 3SGf=arrive DEM2f woman

te *ri=ehmoek-čo-wo*
DEM2m 3SGf=wash.clothes-NOM2-COP
'In the afternoon the woman arrived (back) from washing clothes.' [GP-N1/II-25]

As example (24) shows, the demonstrative is widely used like an article and not necessarily deictically. It may also be related to foregrounding, as it is generally attached to the main characters throughout in a narration. This foregrounding effect probably also causes the interpretation of different semantic roles of *te/ti* and *teč/tič/to neč*. I noticed that in an ambiguous position following a verb *teč/tič/to neč* 'DEM2' are interpreted as the agent, whereas *te/ti* is more frequently the patient, as demonstrated in examples (25) and (26). The position is ambiguous when there is only one argument following a verb, which could be agent or patient, especially when the marking on the verb does not disambiguate it (as in (25)).

(25) *ač rikičowori-hi tič: "nen, kwe' vinik?"*
ač *ri=kičo-wo=ri=hi* *tič* *ni=en* *kwe'* *vi=nik*
and 3SGf=say.do-COP=3SGf=QUOT DEM2f 1SG=mother exist 1PL=eat
'And she said to her: "Mum, is there something for us to eat?" ' [GP-N1/II-26]

(26) *šım noıy roweri-ye rameričow ti ren "pepipawon?" rıkičowor-hı tič ren*
šım noıy ro=weri-ye ro=američo-wo
3SGm arrive there 3SGm=house-LOC 3SGm=find-COP

ti ro=en pı=epı-pa-wo-no rı=kičo-wo=ro
DEM1f 3SGm=mother 2SG=?-GO-COP-NOM1 3SGf=say do-COP=3SGm

tič ro=en
DEM2f 3SGm=mother
'He arrived at his house and found his mother "Where did you go?" said his-mother' [RP-N4-34]

The pronoun *tič* in (25) is ambiguous, because both agent and patient are feminine and therefore their semantic roles are marked on the verbs with the same clitic *-rı* '3SGf' Nonetheless, the pronoun refers to the agent This is supported by (26), in which the only argument that follows the verb in the first part is *ti ren* 'his mother' and refers to the patient, while the NP *tič ren* 'his mother' in the second part clearly refers to the agent [203]

The pointing function of *teč* in contrast to *te* was already illustrated in (24) Another example with this demonstrative used emphatically with a pointing gesture is

(27) *ntı' nıyok teč ka'an*
ntı' nı=yok teč ka'an
1SG 1SG=sting DEM2m animal
'I will kill this animal with an arrow' [LO/GP-15/7/04-31]

The demonstrative pronoun can also be used anaphorically, referring to an afore mentioned item There it may refer to animate nouns, but more frequently to things or facts, whereas the personal pronoun is used to refer to humans This may be observed in (28) and (29)

(28) *kotırapıow-hı teč pıtı', nen, tıow pıtı' ımokač tič neyon*
kotırapı-wo=hı teč pıtı' nı=en tıow pıtı'
fault-COP=QUOT DEM2m 2SG 1SG=mother CLEFT 2SG

ımo-kač tič nı=eyon
CAUS-go DEM2f 1SG=wife
'That is your fault, mother, it was you who made my wife go' [GP-N1/II-57]

(29) *"boen, tıow teč nker-hı", ropınokıer teč sıpor*
boen tıow teč nı=ke=ro=hı ro=pınokıa=ro
INTJ CLEFT DEM2m 1SG=EV=3SGm=QUOT 3SGm=run=3SGm

teč sıpor
DEM2m ostrich
' "Well, this is what I do", (he said) and the ostrich ran it (the race)' [RP-N6-26]

[203] This is only sometimes the case, but certainly the patient may also be referred to with *tec/tič/to nec*, as e g in (14)

As mentioned above, time adverbs are frequently used with determiners, but most of the time with *teč* This kind of marking is further found with verbs, where they turn a clause into a temporal subordinate clause, as in (30) and (31)

(30) *teč kope'ap rišim tič rišonon*
teč *kope'ap* *ri=šim* *tič* *ri=šonon*
DEM2m late 3SGf=arrive DEM2f 3SGf=daughter in law
'In the afternoon her daughter-in-law arrived ' [GP-N1/I-14]

(31) *teč kač ročoč to riavinon*
teč *kač* *ro=čo-čo* *to* *ri=avinon*
DEM2m GO 3SGm=know-NOM2 ART 3SGf=husband
'When her husband found out, ' [GP-N1/II-56]

8 2 4 Distal demonstratives
The demonstratives *ten/tin/to nen* have been subsumed under the term distal, not necessarily interpreted in local terms It can also mean disapproval and absence When the distal demonstrative is used with an NP, it generally moves the argument further away from the speaker and hearer, as in (32)

(32) *ver nka to ka apo rokewkori kwore' noiy rohinokopow-hi to nen worapik arenonapik*
ver *nka* *to* *ka* *apo* *ro=kewokori* *kwo=ro-i'*
PERF NEG ART IND COMPL 3SGm=converse exist=3SGm-EMPH

noiy *ro=hinoko-po-wo=hi* *to* *nen* *worapik*
there 3SGm=see-PRFLX-COP=QUOT ART DEM3PL already come

areno-no-a-pik
bird-NOM1-LK-COME
'He didn't say anything any more, was only there He (only) looked at those who came flying like a bird ' [RP-N4-51]

The distal demonstrative is often used with the negative connotation of disapproval, as shown in (33)

(33) *nte' čač! nimonopaša neš, tiwe' nka pani ten ekit!*
nte' čač ni=imono-pa-ša neš tiwe' nka pa=ni
hello father 1SG=buy-GO-IRR meat but NEG give=1SG

ten *ekit*
DEM3m stringy
'Hello father! I am coming to buy meat, but don't give me stringy meat!'
[JC-18/9/03-39]

This demonstrative is used frequently with arguments absent at the moment of speaking, as in (34) There *ten pi'aiy* 'your brother' is absent, for he is hiding away afraid to get eaten

(34) *"nihišhikow Kristianoe'!" – "ah, kewon pinikpan! šim ten pi'aiy, nopiašapi šim ten pi'aiy."*

ni=hišhiko-wo	*Kristiano-i'*	*ah*	*ke-wo-no*	*pi=nik-pa-no*
1SG=smell-COP	Christian-EMPH	INTJ	EV-COP-NOM1	2SG=eat-GO-NOM1

šim	*ten*	*pi='aiy*	*no-pi-a-ša=pi*
3SGm.arrive	DEM3m	2SG=brother	1SG.tell-word-LK-IRR=2SG

šim	*ten*	*pi='aiy*
3SGm.arrive	DEM3m	2SG=brother

' "I am smelling a Christian!" – "Ah, come here and eat! Your brother arrived, I am telling you your brother arrived." ' [RP-N4-86]

Example (35) was uttered when I was looking at unripe plantains, wanting to eat one that day. The speaker went to fetch a ripe one, saying this before she left:

(35) *ač kwe' ten pon yiyakon.*

ač	*kwe'*	*ten*	*pon*	*yi~yakon*
and	exist	DEM3m	other	INT~ripe

'And there is another really ripe one.' [DC-15/4/06-141]

It may also be used where arguments are mentioned out of context in a narration; as in (36), in which extra information about dolphins was provided, so that I would understand the story:

(36) *koeč to nen ikomorikonow te howe' moeh nohinokir.*

koeč	*to*	*nen*	*ikomoriko-no-wo*	*te*	*howe'*
because	ART	DEM3PL	kill-NOM1-COP	DEM1m	dolphin

moeh	*no=hinok=ro*
CERT	3PL=see=3SGm

'Because those who kill a dolphin can see it.' [GP-N1/I-33]

It is also possible to interpret the demonstrative as generic in (36) and in (37) as well:

(37) *neriki ne' te yikepiyow kwe' –ha– kwe' tin marip nikon čintinev.*

neriki	*ne'*	*te*	*yi=kepi-yo-wo*	*kwe'*	*ha*	*kwe'*
now	here	DEM1m	2PL=speak-LOC-COP	exist	HES	exist

tin	*marip*	*niko-no*	*čınti-nev*
DEM3f	witch	eat-NOM1	person-PL

'Now in that place that you are talking about, there is a witch that eats people.' [GP-N7-39]

The descriptions of the demonstrative pronouns need more investigation, and especially a comparison with the place adverbs (Table 8.1) would be one promising aspect of future research.

8.3. Pronouns and pronominal clitics

In this section the Baure personal and possessive pronouns are described. Both are derived from the basic personal cross-referencing markers, used as pro- and enclitics

for argument marking on verbal and non-verbal predicates (cf. Chapter 5) and for possessor marking on nouns (cf. Chapter 4). I will also briefly refer to the unspecified proclitic *e-* (8.3.2) and the indefinite pronoun *to ka* (8.3.6).

8.3.1. Personal clitics

I will start with the basic, but dependent forms: the personal clitics, from which the free pronominal forms have been derived[204]. The underlying forms of pro- and enclitics are identical, but the actual form of some of the enclitics is rather different from the basic form due to phonological rules (cf. 2.5.5). The basic forms of the person marking clitics are represented in Table 8.9:

PERSON	NUMBER	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	*ni-*	*vi-*
2	*pi-*	*yi-*
3 feminine	*ri-*	*no-*
3 masculine	*ro-*	

Table 8.9 The personal proclitics[205]

As Table 8.9 shows, the personal clitics are all monosyllabic. The form for 1SG is frequently reduced to bare nasal *n-*, and this causes the subsequent voicing of the following plosive or affricate, when it is the initial sound of the base that it is attached to (cf. 2.5.1). The plural forms have not been derived from the singular forms. There is only a gender distinction in 3SG. It is striking that the Baure 3SG feminine form (*ri-*) has developed from what is referred to as masculine or non-feminine in all other Arawak languages. Almost all other languages of the family have a personal form with a high front vowel that refers to non-feminine gender, and usually a (middle) back vowel which refers to feminine gender (cf. Aikhenvald 1999:88). In Baure, however, the high front vowel is used for the feminine – *ri-* (3SGf) – and the middle back vowel for masculine – *ro-* (3SGm). Matteson (1972:161) already remarked in her reconstruction of Proto-Arawakan that "Baure reverses the gender markers". The predominance of the high front vowel also in other feminine forms is significant, as in the demonstratives *ti* 'DEM1f', *tič* 'DEM2f', and *tin* 'DEM3f'.

The personal proclitics are used for possessor marking on nouns and for subject marking on verbs. The enclitic forms are generally used for object cross-reference. There can also be two of them attached to one another, referring to two objects (cf. 5.1.3). Furthermore, the subject of non-verbal predicates is encliticized as well. The proclitics are generally obligatory, whereas the enclitics are optional with an explicit referent, and are otherwise pronominal in nature. Personal clitics can also be attached to the interrogative particle *ko* 'why?' (cf. 9.4.1). Finally, the 3SGm personal enclitic

[204] It is theoretically also possible that the clitics have been derived from the free pronouns.

[205] The personal cross-referencing forms are very similar in almost all Arawak languages and generally taken as one of the main factors to determine membership of the language family (cf. 1.4).

can be found as a frozen morpheme in nouns, where it seems to have served for nominal derivations. One example is given in Figure 8.3:

toerok	>	*toerkier*
toero-ko		*toero-ko=ro*
field-ABS		field-ABS=3SGm
'field'		'field worker'

Figure 8.2: Nominal derivation with a personal clitic

8.3.2. Unspecified e-

The prefix *e-* 'UNSP' is only attached to nouns in my data, with the exception of two examples where it is attached to verbs in the subject slot. The morpheme *e-* seems to be more like a prefix, and its application is much more reduced than that of the personal clitics. There is no derived independent form like **eti* 'it'[206] (compare 8.3.3). It is mainly attached to nouns referring to body parts, which have to have a possessor marker. The idea behind it seems to be that body parts always belong to the possessor (animal or human being), but when *e-* is attached, it expresses that the possessor is unknown and unspecified. An example is shown in (38) (repeated from 4.3.1):

(38) *ntorak to eser.*
ni=torak to e-ser
1SG=find ART UNSP-tooth
'I found a tooth.' [RP-5/7/04-59]

One could expect that the morpheme is attached to verbs as well, if the subject is unknown. The examples occurred only in elicitation, but were later considered to be ungrammatical by the same speaker. Nonetheless, it may be possible that the morpheme attaches to verbs like nouns, because all other personal clitics behave like that. The relevant example is:

(39) *(*)nka vičowokon ti esiaponow niweri-ye.*
nka vi=čo-wo-ko-no ti e-siapo-no-wo
NEG 1PL=know-COP-ABS-NOM1 DEM1f UNSP?-enter-NOM-COP
ni=weri-ye
1SG=house-LOC
'We don't know who entered my house.' [RP-1/9/03-65]

The verb *-siap-* 'enter' occurs in the nominalized form *esipaonow* in (39), because it is part of a relative clause, introduced by the demonstrative *ti* 'DEM1f'. Even though I think it is theoretically possible that *e-* was also attached to verbs, there is an argument that holds against this hypothesis: There is a homophonous verbal prefix *e-* 'verbalizer', found frequently (cf. 6.3.1). This might lead to misunderstandings, generally avoided in this slot (the personal proclitics do not compete with any homophonous morphemes at all).

[206] However, in Trinitario, the most closely related neighbouring Arawak language, *eti* exists as a pronoun or article for 3SGm (Salvatierra p c)

8 3 3 Personal pronouns

The free personal pronouns have been derived from the clitics by attachment of the morpheme *-tɪ'* Compare the forms in Table 8 9 to the free forms of Table 8 10

PERSON	NUMBER	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	*ntɪ'*	*vɪtɪ'*
2	*pɪtɪ'*	*yɪtɪ'*
3 feminine	*rɪtɪ'*	*notɪ'*
3 masculine	*rotɪ*	

Table 8 10 The independent personal pronouns

In the 1SG the morpheme *nɪ-* has been reduced into *n-*, which results in the voicing of *-t* in *ntɪ* [n'dɪʔ] The morpheme *-tɪ'* closely resembles the feminine demonstrative *tɪ* 'DEM1f' Even though the masculine form *ro-* is used for general reference and the feminine only for biological feminine gender, the feminine demonstrative seems to have served as the basis for the general form in this derivational process (cf the earlier discussion about gender reversal in Baure) The demonstrative *tɪ* also occurs in the cleft particle *tɪow* 'this is' (cf 10 2 7) The form *tɪ* in the free personal pronouns is reanalyzed as the demonstrative by the speakers, supported by the occasional alternative use of other demonstratives instead, as e g the consultant Estéban Chipeno used *roteč* in elicitation instead of *rotɪ'* '3SGm'

The free pronouns are only used for special emphasis (40) or in clauses without any person marking on a non-verbal predicate for disambiguation and emphasis (41)

(40) *ntɪ' nčinčonow pɪtɪ' ač noka rotɪ'*
ntɪ' *nɪ=činčo-no-wo* *pɪtɪ'* *ač* *noka* *rotɪ'*
1SG 1SG=know-NOM1-COP 2SG and NEG 3SGm
'I understand you and him I don't (understand)' [RP-5/7/04-49]

(41) *rɪkew nka rɪkamɪyowor koeč rotɪ' karɪačsɪn*
rɪ=ke-wo *nka* *rɪ=kamɪyo-wo=ro* *koeč* *rotɪ'* *karɪačsɪn*
3SGf=EV-COP NEG 3SGf=like-COP=3SGm because 3SGm adopted
'She said she didn't like him because he was adopted' [LO/GP-D-22]

In (40) the pronoun *pɪtɪ'* replaces the enclitic *-pɪ*, since a clitic cannot be emphasized In (41) the non-verbal predicate could carry person cross-reference in the form *karɪačsɪno-wo=ro* (adopted-COP=3SGm) 'he is adopted' In general statements the juxtaposition of pronoun and attributive predicate is favoured

8 3 4 Possessive pronouns

The possessive pronouns have been derived from the personal pronouns by attachment of a morpheme *-ro*, such as e g *pɪtɪ-r(o)* 'your' (2SG) It is unclear where this suffix originated Matteson (1972 162) argues for a general marker for possession in Arawak languages, which has the form *-rɪ* However, in Baure there is no evidence for such a possession marker, but the suffix that produced the possessive pronouns

may still go back to a Proto-Arawak formative. Possessive pronouns are demonstrated in Table 8.11:

POSSESSOR	NUMBER	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	*ntir*	*vitir*
2	*pitir*	*yitir*
3 feminine	*ritir*	*notir*
3 masculine	*rotir*	

Table 8.11: The possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns are used even less often than the other independent personal pronouns. They are mainly used in possessive constructions with Spanish loanwords (cf. 4.3.2) and a few nouns that cannot be used in a derived possessed form with a personal proclitic. Further the possessive forms are also found to mark a specific semantic role of an argument in certain constructions. This usage seems to be a more recent development, as it cannot be observed in the data of Baptista & Wallin. In these clauses the possessive pronoun is generally followed by the personal pronoun, as in (42) and (43).

(42) *nihino'inokow rotir roti'.*
ni=hino'inoko-wo *rotir* *roti'*
1SG=think-COP 3SGmP 3SGm
'I am thinking of him.' [MD-12/7/04-3]

(43) *roti' roenisa popoš him pitir piti'.*
roti' *ro=inisa* *po-po-š* *him* *pitir* *piti'*
3SGm 3SGm=fish one-CLF:tiny-one fish 2SGP 2SG
'He caught one fish for you.' [RP-21/7/04-37]

In both examples the possessive pronoun seems to mark a semantic role different from agent and patient. In (42) the reason for this special marking seems to be a restriction on the transitivity of the verb *-hino'inok-* 'think', which can probably only take a non-human object. In (43) the argument *pitir piti'* refers to the recipient, a role that can also be the direct object of a benefactive verb base. The speaker uses this construction instead of the benefactive derivation (already mentioned in 1.2.4).

As Baure has grammaticalized the marking of possessors by procliticization, the possessive pronoun has been reanalyzed as a possessed noun, as e.g. *ro-tir* 'his', which can be analyzed as 3SGm=*possession. Thus these pro-forms are frequently used like nominals with a preceding determiner and as real pronouns for the noun referred to. The noun *-tir* is also translated as 'doll' that a child is playing with, as in example (44):

(44) *niporoč to ntir.*
ni=poro-čo *to* *ntir* *or: ni=poro-čo* *to* *ni=tir*
2SG=lose-APPL ART 1SGP 1SG=lose-APPL ART 1SG=possession
'I lost my toy (lit. possession).' [RP-22/7/04-46]

This nominal base can also be used as the non-verbal predicate 'possess' in affirmative clauses (cf. 5.3.5 and 8.3.4 below).

8.3.5. Personal and possessive pronominal bases

Personal pronouns can be used as the base of adverbs. These adverbial forms are derived with the help of the absolutive suffix *-ko* and generally the reduplication of the morpheme *-ti*, but they are always used in the emphatic form (cf. 8.1.4 on adverbial morphology). An example is *rotitikoe'* (45), which can be translated as 'he all alone' or 'only him'.

(45) *ač teč monči rimowanap rotitikoe' noiy paraki-ye.*
ač *teč* *monči* *ri=imowana-po* *roti~ti-ko-i'*
and DEM2m child 3SGf=leave-PRFLX 3SGm~INT-ABS-EMPH

noiy *paraki-ye*
there room-LOC
'And she left the child all alone there in the room.' [RP-N4-2]

This derived adverb can also be used as a non-verbal predicate with and without the reduplicated syllable. The emphatic morpheme is attached predicate finally, thus also after the copular suffix *-wo* (46) or another verbal morpheme (47).

(46) *rotikwe' teč roeron tiow teč ariačor.*
roti-ko-wo-i' *teč* *ro=iron* *tiow* *teč*
3SGm-ABS-COP-EMPH DEM2m 3SGm=parent CLEFT DEM2m

ariačo=ro
bring.up=3SGm
'It was his father alone who brought him up.' [LO/GP-D-36]

(47) *kwe' to eponoe' noiy ver rotitikowapoekoe' noiy etsie-ye.*
kwe' *to* *eponoe'* *noiy* *ver* *roti~ti-ko-wapa-ikoe'*
exist ART leaf there PERF 3SGm~INT-ABS-EMPH

noiy *etsie-ye*
there branch-LOC
'There is a leaf and it is all alone now on the branch.' [HC-13/9/03-2]

The possessive pronoun is also used very effectively as a predicate base, and employed in existential possessive constructions (compare 5.3.5). As predicates there may be the copula or another verbal morpheme attached, as in (48) and (49):

(48) *nakirok-ye to činti nev nka notirow yaki.*
nakirok-ye *to* *činti-nev* *nka* *notiro-wo* *yaki*
long.ago-LOC ART person-PL NEG 3PLP-COP fire
'Once upon a time the people didn't have fire.' [MD-N13-5]

(49) *noki'inow notiraper ač ver rokač-hi rohinoepikien.*
no=ki'ino-wo *notir-a-pa=ro* *ač* *ver* *ro=kač=hi*
3PL=want-COP 3PLP-LK-GO=3SGm and PERF 3SGm=GO=QUOT

ro=hinoe-pik=no
3SGm=search-COME=3PL
'They wanted to have it, but he already came to look for them ' [RP-N6-3]

This use of the pronouns as non-verbal bases resembles the way any noun or other non-verbal base is used as a predicate In (49) there is even subject marking by encliticization on the predicate

8 3 6 The indefinite pronoun

The indefinite pronoun *to ka* is used in many fixed expressions, and its meaning is not always clear It is mainly used as a relative pronoun (cf 10 2 8), but the pronoun *to ka* (ART IND) is translated as 'something/somebody' It may be negated as *nka to ka* (NEG ART IND) 'nothing/nobody', a complex form consisting of three particles The form *ka* is marked by the article *to* This form is also found in the plural demonstrative pronouns *to neč* 'DEM2PL' and *to nen* 'DEM3PL' (cf Table 8 8) The complex negative form is frequently used as a negative existential with *nka* 'NEG' as the negative existential predicate 'there is not' in juxtaposition with *to ka* 'something' In (50) and (51) there are examples

(50) *aiy, ti koyepian, risokia to ka apo rikoyepian*

aiy	*ti*	*koyepia-no*	*ri=sokia*	*to*	*ka*	*apo*
INTJ	DEM1f	converse-NOM1	3SGf=find	ART	IND	COMPL

ri=koyepia-no
3SGf=converse-NOM1
'What a talkative person she is, she always finds something to talk about ' [HC-6/7/04-24]

(51) *nka to ka itoekowon*

nka	*to*	*ka*	*itoeko-wo-no*
NEG	ART	IND	stay-COP-NOM1

'Nobody stayed (lit There isn't anybody who stayed) ' [AD/DC-D2-141]

In many other examples *to ka* functions as a complementizer It is never found as a free form without a following modifier In (52) the use as a complementizer is exemplified

(52) *nka henowor to ka ronikoč*

nka	*heno-wo=ro*	*to*	*ka*	*ro=niko-čo*
NEG	good-COP=3SGm	ART	IND	3SGm=eat-NOM2

'He cannot eat well (lit He is not good in eating) ' [DC-6/4/06-87]

8 4 Interjections, discourse particles and onomatopoeia

Interjections (8 4 1) are unchangeable particles with an exclamatory character, whereas discourse particles (8 4 2) are generally morphologically analyzable, or lexemes that can be used as verbs or nouns as well in the language

8.4.1. Interjections

Interjections form a closed class of words in Baure. They "are words, often of an exclamatory character, that can constitute utterances in themselves, and that usually have no syntactic connection to any other words that may occur with them" (Schachter 1985:58). As all Baure speakers are bilingual in Spanish, there is also frequent use of Spanish interjections. When people just start using Baure again with me, or in elicitation the Spanish forms sometimes get mixed into Baure (a kind of code-switching). Generally, the more the speakers reconnect to the Baure language again, or the longer they talk exclusively in Baure, the more Baure specific interjections pop up. Some of these interjections are also Spanish loans. (In many cases this does happen with unequal relations, e.g. Quechua interjections in Spanish, Muysken, p.c.). The Baure interjections have not been borrowed into the local Spanish.

Interjections are used to express surprise, emphasis, pain, hesitation, etc. One of the most frequent interjections is the hesitation form *–ha–* 'HES', used in pauses between words and sometimes also between clitics and bases. The pauses are a sign of the speaker's insecurity or searching for the appropriate lexeme. Since Baure is a dying language, the speakers generally use this pausal form *–ha–* quite a lot, mainly before nouns. Consider the following example, in which the speaker wants to say 'my finger is aching', but he cannot find the word for 'finger'[207].

(53) *nkotičow ten –ha– te niwohis te ntir –ha–, nkotičowor –ha–.*

ni=kotičo-wo	*ten*	*ha*	*te*	*ni=wohis*
1SG=hurt-COP	DEM3m	HES	DEM1m	1SG=hand

te	*ntir*	*ha*	*ni=kotičo-wo=ro*	*ha*
DEM1m	1SGP	HES	1SG=hurt-COP=3SGm	HES

'I have pain in that –er– my hand/finger of my –er–, it hurts me, –er–.'

[MC-9/8/03-27]

The interjection *–ha–* is inserted between the determiner and the noun, as in (53), or between subject NP and VP, between particles and main predicate (54), clause initially directly after a connector, such as *ač* 'and', or right before direct speech quotations in narratives (55).

(54) *nka –ha– ponow pitirow? – nokaw!*

nka	*ha*	*pono-wo*	*pitiro-wo*	*noka-wo*
NEG	HES	other-COP	2SGP-COP	NEG-COP

'Don't you –er– have another one? – No, I don't.' [RP-N3-69]

(55) *rahačowor teč ses, rokičowor-hi –ha–: "ač pikiepowon?"*

ro=ahačo-wo=ro	*teč*	*ses*	*ro=kičo-wo=ro=hi*
3SGm=ask-COP=3SGm	DEM2m	sun	3SGm=say.do-COP=3SGm=QUOT

[207] In Baure the word *-wohis* means likewise 'hand' and 'finger', whereas in Spanish, like in English, there are two different words. This confuses the speaker, and he is looking for the correct translation The speaker is trying to build the construction in analogy to the 'toes', which are *to niwohis to nipoiy* 'finger(s) of my foot', but the repetition **to niwohis to niwohis* 'finger of my hand' is not used in Baure.

ha *ač* *pɪ=kɪe-po-wo-no*
HES and 2SG=EV-PRFLX-COP-NOM1
'The sun asked him, he[208] said –er– "And what are you up to?" '
[RP-N4-109]

It can also be found between the subject proclitic and the verb base In this case the personal clitic is repeated, attached to the verb, after the pause (56) That there are pauses possible was one argument that the personal morphemes are clitics and not affixes, because the pause indicates its lexical and syntactic independence, in my view

(56) *ver kač nɪ- –ha– neherɪk*
ver *kač* *nɪ* *ha* *nɪ=eherɪk*
PERF GO 1SG HES 1SG=spin
'I already go (start) to –er– spin ' [GP-11/7/04-4]

In addition to *–ha–* there is another interjection inserted where the speaker really stumbles *yoš* This interjection varies phonologically between [yɔʃ] and [yaʃ] *yoš* means something like 'what was it again?' and can also be replaced by *woyowoyowo(š)* 'what's the name?', an irregular predicate based on the verb *-woyowoy-* '(have) name' One example of *yoš* appears in (57) All interjections with a relatively difficult or complex translation are glossed as 'INTJ' and can be looked up in Table 8 12

(57) *pehačop pɪ- ten –ha– yoš pɪ- to pɪhawačop*
pɪ=eh-a-čo-po *pɪ=* *ten* *ha* *yoš* *pɪ* *to*
2SG=wash-body-APPL-PRFLX 2SG= DEM3m HES INTJ 2SG ART

pɪ=haw-a-čo-po
2SG=soap-LK-APPL-PRFLX
'You wash your body, you –er– (what was it?) you, you soap your body '
[HC-2/7/04-19]

In (58) an example where *woyowoyowoš* 'what's the name?' is used

(58) *ver kač nopɪhɪk to neč – woyowoyowoš – to neč sɪmorɪnev*
ver *kač* *no=pɪhɪk* *to* *neč* *woyo~woyo-wo=š*
PERF GO 3PL=pass ART DEM2PL name~name-COP=EXCLA

to *neč* *sɪmorɪ-nev*
ART DEM2PL pig-PL
'Then the – what was their name? – the pigs passed by ' [RP-N3-120]

As the analysis in the glosses of (58) shows, the irregular predicate *woyowoyowoš* ends in the exclamatory clitic *-š*, which occurs in a reduced form here This clausal clitic may also have been the origin of the final fricative in the interjection *yoš yoš* is more emphatic than *–ha–* 'HES' and can also express surprise, astonishment or exhaustion

[208] Note that *tec ses* 'the sun' is masculine here

A form similar to hesitative *–ha–* is used for a very distinct purpose in discourse It is generally nasalized as *hã* 'what about?', introducing questions or as a marker for elliptic questions Nasalization is not phonemic in Baure, which may be one reason why this interjection sometimes lacks the nasal quality of the vowel It can also introduce a suggestion (60) Furthermore, this interjection is used to show agreement 'yes' or to demonstrate that the hearer is listening to what the speaker says (61) Examples are found in (59) through (61)

(59) *kač nokičon –ha– hã yiti'?*
kač *no=kičo=no* *ha* *hã* *yiti*
GO 3PL=say do=3PL HES INTJ 2PL
'They went to say, –er– "And what about you?" ' [JP-N9-6]

(60) *hã pinik kes!*
hã *pi=nik* *kes*
INTJ 2SG=eat cheese
'But eat some cheese!' [RP-N3-92]

(61) *' ver vikač, nen!" – "hã!"*
ver *vi=kač* *ni=en* *hã*
PERF 1PL=go 1SG=mother INTJ
' "We go now, mum!" – "Yes, ok " ' [GP-N7-38]

The interjection *hã* has also evolved into a nearly fixed form *hãti'* 'what about you?' In (59) there is a 2PL referent, but if it was 2SG, the speaker would use the blended form *hãti'*, which seems to go back to the interjection *hã* and the pronoun *piti* '2SG' Finally *ha!* can also mean 'I got you!' or something similar In 8 12 there is a list of interjections from the data

form	meaning
-yoš-/ -yaš-	expression of hesitation, exhaustion, or surprise, can mean 'what was it?'
ha	hesitation
hã	introduces questions and suggestions, can mean 'what about?'
	agreement 'yes', 'ok', the hearer is listening
	'I got you!'
ah!	'ah! I understand', 'oh!', or asking a favour
pah!	'that is not true'
čih!	'pooh! a lot!'
ahpi!	'hoho!', 'Oh my Lord'
he'how!	waving 'here I am, hoohoo!'
he?	'what?'
nanan	a warning 'watch out!', with a waving hand 'some other time', 'then'
inš-ha	'so what?'
išer	exclamation to show understanding 'that's why', 'therefore', 'I see'

Table 8 12 Interjections I

In general interjections are morphologically simplex, but we find a few exceptions. The interjection *čih* 'pooh, a lot' seems to be composed of the modifier root *či-* 'big, much' and another unknown part. In 8.13 the interjections of Spanish origin are listed.

form	meaning
aiy	'ayay', 'oh'
aiy senior	< Spanish *ay Señor* 'Oh, my Lord!'
boen	< Spanish *bueno* 'well'
karaw, karah	< Spanish *carajo* 'dammit'

Table 8.13: Interjections II Spanish loans

They are phonetically adapted to Baure. The interjection *karaw* or *karah* can even carry an augmentative suffix, as demonstrated in (62):

(62) *karahča, nikopi!*
karah-ča *niko=pi*
INTJ-AUG 1SG.eat=2SG
'*Carajo*, I eat you!' [RP-N3-49]

In this section I also want to point at a phenomenon exclusively found in songs (cf. Appendix B.2). In almost all songs a vowel *-a-* is either added word finally or replaces the final vowel *-o*. Sometimes it is even the syllable *-ya*, added after the final vowel *-i*. It seems to be important for the musical binding of words, for the keeping up the rhythm and so on. The following example is taken from an old recording of a speaker who had already died in 1992. She spoke nearly exclusively Baure and is the mother of three of my main informants.

(63) *navikoporeiy-a nerikı-ya vıtır-a viesta.*
ni=aviko-poreiy-a *neriki-ya* *vitir-a* *viesta*
1SG=return-REP-CANT now-CANT 1PLP-CANT fiesta
'Now I return again for our fiesta.' [MP-S3-1]

However, the younger speakers insert the rhythmic syllable as well. The sound made when singing a melody without text in Baure is *nanina* 'lalala'.

8.4.2. Discourse particles

There are also a number of other particles in Baure used in discourse. Some of these discourse particles are analyzable, but semantically not transparent, conventionalized expressions. Discourse particles can be used for greetings, such as *nte'* 'hello' or *hare'* 'good day'. The word *hare'* also means 'clear, light' with reference to the weather. The already mentioned particle *hãti'* 'what about you?' can be analyzed as a blend of an interjection and a reduced pronoun. The word for 'thank you', *asoropaiy*,

is the well-known Spanish loan *Diós se lo pague* 'God will pay you for it'[209]. Table 8.14 sums up the discourse particles I found.

form	meaning	composition or origin
nte'	'hello'	
hare'	'good day'	lit. 'clear (day), light'
heni	'yes'	lit. 'good'
asoropaiy	'thank you'	from Spanish *Diós se lo pague* 'God will pay you for it'
hãti'?	'and you?', 'what about you?'	blend: *hã* + *(pi)ti'* INTJ + 2SG
ka?	'what?' (showing that the hearer did not understand)	
veroeš	'so what?!'	*vero* + *=iš* PERF + =EXCLA
pihinoek	'cheers'	lit. 'you watch' or 'you search'
hintani	'no idea'	
hepči'	'it seems/ it seemed' (used in narration only)	
nken-hi	'I think', 'I believe' (no person cross-reference), only in direct speech	
kienan	'so ugly', 'like this (bad)'	composition unclear, but *-kie-* 'EV', the last morpheme seems to be *-n(o)* 'NOM1'
ihiriaw(-niš)	'so much', 'how much was it', 'what a ...'	
intoša	'wait!'	**into* + *-ša* ? -IRR

Table 8.14: Discourse particles

8.4.3. Onomatopoeic words

There are quite a number of onomatopoeic words or roots, most of which refer to animal names and animal noises. The majority are nouns. In addition there are some verb roots. In other word classes we do not come across onomatopoeia.

Among the animal names, there are mainly bird names that consist of syllables that might resemble the sounds these birds make, generally reduplicated, such as *sirisiri* 'falcon', *sorisori* 'owl', *poepoe'* 'trogón (bird sp.)', *tatasoe'* 'woodpecker', and *tarar* 'raven'. In some words sounds occur that do not fit within the Baure phonological system. On the one hand, some words may have been borrowed from another indigenous language, such as *mehelele* 'cuyabo (nightjar, bird sp.)', but in other cases these sounds are simply unique to animal names. The most striking phonologi-

[209] This phrase has been widely borrowed into indigenous languages all over Latin America, as e.g. in other languages of Bolivian Amazonia: Itonama (*solopay*, Crevels, p.c.), and Cavineña (*yusurupai*, Guillaume 2004:88), or other languages, such as Ecuadorian Imbabura Quichua (*diusulupagui*, Rendón, p.c.).

cal deviation is a stressed final rhotic, represented as "rr" in the orthography. This final rhotic is pronounced as a voiced alveolar vibrant. It occurs in the names *takirr* 'locust', *koterr* 'toracoe' (bird sp.)', *čomorr* 'cockroach', and others. It is possible that the final sound is related to the sound produced by the animal or has some other meaning[210].

Among the onomatopoeic verb roots there are a few animal sounds, such as *-wawak-* 'bark' and *-torotorok-* 'gackle', both of which include the reduplication of a syllable. The only animal sound represented by a simple verb root is *-ya-*, which can either mean 'cry' or the sound of the cat 'miaow' and the cow 'moo'. Other onomatopoeic verb roots refer to specific physical movement or an exhausting state that results from physical movement, some weather verbs and others. Generally, all of these verb roots involve reduplication, which is iconic itself by referring to an iterative event, and the same roots are not used in a simple form. Table 8.15 presents a short list of examples of these verbs:

form	meaning	remarks
-wawak-	bark (intr.)	transitive derivation with applicative: *-wawač-* 'bark at'
-torotorok-	gackle	
-hehepen-	pant with tongue hanging out	*-he~he-pen-* (sound)~INT-tongue
-miahmiah'inok-	pant	*-miah~miah-'ino-ko-* (sound)~INT-SBJ-ABS
-rarak-	swallow	possibly related to *-er-* 'drink' and *-erok-* 'swallow'
-yivirivirik-	tremble of pain	
-yoporoporok-	shiver of cold	
-šipiripirık-	roll (and fall down)	
-čoporiporik-	roll (in the mud)	
-čokorokorok-	rumble (stomach)	
-kačoworoworek-	make a lot of noise in the oven	
-wotowoto-	boil, cook	derivation of causative verb with attributive prefix: *-kawtowtok-* 'make boil'
-haphapsoe-	drizzle (before rain)	
-čoročorosoe-	drizzle (after rain)	

Table 8.15 Onomatopoeic verbs

In Table 8.15 there is one verb root that includes an incorporated noun, *-hehepen-* 'pant with tongue hanging out'. An example of this verb is taken from a narrative:

[210] The rhotic may also be representative for a dislike, at least in the case of the cockroach.

(64) *powor to sɪporɪ rohehepenwapa*
powor *to* *sɪporɪ* *ro=hehe-pen-wapa*
poor ART frog 3SGm=pant-tongue-COS
'The poor frog was already panting with his tongue hanging out (extremely) '
[RP-N2/I-13]

Another set of examples that should be compared are the kinds of shivering or trembling and the kinds of rolling Here we have two related verb bases in each case, which show a vowel alternation resulting in a meaning difference The verbs *-yɪvɪrɪvɪrɪk-* 'tremble of pain' and *-šɪpɪrɪpɪrɪk-* 'roll (and fall down)' are changed into *-yoporoporok-* 'shiver of cold' and *-čoporɪporɪk-* 'roll (in the mud)' In both derivations the change is from the closed front unrounded vowel *ɪ* to the open-mid back *o*

9 Clause types and utterance structures

In this chapter different clause types are introduced, while the following Chapter 10 focuses on clause combinations As a basis for the analysis of clause types and argument structure I considered different text types dialogues, narratives and personal stories, and not predominantly the examples from elicitation In the beginning of the chapter a simple clause is defined and the possible constituent orders of the core arguments are demonstrated Then further optional clause constituents are mentioned and their typical places of occurrences are identified Negative clauses are illustrated in 9 2 Specific types of predicate clauses were already demonstrated in Chapter 5 on predicate types One specific clause type that is described in this section is the imperative clause (9 3) The various kinds of interrogative constructions constitute another type of non-declarative clause (9 4) The answers to questions may be more reduced than simple declarative clauses, and they are described in 9 5 Finally, clauses in narratives and conversation show some specific characteristics with the attachment of clausal enclitics and the repetition of predicates or parts of the utterace The most important strategies are shown in 9 6 and 9 7

9 1 The structure of simple clauses and order of the core arguments

A simple clause in Baure consists of minimally a predicate This predicate may be verbal or non-verbal (cf Chapter 5) By reason of the cross-referencing strategies, clauses with only a predicate, but no explicit arguments, are relatively frequent Here are examples of simple clauses consisting of only a predicate, verbal predicates in (1) and (2), and a non-verbal predicate in (3)

(1) *rokospot rokačpow*
ro=ko-sopot *ro=kač-po-wo*
3SGm=ATTR-shoe 3SGm=go-PRFLX-COP
'He put shoes on He left' [RP-N4-41]

(2) *rikomorikier*
ri=komoriko=ro
3SGf=kill=3SGm
'She killed it' [GP-N1/I-11]

(3) *veraperi*
ver-a-pa=ri
PERF-LK-GO=3SGf
'She (already) left' [RP-N4-77]

The clauses in (1) both consist of only an intransitive predicate each, marked by the subject proclitic *ro-* '3SGm' In 11 3 predicate chains of the type in (1) are shown to be a technique used very frequently for a chronological sequence of events The clause in (2) contains a transitive predicate marked for subject (*ri-* '3SGf') and object (*-ro* '3SGm') Therefore both arguments may be present without explicit NPs The order of the arguments predicate-internally can be analyzed as S-V-O, which is not identical to the preferred argument order of explicit arguments (see further below in this section) In general, most verbs are ambitransitive, i e they can be used as an

intransitive verb, but also as a transitive verb. The specific verb *-ikomorik-* 'kill' in (2) is one of the few exceptions. This verb is obligatorily transitive and could not occur without an object. Example (3) shows a non-verbal predicate which is used frequently, formed on the base of the adverb *ver* 'already' (PERF). In (3) the predicate is marked by an enclitic *-ri* '3SGf' that refers to the subject. If there is no explicit NP that refers to the subject the predicate generally has to be marked. With a subject NP, on the other hand, it may occur in simple juxtaposition (cf. 9.1.1).

In addition to the predicate there may be up to three core arguments depending on the kind of predicate base: a subject argument may be found with any predicate, an object argument when the predicate is transitive, and two object arguments when the predicate is ditransitive. The core arguments may be found being marked on the predicate (as in (1)–(3) above), but they may also be represented by an NP or pronoun as explicit arguments. This section shows how the explicit core arguments are related to the predicate and in which order they may appear. The main distinctions in word order possibilities I found concern the difference between argument of an intransitive and a transitive predicate, the distinction between subject and object argument, but also whether the explicit argument is a complete NP or a simple pronoun. A further minor distinction is animate versus inanimate, as will be shown below. Some word order distinctions may be related to focus and topicalization. As this grammar does not explicitly discuss these pragmatic features separately, there will be brief reference to them in the sections where necessary. The general argument order is demonstrated in Figure 9.1:

PRED (S) (O)

Figure 9.1 Argument order with explicit core arguments

The predicate (PRED) is in initial position, optionally followed by the explicit subject (S) and an explicit object (O). The reason why this has not been called VSO in the figure is to include non-verbal predicates as well.

9.1.1. The subject argument

In general the subject of an intransitive predicate follows the predicate, as demonstrated in (4). However, a transitive verb may also be followed by only one argument that refers to the object, so that we cannot determine subjecthood on the basis of the position alone. In this respect (4) is contrasted with (5):

(4) *roharow to yakis.*
ro=haro-wo *to* *yakis*
3SGm=burn.intr-COP ART firewood
'The firewood is burning.' [RP-5/7/04-62]

(5) *rokow to yakis.*
ro=kow *to* *yakis*
3SGm=burn.tr ART firewood
'He is burning the firewood.' [RP-5/7/04-63]

The verb *-har-* 'burn' is intransitive and refers to the burning material as a subject, as represented in (4), in which *to yakis* 'the firewood' is the explicit subject NP. The

clause in (5) looks nearly identical in its structure, but the different verb *-kow-* 'burn' is transitive and the explicit NP refers to the object in this example. The different role of the explicit argument is not apparent from either the position of the argument or the cross-reference on the verb when there is only one explicit argument.

The order VSO is generally preferred, especially when no human argument is involved. In the following example a speaker corrected the order to VSO, when I tried to express it in VOS:

	*V	O		S	
(6)	**nonik*	*to rosoki*		*to aren.*	
	no=nik	*to*	*ro=soki*	*to*	*aren*
	3PL=eat	ART	3SGm=seed	ART	bird

	V	S		O	
(7)	*nonik*	*to aren*		*to rosoki.*	
	no=nik	*to*	*aren*	*to*	*ro=soki*
	3PL=eat	ART	bird	ART	3SGm=seed

'The birds eat the seeds (of a tree).' [JC-13/7/04-96]

In narratives, however, I also found examples with VOS order, particularly when there is a human or animate argument involved, so that the roles of the arguments can be understood from the context. In (8) the agent *teč šiye'* 'the fox' is animate and a main character in the narrative.

	V	O		S	
(8)	*ronikow*	*teč kes*		*teč šiye'.*	
	ro=niko-wo	*teč*	*kes*	*teč*	*šiye'*
	3SGm=eat-COP	DEM2m	cheese	DEM2m	fox

'The fox ate the cheese.' [RP-N3-95]

For special emphasis the subject NP frequently precedes the predicate. This mainly accounts for verbal predicates (especially transitive ones) and is found when the subject changes. As there are no other switch-reference markers, the position of the subject is the pragmatic means of marking the change of the subject.

		S		V	O	
(9)	*"heni,"*	*teč sipori*		*rokičow*	*teč kotis.*	
	heni	*teč*	*sipori*	*ro=kičo-wo*	*teč*	*kotis*
	yes	DEM2m	frog	3SGm=say.do-COP	DEM2m	lizard

' "Yes", the frog said to the lizard.' [RP-N2/II-37]

Nominal NPs should be distinguished from pronominal NPs. If the subject is referred to by a pronoun, the pronoun generally precedes the predicate. The personal pronouns are used for special emphasis, which is why they often precede the predicate.

$S_{(focus)}$	PRED	(O)
$PRON_S$	PRED	(O)

Figure 9.2: Argument order with pronominal subject NPs and subjects in focus

Personal pronouns are not used frequently, and there are more examples with the speech act participants, especially *nti'* '1SG' and *piti'* '2SG' than there are with 3SG or 3PL pronouns. (10) and (11) are examples:

(10) *"noka!" rokičowor-hi, "koe' piti' pinikoni!"*
noka *ro=kičo-wo=ro=hi* *koe(č)* *piti'* *pi=niko=ni*
NEG 3SGm=say.do-COP=3SGm=QUOT because 2SG 2SG=eat=1SG
' "No!" he said. "Because you eat me!" ' [RP-N3-118]

(11) *nti' enevere nkotorek.*
nti'enevere *ni=kotorek*
1SG tomorrow 1SG=work
'I work tomorrow.' [RP-N11-13]

In (10) the pronoun *piti'* '2SG' precedes the verb *pinikoni* 'you eat me', in which the subject is also marked by the proclitic *pi-* '2SG'. It is also possible to find an adverb in between the subject pronoun and the verb, as shown in (11). This is also the position of the negative particle *nka* when the predicate is negated.

In the case of non-verbal predicates in juxtaposition with the subject NP (cf. 5.3.1 and 5.3.2), it seems to be the unmarked case when the subject pronoun precedes the predicate. This also means that when the pronoun follows the predicate, this puts special emphasis on the predicate, as in (12):

(12) *"monik piti', čapak," rokičowor-hi.*
monik *piti'* *čapak* *ro=kičo-wo=ro=hi*
pretty 2SG spider 3SGm=say.do-COP-3SGm=QUOT
' "You are *pretty*, spider", he said.' [SIL-N1-56]

Even though preverbal particles have much in common with adverbs in general, subject personal pronouns tend to occur after a preverbal particle, thus in between the particle and the main verb, as in (13). The same holds for complement constructions (as described in 11.3.4), which must have been the source of preverbal particle constructions as well, so that it is not surprising that the constructions are similar.

(13) *ver kač noti' nar'ınokop, kač –ha– nohıno'ınokop.*
ver *kač* *noti'* *no=ar'ınoko-po* *kač* *ha* *no=hıno'inoko-po*
PERF GO 3PL 3PL=be.sad-PRFLX GO HES 3PL=think-PRFLX
'They got sad and started to think.' [JP-N9-20]

9.1.2. The object arguments

In Baure there are two possible object arguments, generally referred to as "direct" and "indirect" in the linguistic literature. However, which one is the "direct" or "indirect" depends on being human or not, not on any kind of "directness". In general the concepts of recipient and patient are used in this grammar to classify the objects semantically. In addition there are oblique objects, which are discussed in 9.1.3. Usually a verb occurs together with only one object NP. The object NP follows the verb (cf. (5)), and generally also the subject NP (7). Therefore VSO is the least marked

situation. In (14) an example is added with one subject NP and one object NP, whereas in (15) there are two explicit object NPs.

	V	S			O	
(14)	*rokičowor-hi*	*teč –ha– kotis*			*teč sipori:*	
	ro=kičo-wo=ro=hi	*teč*	*ha*	*kotis*	*teč*	*sipori*
	3SGm=say.do-COP=3SGm=QUOT	DEM2m	HES	lizard	DEM2m	frog
	"The lizard said to the frog:"					[RP-N2/I-27]

	V	O(P)		O(R)	
(15)	*nki'inow nipa*	*te livor*		*ti nipiri koehkoe' riveser.*	
	ni=ki'ino-wo *ni=pa*	*te*	*livor*	*ti*	*ni=piri*
	1SG=want-COP 1SG=give	DEM1m	book	DEM1f	1SG=sibling
	koehkoe' *ri=vesa=ro*				
	so.that 3SGf=read=3SGm				
	'I want to give the book to my sister so that she reads it.'				[RP-P1-1]

In (15) there are two explicit object NPs, related to the ditransitive verb *-pa-* 'give'. The order is patient – O(P) – before recipient – O(R) –, which is exactly the inverse from the fixed order of personal enclitics on the verb (cf. 5.1.3 and Figure 5.1). Two enclitics are only attached if one of them is a speech act participant, but the order is then always recipient before patient, as e.g. in *nipapir* (1SG=give=2SG=3SGm) 'I give it to you'.

It is also possible to antepose an explicit object argument to the predicate for special emphasis. In general, the position directly following the predicate can also be used to emphasize the object argument (at least with human agents, as shown in (8)), but especially with causative verbs, where the object is identical to the causee, i.e. the real agent of the action, the object NP can be anteposed to the whole predicate. This downplays the role of the causer as the actual subject of the construction, as in (16):

	O		V
(16)	*ti nihin*		*nimokotorekowori.*
	ti	*ni=hin*	*ni=imo-kotoreko-wo=ri*
	DEM1f	1SG=daughter	1SG=CAUS-work-COP=3SGf
	'I make my daughter work.'		[RP-8/7/04-56]

Personal pronouns are generally not used for reference to an object. In all the data of narratives and conversation there are only two examples of pronouns referring to an object. In one case the object pronoun follows the predicate (17), which seems to be the least marked position. In (18) there is an example of the object pronoun preceding the predicate, but it should rather be considered as a case of left-dislocation for pragmatic purposes, as the pronoun is followed by a short pause.

(17) *koehkoe' rosompovi viti'.*
koehkoe' *ro=sompo=vi* *viti'*
so.that 3SGm=hear=1PL 1PL
D: 'So that it hears us (the recorder).' [AD/DC-D2-7]

(18) *boen, ntı – rınvıtačını tıč eton*
boen ntı'rı=ınvıtačı=nı tıč eton
well 1SG 3SGf=ınvite=1SG DEM2f woman
E 'Well, that woman ınvited me ' [RP/EC-D4-2]

9 1 3 Oblique arguments

The maın kınd of oblıque argument ıs the locatıve NP marked by the locatıve suffix *-ye* Besıdes thıs there ıs sometımes an unmarked NP added as ıf ıt were an object NP, but ın fact thıs ıs an oblıque argument that refers to a cause Thıs ıs analyzed as a kınd of juxtapositıon, especıally because the causal NP ıs frequently a nomınalızed predıcat Thıs ıs descrıbed ın 10 2 4 In thıs sectıon only locatıve arguments are descrıbed The locatıve argument ıs treated lıke other locatıve or temporal adverbıals, and the posıtıon ıs more free than that of the arguments of the predıcate The least marked order ıs consıdered to be the one followıng the maın arguments In (19) the locatıve argument follows the object NP

	V	O	LOC
(19)	*vapa*	*yakıs*	*toerko-ye*
	vı=a-pa	*yakıs*	*toerko-ye*
	1PL=put-GO	firewood	field-LOC

'We wıll brıng the firewood to the field ' [JC-13/8/03-3]

For emphasıs on the locatıon there are two strategıes the locatıve NP occurs ın left-dıslocatıon, as ın (20), or the locatıon occurs dırectly after the predıcate, as ın (21)

	LOC	V	S	
(20)	*hamarokıno-ye*	*kwe'*	*hım čopoča*	
	hamaro-kı-no-ye	*kwe'*	*hım*	*čo-po-ča*
	black-CLF contents-NOM1-LOC	exıst	fish	bıg-CLF tıny-AUG

'In the black rıver (Rıo Negro) there are very bıg fish ' [JC-18/9/03-26]

	V	LOC	S	
(21)	*kačpow*	*ropenı-ye*	*teč sıporı*	
	kač-po-wo	*ro=penı-ye*	*teč*	*sıporı*
	go-PRFLX-COP	3SGm=cave-LOC	DEM2m	frog

'The frog went away to hıs cave ' [RP-N2/I-16]

In the left-dıslocatıon ın (20) the maın clause follows the locatıve argument wıthout any further changes ın the order predıcate-subject In (21) the locatıve argument follows dırectly after the verb, and the subject follows after the locatıon The locatıve argument frequently follows verbs of motıon that already ımply a locatıon, but less frequently a subject NP follows the locatıon

The locatıve argument can also be more complex wıth a possessıve NP that ıs sımply juxtaposed to the locatıon wıthout any further markıng (22) Thıs may also play a role ın respect to the restrıctıon of maın arguments followıng the locatıve argument Consıder example (22)

	V	[LOC		POSS]	
(22)	*rošım*	*noıy*	*rıweri-ye*	*tı kıher*	
	ro=šım	*noıy*	*rı=weri-ye*	*tı*	*kıher*
	3SGm=arrıve	there	3SGf=house-LOC	DEM1f	moon
	'He arrived ın the house of the moon '				[RP-N4-81]

The verbs ın (21) and (22) and other verbs of motıon are generally ıntransıtıve Wıth transıtıve verbs the subject NP usually does not occur after the locatıon, but object NPs follow frequently, as ın (23)

	V	LOC		O
(23)	*nımonopaša*	*noıy*	*Antonıa-ye*	*neš*
	nı=ımono-pa-ša	*noıy*	*Antonıa-ye*	*neš*
	1SG=buy-GO-IRR	there	Antonıo-LOC	meat
	'I wıll buy meat ın the house of Antonıo '			[JC-18/9/03-38]

In clauses wıth the non-verbal predıcate *kwe'* 'exıst' the subject can follow the locatıon, as ın (21), but ıt ıs a relatıvely more marked sıtuatıon, as shown ın the followıng example

	V	LOC		S	
(24)	*kwe'*	*ne' Trınıda-ye*		*tı nıhın*	
	kwe'	*ne'*	*Trınıda-ye*	*tı*	*nı=hın*
	exıst	here	Trınıdad-LOC	DEM1f	1SG=daughter

LOC		V	S
ne' San Borja-ye		*kowe'*	*nıšır*
ne	*San Borja-ye*	*kowe'*	*nı=šır*
here	San Borja-LOC	exıst	1SG=son

LOC		V		S	
Goyormırı-ye		*kowe –ha–*		*sınko nıšečenev*	
Goyormırı-ye		*kowe' ha*		*sınko*	*nı=šeče-nev*
Guayamarın-LOC	exıst	HES		five	1SG=chıld-PL

'There ıs one daughter of mıne ın Trınıdad In San Borja I have a son (And) ın Guayamarın there are five of my chıldren ' [DC-7/3/06-27–29]

In (24) ıt ıs apparent that for focus on the locatıon ın the first clause the subject NP *tı nıhın* 'my daughter' can follow the locatıon, but ın the followıng two clauses the more general order of the arguments ıs used, namely LOC-predıcate-subject

Fınally, there may also be two locatıve arguments followıng another, one specıfyıng the other, as ın (25)

			LOC	LOC
(25)	*ver nıkač*		*nıweri-ye*	*nısori-ye*
	ver	*nı=kač*	*nı=weri-ye*	*nı=sori-ye*
	PERF	1SG=go	1SG=house-LOC	1SG=vıllage-LOC
	'I already go home ın my vıllage '			[JC-13/7/04-63]

9 2 Negation

In Baure there are two main strategies of negation one involves particles that precede the negated element (periphrastic negation), and the other one the privative prefix *mo-* (morphological negation) Periphrastic negation is the general way to negate propositions, morphological negation is not used so productively and cannot negate every verb, but only a restricted number of lexicalized verbs, nouns, and adjectives (cf 4 9 3 and 5 2 3)

Starting with periphrastic negation, there are at least four different negative particles *nka* 'no(t)', *porok* 'never', *verek* 'not ever', and *wokow* 'not yet' All of these particles have a different etymology and are described one by one What they all have in common is the fixed position preceding the verb or non-verbal predicate In this and other respects negative particles are just like the other preverbal particles described in Chapter 7 So we have the negation pattern NEG PRED

The negative particle precedes the negated element directly There is a hierarchy in the specificity of the negative particles *nka* is the general negative particle, and the others – *porok* 'never', *verek* 'not ever', and *wokow* 'not yet' are more specific

9 2 1 The general negative particle n(o)ka

The particle that occurs most is the general negative particle *n(o)ka* 'no(t)' The phonological form ranges from the most clearly pronounced ['noka], over the generally used forms ['nga] or ['ŋga], to the emphatic forms ['doka] or ['daka][211] ['nga] is the product of first the elision of the vowel [o] and a subsequent voicing of the obstruent [k] into [g] that follows the syllabic nasal (cf 2 2 1 and 2 5 1) The emphatic forms ['doka] or ['daka] show a phonological process that is not all too common in Baure the denasalization of [n] resulting in the voiced plosive [d] at the same place of articulation They generally occur in isolation as a negative answer to questions

The negative particle *nka* is used for general negation of a predicate It therefore only occurs before verbs or non-verbal predicates In example (26) a negated verb can be compared to the affirmative form

(26) *nken-hi nerɨki nka rosowe', tiwe' enevere rosowe'*
nken=hi nerɨki nka ro=sowe' tiwe' enevere ro=sowe'
I think=QUOT now NEG 3SGm-rain but tomorrow 3SGm-rain
'I think today it doesn't rain, but tomorrow it rains' [RP-22/7/04-111]

The form of the negative verb *nka rosowe'* 'it doesn't rain' (26) only differs from the affirmative form *rosowe'* 'it rains' in respect to the preceding negative particle Negation of intransitive verbs is identical to that of transitive verbs or non-verbal predicates Examples (27) and (28) illustrate this

(27) *pɨkahašer ač nka nohɨnokopɨ*
pɨ=ka-haše=ro ač nka no=hɨnoko=pɨ
2SG=ATTR-hat=3SGm and NEG 3PL=see=2SG
'Put the hat on and they don't see you' [RP-N4-17]

[211] In the present spelling there will only be two different representations The emphatic *noka* – ['noka], ['doka] or ['daka] – and *nka* ['nga]

(28) *nka henowoni, nikamokiow'*
nka *heno-wo=ni,* *ni=kamoki-wo*
NEG good-COP-1SG 1SG-sweat-COP
'I am not well, I am sweating!' [RP-N3-30]

The negative particle and the verb or non-verbal predicate have to be juxtaposed directly and cannot be separated by an explicit argument, be it a personal pronoun or noun The subject NP in general precedes the verb (29) or non-verbal predicate (30), whereas the object follows the predicate

(29) *riti' rivekow tiwe nti' nka nčowor*
riti' *ri=veko-wo* *tiwe* *nti'nka* *ni=čo-wo=ro*
3SGf 3SGf=talk-COP but 1SG NEG 1SG=understand-COP=3SGm
'She is talking, but I don't understand it' [RP-19/8/03-96]

(30) *to neč nka ntoriewon*
to *neč* *nka* *ni=torie-wo=no*
ART DEM2PL NEG 1SG=friend-COP=3PL
'Those aren't my friends' [IM-23/8/03-25]

If the VP itself contains a preverbal particle (31) or adverb (32), the negative particle precedes this unit of particle and verb or non-verbal predicate

(31) *ač –ha– rietoesap, nka avik rikoka*
ač *ha* *ri=etoesa-po* *nka* *avik* *ri=koka*
and HES 3SGf=be quiet-PRFLX NEG again 3SGf=laugh
'And she kept quiet, she didn't laugh again' [GP-N1/II-7]

(32) *nka imir tisewon*
nka *imir* *ti-se-wo=no*
NEG very small-CLF oval-COP=3PL
'They aren't very small (watermelons)' [LO/GP-18/7/04-79]

In addition, the particle *nka* itself is used as a non-verbal base of a predicate In that use it can have certain verbal morphemes attached, such as the copula suffix *-wo* in *nkaw* 'there isn't' or the change of state morpheme *-wapa* in *nkawapa* 'there isn't any more' This is mainly used for negative existentials (cf 5 3 3) The general negative particle is also used for negating morphological imperatives, as illustrated in 9 3 1 below

The negator *nka* is also found in one complex lexeme, namely *nka to ka*, which can be translated as 'no-one' or 'nothing' It is the negation of the indefinite pronoun *to ka* 'someone' or 'something' The complex negative pronoun is significant in specific relative clause constructions (cf 10 2 8) In addition it is found in negative clauses of the following type

(33) *nka to ka načikpoeiy*
nka *to* *ka* *ni=ačik-poeiy*
NEG ART IND 1SG=carry-REPN
'I won't carry anything anymore' [JC-6/4/06-26]

The complex morpheme *nka -poeiy* 'REPN' (negative repetitive)[212] is exclusively used in negative clauses. It is likely that *-poeiy* is directly related to *-poreiy* 'REP (again)'. The two morphemes provide an interesting semantic pair that explains the specific meaning of *nka -poeiy*, which can be translated as 'never again in life' or 'never ever again', as pointed out in 6.5.2.8 (and examples (204) and (205) in 6). In the negated form *nka -poreiy* 'not again' only seems to negate one occurrence, but unlike *nka -poeiy* it does not mean a general negation. It is possible that the particles *porok* 'never' and *verek* 'not ever' have replaced the morphological way of specifying these meanings on the verb.

In some clauses the verbal morphemes attached to the negated clause differ from those in the affirmative clause. Lexical aspect inherent to the verb base is important in Baure. Punctual verbs (or achievement verbs, Vendler 1967) are generally used in the basic unmarked form in the affirmative (34), whereas the negative form always has to get the copula morpheme attached (35):

(34) *ver netorok.*
ver *ni=etorok*
PERF 1SG=come.out
'I came out.' [RP-12/9/03-36]

(35) *nka retorokow.*
nka *ro=etoroko-wo*
NEG 3SGm=come.out-COP
'He didn't come out.' [DC-3/4/06-16]

The verb base *-etorok-* 'come out' cannot be negated with the simple form. The same holds for verbs such as *-šim-* 'arrive', *-aparok-* 'break', *-epoč-* 'burst', *-porok-* 'get lost' etc. This is related to the aspectual interpretation of the negated form as a kind of state: 'he is in the state of not having come out' (35). For more information concerning the copula suffix *-wo* cf. Chapter 6.5.2.4.

9.2.2. The negative particles porok 'never' and verek 'not ever'

There are two particles that could be translated as 'never' in English; therefore they have to be differentiated here. The particle *porok* means 'never', 'never ever' or 'never again'. The particle *verek* means 'not ever' and refers to the future. It can also be used for an imperative (warning). Both particles have considerably different derivations.

The particle *porok* has been derived from the identical verb root *-porok-* 'get lost'[213]. We can still imagine the negative connotation of 'get lost', the absence of oneself, as having served as the source for the negative particle 'never'. The following example illustrates the use of *porok* 'never' in a declarative clause:

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[212] It could either be analyzed as the morpheme *-po* 'PRFLX' or *-pa* 'go' and the locative suffix *-yi* Unfortunately vowel assimilation causes the same diphthong in both combinations, so that the origin of the complex morpheme is unclear (cf. . 6.5.2.8).

[213] Comparison: Also other preverbal particles, like e g. intentional *kač* 'go' or repetitive *avik* 'again', have been derived from verbs, cf Chapter 7.

(36) *rihewesaw porok riavikop.*
ri=hewe-sa-wo *porok* *ri=aviko-po*
3SGf=jump-CLF:water-COP never 3SGf=return-PRFLX
'She jumped into the water and never returned.' [GP-N1/I-22]

In the case of the particle *verek* 'not ever' we are dealing with the root *ver* 'already', to which the absolute suffix *-ko* was attached. In contrast to *porok* 'never', *verek* 'not ever' only refers to events that never ought to happen in the future. *Porok* 'never' refers to the past. Temporal scope is probably the most significant difference between *porok* and *verek*. Example (37) demonstrates the use of *verek*:

(37) *"boen", rokičowor-hi, "apo pihikša verek pin to nen pipirinev!"*
boen *ro=kičo-wo=ro=hi* *apo* *pi=hik-ša*
well 3SGm=say.do-COP=3SGm=QUOT if 2SG=pass-IRR

verek *pi=in* *to* *nen* *pi=piri-nev*
not.ever 2SG=be.like ART DEM3PL 2SG=sibling-PL
' "Well", he said to him, if you pass by, don't ever be like your brothers!" '
[SIL-N2-45]

9.2.3. The negative particle wokow 'not yet'

The particle *wokow* 'not yet' is composed of the following morphemes: *wo-ko-wo*, which can be analyzed as COP-ABS-COP, making it look like a non-verbal predicate[214]. Nonetheless, it is never used as a predicate in this form and meaning. The particle *wokow* can negate a VP (38), and it can also function as a minor clause standing on its own (39).

(38) *wokow rošowekow to monči', rom –ha– cuatro ... meses.*
wokowro=šoweko-wo *to* *monči'rom* *ha* *cuatro* *meses.*
not.yet 3SGm-crawl-COP ART child IMM HES four months
'The child doesn't crawl yet, it will soon be four months old.' [MC-3/7/04-6]

(39) *"ver etovi?" – "wokow, ver kač etoni – ver etowapani."*
ver *eto-wo=pi* *wokow* *ver* *kač* *eto=ni*
PERF finish-COP=2SG not.yet PERF GO finish-1SG

ver *eto-wapa=ni*
PERF finish-COS=1SG
' "Have you finished?"–"Not yet, I am going to finish, I am about to finish." '
[RP-19/7/04-2]

Furthermore, the negative particles behave exactly like the other preverbal particles described in Chapter 7.

[214] The copula morpheme *-wo* also serves as the base for a verb, as in *rowow* (3SGm=*wo*-COP) '(where) he is'; the combination *-woko-* serves as the base of the predicate that is used for asking for quantity *rowokowon* 'how many?' (cf. 9.4).

9.2.4. Morphological negation and double negation

As already mentioned above, morphological negation is a derivational process restricted to certain lexemes. Privative derivation with the prefix *mo-* is related to attributive derivation, and privative predicates are treated as non-verbal, whereas attributive predicates are generally verbal predicates. This whole issue has already been described in Chapter 5.2.3, and it will not be repeated here. In this section I will only refer to double negation as related to morphological negation.

A predicate derived by the privative prefix *mo-* can also get negated periphrastically with a negative particle. This shows how morphological negation is a lexical derivational process and cannot replace the general negation of a predicate. This kind of double negation is not equivalent to the affirmative form, as the following example demonstrates:

(40) *nka mosompoekon!*
nka *mo-sompoeko-no*
NEG PRIV-listen-NOM1
'Don't be stubborn!' [DC-16/4/06-45]

The derived lexeme *mosompoekon* 'stubborn' has been derived from the verb *-sompoek-* 'listen' and literally means 'not listen'. In the imperative clause of (40) this lexeme is again negated. It cannot be replaced by the simple affirmative imperative clause *pisompoek*! 'listen!', because the meaning deviates. (40) is uttered by the mother talking to her child, which does not want to listen. The mother refers to this negative behaviour directly. Besides imperative/prohibitive clauses, the negation of a negative lexeme can also occur as a reply to a negative proposition. The following example shows the reproach 'I wouldn't want to do something' (in elicitation) and the answer to it, in which the negation of the negative lexeme is illustrated.

(41) *mokɪ'ɪnon piti'! piti' pikoponiani: nka moki'inonowoni! nki'ɪnow ɪtwe' ...*
mo-ki'ino-no *piti'* *piti'* *pi=koponia=ni*
PRIV-want-NOM1 2SG 2SG 2SG=answer=1SG

nka *mo-kɪ'ino-no-wo=ni* *ni=ki'ɪno-wo* *ɪtwe'*
NEG PRIV-want-NOM1-COP=1SG 1SG=want-COP but
'You don't want (to do it)! 'You answer me: It's not that I don't want! I want (to do it), but ...' [MD-17/4/06-1/2]

In the reproach the derived negative predicate occurs in its basic form: *mokɪ'ɪnon* 'not wanting'. This non-verbal predicate is negated as a unit in the reply, just like in (40). Since it is not an imperative clause, there is also subject cross-reference in the reply in (41). The affirmative form *nki'inow* 'I want' follows in the reply, but it cannot be regarded as semantically identical to the double negated form.

9.3. Imperative clauses

For the investigation of imperative constructions the questionnaire of Xrakovskij (2001) served as a basis. There are three main types of imperatives: one morphological construction and two analytic constructions, of which one is formed with the help of imperative particles (cf. Chapter 7.8–7.10) and another one with a specific verb,

described in this section. Besides these there are also certain verbal morphemes used to express an order in a neutral or more polite way.

9.3.1. The morphological imperative and the prohibitive/preventative

The morphological imperative and its negative form[215] are constructed with the final morpheme *-no*, which is probably the nominalizing suffix 'NOM1', also used in relative clauses (10.2.1) and interrogative clauses (9.4). Only the different morphological behaviour in imperative contexts leads to doubts about the identity of this morpheme: In contrast to both other contexts, in imperative constructions the enclitics for 3rd person replace the morpheme, but *-no* is still added after object enclitics that refer to speech act participants, such as e.g. *-ni* '1SG' or *-pi* '2SG'. This behaviour is something in between the use of the morpheme *-no* in interrogative constructions, where it is added after all personal enclitics, and that in relative clauses, where *-no* is replaced by any personal enclitic. The morpheme *-no* in interrogative and imperative clauses can also sound like *-ni* with a palatalized nasal. This phonological effect, however, does not seem to be related to a different basic form but the palatalization seems to be a means of emphasis on this kind of non-declarative clauses. It is difficult to decide if the three homophonic morphemes *-no* are indeed three different morphemes or rather three different uses of one and the same element. There is only little evidence, as e.g. the possible application of a determiner before the forms, but it remains an interesting issue for further investigation. I decided, for the time being, to lump them all into the same category. Therefore, the morpheme *-no* will always be glossed as 'NOM1' in imperative and prohibitive clauses, as in interrogative and relative clauses. Differences in morphological behaviour may be due to different syntactic attachment.

The imperative form generally occurs with the simplest form of the verb, namely the verb base and the imperative morpheme following directly. Imperatives are not restricted to the second person singular or plural, but may exceptionally also be used with 3rd persons (43). The affirmative imperative verb includes subject marking (personal proclitics *pi-* '2SG', *yi-* '2PL', and *ro-* '3SGm' and *ri-* '3SGf'). The negative construction of the imperative, called prohibitive or preventative, is different in one important respect: there is no person marking on the predicate. The negative form is simply constructed with the negative particle *nka* 'NEG'. The verbs used in imperative constructions in affirmative clauses are all non-stative verbs (at least in the data), but in negative constructions any kind of predicate can be part of an imperative clause. Before treating the negative forms, there are three examples of the imperative: one with an intransitive verb (42) and one with a transitive verb (43), one more with an additional personal cross-referencing enclitic on a transitive verb (44):

(42) *enevere pavikopon!*
enevere *pi=aviko-po-no*
tomorrow 2SG=return-PRFLX-NOM1
'Return tomorrow!' [RP-20/7/04-143]

[215] I will point at the difference of the imperative to the negative (prohibitive/preventative) below

(43) *pamon ın' ramon ın'*
pı=am-no ın ro=am-no ın
2SG=take-NOM1 water 3SG=take-NOM1 water
'Fetch water' That he fetches water' [RP-21/7/04-20]

(44) *pamerı wapoerı-ye, pıkwoeıyč tı monči'*
pı=amo=rı wapoerı-ye pı=kowyo-čo tı monči
2SG=take=3SGf river-LOC 2SG=bathe-APPL DEM1f child
'Take her to the river and bathe the girl'' [JC-27/8/03-27]

In example (42) the intransitive verb *-avık-* 'return' is used in an imperative form Intransitive verbs frequently contain the morpheme *-po* 'PRFLX', which does not seem to be obligatory in all cases, but rather stresses the intransitivity In general, intransitive verbs are not used in the imperative form very frequently, but more often as an unmarked predicate This will be referred to in 9 3 2 below The imperative verb in (43) is marked and the object *ın* 'water' is an explicit NP and thus not marked on the predicate The same transitive verb *-am-* 'bring' is also shown in (44), where the personal enclitic *-rı* '3SGf' replaced the imperative morpheme *-no* 'NOM1'

Negative imperatives can be analyzed as prohibitives or preventatives The construction consists of the negative particle and the unmarked imperative form Subject marking is absent, but, this construction is understood as having a 2SG subject The same replacement rules of the personal enclitics and the imperative morpheme hold for the negative construction In (45) through (47) there are negative examples of the imperative

(45) *nka yan'*
nka ya-no
NEG cry-NOM1
D 'Don't cry'' [AD/DC-D2-39]

(46) *nka ıkomorıkon tı tıporekčı'*
nka ıkomorıko-no tı tıporek-čı
NEG kill-NOM1 DEM1f chicken-DIM
'Don't kill this little chicken'' [GP-2/4/06-10]

(47) *nka ačkıer'*
nka ačok=ro
NEG fill=3SGm
'Don't fill it (completely)'' [DC-15/4/06-8]

In (45) the intransitive verb *-ya-* 'cry' occurs in the negative imperative form In (46) the transitive verb *-ıkomorık-* 'kill' occurs in the imperative form with an explicit object NP *tı tıporekči* 'this little chicken' In the imperative form of the transitive verb *-ačok-* 'fill'(47) the imperative morpheme *-no* is replaced by enclitic *-ro* '3SGm'

Non-verbal predicates are stative and can also be found in negative imperatives, as e g in (48), repeated from (40), in which the non-verbal predicate is *mosompoek-* 'stubborn (not listen)', a form derived by the privative prefix[216]

(48) *nka mosompoekon!*
nka *mo-sompoeko-no*
NEG PRIV-listen-NOM1
'Don't be stubborn!' [DC-16/4/06-45]

It is also possible in principle to include a personal pronoun in the construction for more emphasis The pronoun always refers to the subject addressed and it either has to follow the imperative predicate or occur in a left-dislocation The personal pronoun is found more often in unmarked requests, though In (49) there is an example of the personal pronoun *piti'* '2SG' dislocated and an imperative verb, which in addition includes the morpheme *-pa* 'GO' This morpheme is also used without the imperative morpheme and will be discussed in 9 3 3

(49) *piti', pinikpan!*
piti' *pi=nik-pa-no*
2SG 2SG=eat-GO-NOM1
'You, go and eat!' [RP-4/8/03-70]

Imperative verbs usually do not include any additional verbal morphemes, but some valency changing affixes are allowed, such as *imo-* 'CAUS', *-ina* 'BEN', *-čo* 'APPL', and '*-po* 'PRFLX' (as in (42)) In (50) there is a benefactive verb in the imperative form with changing object marking

(50) *paminonin! paminoner, paminoneri!*
pi=am-ino=no-ni *pi=am-ino-no=ro*
2SG=take-BEN-NOM1=1SG 2SG=take-BEN-NOM1=3SGm

pi=am-ino-no=ri
2SG=take-BEN-NOM1-3SGf
'Bring me (something), bring him, bring her (something)!'
[RP-21/7/04-21/22]

As (50) shows, in benefactive verbs the imperative morpheme comes before the personal enclitic that refers to the beneficiary of the action In the first verb the enclitic *-ni* '1SG' is inverted This specific effect is not observed with any of the other morphemes In the case of the causative form with an imperative, the form obeys the same replacement rules as those described above One example is given in (51)

(51) *pimoherikiri!*
pi=imo-herik=ri
2SG=CAUS-sit=3SGf
'Make her sit/ Seat her!' [GP-9/4/06-111]

[216] Privative forms are always non-verbal predciates (cf Chapter 5?)

In (51), however, we may also deal with an unmarked imperative The morphological imperative form is regarded as a strong demand and therefore not used so frequently just for making a request

9 3 2 Unmarked imperatives

In the majority of requests, especially with intransitive verbs, the verb remains unmarked This is the general form in which intransitive verbs occur in requests This unmarked form is unusual in other contexts It is a reduced form because the verb consists of only the base and the argument marker(s), whereas in declarative clauses there would be some of the TAM suffixes attached In (52) there is such a reduced form of the verb *-etoes-* 'be quiet', compared to (53) with the verb in a narrative, where the morpheme *-po* is attached after the linking morpheme *-a*

(52) *petoes'*
pi=etoes
2SG=be quiet
'Be quiet!' [GP-A4-70]

(53) *ač –ha– rietoesap, nka avik rikoka'*

ač	*ha*	*ri=etoes-a-po*	*nka*	*avik*	*ri=koka*
and	HES	3SGf=be quiet-LK-PRFLX	NEG	again	3SGf=laugh

'And she was quiet, she didn't laugh again ' [GP-N1/II-7]

The unmarked form is found not only for requests addressed to a 2SG or 2PL (54), but it can also be used for jussive meaning (55) and as an indirect request with a 3SG or 3PL

(54) *nokač nohišien "yikopoek!"*
no=kač no=hiš=no yi=kopoek
3PL=go 3PL=call=3PL 2PL=lower
'They went to call them "Come down!"' [GP-N7-16]

(55) *vita viti'!*
vi=ita viti'
1PL=continue 1PL
'Let's carry on!' [JP-14/7/04-4]

9 3 3 Other imperatives and politeness markers

In addition to the unmarked forms used as such, there are mainly two verbal morphemes found in requests *-pa* 'GO' and *-ša* 'IRR' The morpheme *-pa* 'GO' is used most frequently for simple requests and offers The intentional or motional morpheme *-pa* calls to the will of the person to go and do something This morpheme can also co-occur with the imperative suffix *-no* (as in (49) above)

(56) *petorokap kew pikač naka '*
pi=etorok-pa ke-wo pi=kač naka'
2SG=leave-GO EV-COP 2SG=go over there
'Get out and go over there!' [DC-8/3/06-80]

(57) *pahačpa to ses!*
pɪ=ahač-pa to ses
2SG=ask-GO ART sun
'Go and ask the sun!' [RP-N4-94]

In (56) there is also the additional analytic imperative particle *kew* 'go!', analyzed in the following section. The verbal morpheme *-pa* often occurs together with one of the imperative particles *ši* 'HORT' and *ta* 'JUSS'.

The irrealis marker *-ša* is used for suggestions and more polite requests. This morpheme also co-occurs with the imperative suffix *-no* sometimes. (58) through (60) are examples of the more polite request. This form is also used ironically as a kind of warning, as shown in (60).

(58) *pepitiašani!*
pi=epitia-ša=ni
2SG=do.favour-IRR=1SG
'Please! (lit. Do me a favour!)' [LO/GP-15/7/04-149]

(59) *pɪsompšani, monči!*
pɪ=sompo-ša=ni monči
2SG=hear-IRR=1SG child
'Listen to me, child!' [DC-10/4/06-78]

(60) *neriki pičošan! nikomorikopi.*
neriki pi=čo-ša-no ni=ikomoriko=pi
now 2SG=know-IRR-NOM1 1SG=kill=2SG
'Now you will see! I kill you.' [GP-N1/II-19]

The most polite way of constructing a request, however, is by adding the diminutive suffix to the verb, as in (61) and (62):

(61) *yivehašanči neta, yivehasanči nipiri!*
yi=veha-ša-no-či ni=eta yi=veha-ša-no-či
2PL=untie-IRR-NOM1-DIM 1SG=sister 2PL=untie-IRR-NOM1-DIM

ni=piri
1SG=sibling
'Untie me, my sister, untie me, my brother!' [SIL-N1-229/230]

(62) *"ah! kewonči nakon!"*
ah ke-wo-no-či nakon
INTJ EV-COP-NOM1-DIM over.here
'Ah! Come here! (said the witch to the children)' [GP-N7-65]

9.3.4. The specific imperative verbs kew 'go' and kewon 'come'

There is also an analytic way of constructing an imperative: with the help of two verb forms – *kew* and *kewon*, both forms derived from the same empty verb root *-ke-*, which can mean 'do, say, go' in different contexts (cf. 6.2.1). Both forms include the copula morpheme *-wo*, but only *kewon* shows the imperative suffix *-no* 'NOM1'. The

two imperative verbs can be regarded as directionals, as *kew* means 'go!' and *kewon* means 'come!'. The verbs can be used without an additional verb as in (62). The diminutive may be attached to the form, but also the irrealis marker *-ša*. The verb that follows the general imperative verbs can also be marked by *-no* 'NOM1'. Examples of the use of *kewon* 'come!' can be found in (63) and (64).

(63) *kewon paskopanin!*
ke-wo-no *pɪ=asko-pa=ni-no*
EV-COP-NOM1 2SG=help-GO=1SG-NOM1
'Come and help me!' [JC-18/9/03-65]

(64) *kewon rieropan marok.*
ke-wo-no *ri=ero-pa-no* *marok*
EV-COP-NOM1 3SGf=drink-GO-NOM1 chicha
'Come and drink chicha!' [JC-27/8/03-82]

In (65) and (66) there are examples of the use of *kew* 'go!'.

(65) *kew yiti'! kew yiti' yikotorekpa!*
ke-wo *yiti'* *ke-wo* *yiti'* *yi=kotorek-pa*
EV-COP 2PL EV-COP 2PL 2PL=work-GO
'Go! Go to work!' [JC-1/4/06-27]

(66) *kewaš* *nka* *čowan!*
ke-wo-ša *nka* *čowan*
EV-COP-IRR NEG long.time
'Go, but don't go for long!' [DC-18/4/06-33]

9.3.5. Vocative forms

Finally, I briefly want to address vocative forms in Baure. There are a few nouns used only as vocative nouns or names. They refer to family relations, and it is possible that there used to be more of them. The word *čač* 'dad, old man' is only used when talking to the father or an old man. The word *čon* can mean 'brother, sister, friend'. The name *mon* is translated as 'sister-in-law', but it is not the general possessed noun – which is *-tor* 'sister-in-law' –, but a term only used when addressing a sister-in-law in greeting (cf. Danielsen, in prep.).

9.4. Interrogative clauses

Interrogative clauses are generally distinguished from declarative clauses by the rising intonation at the end of the clause. One other thing that all interrogative clauses, except for polar (yes-no) questions, have in common, is the fact that the predicate of the clause appears in a nominalized form[217]. Only participant nominalization with the nominalizing suffix *-no* (as described in 5.2.4 and 9.4) is used for an interrogative predicate construction. Polar questions are identical to declarative clauses, but marked by rising intonation at the end of the clause, as is the case in many languages

[217] It is as possible that this analysis is not completely correct. Baptista & Wallin have analyzed the interrogative form distinct from nominalizations This is referred to later in the text

(Payne 1996:295). Therefore polar questions will only briefly be addressed at the end of this section (9.4.11).

The content questions dealt with primarily are all constructed in very distinct ways. There is one interrogative particle *ko* 'why' with a negative counterpart *amo* 'why not'. The questions 'when?', 'how?', and 'how many?' are marked with specific verbal constructions. It is important to understand the use of empty verb roots (cf. 6.2.1), which can occur in combination with different morphemes and create specific interrogative predicates or question words. The question 'where?' generally involves the addition of the locative suffix to the nominalized predicate. The query for the subject or object of an action involves the particle *kon* 'what, who', which goes back to another specific verbal construction that has been reduced to this particle, but can also appear in its full form. As every type of question involves different strategies, each subsection is dedicated to one of each different type. All types are summed up in Table 9.1 below.

It has to be added here that it is possible that what seems to be a nominalized form in all interrogatives is in fact a specific interrogative form with a very similar suffix. In the analysis of Baptista & Wallin (unpublished microfiches, as e.g. T-288 (fox story)) interrogative predicates are marked by the suffix[218] *-ni* (which would result in a palatalized [ɲ], as described in 2.2.2) instead of *-no*, as I have analyzed it. It is true that questions may involve a slight palatalization of the nasal at the end of the predicate, but this could not be found as a rule in my data. This occasional palatalization is also found in imperative predicates, though. For the time being I have described interrogative predicates as nominalized ones, as they could not be consistently differentiated from other nominalized predicates[219].

9.4.1 Questions with the interrogative particles ko 'why' and amo 'why not'

Only a question for a reason or purpose shows the use of interrogative particles. The particle *ko* marks positive questions ('why?'), and *amo* the negative form ('why not?'), and they always appear clause initially. They may only be preceded by introductory *ač* 'and' or *hã* 'INTJ', a question introducing particle described in section 9.4.11. The predicate involved always appears in a nominalized form. There is a rule that the interrogative particle has to be followed directly by the predicate (cf. Figure 9.3 and 9.4), with the exception of intensity adverbs and other preverbal particles. The most interesting characteristic of this type of question is the attachment of personal cross-reference clitics that refer to the main arguments in the clause. In this respect *ko* 'why?' differs decisively from *amo* 'why not?' I will start with the description of the particle *ko* 'why?', and then compare it to the particle *amo* 'why not?'.

The particle *ko* 'why?' is formally similar to the attributive prefix *ko-*. A major difference is that the latter undergoes vowel changes in harmony to the vowel in the first syllable of the word it is attached to. The source of the interrogative particle may nonetheless be related to that morpheme. The connectors *koeč* 'because' and

[218] This is not done consistently, in part of the interrogative predicates, the morpheme is analyzed as *-no*, just as in my analysis.

[219] For the discussion concerning the nominalizing suffix *-no* cf. Chapter 5.2.4, but also 3.3

koehkoe' 'so that' have possibly been derived from *ko* 'why?'. Along with direct questions this particle also introduces indirect questions.

There is always only one argument marked on the particle *ko*: the subject of the intransitive verb or the object of the transitive verb, as represented in Figure 9.3:

ko=S		V_{itr}-NOM1
ko=O	S=	V_{tr}-NOM1

Figure 9.3 Person cross-reference on the interrogative particle *ko* 'why?'

Figure 9.3 indicates that an intransitive verb does not have any subject cross-reference in the question and the subject clitic attaches to the interrogative particle instead. This behaviour was one of the main reason for calling the cross-referencing morphemes clitics at all. In a question with a transitive verb the object enclitic attaches to the particle *ko* and the verb shows subject marking by a proclitic. This could be analyzed as an ergative pattern of argument marking on the interrogative particle. Originally, I thought the pattern was *ko*=O=S, i.e. it looked as if both personal clitics attached to the interrogative particle. Because of the fact that Baure words form phonological phrases, it is difficult to determine word boundaries (cf. 2.6) and where exactly the clitics attach. Phonologically it may all appear as one phrase. In the examples below, the addition of adverbs and the observation of vowel assimilation, or the lack of it, were used to identify the syntactic host of the clitic. Compare (67) and (68):

(67) *kopi kavin(i)*[220]*?*
ko=pi *kavi-no*
why=2SG be.drunk-NOM1
'Why did you get drunk?' [DC-15/4/06-55]

(68) *kopi iheri kavin(i)?*
ko=pi *iheri* *kavi-no*
why=2SG so.much be.drunk-NOM1
'Why did you get so drunk?' [DC-15/4/06-54]

To the question in (67) the additional intensity adverb *iheri* 'so much' is added in (68). The verb *-kavi-* 'be drunk' is intransitive and thus, the subject is encliticized to *ko*. The presence of the adverb illustrates where the clitic actually attaches. The lack of vowel assimilation gives us another clue of the host of the clitic, as demonstrated in (69):

(69) *pehevipoekow. kopi ehevipoekowon(i)?*
pi=ehevipoeko-wo *ko=pi* *ehevipoeko-wo-no*
2SG=fall.down-COP why=2SG fall.down-COP-NOM1
'You fell down. Why did you fall down?' [DC-15/4/06-47]

When the subject clitic is procliticized to the verb *-ehevipoek-* 'fall down', the vowel *-i* of the clitic is dropped, as in the first clase in (69). This is not the case in the interrogative clause in (69), where the clitic attaches to the particle *ko*.

[220] The vowel (i) in parenthesis refers to the possible palatalization in the interrogative clause

Compare now interrogative clauses with transitive verbs clitic attachment, as illustrated with the transitive verb *-weč-* 'fight' in (70) and (71)

(70) *kori piwečin ti pihin?*
ko=ri *pi=weči-no* *ti* *pi=hin*
why=3SGf 2SG=fight-NOM1 DEM1f 2SG=daughter
'Why do you fight with your daughter?' [DC-15/4/06-50]

(71) *kori imir piwečin(i)?*
ko=ri *imir* *pi=weči-no*
why=3SGf very 2SG=fight-NOM1
'Why do you fight with her very much?' [DC-15/4/06-51]

That the object clitic *-ri* '3SGf' is attached to the particle *ko*, whereas the subject *pi-* '2SG' is procliticized to the verb, is demonstrated in (71), where the intensity adverb *imir* 'very' is inserted between the particle and the verb (compare (68) above) Vowel assimilation also supports this analysis, as shown in (72)

(72) *koro pikomorikon(i)?*
ko=ro *pi=ikomoriko-no*
why=3SGm 2SG=kill-NOM1
'Why did you kill it/him?' [DC-16/3/06-42]

The vowel-initial verb *-ikomorik-* 'kill' leads to the assimilation of the vowel of the subject proclitic *pi-* '2SG' in (72)

The following example illustrates that indirect questions are simply subordinate interrogative clauses within a single sentence (compare to 10 2 8)

(73) *nka nčow to ka koni ehevipoekowon!*
nka *ni=čo-wo* *to* *ka* *ko=ni* *ehevipoeko-wo-no*
NEG 1SG=know-COP ART IND why=1SG fall down-COP-NOM1
'I don't know why I fell down ' [RP-22/7/04-63]

It is also possible to construct an unspecified question for a cause as a general one *ko rokien?* (*ko* 3SGm=*kie*-NOM1) or *ko rokiewon?* (*ko* 3SGm=*kie*-COP-NOM1) 'Why?', which are constructed on the base of the empty verb root *-k(i)e-* 'EV' (74)

(74) *nka nki'inow pihekpani! – ač ko rokien?*
nka *ni=ki'ino-wo* *pi=ihek-pa=ni* *ač* *ko* *ro=kie-no*
NEG 1SG=want-COP 2SG=comb-GO=1SG and why 3SGm=EV-NOM1
'I don't want you to comb me! – And why (is it so)?' [RP-19/7/04-91]

The tests applied to all the other verbs in this kind of interrogative construction, cannot be applied in the case of the empty verb root The subject clitic gets attached to the verb and not to the preceding form This is supported by the fact that the question may sometimes occur without the particle *ko* 'why?' (cf 9 4 5 below) In many examples the more specific questions for a cause are also formed with this general predicate, followed by a simple declarative clause, as in (75) and (76)

(75) *ko rikien te rikačow?*
ko *ri=kie-no* *te* *ri=kačo-wo*
why 3SGf=EV-NOM1 DEM1m 3SGf=go-COP
'Why has she gone (lit. Why is it that she is gone)?' [GP-N1/II-49]

(76) *neriki nihayekpa ko rikien ti neyon rikačowapik ne' wapoeri-ye.*
neriki *ni=hayek-pa* *ko* *ri=kie-no* *ti* *ni=eyon*
now 1SG=ask-GO why 3SGf=EV-NOM1 DEM1f 1SG=wife

ri=kačo-wa-pik *ne'* *wapoeri-ye*
3SGf=go-TEMP-COME here river-LOC
'Now I will go and ask why my wife came here to the river (for a short time).'
[GP-N1/II-48]

In (75) and (76) the empty verb base is marked by a different subject, namely *ri-* '3SGF'. The form *ko* S=*kiewon*? 'why?' is used as a general form (77) as well, and can then be specified thereafter – (78) and (79). It is not clear what semantic difference the additional copula suffix *-wo* makes in this question type. I think that (77), in which the empty verb root is used, illustrates the character of the general questions, which do not necessarily always refer back to an already mentioned predicate. Observe the variations of the same interrogative clause used by the speaker in (77)–(79):

(77) *ko nokiewon to neč ahinev?*
ko *no=kie-wo-no* *to* *neč* *ahi-nev*
why 3PL=EV-COP-NOM1 ART DEM2PL child-PL
'What do the children have? Why do they...?'[221]

(78) *ko nokiewon to neč ahinev nowečkokow?*
ko *no=kie-wo-no* *to* *neč* *ahi-nev* *no=weč-koko-wo*
why 3PL=EV-COP-NOM1 ART DEM2PL child-PL 3PL=fight-RCPC-COP
'Why is it that the children are fighting each other?'

(79) *ko nokiewon nowečkokow?*
ko *no=kie-wo-no* *no=weč-koko-wo*
why 3PL=EV-COP-NOM1 3PL=fight-RCPC-COP
'Why are they fighting each other?' [JC-Q-56–58]

In (77) there is only one empty verb that occurs in the nominalized form. The translation into English is difficult. In (78) and (79) the interrogative clause is specified for the action referred to by the verb *nowečkokow* 'they are fighting each other'. This verb is not nominalized, and it has to be understood as the complement to the empty verb. In (79) the explicit subject *to neč ahinev* 'those children' is not repeated.

How questions with a non-verbal predicate are really formed is not clear, as there are only these two examples in the data:

[221] In Spanish it is translated as 'Qué tienen los niños?', but also the shorter form *koro kien'* is translated as 'Qué tiene (él)?'.

(80) *kopi marniron(i)?*
ko=pi *ma-aroni-ro-no*
why=2SG PRIV-dress-ro-NOM1
'Why are you without clothes?' [MD-17/4/06-17]

(81) *kopo moki'inan piti', papa, ničonapapi?*
ko-po *mo-ki'in-a-no* *piti'* *papa* *ni=čona-pa=pi*
why-PRFLX PRIV-want-LK-NOM1 2SG papa 1SG=accompany-GO=2SG
'Why don't you, papa, want me to accompany you?' [LO-29/8/03-26]

In one example (80) the construction remains the same with the non-verbal predicate, and the subject *-pi* '2SG' is encliticized to the interrogative particle. This is not surprising, as non-verbal predicates actually mark subjects by enclitics, which occur in the slot where objects, when marked, occur on the verb (cf. 5). Therefore the subject should be expected to behave like the object does (in Figure 9.3 we see that transitive verbs mark the object on the particle). Nevertheless the example has to be handled with care. The other example (81) shows a different possibility represented in the data: the perfective/reflexive suffix *-po* 'PRFLX' occurs in the person slot on the particle *ko* 'why?', whereas the non-verbal privative predicate *moki'inan* 'not want' does not have any person marking, but a following personal pronoun refers to the subject explicitly.

It is also possible to construct a *ko*-question with a kind of relative clause (cf. 10.2). In the following example (82) an adverb follows the particle, and the adverb is specified by a relative clause introduced by the indefinite pronoun *to ka*. The verb in the relative clause is semantically the main verb of the sentence; syntactically it is the head of the relative clause.

(82) *kopi ihiriawniš to ka pimokos'iner?*
ko=pi *ihiri-a-wo-no=niš* *to* *ka* *pi=imokos'in=ro*
why=2SG so.much-LK-COP-NOM1=EXCLA ART IND 2SG=be.tired=3SGm?
'Why are you so tired?' [DC-10/4/06-34]

Incidently, the clarification question 'What?' can be formed by the single particle *ka*, which is formally identical to the indefinite pronoun, but also strikingly similar to the particle *ko* or attributive *ko-*[222]. Still, as the relations to those morphemes remains unclear, I will simply gloss this as an interjection.

(83) *ka?*
INTJ
'What?' [IS-12/4/03-26]

Finally, it is also possible to construct a negative *ko*-question, even though this only occurs in a restricted context. The negative particle follows the marked particle and precedes the verb, just like adverbs or preverbal particles. But this question can only be interpreted as a kind of suggestion of the kind 'why don't you ...?', as demonstrated in (84):

[222] In the neighbouring Moxo languages the attributive prefix has the form *ka-*

(84) *ač kori nka pimokonompeanon?*
ač *ko=ri* *nka* *pi=imo-kono-mpe-a=no-no*
and why=3SGf NEG 2SG=CAUS-write-CLF:flat-LK=3PL-NOM1
'And why don't you make them write (a letter) to her?' [RP-1/9/03-47]

The form of the particle *amo* 'why not?' possibly has the same source as the privative prefix *mo-*. If we compare the pair of attributive *ko-* and privative *mo-* in declarative clauses, with the two forms *ko* 'why?' and *amo* 'why not?' in questions, this seems very plausible. The negative interrogative particle resembles the Quechua *ama* prohibitive (Muysken, p.c.; cf. Wise 1986:616)[223]. The particle *amo* 'why not?' can also be used in indirect questions. The form may vary between the fully pronounced form *amo*, the reduced form *am* (final vowel elision), and *čam*, which is in fact the compound of the lexemes *ač* 'and' and *amo* 'why not?'. The latter form is only used by one of my consultants.

Concerning argument marking, we can observe that there is no clitic attached to the particle *amo* 'why not?' at all. All arguments remain marked on the verb, as represented in Figure 9.4. The verb may be intransitive, transitive or ditransitive.

amo S=V_{itr}-NOM1
amo S=V_{tr}=O-NOM1

Figure 9.4: Person cross-reference with the interrogative particle *amo* 'why not?'

Phonologically, however, the particle and the predicate are part of the same phonological phrase. The insertion of adverbs and especially the observed assimilation demonstrate that there is actually no attachment of the personal clitics to the particle (compare to the results of these observations with the particle *ko* 'why').

(85) *amo pehevipoekowon?* → compare to (69)
amo *pi=ehevipoeko-wo-ni*
why.not 2SG=fall.down-COP-NOM1
'Why didn't you fall down?' [DC-15/4/06-48]

(86) *čam imir paro'inokowon?*
ač-amo *imir* *pi=aro'inoko-wo-no*
and-why.not very 2SG=be.sad-COP-NOM1
'And why aren't you very sad?' [MD-17/4/06-132]

In example (85) the personal clitic *pi-* '2SG' that refers to the subject shows vowel assimilation, and is therefore analyzed as being attached to the verb and not to the particle, in which case no vowel assimilation would be expected (cf. (69)). In (86) the adverb *imir* 'very' is inserted in between the particle and the verb, which has a procliticized subject. Both verbs in (85) and (86) are intransitive. Transitive verbs have the

[223] Even though Wise (1986:616) argues that the negative particle *ama* in Amuesha, that is more widely used than only in interrogative constructions, is a Quechua loan, it does not seem probable in the end, that the privative or negative prefix *ma- was originally a Quechua loan. An argument against this is the fact that also Arawak languages that have supposedly not been in contact with Quechua in the highlands at all, as e.g. North Arawak languages like Resígaro (Allin 1975), also include this morpheme. For the whole Arawak language family we can reconstruct a Proto-Arawak opposition of attributive *ka- and negative (privative) *ma-, as concluded in Matteson (1972) and Aikhenvald (1999).

same kind of marking of the arguments as in a declarative clause, plus the additional nominalizing suffix in the last position. It is interesting that this suffix occurs after the person clitic, but this can also be observed in relative clauses (cf. 10.2). The following two examples show how an object argument is mentioned explicitly (87), and then pronominalized by the enclitic (88):

(87) *am piwonon ti pihın?*
am *pi=wono-no* *ti* *pi=hin*
why.not 2SG=send-NOM1 DEM1f 2SG=daughter
'Why didn't you send your daughter?' [DC-10/4/06-19]

(88) *am piwonerin?*
am *pi=won=ri-no*
why.not 2SG=send=3SGf-NOM1
'Why didn't you send her?' [DC-10/4/06-20]

There are no interrogative clauses with *amo* 'why not?' in the data in which the predicate is non-verbal. In relation to the privative prefix it is striking that the interrogative particle *amo* does not have any effects on the argument marking structure of the predicate, whereas the privative prefix always derives non-verbal predicates, which have a different kind of argument marking than verbs.

9.4.2 Questions about the name, identity, and kind

Before describing the main question type for querying a subject or object 'what/who?' I will first analyze some more specific questions, one of which served as the basis for the construction of 'what/who'-questions. The first question of this section is 'What is your name?', formed with the verb *-woyo-* 'be called (glossed 'name')'. The same root also functions as a possessed noun *-woiy* 'name'. In questions it is generally reduplicated, and it is always nominalized, as in (89):

(89) *piwoyowoyowon?*
pi=woyo~woyo-wo-no
2SG=name~INT-COP-NOM1
'What is your name?' [HC-3/8/03-16]

The subject referred to in (89) is procliticized to the verb, *pi-* '2SG' in this case. This question can also be used at any time when asking for the name of something in Baure, as e.g. a kind of tree:

(90) *rowoyowoyowon teč ewokoe' čowok? – teč tikoriawok.*
ro=woyo~woyo-wo-no *teč* *ewokoe* *čo-wok*
3SGm=name~INT-COP-NOM1 DEM2m tree big-tree

teč *tikori-a-wok*
DEM2m tutuma-LK-tree
'What's that name of this big tree? – That is a tutuma tree.' [DC-17/4/06-15]

When a Baure speaker wants to find out the gender of a newborn baby, the question involves a related verb *-woyik-* (91). The verb is nominalized and has subject cross-reference marking:

(91) *rowoyikowon – eton apo hir?*
ro=woyiko-wo-no *eton* *apo* *hir*
3SGm=be.I-COP-NOM1 woman or man
'What is it – girl or boy?' [RP-20/7/04-67]

In the glosses I translate *-woyik-* as 'be.I', where 'I' stands for identity, opposed to the locative verb *-wo-* 'be.L'. The verb base is nearly homophonous to the verb *-woyik-* 'make'. However, it has been pointed out by one speaker that the verbs are not identical. This must be related to a different composition: my consultant Melquiades Durán argues that there is an accent on the vowel *-i-* in the *-woyik-* 'be.I', which may have to do with a durative morpheme. This could mean that the verb can be analyzed as *-woy-* 'name' + durative *-i-* + absolute *-ko*. The verb *-woyik-* 'make' seems to have the root *-woyi-* plus the absolute suffix *-ko*. In the nominalized form with an additionally inserted copula morpheme, the questions differ slightly and are represented as follows:

(92) *rowoyikowon?*
ro=woyiko-wo-no
3SGm=be.I-COP-NOM1
'Who is it?' [MD-6/3/06-24]

(93) *rowoiykowon?*
ro=woyiko-wo-no
3SGm=make-COP-NOM1
'What is he doing?' [MD-6/3/06-25]

In (93) the verb *-woyık-* 'make' undergoes metathesis and is therefore represented with this different phonological form. In (94) and (95) there are two further examples of identity questions:

(94) *"hare' ", rokew-hi. "ač piwoyikowon piti'?"*
hare' *ro=ke-wo=hi* *ač* *pi=woyiko-wo-no* *piti'*
hello 3SGm=EV-COP=QUOT and 2SG=be.I-COP-NOM1 2SG
' "Hello", he said. "And who are you?" ' [RP-N3-192]

(95) *nka nčow rowoyikowon.*
nka *ni=čo-wo* *ro=woyiko-wo-no*
NEG 1SG=know-COP 3SGm=be.I-COP-NOM1
'I don't know who it was.' [GP-9/4/06-60]

In addition to this direct question about the identity of a subject, the object referred to can also be incorporated by means of its classifier into the verb *-woyik-*, where it is inserted in the slot of the absolute suffix *-k(o)* and replaces it. The incorporated classifier, if not vowel-initial, is preceded by the linking morpheme *-a*. The question means either 'what kind of ...' (96-97), or 'which colour of x', as in (98-99).

(96) *rowoyawkowon?*
ro=woy-a-woko-wo-no
3SGm=name-LK-tree-COP-NOM1
'What kind of tree is it?' [MD-6/3/06-13]

(97) *rowoyasewon? – teč kanelonse.*
ro=woy-a-se-wo-no *teč* *kanelon-se*
3SGm=name-LK-CLF:oval-COP-NOM1 DEM2m canelón-CLF:oval
'What kind of boat is it? That is a boat of canelón wood.' [DC-17/4/06-17]

(98) *rowoyiwon?*
ro=woy-i-wo-no
3SGm=name-CLF:fruit&bird-COP-NOM1
'Which colour is the bird?' [MD-6/3/06-16]

(99) *rowoyapiwon?*
ro=woy-a-pi-wo-no
3SGm=name-LK-CLF:long&thin-COP-NOM1
'What colour is the snake?' [MD-6/3/06-19]

The construction of the question is identical in (96) through (99). Still, the interpretation is different: The interpretation seems to depend on the context. The verb is glossed as 'name', which is supposed to include the other contexts.

A further kind of interpretation of the construction with the verb *-woyik-* is the question type 'which?'. Here the verb has lost subject cross-reference and only occurs in the unmarked form *woyik(o)won* (100)[224], or as the further grammaticalized particle *kon* (101). This question type can be observed in the following two examples:

(100) *woyikowon teč širikase' ne' wapoeri-ye? teč čose?*
woyiko-wo-noteč *širik-a-se'* *ne'* *wapoeri-ye*
be.I-COP-NOM1 DEM2m tajibo-LK-CLF:oval here river-LOC

teč *čo-se*
DEM2m big-CLF:oval
'Which one is the boat of tajibo here in the river? That big one?'
[DC-17/4/06-22]

(101) *kon to piki'inow? – yakon apo yiyakon?*
kon *to* *pi=ki'ino-wo* *yakon* *apo* *yi~yakon*
who/what ART 2SG=want-COP ripe or INT~ripe
'Which one do you want? – The ripe one or the very ripe one?'
[DC-15/4/06-145]

The reason why subject marking is missing here is probably that this very construction occurs so frequently that it has grammaticalized as a fixed expression, in being insensitive to argument reference, something which will become important again in the following section.

[224] It can also be *woyikon* (*woyiko*-NOM1) without the copula morpheme.

In order to produce the meaning of the question 'which?' the interrogative verb has to be followed by an NP marked by a determiner. In (100) the verb *-woyık-* 'be.I' shows that the speaker is referring to identity, which is then restricted by the following NP *teč širikase'* 'that boat of tajibo', so that the 'which?'-question is specified in a certain way. In (101) the NP only consists of the article *to* 'ART', but this determiner functions as a pronoun and is crucial to the interpretation of the question.

Finally, there is one more way of asking 'what kind of?', directly attaching the morpheme *-iy-*[225] 'kind' to the noun referred to. I suppose this morpheme is related to the root *-woiy* 'name'. In this construction the noun itself is turned into a predicate, nominalized as in other question types. Consider therefore (102) and (103):

(102) *ka'anoeyowon?*
ka'ano-iyo-wo-no
animal-kind-COP-NOM1
'What kind of animal is it?' [MD-6/3/06-10]

(103) *hımoeyowon te?*
himo-iyo-wo-no *te*
fish-kind-COP-NOM1 DEM1m
'What kind of fish is this?' [MD-6/3/06-15]

This kind of construction on the base of a noun can also occur in declarative clauses with the meaning 'whatever kind of', as shown in (104) and (105):

(104) *nki'inow netipokša te pop to ka apo arenoeyowor apo vinik.*
nı=ki'ıno-wo *ni=etipok-ša* *te* *pop*
1SG=want-COP 1SG=shoot-IRR DEM1m pigeon

to *ka* *apo* *areno-iyo-wo=ro* *apo* *vı=nik*
ART IND COMPL bird-kind-COP=3SGm COMPL 1PL=eat
'I want to shoot this pigeon or whatever bird it is so that we eat.' [SIL-N3-18]

(105) *nočinčop to ka'anoeyowop.*
no=činčo-po *to* *ka'ano-iyo-wo-po*
3PL=understand-PRFLX ART animal-kind-COP-PRFLX
'There were all kinds of animals (lit. They were whatever kind of animals).'[226]
[SIL-N1-217]

In the following section the construction on the base of the verb *-woyik-* 'be.I' will play an important role.

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[225] In the examples the vowel *-ı-* has changed into *-e-*. The additional vowel *-o-* might be epenthetic, but it is here included with that morpheme. I don't know if it could not also be the locative suffix *-yı* that is generally used in questions, which is then used in a broader sense? Furthermore, the root *-woiy* 'name' could have been composed of the copula suffix *-wo* and the locative suffix *-yı*, as well.

[226] It is a fixed expression to start a clause by *-činč- to*, and it is generally translated as 'whatever (the subject) does/is', as in e.g. *ročinč to ka royonoeyop.*
ro=činč *to* *ka* *ro=yono-yı-po*
3SGm=understand ART IND 3SGm=walk-LOC-PRFLX
'wherever he walked'.

9.4.3. Questions about the subject or object

As already observed in (100) and (101), the verb *-woyik-* 'be.I (identity)' can occur as an unmarked interrogative particle *woyik(o)won* (*woyiko*-COP-NOM1), but also *woyikon* (be.I-NOM1) and the more grammaticalized or phonologically reduced particle *kon* 'who/what', all of them meaning something like 'which one?'.

In Baure this same interrogative construction is used to ask for both subject and object; where the shorter particle *kon* is predominant. The particle is followed by a kind of relative clause, in which objects are distinguished from subjects by the difference in argument marking.

An object question is introduced by the particle *kon* and followed by a regular predicate marked by a determiner, i.e. a predicate with cross-reference of subject (if a verbal predicate) as in a declarative clause. This question can also be analyzed as 'Which one is it that ...?'. Consider the following example:

(106) *kon to pinik?*
kon *to* *pi=nik*
who/what ART 2SG=eat
'What will you eat?' [RP-19/7/04-19]

The particle *kon* appears clause initially and the phrase that follows is marked by a determiner, *to* 'ART' in (106) and *teč* 'DEM2m' in (107), which represents the long form of the particle:

(107) *woyikon teč vinikpa?*
woyiko-no *teč* *vi=nik-pa*
be.I-NOM1 DEM2m 1PL=eat-GO
'What are we going to eat?' [HC-3/8/03-36]

The form of the main verb in these interrogative clauses, as e.g. *pinik* 'you eat' (106) or *vinikpa* 'we go to eat' (107) is the same as in declarative clauses. No nominalizer marks the verb, but the particle itself goes back to an originally nominalized form, cf. Figure 9.5:

(woyi)kon DET S=V
woyiko-no
be.I-NOM1

Figure 9.5: Argument marking in the object question:

There is no question for an object of a ditransitive verb in my data, but I suppose that it will only show additional object marking on the verb.

Examples (109)–(110) demonstrate the alternative unmarked relative clause constructions with the indefinite pronoun *to ka* (cf. 10.2.8), which functions as a relative pronoun here. The relative clause is unmarked, because generally the predicate in the relative clause is nominalized (cf. 10.2).

(108) *kon to ka pihinoekpa?*
kon *to* *ka* *pi=hinoek-pa*
who/what ART IND 2SG=search-GO
'What are you going to look for?' [MD-30/8/03-5]

(109) *aiy senior, woyikon-niš to ka nkotorekpa?*

aiy	*senior,*	*woyiko-no=niš*	*to*	*ka*	*ni=kotorek-pa*
INTJ	señor	make-NOM1=EXCLA	ART	IND	1SG=work-GO

'Oh my god, what will I do in order to go to work?' [HC-6/7/04-49]

In (109) the interrogative particle is marked by the clausal clitic *-niš* 'well'.

The question for a subject, in contrast, is constructed with the particle *kon* (or the longer form *woyiko(wo)n*), followed by a determiner, but with a verb without subject cross-reference. In addition, if the predicate is based on an intransitive verb, it is nominalized; if it is transitive, it can have the object marked, which then replaces nominalization. This morphological strategy is identical to that in relative clauses (cf. 10.2), so that the main verb can be analyzed as part of a syntactic relative clause in the construction. Subject questions are represented in Figure 9.6:

(woyi)kon	DET	V-NOM1
(woyi)kon	DET	V=O

Figure 9.6: Argument marking in the subject question:

Example (110) shows how a subject question is constructed with an intransitive verb:

(110) *kon to epsopoekon?*

kon	*to*	*epso-poe-ko-no*
who/what	ART	fall-down-ABS-NOM1

'Who fell down? [RP-22/7/04-62]

Example (111) and (112) illustrate subject questions with a transitive verb, in (111) with an explicit object and therefore a nominalized verb and in (112) with object marking:

(111) *kon to nikon to kanikon?*

kon	*to*	*niko-no*	*to*	*kanikon*
who/what	ART	eat-NOM1	ART	food

'Who will eat the food?' [RP-19/7/04-20]

(112) *kon to wonovi?*

kon	*to*	*wono-wo=vi*
who/what	ART	send-COP=2SG

'Who sent you?' [RP-N3-48]

A clause without subject marking is interpreted as a question for that missing argument. If the verb is ditransitive, there is always object marking, exemplified in (113):

(113) *kon to pavi moeiš?*

kon	*to*	*pa-wo=vi*	*moeiš*
who/what	ART	give-COP=2SG	pineapple

'Who gave you a pineapple?' [JP-20/8/03-105]

Non-verbal predicates can also be part of such an interrogative clause. They also lack subject marking (which would be an enclitic, cf. Chapter 5), as in (114):

(114) *kon to romow ne' soratı-ye?*
kon *to* *romo-wo* *ne* *soratı-ye*
who/what ART chıef-COP here vıllage-LOC
'Who ıs the chıef here ın the vıllage?' [GP/LO-D2-1]

Subject questıons can also be constructed wıth a relatıve clause ıntroduced by the relatıve pronoun *to ka* (ART IND), as shown for object questıons ın (108) and (109)

(115) *kon-nıš to ka vıar?*
kon=nıš *to* *ka* *vıa=ro*
Q=EXCLA ART IND take away=3SGm
'Who took ıt away (lıt Who was ıt that took ıt away)?' [RP-N4-59]

(116) *vıtı' nka vıtırıow kon to ka nıkon*
vıtı' *nka* *vı=tırı-wo* *kon* *to* *ka* *nıko-no*
1PL NEG 1PL=know-COP who/what ART IND eat-NOM1
'We don't know who ate (ıt)' [RP/EC-17/7/04-116]

All of the above can occur ın ındırect questıons, as ıllustrated ın (116)

9 4 4 Questıons about a possessor

The questıon for a possessor 'whose?' ıs constructed wıth the possessıve verb *-kotır-* 'have' (cf 5 3 5) The verb ıs nomınalızed ın the form ıllustrated ın (117)

(117) *kotırowon te sentı?*
kotıro-wo-no *te* *sentı*
have-COP-NOM1 DEM1m watermelon
'Whose ıs thıs watermelon?' [MD-17/4/06-45]

As mentıoned ın 5 3 5, the verb *-kotır-* 'have' may also be analyzed as the attrıbutıve prefix *ko-* 'ATTR' attached to the noun **-tır* 'possessıon' Thıs general form ın (117) ıs used wıth unpossessed nouns, whereas possessable and obligatorıly possessed nouns can sımply be attached to the attrıbutıve prefix, as ın (118) and (119)

(118) *koyašoroworon?*
ko-yašoro-wo=ro-no
ATTR-boat-COP=3SGm-NOM1
'Whose boat ıs ıt? [MD-17/4/06-44]

(119) *kaweron te?*
ka-wero-no *te*
ATTR-house-NOM1 DEM1m
'Whose house ıs thıs?' [MD-17/4/06-46]

The ınterrogatıve clauses are actually also derıved from the basıc questıons ıntroduced by *kon/woyıko(wo)n* 'who/what?' (cf 9 4 3), ın whıch the nomınalızed predıcate ıs a subordınate clause, as observed ın (120)

(120) *kon to karoniwon te?*
kon *to* *k-aroni-wo-no* *te*
who/what ART ATTR-dress-COP-NOM1 DEM1m
'Whose dress is this? (lit. Who is it that is the owner of this dress?)'
[MD-17/4/06-47]

9.4.5. Action questions

In English the question word 'what?' can also refer to an action, as in e.g. 'what did he do?'. In Baure, questions that refer to an action, not an argument, are constructed in a specific way, on the basis of empty verb roots. The verb is nominalized and gets subject marking. As an alternative we sometimes find the object question as described in 9.4.3 *kon* DET 'what is it that' introducing these questions as well, with the difference that the verb is then not nominalized (as the particle already goes back to a nominalized form).

One empty verb root used in this respect is *-kič-*. In the interrogative clause (and in subordination in general) it means 'do', but the same verb in a declarative clause means 'say' (cf. first word of (121)). In (121) and (122) are examples:

(121) *nkičowor: "pikičowon-niš piti' nan?"*
ni=kičo-wo=ro *pi=kičo-wo-no=niš* *piti'* *nan*
1SG=say.do-COP=3SGm 2SG=say.do-COP-NOM1=EXCLA 2SG over.there
'I said to him: "What are you doing over there?" ' [AD/DC-D2-215]

(122) *vikičin-niš viti' ne'?*
vi=kiči-no=niš *viti'* *ne'*
1PL=say.do-NOM1=EXCLA 1PL here
'What shall we do here then?' [JP-N9-22]

This question type is very frequently marked by the clausal clitic *-niš* 'well'. The alternative type of object question is demonstrated in (123). Note that the verb is not nominalized here:

(123) *woyikon to rokičow?*
woyiko-no *to* *ro=kičo-wo*
be.I-NOM1 ART 3SGm=say.do-COP
'What is he doing?' [MD-23/8/03-9]

The empty verb root *-k(i)e-* was already shown in 9.4.1 as part of the 'why'-question with the particle *ko*. This verb can also mean 'say' in declarative clauses, but in interrogative constructions it generally means a general 'be' that refers to a state. The general principle is the same: subject marking and nominalization of the verb, as illustrated in (124) and (125):

(124) *hare' nen, pikiewon?*
hare' *ni=en* *pi=kie-wo-no*
hello 1SG=mother 2SG=EV-COP-NOM1
'Hello, mum, what's up?' [II-4/8/03-9]

(125) *rokiewon teč pikočonopsorer?*
ro=kie-wo-no *teč* *pi=ko-čonopso-ro=ro*
3SGm=EV-COP-NOM1 DEM2m 2SG=ATTR-relative-ro=3SGm
'What relation do you have to him?' [DC-17/4/06-30]

This verb can also be found in indirect questions and complements, as e g in (126), in which the complement is introduced by the indefinite pronoun *to ka* as a relative pronoun

(126) *aiy senior, nka pičow to ka nikiewon!*
aiy *senior nka* *pi=čo-wo* *to* *ka* *ni=kie-wo-no*
INTJ señor NEG 2SG=know-COP ART IND 1SG=EV-COP-NOM1
'Oh Lord, you don't know what happened to me!' [RP-P1-23]

This question type can also be expressed by an object question, as illustrated in (127) and (128) Sometimes the main verb remains nominalized, as also in (120), and in (128)

(127) *kon teč pikiew?*
kon *teč* *pi=kie-wo*
who/what DEM2m 2SG=EV-COP
'How is it?/ What happened to you?' [DC-8/3/06-42]

(128) *ver kač romoro'inap rošoporiporik – "ač kon teč pikiewon?" rikičowor*
ver kač ro=moro'in-a-po ro=šopori~pori-ko
PERF GO 3SGm=be sick of-LK-PRFLX 3SGm=roll about~INT-ABS

ač *kon* *teč* *pi=kie-wo-no* *ri=kičo-wo=ro*
and who/what DEM2m 2SG=EV-COP-NOM1 3SGf=say do-COP=3SGm
'He was already getting sick of rolling about (on the ground) – "And what is up with you?" she said to him '[227] [RP-N3-25]

9 4 6 Questions for the manner of the action

There are two possibilities for the construction of a manner or method question 'how?', both based on the empty verb root *-k(i)e-* 'EV' (cf 6 2 1)

The most basic 'how?'-question is formed with *-kie-toeri-n* (-EV-do how-NOM1), in which the particle *toeri* 'do how' is incorporated into the base The predicate is nominalized and gets a proclitic subject marker In general, the predicate *-kietoerin* 'how?' is used together with a marked complement clause (cf 10 3 6) that contains the more specific verb (129), but it can also be used on its own (130)

(129) *vikietoerin te vamočo te vačon*
vi=kie-toeri-no *te* *vi=amo-čo* *te* *vi=ačon*
1PL=EV-do how-NOM1 DEM1m 1PL=take-NOM2 DEM2m 1PL=cargo
'How will we take our cargo?' [RP-1/9/03-29]

[227] The question is generally translated into Spanish as 'Que paso/pasa (con)?' or 'Que tiene ?

(130) *pɪkɪetoerɪn te? – pɪkɪetoeroworon?*
pɪ=kɪe-toerɪ-no *te* *pɪ=kɪe-toero-wo-ro-no*
2SG=EV-do how-NOM1 DEM2m 2SG=EV-do how-COP=3SGm-NOM1
'How did you do that? – How are you doing it?' [RP-Q-9]

In (129) the action referred to appears as a complement marked by *-čo* 'NOM2' In addition to subject marking, there can also be an enclitic object marker, as demonstrated in (130) In that example there are two clauses the first one includes the NP *te* 'DEM1m', which refers to the action the speaker wants to know more about, the second clause then shows the pronominalization of this argument as the object enclitic *-ro* '3SGm'

The direct object that can be part of the clause can occur in the question without any additional verb that specifies the action, as e g an NP that is involved as a patient, as illustrated in (131)

(131) *pɪkɪetoerɪn to čɪčorop?*
pɪ=kɪe-toerɪ-no *to* *čɪčorop*
2SG=EV-do how-NOM1 ART bean
'How will you do (prepare) the beans?' [RP-19/8/03-29]

The other possibility of the question 'how?' is the same predicate only with a specific verb root attached to the root *-k(ɪ)e-* instead of the particle *toerɪ* 'do how' However, when other verb roots are part of the predicate, the applicative suffix *-čo* has to be added at the end of the base The addition of this suffix leads to a question about an instrument 'what do you V with', as in (132) and (133)

(132) *pɪke'eročowon?*
pɪ=ke-'ero-čo-wo-no
2SG=EV-drink-APPL-COP-NOM1
'How did you drink (it)? / What did you drink (it) with?' [JP-11/8/04-11]

(133) *pɪkevesačowon?*
pɪ=ke-vesa-čo-wo-no
2SG=EV-read-APPL-COP-NOM1
'How did you read (it)? / What did you read (it) with?' [JP-11/8/04-12]

In examples (132) and (133) the verb root appears in the non-palatalized form *-ke-*

Both constructions described above can be used in declarative clauses, even though there are not many examples in my data I present one example from Baptista & Wallin here

(134) *ver roeyɪnowor-hɪ to ka roketoer teč rotoramp*
ver *ro=ɪyɪno-wo=ro=hɪ* *to* *ka* *ro=ke-toer*
PERF 3SGm=teach-COP=3SGm=QUOT ART IND 3SGm=EV-do how

teč *ro=toramp*
DEM2m 3SGm=trap
'He taught him how to use the trap ' [SIL-N3-99]

The root *-k(ɪ)e-* may also be used by itself, followed by the suffix *-wapa* 'COS' in order to form the predicate *-kɪe-wapa-* 'be in a recent state' It is used for the question 'How are you now?' when someone has been sick It is striking that this is another example where the verb root is used to refer to a state (as in (124)–(126)), while in examples (129) through (134) it rather seems to refer to an action

(135) *pɪkɪewapan? – ver henowapanɪ*
pɪ=kɪe-wapa-no ver heno-wapa=nɪ
2SG=EV-COS-NOM1 PERF good-COS=1SG
'How are you now? – I am already fine (healthy) ' [RP-Q-5/6]

9 4 7 Questions about a point in time rekɪčɪn 'when?'
Questions about a point in time, referring to a past or future event, are constructed with the question word *rekɪčɪn* 'when' It appears at the beginning of the clause The time reference can only be inferred from the main predicate and its form Example (136) refers to a past event and (137) to a future event

(136) *rekɪčɪn pɪšɪm?*
rekɪčɪnpɪ=šɪm
when 2SG-arrive
'When did you arrive?' [GP-16/9/03-96]

(137) *rekɪčɪnɪ pavɪkoporeɪypo ne ?*
rekɪčɪnɪ pɪ=avɪko-poreɪy-po ne'
when 2SG-return-REP-PRFLX here
'When will you come here again?' [JC-Q-55]

As has been argued, every question involves a nominalized predicate In this case it is the question word *rekɪčɪn* 'when' itself It can still be analyzed as a nominalized predicate on the base of the root *-kɪč-* 'say/do' It is probably constructed of the following parts *ro-ɪ-kɪč-no* (3SGm-CAUS-'say/do'-NOM1) In example (137) the *rekɪčɪnɪ* shows a certain degree of palatalization of the nasal, as it is common in interrogative clauses Even though there seems to be a person cross-reference marker on this interrogative predicate (*ro-* '3SGm'), it is unchangeable Note that the question *vɪkɪčɪn* (1PL='say/do'-NOM1) means 'What do we do? (122), and it looks very similar

The question word has a declarative form as its counterpart, which lacks the nominalizer *rekɪč* 'when' In the following dialogue, taken from a narrative, both words can directly be compared

(138) *boen, rekɪčɪn? – ntɪ' nopɪ rekɪč*
boen rekɪčɪn ntɪ' no=pɪ rekɪč
well when 1SG 1SG tell-2SG when
'Well, when?' – 'I let you know when ' [RP-N2/I-4/6]

For declarative clauses and subordination there are other strategies used in Baure, as pointed out in 10 2 6, 10 3 2 and 10 3 3

The interrogative predicate can also include other verbal morphemes, such as *-poreɪy* 'repetitive', as in example (139)

(139) *rekɪčporeɪyɪn pɪšɪm?*
rekɪč-poreɪyɪ-no *pɪ=šɪm*
when-REP-NOM1 2SG=arrive
'When did you arrive again?' [DC-6/4/06-102]

The question *rekɪčɪn* 'when?' seems to refer only to an action and a point in time For the question that refers to the time of day, e g when someone wants to meet, there is another specific predicate *ro(e)koeshɪn* 'what time?', as can be observed in the following excerpt from a narrative

(140) *rokɪčowɔrɪ-hɪ "ntɔrɪ, vɪkɪ'ɪnow woyɪkow karer? [ ]" – "boen", rɪkɪew-hɪ tɪč sopɪr, "boen roekoeshɪn?"*
ro=kɪčo-wo=rɪ=hɪ *nɪ=tɔrɪ* *vɪ=kɪ'ɪno-wo*
3SGm=say do-COP=3SGf=QUOT 1SG=friend 1PL=want

woyɪko-wo *karer* *boen* *rɪ=kɪe-wo=hɪ*
1PL make-COP race INTJ 3SGf=EV-COP=QUOT

tɪč sopɪr *boen* *roekoeshɪn*
DEM2f tortoise INTJ what time
'He said to her "My friend, do we want to run a race?" – "Well", said the tortoise, "well, when?" ' [RP-N6-4/6]

The etymology of this interrogative predicate is unclear

9 4 8 Questions about the quantity of count nouns
This section deals only with the quantity of count nouns Quantity questions are constructed with the help of a special question word, which again is a nominalized predicate The subject proclitic is in general *ro-* '3SGm', but in possessive relations the subject may refer to the object counted (147) Within the predicate there is a slot for an incorporated classifier or noun root, which refers to the counted object, as in

(141) *rowokompewon?*
ro=woko-mpe-wo-no
3SGm=how many-CLF flat-COP-NOM1
'How many bank notes are there?' [GP-Q-1]

The root of the predicate *rowokompewon* 'how many bank notes?', *-woko-*, probably consists of the copula *-wo* and the absolute suffix *-ko* Only this specific combination leads to the meaning 'how many?' The classifier *-mpe-* 'flat' is incorporated directly after the root and is obligatory in that the question of 'how many' always refers to a type that has to be marked on the predicate The morphemes that follow the incorporated element include TAM specification of the clause The final nominalization marks this predicate as interrogative Note these examples with different classifiers

(142) *rowokonowon to neč čɪntɪnev yašor-ye?*
ro=woko-no-wo-no *to* *neč* *čɪntɪ-nev* *yašor-ye*
3SGm=how many-CLF human-COP-NOM1 ART DEM2PL person-PL boat-LOC
'How many people are there in the boat?' [LO-29/8/03-92]

(143) *rowokoen pɪtorak?*
ro=woko-ɪ-no *pɪ=torak*
3SGm-how many-CLF fruit&bird-NOM1 2SG-find
'How many birds did you find?' [LO-29/8/03-101]

As mentioned above, in a possessive relation the subject marker is different, because in this case it directly refers to the counted object

(144) *nowokonowon pɪšečenev?*
no=woko-no-wo-no *pɪ=šeče-nev*
3PL=how many-CLF human-COP-NOM1 2SG=son-PL
'How many children do you have? (lit How many are your children?)'
[DC-16/3/06-37]

In other cases the proclitic even refers to the subject itself This can be observed in questions about age 'how old are you?' (145) and in questions about states (146)

(145) *pɪwokmorekewapanɪ?*
pɪ=wok-moreke-wapa-no
2SG=how many-year-COS-NOM1?
'How old are you? / How many years do you have?' [HC-3/8/03-20]

(146) *pɪwokseskonewon pɪwoč Trɪnɪda-ye?*
pɪ=wok-seskone-wo-no *pɪ=wo-čo* *Trɪnɪda-ye*
2SG=how many-day-COP-NOM1 2SG=COP-NOM2 Trinidad-LOC
SD 'How many days were you in Trinidad?'

nɪwokseskonewon? mapɪseskonewonɪ
nɪ=wok-seskone-wo-no *mapɪ-seskone-ɯo=nɪ*
1SG=how many-day-COP-NOM1 two-day-COP=1SG
DC 'How many days I was (there)? I was (there) for two days '
[AD/DC-D2-83/84]

The questions about the speaker Dolores Chimanacay's (DC) stay in the city Trinidad (146) can be directly compared to (147), which also refers to the number of days

(147) *rowokseskonewon teč vɪaharon?*
ro=wok-seskone-wo-no *teč* *vɪaharon*
3SGm=how many-day-COP-NOM1 DEM2m journey
DC 'How many days is the journey (to Germany)?' [AD/DC-D2-29]

In (147) the interrogative predicate is marked by *ro-* '3SGm', because it refers to the journey and its number of days

9 4 9 Questions about the quantity of mass nouns

Just as in English the questions 'how many?' (count nouns) versus 'how much?' (mass nouns) are differentiated, the question concerning the quantity of a mass concept is constructed differently than the one described in section 9 4 8 The main element of the interrogative clause, again, is a nominalized predicate that incorporates a classifier Here is one example with the mass concept 'water', expressed by the classifier for liquids, *-ar(o)-*

(148) *rokotiarowon? – pirihaki.*
ro=koti-aro-wo-no *piri-haki*
3SGm-how.much-CLF:liquid-COP-NOM1 half-pot.full
'How much water is there (in the pot)? – Half a pot full.' [GP-21/9/03-5]

The root of the predicate that is the base for the question 'how much' is *-koti-*, possibly related to the verbal root *-kotir-* 'have' (cf. 5.3.5). There are not many examples in the data, but here is one more with the mass concept 'time':

(149) *pikotiyepowon pikasoer*[228]*?*
pi=koti-ye-po-wo-no *pi=kasoer*
2SG-how.much-LOC?-PRFLX-COP-NOM1 2SG-stay
'How much time/ How long will you stay (here)?' [GP-21/9/03-5]

In example (149) the subject marker refers to the subject of the second predicate of the clause, *pi-* '2SG', and not to the element to be quantified, like in the case of the age question (148).

9.4.10. Questions concerning location

Questions concerning location of a predicate are also constructed with a nominalized predicate. There is no specific question word but only the locative marker *-yi*, added to the predicate, and followed by a possible object marker and the obligatory nominalizing suffix. The form of the locative marker on predicates is phonologically slightly different from the locative marker on NPs, which is *-ye*, but it seems obvious that both forms go back to the same source. This interrogative construction is the same as the locative subordinate construction (cf. 10.2.5). Example (150) demonstrates how questions are constructed:

(150) *pitorakiyin te him čopoča?*
pi=toraki-yi-no *te* *him* *čo-po-ča*
2SG-find-LOC-NOM1 DEM1m fish big-CLF:tiny-AUG
'Where did you find this big fish?' [JC-18/9/03-21]

The locative marker in (150) triggers vowel harmony of the preceding vowel that connects the verb root and the following morphemes (see also (152) below). In general, it can be argued that the locative marker on predicates always produces strong palatalization and vowel harmony of the environment. As already mentioned, there may also be object markers included in the nominalized predicate with the locative marker, as in (151) and (152):

(151) *piviyeron?*
pi=vi-yi=ro-no
2SG=take.away-LOC=3SGm-NOM1
'Where did you take this away/ from?'[229] [JP-12/7/04-8]

[228] This verb root *-kasoer-* is a Spanish loan from *quedarse* 'stay'
[229] In Spanish: '¿Dónde lo sacaste?'

(152) *rokomorokıyıvın kove'?*
ro=komoroki-yı=vı-no *kove'*
3SGm-bite-LOC-2SG-NOM1 dog
'Where did the dog bite you?' [RP-6/7/04-3]

The questions described so far concern the location of an action If the location of a subject is queried, this has to be done with a different construction One possibility involves the empty verb root *-kie-* 'EV' The meaning 'where' is constructed by a specific combination of morphemes *-kie-po-* (EV-PRFLX) To the base *-kiepo-* 'where (stative)' no other suffix may be attached, as it would manipulate the meaning Finally it is nominalized as an interrogative predicate and shows subject cross-reference Consider the following examples

(153) *rokiepon to pavinon?*
ro=kie-po-no *to* *pı=avinon*
3SGm=EV-PRFLX-NOM1 ART 2SG=husband
'Where is your husband?' [RP-21/7/04-31]

(154) *nen, rikiepon ti neyon?*
nı=en *rı=kie-po-no* *ti* *nı=eyon*
1SG=mother 3SGf=EV-PRFLX-NOM1 DEM1f 1SG=wife
'Mother, where is my wife?' [GP-N1/II-42]

(155) *nokiepon to pohinev?*
no=kie-po-no *to* *pohi-nev*
3PL-EV-PRFLX-NOM1 ART duck-PL
'Where are the ducks?' [RP-12/9/03-30]

The different kind of subject marking in (153) through (155) show how the interrogative predicate refers to the main argument in the clause The subject argument is also present as an explicit NP in the examples

Note further the manipulation of the meaning of the interrogative predicate with the addition of another verbal morpheme This can create a predicate like *-kie-po-wo-n* (EV-PRFLX-COP-NOM1), which refers to the direction 'where (go) to' The addition of the copula *-wo* in the predicate causes the difference in meaning Here is one example, which can be compared to (155) above with a stative meaning

(156) *nokiepowon to pohinev?*
no=kie-po-wo-no *to* *pohi-nev*
3PL=EV-PRFLX-COP-NOM1 ART duck-PL
'Where are the ducks going?' [RP-12/9/03-27]

Finally, there is another way to ask for a location, which also includes the locative marker *-yı* and forms a stative locative question It involves the verb root *-avı-* 'live (be at a place)', which indicates more permanence than the question *-kiepon* 'where is ?' This interrogative construction is mainly used when asking for houses or fixed places, like lakes, rivers etc , but it is also used with persons' accommodation Examples

(157) *ravɪywon to pɪwer?*
ro=avɪ-yɪ-wo-no to pɪ=wer
3SGm=lɪve-LOC-COP-NOM1 ART 2SG=house
'Where is your house?' [RP-19/7/04-7]

(158) *ravɪywon to wapoer?*
ro=avɪ-yɪ-wo-no to wapoer
3SGm=lɪve-LOC-COP-NOM1 ART rɪver
'Where is the rɪver?' [HC-3/8/03-29]

(159) *boen nerɪkɪ –ha– teč –ha– pɪšɪmočo ne' soratɪ-ye, pavɪyɪwon?*
boen nerɪkɪ ha teč ha pɪ=šɪmo-čo ne' soratɪ-ye
well now HES DEM2m HES 2SG-arrɪve-NOM2 here vɪllage-LOC

pɪ=avɪ-yɪ-wo-no
2SG=lɪve-LOC-COP-NOM1
'Well, now that you have arrɪved ɪn the vɪllage here, where are you stayɪng?'
[JC-13/7/04-8]

9 4 11 Polar questɪons

9 4 11 1 Sɪmple yes/no questɪons

Polar questɪons can only be dɪstɪnguɪshed from declaratɪve clauses by the rɪsɪng ɪntonatɪon at the end of the clause The rɪsɪng and fallɪng ɪntonatɪon ɪn questɪon/answer paɪrs ɪs demonstrated by the lɪnes above the examples

(160) *kwe' pɪper kove'? – sɪ, kwe' nɪper kove'*
kwe' pɪ=per kove' sɪ kwe' nɪ=per kove'
exɪst 2SG=dom anɪmal dog yes exɪst 1SG=dom anɪmal dog
'Dɪd you have a dog?' – 'Yes, I had a dog ' [GP-4/7/04-46/47]

(161) *ač ver pɪnɪk? – ver nɪk, rɪservɪčɪnɪ*
ač ver pɪ=nɪk ver nɪk, rɪ=servɪ-čɪ=nɪ
and PERF 2SG=eat PERF 1SG eat 3SGf=serve-APPL=1SG
RP 'And dɪd you already eat?' – EC 'I already ate, she served me '
[RP/EC-D4-5/6]

Yes/no questɪons can also have a negatɪve clause as theɪr base Taken from a later conversatɪon of the same speakers of (161), there are the parallel negatɪve examples ɪn (162)

(162) *nka pɪnɪkow? – nka nɪkow te pɪšoererɪow*
nka pɪ=nɪko-wo nka nɪko-wo te pɪ=ɪšoere-rɪ-wo
NEG 2SG=eat-COP NEG 1SG eat-COP DEM1m 2SG=cook-NOM3-COP
RP 'Aren't you goɪng to eat?' – EC 'I am not eatɪng what you cooked '
[RP/EC-D4-15/16]

9.4.11.2. Polar questions with the emphatic marker

Frequently speakers use the emphatic marker *-ɪ'* on an interrogative predicate of a yes/no question. It does not mark the clauses as questions directly, but emphasizes the predicate and allows rising intonation on the predicate as well, as in:

(163) *kowe'ɪ' mayok arasoe' ewokoe-ye.*
kowe'-i' *mayok* *arasoe'* *ewokoe-ye*
exist-EMPH much orange tree-LOC
'Are there many oranges in the tree?' [SIL-T7]

(164) *pikɪ'inowe' pitoenopani?*
pi=ki'ino-wo-i' *pi=ta-ino-pa=ni*
2SG=want-COP-EMPH 2SG=weed-BEN-GO=1SG
'Do you want to go and weed for me?' [LO/GP-15/7/04-146]

9.4.11.3. Tag questions

There is a kind of tag question formed with a declarative clause and an added *ap(o) nka?* 'or not?'. Here the intonation could be rising in the clause and in the additional tag or only in the tag. Examples:

(165) *moeh nihirik ap nka?*
moeh *ni=hirik* *apo* *nka*
CERT 1SG=sɪt or NEG
'Can I sɪt down or not? [GP/LO-21/7/04-37]

(166) *papa, pikɪ'inow ničonapapi ap nka?*
papa *pɪ=kɪ'ino-wo* *ni=čona-pa=pi* *ap* *nka*
papa 2SG=want-COP 1SG=accompany-GO=2SG or NEG
'Pa, do you want me to accompany you or not?' [LO-29/8/03-22]

9.4.11.4. Questions introduced by ač

The connector *ač* 'and' frequently introduces any type of clause, also questions, as can be observed in examples (75), (85), (95) and others in this chapter. I already described how *ač* 'and' attaches to an interrogative particle *amo* 'why not?' (87), resulting in the form *čam*. Sometimes, when there is much emphasis on the question, the connector can also attach to personal pronouns, where it is metathesized as well, as in (167) and (168):

(167) *nka nitorapoekow. ča pɪti'? – nkaw napɪri'.*
nka *ni=tora-poe-ko-wo* *ač* *piti'* *nka-wo* *napɪri'*
NEG 1SG=find.down-ABS-COP and 2SG NEG-COP also
'I have not found any (fish). And you? – I haven't either.'[LO-29/8/03-36/37]

(168) *niverikpaša Kairo-ye. ča piti', pikepowon?*
ni=verik-pa-ša *Cairo-ye* *ač* *piti'* *pi=ke-po-wo-no*
1SG=fish-GO-IRR Cairo-LOC and 2SG 2SG-EV-PRFLX-COP-NOM1
'I am going to go fishing in El Cairo. And you, where are you going?'
[LO-29/8/03-6]

9 4 11 5 Questions introduced by hã

The interjection *hã* has been mentioned in 8 4 1 It is frequently used for a positive answer It is not clear if it is related to the pausal form *–ha–* However, *hã* can introduce questions that express suggestions like 'what about ?' It only appears in a few clauses in my corpus, mainly when a personal pronoun follows, as in (169) and is comparable to *ča piti'* in (168) The context of the example is a story in which some friends tell the old people to leave the village Observe how the question only consists of *hã yiti'*? 'What about you?'

(169) *ač nošim to neč ntorinev ač ver kač nahačon kač nokičon –ha– "hã yiti'?"*

ač	*no=šim*	*to*	*neč*	*no=tori-nev*	*ač*
and	3PL=arrive	ART	DEM2PL	3PL=friend-PL	and

ver	*kač*	*no=ahačo-no*	*kač*	*no=kičo-no*	*ha*	*hã*	*yiti'*
PERF	GO	3PL=ask=3PL	GO	3PL=say do=3PL	HES	INTJ	2PL

'And their friends arrived and they started to ask them and they said to them "What about you?" ' [JP-N9-6]

9 4 12 Summary of interrogative construction types

The sections above described many different types of interrogative constructions Table 9 1 sums up all the major possibilities

question type	construction
Why? (general form)	*ko* *ro=kie-(wo-)no* why 3SGm=EV-(COP-)NOM1
Why?	*ko* S=V_{itr}-NOM1 *ko*=O S=V_{tr}-NOM1
Why not?	*amo* S=V_{itr}-NOM1 *amo* S=V_{tr}=O-NOM1
What name?	S=*woyo~(woyo)-wo-no* S=name~(INT)-COP-NOM1
Who/What (identity)?	S=*woyiko-wo-no* S=be I-COP-NOM1
What kind of?	*ro=woy-(a-)*CLF-*wo-no* 3SGm=name-(LK-)CLF-COP-NOM1
Who/What (O)?	*(woyi)kon* DET S=V
Who/What (S)?	*(woyi)kon* DET V-NOM1 *(woyi)kon* DET V=O
Whose?	*(woyi)kon* DET *ko*-N-*wo-no* who/what DET ATTR-N-COP-NOM1
What (do)?	S=*kičo-wo-no* S=say do-COP-NOM1
What be like (state)?	S=*kie-wo-no* S=ev-COP-NOM1
How?	S=*kie-toeri-no*, S=*kie-toero-wo-no* S=EV-do how-NOM1 S=EV-do how-COP-NOM1

How V?	S=*kie*-V-*čo-wo-no* S=EV-V-APPL-COP-NOM1
When?	*rekičin*
'How many?'	S=*woko*-CLF-*wo-no* S=how.many-CLF-COP-NOM1
'How much?'	S=*koti*-CLF-*wo-no* S=how.much-CLF-COP-NOM1
Where V?	S=V-*yi*(=O)-*no* S=V-LOC(=O)-NOM1
Where is S?	S=*kie-po-no* S=EV-PRFLX-NOM1
Where go S?	S=*kie-po-wo-no* S=EV-PRFLX-COP-NOM1
yes/no	rising intonation at the end of clause; emphatic marker on predicate

Table 9.1: Different types of questions in Baure and their construction

9.5. Answers to questions and ellipsis

Answers to questions can be even more reduced than a predicate clause, and consist of only one NP or an adverb or any kind of other specific information asked for. Sometimes clausal enclitics are added to the answer for more emphasis. Polar questions are replied to with affirmative or negative particles. Some specific questions are paired with typical answers, such as greetings.

First of all, the particles used for answering polar questions are mainly *heni* 'yes' and *nka* or *noka* 'no', or in a more emphatic form *nokaw* (NEG-COP). Furthermore, all other negative particles can be used, such as *wokow* 'not yet'. Finally, if the speaker wants to express insecurity, there are particles like *hintani* 'I don't know' or 'what do I know?' and *herik/harik* or *harikontoe'* 'maybe'.

Information questions can be replied to with only an (oblique) argument. Example (170) shows a case where the question (Q) concerned a location. The answer (A) does not consist of anything more than a locative phrase.

(170) *pitorakiyin te him čopoča'?*
pi=torak-iy-no *te* *him* *čo-po-ča'*
2SG=find-LOC-NOM1 DEM1m fish big-CLF:tiny-AUG
Q: 'Where did you find this big fish?'

noiy wapoeri-ye – kotipakino-ye.
noiy *waporei-ye* *kotip-aki-no-ye*
there river-LOC white-CLF:diameter-NOM1-LOC
A: 'There in the river, in the white one (Río Blanco).' [JC-18/9/03-21/22]

A very frequent answer is given when someone asks if something has already happened, consisting generally of *ver* 'already', instead of *heni* 'yes'. This also holds for the answer to a request or imperative, as in (171):

(171) *kew pɪsɪpap' – ver'*
ke-wo *pɪ=sɪpa-po* *ver*
EV-COP 2SG=wash-PRFLX PERF
'Go and wash (your hands)' – I already did!' [JP-20/8/03-15]

The particle *ver* 'already' does not always refer to a past event, however In combination with the clausal enclitic, *-iš* 'well', it can also refer to the near future or the present, as demonstrated in (172)

(172) *ver nkačap – veroeš*
ver *nɪ=kač-pa* *vero=iš*
PERF 1SG=go-GO PERF=EXCLA
'I will go – Alright' [DC-8/3/06-95]

In addition, other preverbal particles or adverbs can also function as complete answers to questions In (173) the particle *moeh* 'certainly' appears in the question and is repeated in the answer, accompanied by the emphatic particle *-kɪk-* 'really' This is generally used to reassure oneself about the truth of something that has been said before The only difference between question and answer in (173) is the interrogative suffix *-no* in the question[230]

(173) *moehkɪkon'* *moehkɪk*
moeh-kɪko-no *moeh-kɪk*
certainly-really-NOM1 certainly-really
Q 'Is it true?' A 'Yes, really' [GP/LO-D2-12/13]

Specific greetings are formulaic Question and answer are fixed Example (174) – taken from a narration – shows what is said when meeting someone The last sentence is the answer that the first speaker (SP1) usually gives

(174) *ntorɪ, he'ɪnovɪ?*
nɪ=torɪ *he-'ɪno-wo=pɪ*
1SG=friend good-SBJ-COP=2SG
SP1 'My friend, how are you (lit are you feeling good)?'

čon, hatɪ'?
čon *ha-(pɪ)tɪ'*
friend and-you(SG)
SP2 '(Fine), my friend, and you?'

he'ɪnoekwonɪ'
he-'ɪno-ɪ-ko-wo=nɪ'
good-SBJ-DUR-ABS-COP=1SG
SP1 'I am fine' [RP-N11-3/4]

There is also a strategy of repeating clauses in a reply, described in the next section.

[230] Just like the pair *rekɪcɪn* and *rekɪc* when'

9.6. Special strategies in conversation and narration

One of the main strategies in conversation and narration is the repetition of the main predicate. This repetition is found in answers to questions or requests, but also for showing approval of a statement, and finally, to indicate the actual repetition or duration of events. In example (175) one type of repetition is demonstrated:

(175) *(ač rikew-hi riti':) "nka pehmoekpap?"*
ač ri=ke-wo=hi riti' nka pi=ehmoek-pa-po
and 3SGF=EV-COP=QUOT 3SGf NEG 2SG=wash.clothes-GO-PRFLX
Q: 'And she said to her: "Don't you go wash clothes?" '

"heni, nehmoekpap, nen."
heni ni=ehmoek-pa-po ni=en
yes 1SG=wash.clothes-GO-PRFLX 1SG=mother
A: ' "Yes, I go wash clothes, mother." ' [GP-N1/II-8/9]

As (175) shows, the predicate in the question *pehmoekpap* 'you go wash clothes' is repeated in the answer with the different subject marking: *nehmoekpap* 'I go wash clothes'. In a real conversation we can sometimes observe how one speaker says something and the second speaker picks up the last part or the last main predicate, repeats it and perhaps adds something. Then the first speaker again picks up the last bit and uses it as the beginning of the new oration. Example (176) is taken from a dialogue between Dolores Chimanacay (DC) and Asunta Durán (AD), which I overheard as I started recording.

(176) *teč tiow te rikamiyonow –ha– kamiyokon šim-ša po-no teč koyepia' ač ver nanan kač rikonoekper.*
teč tiow te ri=kami-yi-no-wo ha
DEM2m CLEFT DEM1m 3SGf=like-LOC-NOM1-COP HES

kami-yi-ko-no šimša pon teč koyepia'
like-LOC-ABS-NOM1 arrive-IRR other-CLF:human DEM2m converse

ač ver nanan kač ri=konoek-pa=ro
and PERF later GO 3SGf=write-GO=3SGm
DC: 'This is what she likes, ah, she likes when someone arrives and converses and later she goes and writes it down.'

ah, rikonoekper.
ah ri=konoek-pa=ro
INTJ 3SGf=write-GO=3SGm
AD: 'Ah, she goes to write it down.'

tiow ten rampiaw te. rimpapikıer.
tiow ten ro=ampia-wo te ri=impa-pik=ro
CLEFT DEM3m 3SGm=serve-COP DEM1m 3SGf=bring-COME=3SGm
DC: 'That is what this serves for (my mic.). She comes to leave it here.'

rimpapikier koehkoe' rosompoek.
ri=impa-pɪk=ro *koehkoe'* *ro=sompoek*
3SGf=bring-COME=3SGm so.that 3SGm=hear
AD: 'She comes to leave it here so that it listens (records).'

koehkoe' rosompovi viti'.
koehkoe' *ro=sompo=vɪ* *vitɪ'*
so.that 3SGm=hear=1PL 1PL
DC: 'So that it hears us.' [AD/DC-D2-3–7]

In narration, tension can rise and an action can be focussed on by repetition. This generally coincides with the repetitive or durative character of the action. In (177) one such typical example is shown, in which the verb *noyonop* 'they walked' is repeated three times.

(177) *nokačow to powor ahinev, kač noyonop, noyonop, noyonop.*
no=kačo-wo *to* *powor* *ahi-nev* *kač* *no=yono-po*
3PL=go-COP ART poor child-PL GO 3PL=walk-PRFLX

no=yono-po *no=yono-po*
3PL=walk-PERF.RFLX 3PL=walk-PRFLX
'The poor children left, the went to walk and walked and walked.' [GP-N7-8]

9.7. Clausal enclitics

There are three pragmatic clausal enclitics: quotative *-hi*, emphatic or exclamative *-nɪš* 'well', and the approval marker *-enš*. The three clitics may also all attach to one word or attach in various positions. If there are more than one on a word, they can only occur in one possible order, as represented in Figure 9.7:

word *=nɪš* *=hi* *=enš*

Figure 9.7 The order of clausal clitics on one element:

Now each of the clausal clitics is described in some more detail.

The emphatic or exclamative enclitic *-nɪš* 'well' may also be considered a phrasal clitic. It can attach to any kind of element in the clause that is emphasized, and generally attaches to the predicate. Semantically it is a clausal clitic in my analysis, because it affects the whole clause. There are many examples with *-nɪš* in this chapter: (82), (109), (115), (121), and (122). All of these examples are interrogative clauses, in which this enclitic is mainly found. It is generally translated as 'well' or 'then'. However, sometimes it can also have a different modal interpretation, as in (178), repeated from (122) above:

(178) *vɪkɪčɪn-nɪš viti' ne'?*
vɪ=kičɪ-no=nɪš *vitɪ'* *ne'*
1PL=say.do-NOM1=EXCLA 1PL here
'What shall we do here then?' [JP-N9-22]

The same question without the enclitic – *vikičin viti' ne'?* – would be translated as 'what are we doing here?'. The attachment of the exclamative clitic leads to a slightly different interpretation, namely a question that is asking for advice what to do.
The enclitic can also be used in exclamative (179) or affirmative (180) clauses.

(179) *pikor-niš teč šiye'!*
pikor=niš *teč* *šiye'*
smart=EXCLA DEM2m fox
'What a rascal is this fox!' [RP-N3-79]

(180) *nikotičopaw to nisoenoki koeč nikopironokow-niš ač to nerow teč in-enš ač –ha– ver nikotičopaw te nisoenoki, heni.*
ni=kotičo-pa-wo *to* *ni=soenoki* *koeč* *ni=kopironoko-wo=niš*
1SG=hurt-GO-COP ART 1SG=throat because 1SG=be.hot-COP=EXCLA

ač *to* *ni=ero-wo* *teč* *in=enš* *ač* *ha*
and ART 1SG=drink-COP DEM2m water=APRV and HES

ver *ni=kotičo-pa-wo* *te* *ni=soenoki* *heni*
PERF 1SG=hurt-GO-COP DEM1m 1SG=throat yes
'My throat was aching, because well, I was hot and I drank that water, you know, and then my throat went to ache, yes.' [GP-9/4/06-20]

In (180) there are two clausal enclitics. For the approval marker *-enš* take note of (187) and (188).

It seems to be the case that the clitic *-niš* is composed of the two elements *-n* and *-iš*, because the latter may occur in isolation. Unfortunately I could only get examples in elicitation concerning the difference between *-niš* and *-iš*. Dolores Chimanacay argued that the clitics make the difference illustrated in the different answers below:

(181) *pamoni te!* – *ver-niš.* – *veroeš.*
pi=amo=ni *te* *ver=niš* *ver=iš*
2SG=bring-1SG DEM2m PERF=EXCLA PERF=EXCLA
'Bring me this!' 'Yes (I already did).' 'Yes (I will do it).'
[DC-9/3/06-19]

In spite of the different meanings and the different forms I tentatively analyze them as identical clitics, because the reduced form exclusively occurs in this kind of answer to the adverb *ver* 'already'.

Quotative *-hi* is predominantly a second position clitic, but the element it attaches to has to have some verbal quality, which is true for all verbal and non-verbal predicates, but also for demonstrative pronouns (184) and adverbs or preverbal particles (183). It is generally found in narration when quoting someone. There it attaches extremely frequently to verbs of utterance. In Spanish the speakers translate it as *disqué*, which has been derived from *dice que* '(he) said that'. Some typical examples from narratives are found in (182) through (184):

(182) *rokɨčowor-hɨ "pɨtɨ' nkompar mehoewokon "*
ro=kɨčo-wo=ro=hɨ *pɨtɨ'* *nɨ=kompar* *mehoewokon*
3SGm=say do-COP=3SGm=QUOT 2SG 1SG=companion bad
'He said to him (, it is said) "You, my companion, are bad " ' [EU-N12-18]

(183) *ver-hɨ teč šowekon worapɨkɨer*
ver=hɨ *teč* *šowekon* *ver-a-pɨk=ro*
PERF=QUOT DEM2m jaguar PERF-LK-COME=3SGm
'The jaguar is already coming (, it is said) ' [RP-N3-183]

(184) *ač teč-hɨ kɨwor rokɨ'ɨnow rehemo'ɨnapa ač nka rɨpoekowor*
ač *teč=hɨ* *kɨwor* *ro=kɨ'ɨno-wo* *ro=ehemo'ɨn-a-pa*
and DEM2m=QUOT snake 3SGm=want-COP 3SGm=relax-LK-GO

ač *nka* *rɨ=poeko-wo=ro*
and NEG 3SGf=let-COP=3SGm
'And the snake wanted to relax (in the tortoises' house) and she (the tortoise) didn't let him.' [RP-N5-2]

The quotative clitic *-hɨ* generally occurs in the clauses that are statements of the narrator about the characters in the story I further suppose it was also used in direct speech as a kind of evidential, even though there is only one example (188) in my data In this example Guillermina (GP) is repeating me (SD), but marks the cited clause with the quotative enclitic, because she does not agree with me The topic was the capacity of speaking Baure

(185) *nka nɨtɨrow noka!*
nka *nɨ=tɨrɨ-wo* *noka*
NEG 1SG=know-COP NEG
SD 'I don't know anything!'

nka-hɨ rɨtɨrɨwapa
nka=hɨ *rɨ=tɨrɨ-wapa*
NEG=QUOT 3SGf=know-COS
GP 'She doesn't know yet, whe says! (laughing, talking to her husband)' [GP-2/4/06-18/19]

The use of a different aspect (*-wapa* 'COS') in Guillermina's clause is possibly a correction.

The quotative clitic abounds in narratives, and can also occur more than once in a clause I found an example with four occurrences in a single clause (186)

(186) *boen, teč-hɨ rɨšɨr-hɨ mončɨw-hɨ hɨr-hɨ*
boen *teč=hɨ* *rɨ=šɨr=hɨ* *monči-wo=hɨ* *hɨr=hɨ*
well DEM2m=QUOT 3SGf=son=QUOT child-COP=QUOT man=QUOT
'Well, she had a child who was a man ' [SIL-N3-7]

The clitic *-enš* occurs only clause-finally, and is used to seek approval by the listener It can be compared to English 'you know' It is also an emphatic element It is possi-

ble that it is somehow related to the formally very similar clitic *-niš*. There are two examples in (187) and (188), and another one was already given in (180):

(187) *hepčin teč rowepiačikoe'-enš.*
hepčin teč ro=wepiač-iko-i'=enš
it.seemed DEM2m 3SGm=lie-really-EMPH=APRV
'It seemed he was really telling a lie, you know.' [GP-N8-7]

(188) *roki'inow koehkoe' rietoračor-enš.*
ro=ki'ino-wo koehkoe' ri=etora-čo=ro=enš
3SGm=want-COP so.that 3SGf=come.out-APPL=3SGm=APRV
'He wanted that she would come out of it (the water), you know.' [DC-9/3/06]

The combination of at least two clausal clitics on one word is frequent. I do not have any example in the data, in which all three of them occur on one word, but it would theoretically seem possible. Examples of two combinations are given in (189) and (190):

(189) *rokew-niš-hi.*
ro=ke-wo=niš=hi
3SGm=EV-COP=EXCLA=QUOT
'Well, he said (, it is said).' [DC-9/3/06-28]

(190) *rokičowor-hi-enš.*
ro=kičo-wo=ro=hi=enš
3SGm=say.do-COP=3SGm=QUOT=APRV
'He said to him (, it is said), you know.' [RP-N3-158]

10 Clause combining and clause embedding

This chapter will describe different types of clause combining and embedding in Baure. Clause combining includes coordination and subordination, which can be represented by various kinds of constructions. A subordinate clause is not necessarily an embedded clause. Matthiessen & Thompson (1988) argue that clause combining has to be differentiated from clause embedding and that a clause generally called "subordinate" with a connector (conjunction) is not a constituent of the main clause (thus not embedded), but a clause related to the main clause in a certain relation (Matthiessen & Thompson 1988: 278, 279).

The chapter is organized in three main parts, differentiated according to how clause types can formally be distinguished in the Baure language, so that similar constructions are found in the same section. The three main parts comprise a description of clause combining with a connector (10.1), relative clauses and other marked subordinate clauses (10.2), and multiple predicate constructions, including predicate and clause chains, complementation, and serial verbs (10.3).

Before each clause combination type is discuss in detail, some general remarks about the predicate in subordination have to be made. The only marked predicates in subordination are relative clauses and to some extent complement clauses. The predicates can be marked by nominalization, the relative clause in Baure is in fact a nominalized predicate and therefore an argument of the clause in headless relative clauses, and a nominal modifier in relative clauses with a head. In complementation there is one smaller group of verbs that take a verb complement without nominalization (subordinate marking). In this case the complement verb shows subject cross-reference by a proclitic, and the verb base is complete, but in general there is no or only reduced aspectual marking by base suffixes (compare Figure 6.1). Nonetheless, the subordinated complement verb still looks exactly like a main verb. This is important to mention, as in other languages we may find an infinitive or participle form or a somehow reduced unmarked form in complementation. There is an open group of verbs that take complements with marking. The complements in those cases are transformed into a nominal argument by action nominalization with the morpheme *-čo*.

In predicate chaining or juxtaposition and in serial verb constructions each verb is marked as if it were a main verb standing on its own. Serial verb constructions may consist of three verbs in a chain, each of them equally marked by a subject proclitic and possible aspectual morphemes. The difference between a predicate chain (10.3.1) and a serial verb construction (10.3.3) is the fact that in predicate chaining[231] different events can be identified for each of the predicate, whereas in serial verb constructions there is only one event described by a complex predicate that consists of more than one verb. The latter can be regarded as a kind of verbal apposition, generally with a more general verb coming first, followed by one or two more specific verbs, meant to specify the event (such as *go-walk-walk barefoot*). Nominal appositions are used frequently instead of relative clauses. Serial verbs seem to have the same function in relation to the verb or predicate.

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[231] This is not the same kind of predicate chaining that has been called "medial construction", as in Papuan languages and others (compare Longacre 1985: 272).

Furthermore, regarding the kinds of subordinate clauses that are described in 10.1 through 10.3, the order of representation can be viewed as a reflection of their degree of clause linkage, as analyzed by Lehmann (1988:192). Taking Lehmann's continuum of the syntactic level of subordinate clauses as a source, Figure 10.1 represents the degrees of syntactic clause linkage found in Baure grammar:

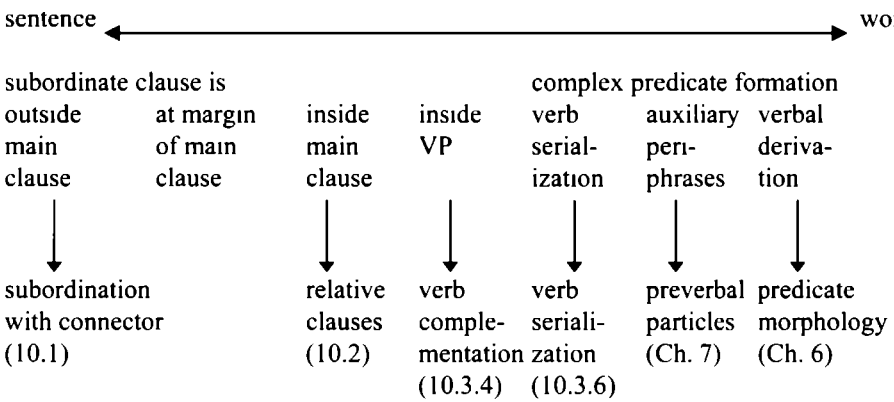


Figure 10.1 Clause linkage and the syntactic level continuum in Baure (adapted from Lehmann 1988 192)

It is a question of degree if the verb–complement construction is already a complex predicate or a subordinate clause. I think it is on the margin, and in Baure the unmarked complement clauses can indeed be analyzed as complex predicates, whereas the marked complements are rather a subtype of subordinate clauses. The other categories, preverbal particle constructions and verbal derivation are described in Chapters 7[232] and 6 and will only be mentioned in comparison where necessary. The exception in 10.1 are complement clauses marked by the complementizer *apo* 'if, that', which should be categorized as rather inside the VP in contrast to the other coordinate and subordinate clauses with a connective particle.

Finally I want to mention the issue of dependency. Generally it is argued that "coordination involves symmetry, while subordination involves asymmetry" (Haspelmath 2004:37). This basic assumption has also been used in order to distinguish coordination from subordination in this grammar; however, this could only work on a semantic level[233]. It is very difficult, though, to use the term of dependency at all in Baure. Syntactically there are only few signs of dependency, mainly in relative clause subordination, in which the predicates are marked by a choice of nominalizers or other morphemes for subordination. Verb complements, on the other hand, are not always marked, but they occur in juxtaposition with the main verb. The complement may be a complex clause including explicit argument NPs. The complement clause is not grammatically dependent on the main verb, but it could equally stand on its own. The same holds for serial verbs. Finally, the least grammaticalized form of clause linkage (cf. Figure 10.1) is the combining of two clauses with a connector, eg.

[232] I think the preverbal particle constructions in 7 can be argued to be a kind of very grammaticalized auxiliary construction

[233] Compare Haspelmath: semantic coordination and subordination (Haspelmath 2004:34–37).

koeč 'because' The semantically dependent clause introduced by the connector is grammatically not marked for its dependency, but resembles the coordinate constructions with a connector Therefore the term dependent clause will not be used in this grammar

In Payne (1997 319–320) conditional clauses and other (so-called "absolute") clauses are subsumed under adverbial clauses In this grammar conditional clauses are described in section 10 3, as the majority of them are simply juxtaposed clauses, in which the verbal morphemes on the predicates show the irrelation The complementizer *apo* 'if, that' only plays a minor role as an alternative in open conditional clauses Also other types of juxtaposition with specific "adverbial" interpretations exist locative, temporal and final

10 1 Clause combining with a connector

Clauses may be combined by means of a connective element, a particle that links these clauses and defines the relation between them, called connector in this grammar (cf Chapter 3 8 6) But even though these connectors parallel English clause linkage with a conjunction, it has to be pointed out that most clause combinations use clause juxtaposition or predicate chaining and complementation When looking through a Baure narrative not many connectors can be found, the ones present are divided by fine-grained distinctions There is probably a lot of speaker variation, and it may be related to style and knowledge of the language how many connectors are used in a narrative I compared the narratives I collected with similar ones collected in the 1960s by Baptista & Wallin (unpublished), and I noticed very few connectors, though more of them in the more recent data Some of the connectors that the speakers use today, have evolved from verbs and might even be relatively new in development Some others are used in different ways in the older data, and there are additional constructions that the speakers do not use any more today (this is e g the case with *tiwe* 'but')

The connectors are distinguished into coordinating and subordinating and these categories are distinguished further (as summed up in Table 10 1) As mentioned above, there are no other signs of how the subordinate clause is dependent on the main clause than the meaning of the events (cf Givón 1990 826) The major constituent order can be symbolized as $[C_1]$ [co C_2][234], where "co" stands for connector, C_1 for main clause and C_2 for linked clause, and it is shown in a representative example in (1)

	C_1		[connector C_2]		
(1)	*nti' ničokow*		*koeč nerow in*		
	nti'	*ni=čoko-wo*	*koeč*	*ni=ero-wo*	*in*
	1SG	1SG=be alive-COP	because	1SG=drink-COP	water
	'I am alive because I drink water '				[IM-12/8/03-63]

The only distinction that can be made between the clauses is that C_2 is introduced by a connector The connector is indeed always clause initial With subordinating con-

[234] In reference to Haspelmath (2004 6) [A] [co B], where "co' stands for coordinator

nectors it is possible to antepose the subordinate clause for highlighting, as in (2) In the orthography the anteposed clause will always be separated by a comma from the following main clause

	connector C_2	C_1
(2)	*koehkoe' pitiri,*	*pihinokopanin'*
	koehkoe' pi=tiri	*pi=hinoko-pa=ni-no*
	so that 2SG=know	2SG=see-GO=1SG-NOM1

'In order for you to know, you go and look at me!' [JC-18/9/03-77]

At least 10 distinct connectors could be identified, listed in Table 10 1 and described further below

broad clause relation		specific definition of clause relation	connector	translation
coordination	conjunction	conjunction	*ač*	and
		conjunction, different subject?	*a*	and
		contrastive conjunction	*aw*	and not
	disjunction	disjunction	*apo*	or
		negative disjunction	*apon*	or not
	adversative	adversative	*tiwe'*	but
		adversative	*avi/ api*	but
subordination		causal	*koeč*	because
		final, consecutive, complementizer	*koehkoe'*	so that
		final, complementizer	*apo*	if, that
		negative consecutive	*moena' (na')*	before that, so that not
		temporal terminal boundary	*iškon*	until

Table 10 1 Connectors used for clause combining and their categorization

The connectors included in Table 10 1 are highly grammaticalized particles, only used for the function of linking clauses or phrases There are additional adverbs that can introduce clauses and also define a specific relation, as e g *ikaroek* 'therefore' These adverbs may be called discourse connectors rather than clause connectors, as they only refer to the whole previous discourse (Crevels, p c) It is also assumed here that these adverbs are more lexical than the grammatical particles discussed in this section Nevertheless, it is very often the case that the connector is used as a discourse connector as well Therefore many clauses may begin with a connector without being incomplete, which certainly only accounts for clauses in a context and not in isolation

One of the connectors – *apo* 'or', 'if, that'– has two different meanings in different constructions (compare 10 1 4 to 10 1 9) Almost all of the coordinating connectors can also be used for the coordination of NPs or other phrases in the clause

It seems striking that almost all of the coordinating connectors go back to one basic root morpheme *a*, which is also the form of one of the connectors *a* 'and' But not only the conjunction connectors *ač* 'and' and *aw* 'and not' have been derived from this root, but apparently also the connectors for disjunction and adversative coordination *apo* 'or', *apon* 'or not, nor' and *avi/api* 'but' The specific derivations will be shown below It is possible that the root *a* is related to the linking suffix *-a*, but this cannot be proved The root *-a-* can also be used as a relatively empty verb root, meaning 'to be with, have, carry, put, bring', as pointed out in 6 2 1
In the following sections each of the connectors is illustrated

10 1 1 The connector ač 'and'

The main connector for conjunction is *ač* 'and' The related forms are described in the following sections *a* seems equivalent to *ač* in general (10 1 2), and the connector *aw* 'and not' contrasts two clauses in combination instead of simply coordinating (10 1 3) *ač* can also be used for coordinating parts of clauses It is very often used in narratives and may occur initially in almost every clause as a discourse connector There is an example of the use of *ač* 'and' in a narrative in (3) The example is the first sentence of a narrative, and the main characters are introduced

(3) *kwe tič eton ač kwe' tič rišonon ač ehirikon*
kwe' *tič* *eton* *ač* *kwe'* *tič* *ri=šonon*
exist DEM2f woman and exist DEM2f 3SGf=daughter in law

ač *riti'* *eherike-no*
and 3SGf spin-NOM1
'There was a woman and there was her daughter-in-law and she was a spinner' [GP-N1/I-1]

The predicates in (3) are all non-verbal in the first two clauses we find *kwe'* 'exist', which is non-verbal (cf 5 3 3), while in the last clause *ehirikon* 'spinner' functions as a nominal predicate in juxtaposition with the subject *riti'* '3SGf' (cf 5 3 1)

The word *ač* seems to have a basic root *a* to which the applicative *-čo* has been added to form the connector *ač* 'and' *ač* occurs sometimes in metathesis as *ča*, which mainly introduces a question meaning something like 'and what about ?' (cf 9 4 11 4) Even though connectors generally occur clause-initially, there are a few exceptions to this where the connector occurs in second position It looks as if we are dealing with discontinuous clauses, as the connector occurs in the middle of a clause constituent, a verb phrase in example (5) In (5), which is given as an alternative to (4) in a narrative, *ač* 'and' is used as a discourse connector The connective particle occurs directly after the predicate *riepen* 'she died', which is thus separated from its object *tič reyon* 'his wife'

(4) *ač ver tič reyon riepen.*
ač *ver* *tič* *ro=eyon* *ri=epen*
and PERF DEM2f 3SGm=wife 3SGF=die
'And his wife died.' [JP-N9-63]

(5) *riepen ač tič reyon te čač.*
ri=epen *ač* *tič* *ro=eyon* *te* *čač*
3SGF=die and DEM2f 3SGm=wife DEM1m old.man
'And the wife of the old man died.' [JP-N9-64]

In a syndetic coordination of NPs and other phrases *ač* 'and' is generally found in internal position (6).

(6) *– hinoekpa to howe' ač to kočopon ač to himonev ač pikowyop.*
hinoek-pa *to* *howe'* *ač* *to* *kočopon* *ač* *to* *himo-nev*
see-GO ART dolphin and ART caiman and ART fish-PL

ač *pi=kowyo-po*
and 2SG=bath-PRFLX
'– to look for a dolphin and a caiman and fishes and you take a bath.'
[DC-8/3/06-20]

In the coordination in (6) there are three NPs coordinated by *ač* 'and' – *to howe'* 'a dolphin', *to kočopon* 'a caiman', *to himonev* 'fishes' – but also a final predicate *pikowyop* 'you take a bath'.

Even though this section concentrates on clause combining, I briefly want to make a few remarks on NP coordination. Alternative to *ač* is the longer form *ačow*, used only for NP conjunction (8), which is analyzed as *ač* + *-wo* 'COP'. Both, *ač* and *ačow* can also mean 'with' in the comitative sense. This may also be relevant for understanding certain clause combinations with *ač*. The sentence in (7) is taken from a narrative of fox and jaguar. In this example the fox wants to make love with the wife of the jaguar and comes to her into the hammock.

(7) *renokow noiy wotoki-ye ačow riti' ač roeneri.*
ro=inoko-wo *noiy* *wotoki-ye* *ačow* *riti'*
3SGm=lie.down-COP there hammock-LOC and/with 3SGf

ač *ro=ina=ri*
and 3SGm=use=3SGf
'He went to lie down in the hammock with her and made love with her (lit. used her).' [RP-N3-32]

10.1.2. The connector a 'and'

In clause and phrase coordination sometimes *a* 'and', the root form from which *ač* and *aw* have been derived, is used as an alternative to *ač*. It is not clear how its use is restricted or different from *ač*, but *a* is used much less frequently. Examples (8) through (10) show how the connector *a* is simply used as an alternative to *ač* and *ačow* in NP conjunction. The clauses were uttered in a sequence by the speaker:

(8) *kwe' ntɪr neš a kwe' ntɪr na'*
exist 1SGP meat and exist 1SGP egg
'I have meat and eggs.' [HC-6/7/04-66]

(9) *tɪ wak ačow to tor*
DEM1f cow and/with ART bull
'the cow and the bull' [HC-2/7/04-46]

(10) *to kove' ač tɪ kove'*
ART dog and DEM1f dog
'the (male) dog and the bitch' [HC-2/7/04-47]

The connector *a* 'and' seems to be more closely related to *aw* 'and not' and also to *avɪ/apɪ* 'but', the adversative connector Probably this is the best proof that all these forms go back to the same root *a* (11) is an example of *a* 'and' in a contrastive or adversative use in clause combining

(11) *tɪč eton ntorɪewori a pɪtɪ' nka pihɪnokowori*
tɪč *eton* *nɪ=torɪe-wo=rɪ* *a* *pɪtɪ'*
DEM2f woman 1SG=friend-COP=3SGf and 2SG

nka *pɪ=hɪnoko-wo=rɪ*
NEG 2SG=see-COP=3SGf
'That woman is my friend, and (but) you haven't seen her ' [HC-8/3/06-22]

The use of *a* may also be speaker specific. The very competent and fluent speaker Hercilia Chipeno (examples (8)–(11) have been uttered by her) uses the connector *a* much more often than anyone else

10 1 3 The connector aw 'and not'

Another related form is the contrastive connector *aw* 'and not', which seems to be composed of the root element *a* and the copula suffix *-wo*. The connector *aw* 'and not' is exclusively used when the speaker refers to a contrast, when (s)he wants to contrast one proposition with the preceding There are many examples in the data, such as (12)

(12) *yɪtɪ' yačɪk aw ntɪ' nɪyonoekpoe'*
yɪtɪ' *yɪ=ačɪk* *aw* *ntɪ'* *nɪ=yono-ɪ-ko-pa-ɪ'*
2PL 2PL=load and.not 1SG 1SG=walk-DUR-ABS-GO-EMPH
'You(PL) load the cargo and I go walking like this (without taking the cargo).'
[JC-6/4/06-25]

In (12) there are two propositions, one refers to the addressee – *yɪtɪ'* '2PL', in the other one the speaker refers to herself – *ntɪ'* '1SG' As an old woman she does not have to carry the cargo back from the field and therefore she contrasts the two events of carrying (*yačɪk* 'you load') and only walking (*nɪyonoekpoe'* 'I go walking like this') The translation of *aw* as 'and not' may be a bit misleading, but it is necessary to differentiate it from *ač* 'and' and *a* 'and' The connector *aw* 'and not' is also contrasted to *tɪwe'* 'but', even though its contrasting character comes quite close to an adversative coordination However, the focus seems to be slightly different in adver-

sative constructions. (13) gives another example of *aw* 'and not' with a contrasting coordination of two nominal predicates:

(13) *ti kove' eton aw te p-a hir.*
DEM1f dog woman and.not DEM1m other-CLF:animal man
'This dog is female and that other one is male.' [HC-2/7/04-50]

The contrastive connector *aw* 'and not' can also be found as a phrase coordinator with the meaning 'unlike', as shown in (14):

(14) *ver rawantač nka rehevipoekow, aw teč kotis.*
ver ro=awanatč nka ro=ehevipoeko-wo aw teč kotis
PERF 3SGm=bear NEG 3SGm=fall.down-COP and.not DEM2m lizard
'He (the frog) sustained (the hard work), he didn't fall down, unlike the lizard.' [RP-N2/I-38]

In (14) the NP *teč kotis* 'the lizard' is linked to the preceding clause by contrast, 'unlike the lizard' or 'and not so the lizard'.

In the same way *aw* 'and not' may also introduce a clause and connect it to the whole preceding discourse, which is shown in (15) with the focus on the last clause, in conversation about the weather in Baures in the rainy season. I (SD) am talking with Justina Cajareico (JC).

(15) *kwe' maiyko in.*
kwe' maiy-ko ın
exist much-ABS water
SD: 'There is a lot of water (in the river).'

heni, čarowor to in, tiwe' ver rokopoekpaw.
heni č-aro-wo=ro to in tiwe' ver
yes big-CLF:liquid-COP=3SGm ART water but PERF

ro=kopoeko-pa-wo
3SGm=lower-GO-COP
JC: 'Yes, it is a lot of water, but it is already going down (in the river).'

ač nka rosower, nken-hi. monikow to ses, (ro)kopirosohiw.
ač nka ro=sowe=ro nken=hi
and NEG 3SGm=rain=3SGm I.think=QUOT

moniko-wo to ses (ro=)kopiro-so-hi-wo
pretty-COP ART sun (3SGm=)be.hot-APRX-WTE-COP
JC: 'And it is not going to rain, I think. The sun is pretty, it is hot.'

aw naka' pisorı-ye – tokonosohiw?
aw naka' pi=sori-ye tokono-so-hi-wo
and.not over.there 2SG=village-LOC cold-APRX-WTE-COP
JC: 'And in your village over there (far away) – is it cold (there)?'
[JC-7/3/06-10–14]

The connector *aw* 'and not' in (15) does not really connect two clauses, but it contrasts the last clause, which refers to my home in Europe and the different temperature there, to all that has been said about the weather in Baures in the preceding clauses

10 1 4 The connector apo 'or'

In a disjunction the connector *apo* 'or' is used It has probably been derived from the root *a* by attachment of the suffix *-po* 'PRFLX' It is used in syndetic coordination of clauses (16) or parts of clauses (17)

(16) *nka yan' moeh pikač apo ravikop*

nka	*ya-no*	*moeh*	*pi=kač*	*apo*	*ro=aviko-po*
NEG	cry-NOM1	CERT	2SG=go	or	3SGm=return-PRFLX

'Don't cry! You can go (there) or he returns ' [AD/DC-D2-39]

(17) *apo piki'inow to erapoe' apo to kahap?*

apo	*pi=ki'ino-wo*	*to*	*erapoe'*	*apo*	*to*	*kahap*
or	2SG=want-COP	ART	plantain	or	ART	manioc

'Do you want plantain or manioc?' [HC-6/7/04-8]

The coordination of predicates is automatically a coordination of clauses (cf 10 3) Therefore (16) exemplifies a disjunction of two clauses, which represent two alternatives *moeh pikač* 'you can go' and *ravikop* 'he returns' Either of the events could be possible, but not both Thus we are dealing with exclusive disjunction In (17) the speaker asks me to chose between *to erapoe'* 'plantain' and *to kahap* 'manioc' for lunch

It is possible to find the connector on both phrases or clauses that are combined, as in example (18), and possibly in (17) as well

(18) *apo ravikop apo ko to ka pon rokičow*

apo	*ro=aviko-po*	*apo*	*ko*	*to*	*ka*	*po-no*
or	3SGm=return-PRFLX	or	like	ART	IND	other-CLF human

ro=kičo-wo
3SGm=say do-COP
'Either he returns or he does as the other one says '
(*Spanish* 'o vuelve o hace lo que dice') [DC-18/4/06-40]

The connector *apo* 'or' is repeated here, comparable to the binary disjunction *either-or* in English or the comparable strategy of repeating the Spanish conjunction *o* 'or' on both clauses

10 1 5 The connector apon 'or not'

Even though *apo* 'or' can also be used in negative contexts, the negative connector *apon* 'or not, not' is limited to negative disjunctions The form *apon* 'or not' has been derived from *apo* 'or' by adding the nominalizing morpheme *-no* 'NOM1' *apon* has not been found repeatedly in clause combination (unlike *apo*) Again the translation of *apon* as 'or not' may be misleading, as the negation still needs to be marked by

nka 'NEG' in the following clause, but it is intended to differentiate *apon* and its use in negative contexts from *apo* 'or' and its occurrence in positive contexts only Generally *apon* 'or not' is used when two negative clauses are combined in disjunction An example is (19)

(19) *nka to ka weričon ne' nisori-ye apon nka rošimow ne' teč werok*

nka	*to*	*ka*	*weričon*	*ne'*	*ni=sori-ye*	*apon*	*nka*
NEG	ART	IND	healer	here	1SG=village-LOC	or not	NEG

ro=šimo-wo	*ne'*	*teč*	*werok*
3SGm=arrive-COP	here	DEM2m	medicine

'There was no doctor here in my village, nor did the medicine arrive here '

[JC-7/3/06-32/33]

The connective particle *apon* 'or not' is sometimes pronounced with a palatalized *n* or even as *aponi*, a phenomenon also found with nominalized predicates in interrogative or imperative clauses (cf Chapter 9) I suppose the vowel *i* is not part of the lexeme, but used for connecting the words in a phonological phrase (cf 2 6) *apon* has also been found as a connector between phrases

(20) *nti' nka nikow to neš apon to him*

nti'	*nka*	*niko-wo*	*to*	*neš*	*apon*	*to*	*him*
1SG	NEG	1SG eat-COP	ART	meat	or not	ART	fish

'I don't eat meat nor fish ' [MC-3/7/04-9]

In example (20) *apon* extends the scope of the negative predicate *nka nikow* 'I don't eat' to the coordinated NP *to him* 'fish'

10 1 6 The connectors tiwe' and avi 'but'

The adversative connectors are described together here, as there are not many examples of the connector *avi/api* 'but' The form *tiwe'* 'but' has probably been derived from the following combination *ti* (DEM1f) + *-wo* (COP) + *-i* (EMPH) It may be related in the kind of compound with *aw* 'and not', which also contrasts two clauses and is sometimes found in the emphatic form *awe'* 'and not + EMPH' The form *tiwe* 'but' is used frequently, it coordinates clauses and contrast them This is demonstrated in (21)

(21) *riti' rivekow tiwe' nti' nka nčowor*

riti'	*ri=veko-wo*	*tiwe'*	*nti'*	*nka*	*ni=čo-wo=ro*
3SGf	3SGf=speak-COP	but	1SG	NEG	1SG=know-COP=3SGm

'She is speaking, but I don't understand it ' [RP-19/8/03-96]

The particle *tiwe'* 'but' is used even more as a discourse connector The meaning of *tiwe'* can sometimes also be translated as 'only, just' and it is then used like an adverb, but examples of this kind are only in the older data from the 1960s It has probably fallen out of use In (22) there are two constituents that contribute to the meaning 'just' on the one hand the particle *tiwe'* 'but, just' and on the other hand the emphatic marking on the object NP *mošopoekoe'* (*mošopo* 'fish sp ' + *-ikoe* 'EMPH') 'machupo, fish sp '

(22) *neriki ntorapoek tiwe' mošopoekoe'.*
neriki ni=tora-poe-ko tiwe' mošopo-ikoe'
now 1SG=find-down-ABS but machupo-EMPH
'Now I found just machupos (fish sp.)'[235] [SIL-T4-5]

It is also striking that in (22) the connector *tiwe'* 'but' does not occur in clause-initial position, but after the predicate, just like the connector *ač* 'and' in (5) has a different position.

The particle *avi/api* 'but?' seems to be an alternative to adversative *tiwe'* 'but'. If it is indeed another additional connector is not so clear since it is infrequent and restricted to two or three speakers. The sentence in (21) was given as an alternative after the same example with *avi* in (23).

(23) *riti' rivekow avi nka nčowor.*
riti' ri=veko-wo avi nka ni=čo-wo=ro
3SGf 3SGf=speak-COP but? NEG 1SG=know-COP=3SGm
'She is speaking, but I don't understand it.' [RP-19/8/03-95]

After this account of the coordinating connectors the following sections describe the subordinating connectors.

10.1.7. The connector koeč 'because'

The causal particle *koeč* 'because' is very frequent. In general it connects two clauses by marking one of them as the cause for the event described in the other, comparable to the use of *because* in English. This is exemplified in (24), which is taken from a narrative, and (25), in which one speaker (RP= Rosalía Pinaicobo) completes the clause of the other (her husband EC= Estéban Chipeno) in conversation:

(24) *noka! neriki nka rikotoriačivi koeč viti' čowow'inon.*
noka neriki nka ri=kotoriači=vi koeč viti'
NEG now NEG 3SGf=play.with=1PL because 1PL

čowo~wo-'ino-no
know~INT-want-NOM1
'No! Now she is not going to play with us because we are clever.' [GP-N7-84]

(25) *nka nikow te pišoereriow, koeč . .*
nka niko-wo te pi=šoere-ri-wo koeč
NEG 1SG.eat-COP DEM1m 2SG=cook-NOM3-COP because
EC: 'I am not going to eat what you cooked because...'

koeč ver pči'inowapa! pink posare-ye.
koeč ver pi=či'ino-wapa pi=niko po-sare-ye
because PERF 2SG=be.full.up-COS 2SG=eat other-CLF:side-LOC
RP: '...because you are already full up! You ate in another place.' [RP/EC-D4]

[235] The clause is part of a conversation recorded by Baptista & Wallin, but they have translated it as 'Now I am *going to find* just machupos', but the tense translation is not correct, as the context shows. In addition the compound verb *-torapoek-* 'find fish' is a lexicalized expression.

There are frequently more than two clauses connected in a causal chain, each of them marked by *koeč* 'because', as in the following example from a conversation:

(26) *niyorinowor koeč ramo'inokowoni koeč ko rokienan!*
ni=yori-no-wo=ro *koeč* *ro=amo'inoko-wo=ni*
1SG=angry-NOM1-COP=3SGm because 3SGm=make angry-COP=1SG

koeč *ko* *ro=kienan*
because like 3SGm=be like this
AD 'I was angry with him because he made me crazy because he was like this'
[AD/DC-D2-236]

The connector *koeč* 'because' is also used as a discourse connector, found frequently in clause-initial position. In a few examples *koeč* was also used as an adverb or connector meaning 'because of', introducing an NP, as in (27)

(27) *nišimso'inowoni ne' tiwe' nka nišimow koeč to sowon.*
ni=šim-so-'ino-wo-no? ne' tiwe' nka ni=šimo-wo
1SG=arrive-APRX-DES-COP-NOM1 here but NEG 1SG=arrive-COP

koeč *to* *sowon*
because ART rain
'I was about to arrive here, but I didn't arrive because of the rain'
[JC-6/4/06-53]

To mark causal relations there are also the particles *tirikoe'* 'because of', which is applied in a context like (27), but only for introducing a causal NP, and *ikaroek* 'therefore', which is only used as a discourse connector, they are categorized as adverbs (cf Chapter 8).

10 1 8 The connector koehkoe' 'so that'

The connector *koehkoe'* 'so that' is used as a consecutive or final clause marker It is found exclusively in clause combining (and not on the discourse level, Crevels, p.c) Both *koeč* 'because' and *koehkoe'* 'so that' seem to be related to the particle *ko*, which occurs in many different contexts, but the precise relation is unclear How clauses are connected with *koehkoe'* is demonstrated in the following examples

(28) *nti' napiri' te ntir vot niregalačpi koehkoe' verek viwečkok*
nti' *napiri'te* *ntir* *vot* *ni=regalač=pi*
1SG also DEM1m 1SGP boot 1SG=give present to=2SG

koehkoe' *verek* *vi=weč-koko*
so that not.ever 1PL=fight-RCPC
'I will also give you my boots so that we will never fight each other any more' [RP-N4-31]

(29) *ikaroek nikew nihinoekopapin ninopapin koehkoe' pinopia to pomirinev*
ikaroek *ni=ke-wo* *ni=hinoeko-pa=pi-no*
therefore 1SG=EV-COP 1SG=look for-GO=2SG-NOM1

ni=no-pa-pi-no *koehkoe'* *pi=no-pi-a*
1SG=tell-GO=2SG-NOM1 so that 2SG=tell-CLF word-LK

to *po-miri-nev*
ART other-companion-PL
'For this reason, I said, I will go to look for you to tell you so that you tell your other companions ' [SIL-N1-170]

The connector *koehkoe'* 'so that' is also used as a complementizer The general complementation is not marked by a connector (as demonstrated in 10 3 4) or marked by the complementizer *apo* 'if, that' (10 1 9), with the difference that *koehkoe'* 'so that' is semantically more restricted to a final complementation In complementation or when two clauses are juxtaposed, two Vs in a sequence (V V) may have a final relation 'V in order to V', without being marked, which is only interpreted from the context In these cases *koehkoe'* can also be found as an optional complementizer These two possibilities are compared in (30) and (31), two sentences uttered in the same context In (31) *koehkoe'* 'so that' focuses on the final relation, which is also implied in the unmarked complementation in (30)

(30) *vihičow romorop to etip*
vi=hičo-wo *ro=moro-po* *to* *etip*
1PL=wait-COP 3SGm=dry-PRFLX ART manioc starch
'We wait that the manioc starch dries ' [HC-2/7/04-3]

(31) *vihičowor koehkoe' romorop to etip*
vi=hičo-wo=ro *koehkoe'* *ro=moro-po* *to* *etip*
1PL=wait-COP=3SGm so that 3SGm=dry-PRFLX ART manioc starch
'We wait for the manioc starch to dry ' [HC-2/7/04-4]

A close look at example (31) shows that the first predicate *vihičowor* 'we wait for it' has object reference and is thus more separated from the complement clause as a completely marked predicate, but it can probably also occur without object cross-reference in this context

10 1 9 The connector apo 'if, that'
The connector *apo* was already illustrated in 10 1 4 as a particle in disjunction of clauses or phrases The same form can also be used as a connector of final and conditional clauses or as a complementizer with the meaning 'if, that' A great number of complement constructions can alternatively be expressed by unmarked verb complementation (cf 10 3 4 and 10 3 5) The use of *apo* in (33) is optional, as can be seen in (32) with the same sentence without *apo*, but no meaning difference

(32) *pahačiri kwe'i to erapoe*
pi=ahač=ri *kwe-'i* *to* *erapoe'*
2SG=ask=3SGf exist-EMPH ART plantain
'Ask her if there is plantain ' [HC-20/8/03-11]

(35) *pahačiri apo kwe'i erapoe'*
pi=ahač=ri *apo* *kwe-'i* *erapoe'*
2SG=ask=3SGf COMPL exist-EMPH plantain
'Ask her if there is plantain' [HC-20/8/03-12]

Even though there is a little difference with the application of the article *to* in (32) and its absence in (33), I cannot note any meaning difference between the two clauses Complements after the verbum dicendi *-ahač-* 'ask (for something)' can occur with and without the complementizer *apo* 'if, that' This difference could reflect a distinction between an indirect interrogative clause (32) and a real complement clause in (33), but this is only speculation

Some other complement clauses have to occur with the connector, while others never do There is for example the verb *-tiri-* 'know (to do)', which shows a juxtaposed complement and can never be used with *apo* 'if, that' (34), whereas the verb *-čo-* 'know (someone/something)' has to mark a verb complement with the complementizer *apo* (35) Consider the following examples in this respect

(34) *nka ritiriow rikotorek*
nka *ri=tiri-wo* *ri=kotorek*
NEG 3SGf=know-COP 3SGf=work
'She doesn't know to work' [JC-13/8/03-65]

(35) *nka ričow apo rikotorek* [236]
nka *ri=čo-wo* *apo* *ri=kotorek*
NEG 3SGf=know-COP COMPL 3SGf=work
'She doesn't know if she works'

Sometimes the complementizer is necessary in order to distinguish one construction from another with a different interpretation Therefore *apo* is found in (37), but not in (36) The predicate *henowor* 'it/he is good' can have different meanings When the subject of this non-verbal predicate is identical to the subject of the complement it means 'to be good at, be able to' (36) When separated from the complement by *apo* 'if, that', it has a general meaning 'it is good that', in which case the subject of the first predicate is distinguished from the subject of the complement (37) Finally (38) shows that *koehkoe'* 'so that' can also be applied as a complementizer with the same predicate (cf 10 1 8)

(36) *nka henowaperi riyonop*
nka *heno-wapa=ri* *ri=yono-po*
NEG good-COS=3SGf 3SGf=walk-PRFLX
'She is not good in walking any more' [MC-3/7/04-4]

(37) *nka henowapa apo vititiyok*
nka *heno-wapa* *apo* *vi=titi-y-ok*
NEG good-COS COMPL 1PL=walk-LOC-ABS
'It is not good any more for us to walk on' [DC-22/3/06-12]

[236] This example has been reconstructed by the author on the basis of various similar examples

(38) *ver nkew henokɪkwore' koehkoe' rokač*
ver *nɪ=ke-wo* *heno-kɪk-wo=ro-ɪ* *koehkoe'* *ro=kač*
PERF 1SG=EV-COP good-really-COP=3SGm-EMPH so that 3SGm=go
EC 'I say it is good that he goes' [RP/EC-D4-12]

The difference between *apo* and *koehkoe'* as complementizers can be noted in (37) and (38) lies in epistemic notions In the case with *apo* 'if, that' the event of the complement clause has not happened yet and is therefore always related to some kind of presupposition The complementizer *koehkoe'* 'so that' in (38) shows that the event is already happening or is more certain to happen This is also an explanation of how *apo* 'if, that' is used only in open conditional clauses, but never in counterfactual conditionals The last example with *apo* in (39) shows the particle as a marker for a conditional clause

(39) *ɪntop pomorekoe' rom apo nɪwoyok čorosar apo koweša nčoron*
ɪntop *po-morekoe* *rom* *apo* *nɪ=woyok* *čoros-ar*
later other-year IMM COMPL 1SG=make corn-liquid

apo *kowe-ša* *n=čoro-n*
COMPL exist-IRR 1SG=corn-POSS
'Later on, next year, then I am going to make corn-beer, if I have corn' [SIL-T5-4]

As a connector in conditional clauses *apo* may occur on both clauses, as in (39) In summary I want to emphasize that as a complementizer *apo* can occur in various different contexts, but the meanings are probably verb or predicate internal and *apo* only connects the complements to the heads Some speakers use *apo* much more often than others, very much like the Spanish complementizer *que*

Complementation without the connector is described in 10 3 4, and conditional clauses in 10 3 2

10 1 10 The connector moena' 'before that

The basis of the connector *moena'* 'before that' was the verb *-ɪna-* 'be of use, use' The privative prefix *mo-* was attached and the direct translation of the particle would be '(be of) no use' The verb without the privative prefix is sometimes used in order to express an instrumental meaning 'with' in a serial construction, as in (40)

(40) *roepkɪekɪer roena' to yakɪs*
ro=ɪpkɪeko=ro *ro=ɪna'* *to* *yakɪs*
3SGm=kill by hit 3SGm=use ART stick
'He killed it with a stick (using a stick)' [RP-6/7/04-59]

The connector *moena'* 'before that' is a kind of negative consecutive, as it means that something is done or should be done so that something else does not happen, or before it happens (41) It is sometimes used in the short form *na'* (42)

(41) *ši –ha– viponoekpap moena' to sowon rokovikovi.*
ši *ha* *vi=ponoek-pa-po* *moena'* *to* *sowon* *ro=koviko=vi*
HORT HES 1PL=sow-GO-PRFLX before.that ART rain 3SGm=reach=1PL
'Let's go and sow, before the rain catches up with us.' [JC-27/8/03-43]

(42) *pikopoek na' pehevipoekop!*
pi=ko-poe-ko *na'* *pi=ehevipoeko-po*
2SG=ATTR-down-ABS before.that 2SG=fall.down-PRFLX
'Come down before you fall down!' [RP-19/4/06-39]

The translation of *moena'* as 'before that' goes back to the Spanish equivalent *antes que* and is meant to distinguish the particle from a possible temporal particle or adverb 'before'. The particle *moena'* could also be translated as 'not that ... happens', and it occurs frequently in a warning without a direct connection to a preceding clause, as the excerpt from a conversation in (43) shows:

(43) *nka henowapapowor to kaya-ye moena' vikaširopoek apo vihevipoekop.*
nka *heno-wapa-po-wo=ro* *to* *kaya-ye*
NEG good-COS-PRFLX-COP=3SGm ART street-LOC

moena' *vi=kaširopoek* *apo* *vi=ehevipoeko-po*
before.that 1PL=slip or 1PL=fall.down-PRFLX
'It is not nice in the street any more (because of the rain and mud). Beware/Not that we slip or fall down.' [DC-22/3/06-14/15]

Even though *moena* 'before that' may introduce a consecutive clause itself, it can also be found in addition to the causal connector *koeč* 'because', as demonstrated in (44):

(44) *nikonokier koeč moena' nemoro'in.*
ni=konoko=ro *koeč* *moena'* *ni=emoro'in*
1SG=write=3SGm because before.that 1SG=forget
'I wrote it down because before I forget it.' [DC-10/4/06-49]

10.1.11 The connector iškon 'until'

The connective particle *iškon* 'until' is in fact the nominalized form of the verb *-iško-* '(go, do) until'. It may be surprising that the meaning 'until' is generally expressed by a verb, but this is much more common in Baure than the form *iškon* as a connector. However, it seems to be a perfect direct translation of Spanish *hasta* 'until' and is found more and more in the most recent data. Maybe I have also encouraged that by priming speakers using it myself as a more familiar construction. Older speakers favour the use of the verbal construction, as shown in (45):

(45) *viškopoekoe' noiy riweri-ye koeč to sowon, vipikow to sowon.*
vi=iško-pa-ikoe' *noiy* *ri=weri-ye* *koeč* *to* *sowon*
1PL=until-GO-EMPH there 3SGf=house-LOC because ART rain

vi=i=piko-wo *to* *sowon*
1PL=CAUS-come-COP ART rain
'We only got up to her house because (of) the rain, because the rain came upon us.' [JC-1/4/06-10]

How *iškon* 'until' combines two clauses is shown in (46):

(46) *kač risapkiwaner iškon rikomorikier ač rivier.*
kač *ri=sap-ki-wana=ro* *iškon* *ri=ikomoriko=ro* *ač*
GO 3SGf=poke-hole-DEP=3SGm until 3SGf=kill=3SGm and

ri=via=ro
3SGf=take.out=3SGm
'She went to poke him (the eel) in the hole, until she killed him and took him out.' [GP-N1/II-17]

Sometimes the connector is combined with the complementizer as *iškon apo* 'until that', which is the method how an adverb takes a complement. The description of *iškon* 'until' can be taken as a representation of the way adverbs are used in clause combining. On the scale of the continuum between grammatical connector of clauses and adverbs, *iškon* shall rather be settled closer towards the lexical category. I suggest a scale of the mentioned elements of this section as shown in Figure 10.2:

grammatical particle						lexical element
←	*a*	*ač* *aw* *apo* *apon* *avi* *tiwe'*	*koeč* *koehkoe'*	*moena' (na')*	*iškon*	→

Figure 10.2: Degrees of grammaticalization of connectors in 10.1

Finally, I want to mention that the adverb or particle *ver* 'PERF/already' can very often be used as a kind of neutral connector, where the speaker wants to identify the separateness of two clauses. By marking a predicate, which is preceded by a predicate, with *ver* 'PERF/already' separates this predicate from the other one, because in a chain of multiple predicates *ver* as a preverbal particle would occur only once at the beginning of the predicate chain. Sometimes *ver* replaces the complementizer *apo* 'if, that' and others. There is one example in (47):

(47) *nti' nihinokowor ver rampik kahap.*
nti' *ni=hinoko-wo=ro* *ver* *ro=am-pik* *kahap*
1SG 1SG=see-COP=3SGm PERF 3SGm=bring-COME manioc
'I have seen that he brought manioc.' [HC-8/3/06-69]

10.2. Relative clauses and other subordinate clauses

In this section subordination strategies in Baure are described, which include what is generally referred to as relative clauses. The predicate in the subordinate clause is transformed into a nominal by different processes. The types of nominalization men-

tioned in this section have been discussed in 5.2.4. There are participant, action, and product nominalizations, by which a nominal is derived from a verb. Further there is quality nominalization, which derives an abstract noun from attributive modifier nouns (adjectives, cf. 4.9.5). In addition there are two more specific forms of subordinate marking: locative and temporal marking. Each type of derivation forms a different kind of relative or subordinate clause. Structurally all these subordinate clauses are almost identical.

Turning now to other related constructions, the cleft construction with *tiow* 'this is' is a specific type of construction for turning the focus on an element in the clause. The cleft particle *tiow* is always followed by a relative clause, in which the predicate occurs in a subordinate position. Nearly all of the major interrogative constructions consist of a specific kind of relative clause. Relative clauses are finally compared to a simple juxtaposition of noun phrases as apposition, which is an unmarked alternative to modifying relative clauses.

The major type of relative clause (RC) is headless. A headless RC functions as a head itself, it may represent the subject or object argument in the main clause, or an oblique object. Payne (1997:328) states that generally, "languages in which nominal modifiers are themselves nouns are more likely to employ headless relative clauses as a major RC strategy". This holds for Baure as well, which is a language with nominal modifiers (cf. 4.9). They are in the same position as nominal modifiers, but see below. Generally there is no relativizing element, except for the nominalized status of the subordinate clause, but the majority of RCs are introduced by an article or pronoun (demonstrative, personal or indefinite). How a headless RC functions as an argument in the clause is best understood when compared to predication without subordination. In (48) a simple example of a headless relative clause (subject) is shown with a non-verbal predicate, which can be directly compared to a clause with the same predicate and a simple subject NP in (49):

	predicate	NP_S (in a RC)	
(48)	*monik*	*to riporian.*	
	monik	*to*	*ri=porıa-no*
	pretty	ART	3SGf=sew-NOM1
	'That which she sewed is pretty.'		

	predicate	NP_S	
(49)	*monik*	*to rıaroni.*	
	monik	*to*	*ri=aroni*
	pretty	ART	3SGf=dress
	'Her dress is pretty.'		

Clauses (48) and (49) have the same structure: the predicate *monik* '(it is) pretty' and a following subject. In (49) the subject is the possessed NP *to rıaroni* 'her dress', whereas in (48) the subject NP is a nominalized verb *to riporian* 'that which she sewed'. The RC may be much more complex, including adverbs and other modifiers, and it can refer to the subject or object or oblique object, as will be shown in more detail below.

If the RC has a head it can be described as an NP that modifies the head. That a "relative clause is one that functions as a nominal modifier" has already been argued by Keenan 1985 (in Payne 1997:325). As the RC is generally postnominal, it has the same position as the modifiers that modify a noun within an NP (cf. 4.10). The position of the RC is exactly that of a modifier, which has been brought up by Payne to be a common parallel (cf. Payne 1997:326). Further it seems to be a common feature of VO languages, such as Baure, to have postnominal RCs. In (50) there is a simple modifying RC, comparable to the modifier NP in (51):

	predicate	NP_O	MOD (RC)
(50)	*nampik*	*nor*	*nikasačon.*
	ni=am-pik	*nor*	*ni=kasačo-no*
	1SG=take-COME	deer	1SG=hunt-NOM1
	'I bring deer that I hunted.'		

	predicate	NP_O	MOD
(51)	*nampik*	*nor*	*epenon.*
	ni=am-pik	*nor*	*epenon*
	1SG=bring-COME	deer	dead
	'I bring (a) dead deer.'		

In (50) the object NP *nor* 'deer' is directly modified by the RC *nikasačon* 'that I hunted'. The RC is a nominalized predicate that refers to the object and has the same subject as the main clause, in both cases marked by *ni-* '1SG'. (51) is an example of the object NP with a modifier *epenon* 'dead' in the same position.

Even though there is no specific relative pronoun, most relative and even complement clauses are marked by the indefinite pronoun *to ka* 'something, someone'. Its use may be obligatory in cases where the marking of the nominalized predicate is not apparent or the RC is quite complex, but in general relative and complement clauses that are marked by *to ka* can alternatively be expressed without it.

In the following sections (10.2.1–10.2.4) the different subordination types are shown in detail, starting with the four nominalization types. Some general facts about relativization are described in 10.2.1 but may refer to all nominalization types. Further on, the specific locative (10.2.5) and temporal (10.2.6) subordination are described. Section 10.2.7 demonstrates the cleft construction with *tiow* 'this is', and 10.2.8 makes clear how the indefinite pronoun *to ka* 'something, someone' plays a role in relative clauses. Finally, in 10.2.9 appositions are shown to be an alternative for modifying relative clauses.

10.2.1. Relative clauses with -no 'NOM1'

The main nominalizers are the following: participant *-no*, action *-čo*, and product *-ri*. These three nominalization types are used for RCs which refer to the core arguments in the main clause, an event or the result of an event. In all three cases the predicate may or may not show subject cross reference. The marking determines the semantic relation of the relativized element and its head. If there is no subject cross-reference on the subordinate and nominalized predicate, then the head is identical with the subject in the RC. This can be seen in (51), in which the nominalized predicate *epenon*

'dead' may be regarded as a RC 'that is dead' which shows no subject marking (cf also (55) below) The reason is that the subject of the RC is *nor* 'deer', which is identical to the head of the RC If there is subject cross-reference on the predicate in the RC, then the subject in the RC is different from the head This is demonstrated in (50), where the RC *nikasačon* 'that I hunted' shows subject marking, because the head *nor* 'deer' is different from the subject *ni-* '1SG' of the RC

There can also be object marking on the nominalized predicate of the RC We actually find all combinations subject and object marking (52), subject and no object marking (53), no subject but object marking (54), and finally neither (55) If there is object cross-reference in the RC, then this replaces the participant nominalization morpheme The nominal form is thus "invisible" Only when there is no object marking the subordination becomes apparent, otherwise it remains implicit The object may either be an additional object of the RC or an argument of the main clause that is referred back to in the form of "pronoun retention" (Payne 1997 331–32) For each kind of argument marking there are examples in (52) through (55) Relative clauses will be shown with and without the indefinite pronoun *to ka* 'something, someone', which generally functions as a head of the RC There will be modifying and headless relative clauses in the examples The semantic role of the head in the RC is indicated in the line above in parenthesis The abbreviation "head=" means that the RC itself is the head

subject and object marking

		head=(O)				
(52)	*nam*	*to nopani to neč yoronev*				
	ni=am	*to*	*no=pa=ni*	*to*	*neč*	*yoro-nev*
	1SG=take	ART	3PL=give=1SG	ART	DEM2PL	monkey-PL

'I take what the monkeys have given to me ' [RP-N4-38]

only subject marking

			head	(O)
(53)	*nka vekokian noiy hornokoki-ye*		*teč*	*noiy-hi rimonow'*
	nka	*ve-koki-a-no*	*noiy*	*horno-koki-ye* *teč*
	NEG	take out-inside-LK-NOM1	there	stove-inside-LOC DEM2m

noiy=hi *ri=imo-no-wo*
there=QUOT 3SGf=put-NOM1-COP
'Don't take out of the stove what she has put there!' [GP-N7-54]

only object marking

	head	(S)		
(54)	*nka*	*to ka askoni*		
	nka	*to*	*ka*	*asko=ni*
	NEG	ART	IND	help=1SG

'There is no-one who helps me ' [LO/GP-15/7/04-156]

no argument marking

		head	(S)
(55)	*kwe'*	*tɪn marɪp*	*nɪkon čɪntɪnev*
	kwe'	*tɪn marɪp*	*nɪko-no čɪntɪ-nev*
	exist	DEM3f witch	eat-NOM1 person-PL

'There is that witch that eats people ' [GP-N4-39]

The verb *-nɪk-* 'eat' has been turned into the noun *nɪkon* 'eater' in (55) The subject of the RC is also the agent of this predicate derived by what I have called participant nominalization In the independent nominalization process for deriving nominals it is most frequently an agentive nominalizer (cf 5 2 4), but not exclusively The same morpheme has many applications and therefore it is difficult to tack down its meaning The participant nominalizer is used in imperative, interrogative, counterfactual conditional, and relative clauses

Participant nominalization is the dominant way of marking a subordinate predicate I want to stress again the change of the predicate into a nominal form This has the consequence that this nominal predicate can again function or be used and marked like other nominal predicates If we take into account what has been described in Chapter 5, then it is obvious that nominal predicates can have all morphemes attached, but the non-stative ones are linked with the morpheme *-a* The copula *-wo* and other stative morphemes can be attached without the linker The meaning can be very complicated when this is applied to a relative clause However, there was already one example of this in (53) The predicate *rɪmonow* 'that which she puts' is marked with the copula suffix *-wo* The meaning of the copula in that example is not clear to me, though it may be related to stative aspect

(56) is an example of a nominalized predicate in a relative clause with subject marking and a non-stative morpheme attached *-pɪk* 'COME', preceded by the linker *-a*

(56)	*ver rɪkopoek teč ramonapɪk rɪnɪk*				
	ver	*rɪ=kopoek*	*teč*	*ro=amo-no-a-pɪk*	*rɪ=nɪk*
	PERF	3SGf=receive	DEM2m	3SGm=take-NOM1-LK-come	3SGf=eat

'She received that which he brought for her to eat ' [RP-N3-15]

The preceding examples were exclusively of verbal predicates in the RCs, but also non-verbal predicates can, less frequently, be the predicate in the RC There are only a few examples, however, as generally the RC refers to some type of active event and non-verbal predicates are stative The following example (57) is part of a longer sentence that introduces the characters in a narrative I consider *kotišen ne'* 'this size' to be a RC, but if the adverb *ne'* was missing it could not be distinguished from a simple modifier juxtaposed to its noun referent *teč rɪšɪr* 'her son'

		head		(S)	
(57)	*ronɪk*	*teč rɪšɪr*		*kotišen ne'*	
	ro=nɪk	*teč*	*rɪ=šɪr*	*koti-še-no*	*ne'*
	3SGm=eat	DEM2m	3SGf-son	like this-size-NOM1	here

'Her son, who is this size (only) eats ' [RP-N4-1]

The marker *-no* is used here to derive the modifier *kotišen* 'like this size' (cf 4 9 3), it is not a subordinator In (58) the non-verbal predicate in the RC in the question is *anew* 'who is very old' There is no argument marking on the subordinate predicate

head=(S)

(58) *kon ti anew ne' soratı-ye?*
kon ti ane-wo ne soratı-ye
who/what DEM1f old-COP here village-LOC
'Who is the one (woman) who is old(est) in this village?' [GP/LO-18/7/04-3]

Non-verbal predicates in subordination are difficult to identify because first of all, no nominalization has to change the form of the predicate, and second, non-verbal predicates are almost always intransitive If there were marking of a subject, then this would be done with an enclitic, which obeys different rules than the proclitic on verbs and is not obligatory Even though it could be possible that a non-verbal predicate occurs in a RC that refers to an object head, I cannot find such an example in the data

10 2 2 Relative clauses with -čo NOM2'

The action nominalizer *-čo* 'NOM2' creates action nouns from verbs and is used for relativization and complementation It is the second most common morpheme in subordination, but more often it occurs in complementation than in relative clause formation In some cases it is impossible to distinguish complement from RC constructions In general, the determiner preceding the nominalized predicate has been taken as a characteristic of a RC construction, in contrast to the complement construction, which may include a determiner as well, but also occurs without it There is a clear relation between the two

The predicate nominalized with *-čo* 'NOM2' is generally marked with a subject proclitic, but there are also examples with object marking and both, subject and object marking, or neither There is no example of the nominalized predicate with only object marking There are examples of the different kinds of argument marking in (59) through (61)

subject and object marking

(59) *nka avık rıkoka, ač išKon-hı kač teč rısokıačırı* [237]
nka avık rı=koka ač išKon=hı kač teč
NEG again 3SGf=laugh and until-QUOT GO DEM2m

rı=sokıa-čı=rı
3SGf=find-NOM2=3SGf
'She didn't laugh, until (that) she found her ' [GP-N1/II-7]

only subject marking

(60) *ver etor teč nakıroko-ye nokoyepıač teč čıntınev anenev*
ver eto=ro teč nakıroko-ye no=koyepıa-čo
PERF finish=3SGm DEM1m long ago 3PL=converse-NOM2

[237] The morpheme *-co* is subject to vowel harmony (cf 2 5 3)

teč *činti-nev* *ane-nev*
DEM2m person-PL old-PL
'Now finishes what the old people told long ago ' [EU-N12-53]

no argument marking

(61) ver ripihik ne', ver pomorekoešapokoe te pihikoč
ver *ri=pihik* *ne'* *ver* *po-morekoe-š-a-pa-ikoe'*
PERF 3SGf=pass here already one-year-one-LK-GO-EMPH

te *pihiko-čo*
DEM1m pass-NOM2
'She already passed here, it is already one year ago that she passed ' [RP-N4-110]

In (59) the RC is the head and it can also be analyzed as the complement of the adverbial construction with *iškon* 'until' In (61) there is also an adverbial construction with *pomorekoeš* 'one year'

This type of nominalization occurs most often in such adverbial constructions and with non-verbal predicates in the main clause (cf also (62)) The focus is on the action and not on the arguments who perform it

(62) *soperapičon teč rovekoč, ač wepian teč rovekoč*
soperapičon *teč* *ro=veko-čo* *ač* *wepian*
rubbish DEM2m 3SGm=speak-NOM2 and lie(r)

teč *ro=veko-čo*
DEM2m 3SGm=speak-NOM2
'It is rubbish what he speaks, and it is lies what he speaks ' [EU-N12-3/4]

The construction can also be found with verbs that generally take an unmarked complement, as e g *-ki'in-* 'want' Instead of a subordinate construction in (63) the sentence could be *kač riki'inaša rihiropa* 'when she wants to dance' In (63) it is in a construction with marked subordination

(63) *kač riki'inaša teč rihiropoč* .
kač *ri=ki'in-a-ša* *teč* *ri=hiropo-čo*
GO 3SGf=want-LK-IRR DEM2m 3SGf=dance-NOM2
'When she wants to dance ..' [GP-N7-101]

Example (63) shows how this type of subordination is also complementation Just like participant nominalization, action nominalization creates a nominal predicate that can again be marked like any other nominal predicate

In (64) the predicate in subordination is marked by the copula *-wo* because it refers to an event that happened over a time span. When the woman comes back from washing, it means that she has probably been at the river, washing the whole afternoon

(64) *kopeaporow-hi rom rišim tič eton teč riehmoekčow.*
kopeapo-ro-wo=hi rom ri=šim tič eton
late-RO-COP=QUOT IMM 3SGf=arrive DEM2f woman

teč ri=ehmoek-čo-wo
DEM2m 3SGf=wash.clothes-NOM2-COP
'In the afternoon finally, the woman arrived back from washing clothes.'
[GP-N1/II-25]

In all the examples (59) through (64) the RC is more like a complement in subordination, but this is due to the character of action nominalization. The similarity to the RC construction with participant nominalization is evident: a nominalized predicate and a preceding determiner.

10.2.3. Relative clauses with -ri 'NOM3'

The product nominalizer *-ri* 'NOM3' derives a noun from a verb as the product of an action, not used as much as *-no* 'NOM1'. It seems to be the case that the different nominalizers *-no* 'NOM1' and *-ri* 'NOM3' mainly indicate different reference in time. While *-ri* 'NOM3' refers to an action that preceded the event time of the main predicate, *-no* 'NOM1' rather refers to the event time. This can be shown in the following examples. In (65) the predicate *nihinoeriow* 'what I was looking for' has to refer to a time preceding the event time of the main predicate *nitorak* 'I find/found'.

(65) *ver nitorak to nihinoeriow.*
ver ni=torak to ni=hinoe-ri-wo
PERF 1SG=find ART 1SG=search-NOM3-COP
'I already found what I was looking for.' [LO/GP-25/7/04-26]

Examples (66) and (67) are both from the same narrative about a butler of a house, from whom the foxes stole his lassoes and the donkey goes to get them back. Note that in (66) the participant nominalization is not apparent because of the object marking (cf. 10.2.1), but it can be implied. There are no different kinds of argument marking on predicates nominalized by *-ri* 'NOM3'. I think objects are never marked after the product nominalizer; at least there are no examples in the data[238].

(67) *nti' nihinoekow teč nerosorekočonev nowohikier.*
nti' ni=hinoeko-wo teč ni=erosorekočo-nev no=wohik=ro
1SG 1SG=look.for-COP DEM2m 1SG=lasso-PL 3PL=steal=3SGm
'I am looking for my lassoes that they have stolen.' [RP-N11-6]

(68) *ver nokaspičow to očipi teč erosorekočonev nowohiriow.*
ver no=kas-pi-čo-wo to oči-pi
PERF 3PL=finish-CLF:long&thin-APPL-COP ART eight-CLF:long&thin

[238] This may have phonological reasons, because after a morpheme that includes the rhotic no other morpheme including a rhotic can be attached This concerns the forms *-ro* '3SGm' and *-ri* '3SGf' It is also possible that there are conceptual reasons why it is not possible to attach an object enclitic to a product nominal

teč	*erosorekočo-nev*	*no=wohi-ri-wo*
DEM2m	lasso-PL	3PL=steal-NOM3-COP

'The eight lassoes that they had stolen already finished.' [RP-N11-38]

In both examples, (66) and (67), the head noun is *erosorekočonev* 'lassoes' (possessed in (66)), which were stolen. In (66) the RC refers to something that is still true at the time of speaking: 'that they have stolen'. The predicate is nominalized with the morpheme *-no* 'NOM1', which is here overridden by the personal enclitic. In (67) the same predicate is nominalized with *-ri* 'NOM3', which has the effect that the RC refers to something that happened before the time of speaking, but does not necessarily hold any longer: 'that they had stolen'.

The difference between the three nominalizers becomes more apparent with constructed examples, all based on the verb *-išoere-* 'cook'. In all three examples the speaker asks the addressee to try something that is related to cooking, but in (68) the speaker is still cooking and wants the other one to try if it is already done or not, whereas in (69), the speaker has already cooked the food, and it is there on the table. In the third example, however, the speaker wants the other to try to perform the act of cooking in general, but it has nothing to do with having a try of the food.

(68) *pahkopan te nišoerekon!*

pi=ahko-pa-no	*te*	*ni=išoereko-no*
2SG=try-GO-NOM1	DEM1m	1SG=cook-NOM1

'Try what I am cooking!'

(69) *pahkopan te nišoereriow!*

pi=ahko-pa-no	*te*	*ni=išoere-ri-wo*
2SG=try-GO-NOM1	DEM1m	1SG=cook-NOM3-COP

'Try what I have cooked!'

(70) *pahkopan te pišoerekoč!*

pi=ahko-pa-no	*te*	*pi=išoereko-čo*
2SG=try-GO-NOM1	DEM1m	1SG=cook-NOM2

'Try to cook (lit. try your cooking)!'

Examples (68) through (70) further show the similarity of the three constructions: a main predicate followed by a nominalized predicate that is preceded by a determiner (*te* 'DEM1m' in these cases).

10.2.4. Subordinate clauses with -pi 'QNOM'

In addition to these major nominalization types there is one more kind of nominal derivation with the suffix *-pi*, which derives abstract nouns from quality nouns (adjectives) and verbs. The derived nouns can also be regarded as nominalized predicates in general, as e.g. *monikopi* 'prettiness, beauty', which has been derived from the adjective or modifier noun *monik* 'pretty, beautiful', and this type of nouns frequently functions as a predicate (as e.g. in (48) and (49)). The predicate marked by *-pi* is a causal subordinate clause or an oblique argument in the clause, as in example (71) and (72). Examples of quality nominalization of verbs – as in (71) – (and not adjectives – as in (72)) cannot be observed so frequently.

(71) *to royoriripi rokaviow*
to *ro=yori~ri-pi* *ro=kavi-wo*
ART 3SGm=be angry~INT-QNOM 3SGm=be drunk-COP
'Because of being angry he got drunk' [JC-14/3/06-11]

(72) *ver rokanač ten šiye teč ropikoropi*
ver *ro=kanač* *ten* *šiye* *teč* *ro=pikoro-pi*
PERF 3SGm=win DEM3m fox DEM2m 3SGm=smart-QNOM
'The fox won because of his being smart' [DC-17/4/06-89]

The clauses in (71) and (72) are only marked for subordination by the quality nominalizer Both of them are interpreted as causal clauses In (71) the causal clause is anteposed, in (72) it is postponed in relation to the main clause Just like these nominalized predicates in subordination, there may be a simple NP in juxtaposition that is interpreted as a causal clause, as in the following example

(73) *noka roki inow teč kotis teč roehos*
noka *ro=ki'ino-wo* *teč* *kotis* *teč* *ro=ihos*
NEG 3SGm=want-COP DEM2m lizard DEM2m 3SGm=tail
'The lizard didn't want (to sit down) because of his tail' [EU-N12-14]

The causal clause in (73) and also in the nominalized examples in (71) and (72) can be regarded as an oblique object in the main clause This oblique object can be interpreted as a cause of the event, but this is probably dependent on the context and the meaning of the predicate in subordination This type of oblique object is generally unmarked There is no coordinator or connective, but the determiner that always introduces the oblique NP can be regarded as a possible connecting element

10 2 5 Locative subordination

Location and time constitute other specific types of oblique objects or adverbs in the main clause Locative and temporal subordination are structurally similar to the RC constructions by means of nominalization

In the locative clauses the predicate is marked by the locative suffix *-yi*, which frequently occurs in metathesis after the weak vowel *o*, as in the examples below, or causes vowel harmony The locative clauses can be complete clauses with explicit subject – as *to neč čonok ka anonev* 'the big animals' in (74) – or object, additional adverbials, free pronouns, and free verbal particles, like *ver* in (75) The locative predicate may also include object cross-reference by a personal enclitic, as in (74), and the predicate can be non-verbal, as in (75)

Locative marking has already been shown for locative interrogative clauses (cf 9 4 10) and is exactly identical in subordinate clauses In fact the interrogative clauses are just a specific type of subordination by means of the locative morpheme *-yi* The clauses with the locative predicate may be headless RCs, modifier RCs or also complement clauses

(74) *kwe-hi teč noiy pekaki-ye neriyowor to neč čonok ka'anonev*
kwe=hi *teč* *noiy* *pekaki-ye* *no=ero-iy-wo=ro*
exist=QUOT DFM2m there water hole-LOC 3PL=drink-LOC-COP=3SGm

to *neč* *čonok* *ka'ano-nev*
ART DEM2PL big animal-PL
'He was there at the water-hole, where the big animals drink (it).'[RP-N3-201]

Instead of headless clauses the more frequent *tiow noiy* 'this is where' cleft-constructions is used, including the locative pronoun or adverb *noiy* 'there', as in (75).

(75) *bueno, tiow noiy ver etopiapiyor.*
bueno tiow noiy ver eto-pi-a-po-yi=ro
well CLEFT there PERF finish-words-LK-PRFLX-LOC=3SGm
'Well, this is where already the words were finished.'[239] [SIL-N1-254]

In addition, the verb based on the copula morpheme *-wo* is used for introducing an unmarked locative clause:

(76) *nisokia' to kaye ne' rowow to niwer ne'.*
ni=sokia to kaye ne' ro=wo-wo to ni=wer ne'
1SG=find ART street here 3SGm=be-COP ART 1SG=house here
'I found the street where my house is.' [JC-14/3/06-58]

This construction is no subordination, though, but has to be analyzed as a kind of clause juxtaposition, as referred to in 10.3.

10 2 6. Temporal subordination

Temporal marking is only found in subordinate clauses. The predicate is marked by the morpheme *-ro*, which occurs in the same slot as the locative marking. Temporal clauses are mainly found as backgrounding clauses when speakers refer to an event in their remote past, but not exclusively. It frequently occurs in narratives, but not so much in conversation. (77) is an example of temporal subordination with the non-verbal predicate *monči'* '(be a) child'. The speaker refers to her childhood.

(77) *teč mončirowoni nka nikač eskoeli-ye.*
teč monči-ro-wo=ni nka ni=kač eskoeči-ye
DEM2m child-ro-COP=1SG NEG 1SG=go school-LOC
'When I was a child I didn't go to school.' [JC-27/8/03-5]

This kind of marking could not be clearly analyzed, though, due to the lack of examples and the multiple interpretations of the predicates marked with the morpheme *-ro*. It is sometimes only backgrounding (78), but not temporal, and in other cases not even of that (79). Therefore I will keep glossing it 'ro' for the time being.

(78) *rikačpow teč rihamoro'inop teč rimomonirowapa, tiow teč rikačpow.*
ri=kač-po-wo teč ri=hamoro'ino-po
3SGf=go-PRFLX-COP DEM2m 3SGf=grieve-PRFLX

[239] This is a way of finishing a narrative The translation is the same as Baptista & Wallin (microfiche, unpublished) have given

teč *rɪ=mo~monɪ-ro-wapa* *tɪow* *teč* *rɪ=kač-po-wo*
DEM2m 3SGf=INT~be thirsty-ro-COS CLEFT DEM2m 3SG=go-PRFLX-COP
'She left for good because of her grief, with her being so thirsty, that's why she left ' [GP-N1/I-46]

(79) *ač teč romorekoeyoworow teč vɪkeyɪnorapa resɪa-ye napɪrɪ'*
ač *teč* *ro=morekoe-ye-wo-ro-wo*
and DEM2m 3SGm=year-LOC?-COP-ro-COP

teč *vɪ=keyɪno-ro-a-pa* *resɪa-ye* *napɪrɪ'*
DEM2m 1PL=marry-ro-LK-GO church-LOC also
GP 'And the same year/that year we married in the church as well '
[LO/GP-D1-10]

The function of the morpheme *-ro* in (79) is not clear at all More research is certainly necessary in this respect

10 2 7 The cleft construction with tɪow 'this is'

The cleft particle *tɪow* 'this is' consists of the demonstrative *tɪ* 'DEM1f' and the copula suffix *-wo*, which is metathesized The cleft clause construction with the cleft marker *tɪow* 'this is' works like an ordinary modifying RC The cleft marker is followed by a pronoun, which functions as the head of the following RC, exemplified in (80)

	NP	cleft	NP	RC
(80)	*to marok,*	*tɪow*	*teč*	*veronow,*
	to	*marok tɪow*	*teč*	*vɪ=ero-no-wo*
	ART	chicha CLEFT	DEM2m	1PL=drink-NOM1-COP

'Chicha is what we are drinking, ' [HC-10/8/04-36]

The difference to the RCs described in (50) and other examples is that *teč* 'this' functions as a head in (80), but the real head NP precedes the clause *to marok* 'chicha' A construction with *tɪow teč* 'this is that (which)' is very often used instead of a headless RC Structurally *tɪow*-constructions are not headless, but semantically the head is empty and they could also be considered as headless

Example (81) shows how the cleft construction can also be followed by a RC without subject marking, following the same rules that have been described above in 10 2 1

(81) *noka! koeč to vekɪyɪrɪ tɪow teč ampɪkovɪ, to vekɪyɪrɪ*
noka *koeč* *to* *yekɪyɪrɪ* *tɪow* *teč* *am-pɪko=vɪ*
NEG because ART god CLEFT DEM2m take-come=1PL

to *vekɪyɪrɪ*
ART god
'But no! Because it was god who brought us here, god!' [GP-N7-87]

The cleft particle *tɪow* is always followed by a pronoun or determiner This can also be a personal pronoun, as in (82), in which the following predicate in the RC remains unspecified for subject by the use of the general 3SGm proclitic *ro-* instead of *nɪ-* '1SG'

(82) *ntɪ', tɪow ntɪ' rowonoekow*
ntɪ' tɪow ntɪ' ro=wonoeko-wo
1SG CLEFT 1SG 3SGm=send-COP
'It is me who commands (sends people around)' [RP-8/7/04-58]

Sometimes the cleft is also used without the following RC as a form of pragmatic marking of an argument in the clause, as demonstrated in (83)

(83) *pehmoekperɪ ač nka pamomaw teč koromok tɪow teč*
pɪ=ehmoek-pa=rɪ ač nka pɪ=amoma-wo
2SG=wash clothes-GO=3SGf and NEG 2SG=wash clothes well-COP

teč koromok tɪow teč
DEM2m cloth CLEFT DEM2m
'You washed clothes for her and you didn't wash well that cloth there' [DC-17/4/06-62]

As already mentioned above, also locative subordination can be found in a cleft construction (cf (75))

10 2 8 The role of the indefinite pronoun to ka in relative clauses
The indefinite pronoun *to ka* 'someone, something' is used frequently to replace the head of a RC, but it also functions as a relative pronoun This type of RC is used much more frequently than any of the above described by their own This pronoun can occur with any kind of subordinate constructions described in 10 2 1 through 10 2 7 There are three examples of the different positions of RC with *to ka* anteposed in (84), postponed in (85), and inserted in (86)

(84) *to ka pɪpaša(nɪ) ntɪ' moeh nɪkɪre'*
to ka pɪ=pa-ša(=nɪ) ntɪ' moeh nɪk=ro-ɪ'
ART IND 2SG=give-IRR=1SG 1SG CERT 1SG eat=3SGm-EMPH
'If you give (me)/What you give (to me), I will certainly eat it' [RP/EC-D4-8]

(85) *pɪm to ka pɪtɪrow!*
pɪ=ɪm to ka pɪtɪro-wo
2SG=put ART IND 2SGP-COP
'Put (on the table) what you have (lit is yours)!' [AD/DC-D2-189]

(86) *noka, rokɪčowɔrɪ-hɪ, činčo nan pɪmɪnonɪ apo to ka rowoyɪkpow poewoko-ye*
noka ro=kɪčo-wo=rɪ=hɪ činčo nan pɪ=ɪm-ɪno=nɪ
NEG 3SGm=say do-COP=3SGf=QUOT know over there 2SG=put-BEN=1SG

apo to ka ro=woyɪk-po-wo poewoko-ye
or ART IND 3SGm=make-PRFLX-COP ground-LOC
'No, he said, what do I know, over there or put me – what is enough (lit it makes) – on the ground' [RP-N3-20]

The indefinite pronoun *to ka* can be analyzed as an optional marker when subordination is itself marked on the predicate But there are, on the other hand, subordinate clauses that are only marked by *to ka*, as e g in (84) to (86) Only in negative and

interrogative clauses the use of *to ka* seems indispensable for marking all types of subordination. In (87) and (88) there are two more examples with *to ka* and a following RC that is marked, in (87) by the action nominalizer *-čo* 'NOM2' and in (88) by the locative morpheme *-yi*.

(87) *kwe' to ka vikotorekčow ne' parakɪ-ye.*
kwe' *to* *ka* *vi=kotorek-čo-wo* *ne'* *paraki-ye*
exist ART IND 1PL=work-NOM2-COP here room-LOC
'There is something to work here in the room.' [JC-6/4/06-30]

(88) *pačow to ka piyonoiyšap, pam to piwer.*
pɪ=ačo-wo to ka pi=yono-iy-ša-po
2SG=load-COP ART IND 2SG=walk-LOC-IRR-PRFLX

pɪ=am *to* *pɪ=wer*
2SG=take ART 2SG=house
'You will load wherever you go, you will take your house.' [RP-23/7/04-6]

In both examples (87) and (88) *to ka* is used as an indefinite pronoun, which is 'something' in the first and 'wherever' in the second, where the locative suffix adds to the meaning of the pronoun.

The indefinite pronoun *to ka* in interrogative clauses is found in all constructions described in 9.4.3. One example is shown in (89):

(89) *aiy senior, woyikon-niš to ka nkotorekpa?*
aiy senior *woyiko-no=niš* *to* *ka* *ni=kotorek-pa*
O dear be.I-NOM1=EXCLA ART IND 1SG=work-GO
'O dear, what is it that I go to work?' [HC-6/7/04-49]

An alternative to the form of the question in (89) is *woyɪkon-niš to nkotorekpa*, and there is no obvious meaning difference. It seems that *to ka* is only used to emphasize the subordination.

The most common negative construction with the indefinite pronoun is *nka to ka*, which literally means 'nothing, no-one', but it generally functions as an existential predicate 'there is nothing/no-one'. The verbal predicate that follows this predicate is in fact a RC with participant nominalization *-no* 'NOM1' (10.2.1) or an unmarked RC. The negative existential construction is demonstrated in example (90):

(90) *nka to ka askoni.*
nka *to* *ka* *asko=ni*
NEG ART IND help=1SG
'There is no-one who helps me.' [LO/GP-15/7/04-156]

Further, *to ka* occurs on various negative complements. Whether *to ka* itself can be analyzed as a complementizer, is a matter of analysis, as in the majority of examples it gets the complementizer *apo* 'if, that' added. All examples in this section can be thought of with the complementizer in addition *(nka) to ka apo*, but pronounced [n̥ˈgatʰ kapʰ]. In (91) the matrix verb *-čo-* 'know' is followed by a complement

marked by *to ka*, and in (92) the non-verbal predicate *ihirikowon* 'maybe' functions as the matrix predicate.

(91) *nka vičowor to ka ver rinik ti noiy posare-ye.*
nka *vi=čo-wo=ro* *to* *ka* *ver* *ri=nik* *ti*
NEG 1PL=know-COP=3SGm ART IND PERF 3SGf=eat DEM1f

noiy *po-sare-ye*
there other-side-LOC
'We don't know it that/if she already ate in another place.' [JC-13/7/04-133]

(92) *ihirikowon to ka ntiriow.*
ihirikowon *to* *ka* *ni=tiri-wo*
maybe ART IND 1SG=know-COP
'Maybe I know (how to do it).' [RP-9/7/04-81]

The pronoun *to ka* seems to function as a general separating element for main clause and subordinate clause, where the specific interpretations depend on the type of subordination. I think *to ka* shows how closely related RC and complementation are in principle in Baure.

10.2.9. The apposition (unmarked relative clause)
Very frequently an NP stands in apposition with another specifying NP. The technique of using another phrase of the same type in juxtaposition for specification is also found in predicate chains or serial verb constructions (cf. 10.3.7). In principle one NP is more general than the following NP apposition. The NP may be the subject or object argument in the clause. Examples of such appositions are given in (93) through (95):

(93) *rokičow-hi to neč čonomorinev to neč sopirnev:*
ro=kičo-wo=hi *to* *neč* *čonomori-nev*
3SGm=say.do-COP=QUOT ART DEM2PL companion-PL

to *neč* *sopir-nev*
ART DEM2m turtle-PL
'He said to his companions the turtles:' [RP-N6-13]

(94) *rokičowori-hi teč rišir to riavinon tič eton.*
ro=kičo-wo=ri=hi *teč* *ri=šir* *to* *ri=avinon*
3SGm=say.do-COP=3SGf=QUOT DEM2m 3SGf=son ART 3SGf=husband

tič *eton*
DEM2f woman
'Her son, the husband of the woman, said to her.' [GP-N1/I-24]

(95) *peropin teč it teč riavinon tič eton.*
pero-pi-no *teč* *it* *teč* *ri=avinon*
long-CLF:long&thin-NOM1 DEM2m eel DEM2m 3SGf=husband

tič *eton*
DEM2f woman
'The eel, the husband of the woman, was long ' [GP-N1/I-10]

The apposition in (93) is the NP *to neč sopirnev* 'those turtles', which stands in juxtaposition with the object NP *to neč čonomorinev* 'those companions' and can be understood as specifying or modifying the main NP

In (94) and (95) the apposition consists of a complex NP which again includes another NP in juxtaposition, which is unmarked, but stands in a possessive relation to the head noun of the apposition Thus the apposition *teč riavinon tič eton* is one complex NP, which includes the unmarked possessive NP *tič eton* 'of the woman' (partitive construction, cf Figure 4 5) The apposition itself, on the other hand, is part of the head NP of the main clause Therefore the NPs that occur in juxtaposition are divided on three different levels

This section showed how complex subordination can be and was completed with the juxtaposition of NPs as a basis for comparison to what is described in the following section

10 3 Multiple predicate constructions and predicate and clause chains

The most productive way to combine clauses is by chaining predicates or clauses As argued in Chapter 9, a clause minimally consists of a predicate, and it is indeed frequently the case that clauses only consist of a predicate The predicate may be quite complex, consisting of additional free verbal particles and a number of verbal morphemes directly attached to the verb or non-verbal predicate Predicate chains are in principle identical to clause (or predicate phrase) chains The predicate phrase may include explicit subject and object arguments in the form of NPs or free pronouns in addition This section will show how three types of multiple predicate constructions can be distinguished asyndetic coordination of predicates and clauses, verb–complement constructions, and serial verb constructions Asyndetic coordination of predicates involves a series of events that happen one after the other, where the chain of predicates represents the chronological order of the events Verb–complement constructions can again be distinguished in two different types one type is an unmarked verb complement, in which case the first predicate can sometimes be analyzed as an auxiliary verb, the second type is a complement marked by the action nominalizer *-čo* 'NOM2' Serial verb constructions are also a kind of chain of predicates The main distinction between an asyndetic chain of multiple predicates and a serial construction is that the first one refers to multiple events, while the second one uses a complex predicate with multiple predicate constituents, but refers to one event only Serial verbs are like predicate appositions In Table 10 2 the main different types of multiple predicate combinations are summarized and exemplified

type	subtype	example
I. asyndetic coordination		*rehwesaw, rehačow, rokačpow.* *ro=ehwesa-wo ro=ehačo-wo ro=kač-po-wo* 3SGm=jump.in.water-COP 3SGm=wash-COP 3SGm=go-PRFLX-COP 'He jumped in the water, washed, (and) went away.'
II.a verb– complement construction	unmarked	*roki'inowapa retorok.* *ro=ki'ino-wapa ro=etorok* 3SGm=want-COS 3SGm=leave 'He already wanted to leave.'
II.b verb– complement construction	with subordination marking *-čo* 'NOM2'	*noka nihinokowovi piwoiykoč šep.* *noka ni=hınoko-wo=pi pi=woiyko-čo šep* NEG 1SG=see-COP=2SG 2SG=make-NOM2 chivé 'I haven't seen you making chivé.'
III. serial verbs		*rokačpow ropınop.* *ro=kač-po-wo ro=pino-po* 3SGm=go-PRFLX-COP 3SGm=flee-PRFLX 'He (went away and) fled.'

Table 10.2: Types of multiple predicate constructions

Two more important issues have to be added here, before going into detail: First of all, not only the predicates are combined, but in fact the whole predicate phrase with its core and oblique arguments and adverbials etc. This means that in many cases of predicate-only clauses there may be predicates in a chain, but in many other clauses there are whole predicate phrases combined. The outcome looks less like predicate combination, as the predicates are not necessarily adjacent to one another. In example (96) there are explicit core arguments and an oblique locative argument, which are part of a predicate chain of type I. The brackets indicate the separate predicate phrases.[240]

	[V_1	NP_S	NP_{LOC}]	[V_2	NP_O]
(96)	*rikačpow*	*ti eton*	*wapoeri-ye*	*riropa*	*in.*
	ri=kač-po-wo	*ti eton*	*wapoeri-ye*	*ri=ıro-pa*	*in*
	3SGf=go-PRFLX-COP	DEM1f woman	river-LOC	3SGf=drink-GO	water
	'She went to the river and drank water.'				[GP-N1/I-19]

The predicate chain in (96) could also be formed completely without explicit arguments: *rikačpow riroper* 'she went to drink it'.

Sometimes the clause combination is not only a temporal sequence, but also a causal or final relation. In a different analysis example (96) could be translated as 'she went to the river in order to drink water'. Subtypes of this are conditional clauses, generally marked by *-ša* 'IRR' or *-no* 'NOM1' (cf. 10.3.2).

All three types may occur in one sentence. All sorts of combinations can be observed. The following example shows how complex the different types of predicate phrase combining can be. Figure 10.3 shows the tree diagram for the sentence in (97).

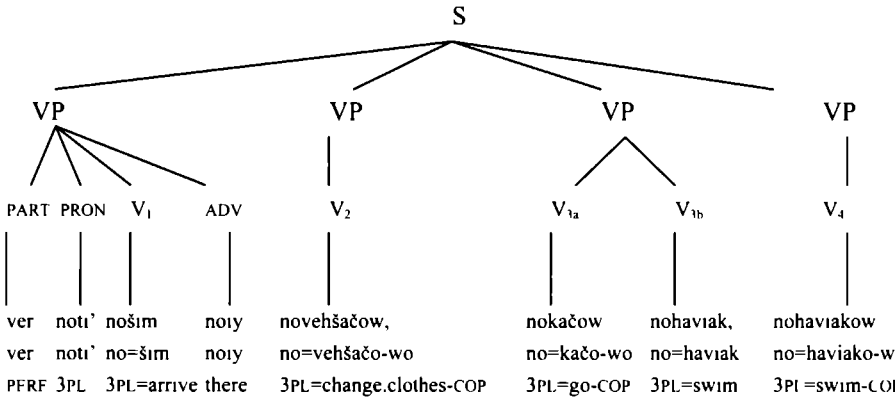
[240] V stands here for verb and non-verbal predicate.

	V_1		V_2		$[V_{3a}$	$V_{3b}]$	V_4
(97)	*ver noti'*	*nošim*	*noiy*	*novehšačow,*	*nokačow*	*nohaviak,*	*nohaviakow*
	ver	*noti'*	*no=šim*	*noiy*	*no=vehšačo-wo*		
	PERF	3PL	3PL=arrive	there	3PL=change.clothes-COP		

no=kačo-wo *no=haviak* *no=haviako-wo*
3PL=go-COP 3PL=swim 3PL=swim-COP
'They arrived there and changed clothes, went to swim, and swam.'

[RP-N4-55]

There are four main predicates: V_1 to V_4, which occur in a chain of VPs[241] that describes a chronological order of events: 'they arrived, they changed clothes, they went to swim, they swam'. This is thus the predicate combination of type I in Table 10.2. Further on, the third predicate itself can be analyzed as a multiple predicate construction of type IIa, a verb complement construction with an unmarked complement. V_{3a} is then the main verb and V_{3b} its complement.



'They arrived there and changed clothes, went to swim, and swam.'

Figure 10.3: The phrase structure tree of (97)

The following sections show the different types of multiple predicate constructions in detail.

10.3.1. Asyndetic coordination of predicates and clauses

Even though there are connectors for the coordination of clauses or predicates, such as *ač* 'and', described in 10.1, various predicates or clauses are coordinated without any connector. The maximum of bare predicates found in a chain is four. Non-verbal and stative predicates can in principle also be part of a chain, but they do not frequently occur in chains, as the kinds of events that are generally found in a chain are activities. There is no reduced temporal or aspectual marking on any of the predicates in a chain. This stands in contrast to what is referred to as verb chaining or medial constructions in Australian and Papua New Guinean languages (cf. Payne 1997:321).

[241] VP stands for predicate phrases in general. They may be constructed on the basis of a verb, as in (96), but also of a non-verbal predicate in principle.

Pragmatically, the speed with which the predicates are added after another in a narrative can be regarded as iconic for the moving actions or events that happen one after the other The juxtaposition may also sometimes be regarded as a means to create tension There was one example in (97), and here is another example of a sequence of events in a narrative

(98) *ropinop ra rošim rampikpow teč čor ač*
ro=pino-po *ro=a* *ro=šim*
3SGm=flee-PRFLX 3SGm=fetch 3SGm=arrive

ro=am-pik-po-wo *teč* *čor* *ač*
3SGm=take-COME-PRFLX-COP DEM2m corn cob and
'He went away, he took (food), he arrived, he brought corn cobs with him and ..' [JP-N9-81]

This part of the sentence is pronounced with a high degree of phonological binding and no pauses, so that the predicates cannot be analyzed as separate sentences After this predicate chain there is another clause added with the connector *ač* 'and' In the coordination with a connector any type of clause with any subject and object may be coordinated, whereas the predicate chain generally refers to only one subject. There are also generally not many objects involved

Non-verbal predicates can take part in a predicate chain in different ways As mentioned in 10 2 there are relative clauses marked by the participant nominalizer, which turns the subordinate predicate into a noun These derived predicates can also occur in a chain, as the following example shows.

(99) *kwe' hinoekonow sompoekonow*
kwe' *hino-i-ko-no-wo* *sompoeko-no-wo*
exist look-DUR-ABS-NOM1-COP listen-NOM1-COP
'There are people who are staring and eavesdrop ' [RP-5/7/04-43]

In (99) there is a chain of two nominalized predicates subordinate to the main non-verbal predicate *kwe'* 'exist, there is/are'

Another type of juxtaposition of predicates does involve different subjects final clauses Very frequently two combined clauses do not only refer to a sequence of events, but also indicate that the event in clause one happened to bring about the event in clause two This relation between the clauses can only be implied from the context Just like the multiple predicates in a temporal sequence, the order of the clauses is fixed. When the subject is shared, the interpretation is therefore ambiguous between a simple sequence of events and a final interpretation, as already mentioned in the analysis of example (96) In (100) through (103) there are examples of predicate chains with a final interpretation

(100) *eto to pinikoč pehomo'in'*
eto *to* *pi=niko-čo* *pi=ehomo'in*
finish ART 2SG=eat-NOM2 2SG=relax
'Finish eating so that you can relax!' [RP/EC-D4-20]

(101) *pɪvɪapa vɪnɪk'*
pɪ=vɪa-pa *vɪ=nɪk*
2SG=take out-GO 1PL=eat
'Go and take out so that we eat!' [GP-N7-58]

(102) *pɪkaɪykɪer ɪkɪyere-ye retorokap*
pɪ=ka-ɪy-ko=ro *ɪkɪyere-ye* *ro=etorok-pa*
2SG=ATTR-LOC-ABS=3SGm outside-LOC 3SGm=leave-GO
'Put it (the chicken) out (of the house) so that it can leave ' [JC-29/7/04-59]

(103) *pɪhɪnoekpa neš, pɪhɪnoekpa pɪkomorɪkpa ka'an nɪk*
pɪ=hɪnoek-pa *neš* *pɪ=hɪnoek-pa* *pɪ=komorɪk-pa* *ka'an* *nɪk*
2SG=search-GO meat 2SG=search-GO 2SG=kill-GO animal 1SG eat
'Go and search for meat, search and kill an animal so that I eat '
[GP-11/7/04-41]

In example (100) the first predicate is non-verbal *eto* 'finish' The whole sentence in (100) consists of two main predicates in a chain *eto* 'finish' and *pehomo'ɪn* 'you relax', of which the first one is complex itself with a marked complement *to pɪnɪkoč* 'you eat/your eating' In both, (100) and (101) we are dealing with imperative clauses In (102) the first clause includes a locative adverbial, *ɪkɪyere-ye* 'to the outside' In (103) there are objects involved The first predicate clause *pɪhɪnoekpa neš* 'go and search for meat' includes the object *neš* 'meat', and the third predicate clause includes the object *ka'an* 'animal', followed by another predicate, *nɪk* '(so that) I eat' Notice that in (101)–(103) there are different subjects

Finally there are a number of clause juxtapositions with very specific meanings, such as temporal and conditional clauses The predicates are distinguished or marked for specific aspect or mood and trigger specific interpretations

The most important morphemes referred to here are the irrealis marker *-ša* 'IRR', which plays a significant role in conditional clauses, frequently together with the nominalization of a predicate by the morpheme *-no* 'NOM1', and the aspectual morpheme *-wana* 'DEP', used in order to express such meanings as 'before' and 'after'

10 3 2 Conditional clauses

There are two kinds of conditional clauses open and counterfactual clauses Open conditional clauses can be paraphrased as temporal clauses 'when' which refer to a future or hypothetical event In these clauses the hypothetical event is referred to by a predicate marked by *-ša*, the irrealis suffix The conditional clause itself may be marked by the complementizer *apo* 'if, that' The clause that is added as a consequence can be added in juxtaposition, but also with a connector *ač* 'and', with an unmarked predicate Examples are given in (104) and (105)

(104) *pɪnvɪtačšanɪ moeh nɪkoe'*
pɪ=ɪnvɪtač-ša=nɪ *moeh* *nɪko-e'*
2SG=invite-IRR=1SG CERT 1SG eat-EMPH
'If you invite me I certainly eat ' [RP/EC-D4-4]

(105) *nti' niyineri, apo nka nepenša.*
nti' *ni=iyino=ri* *apo* *nka* *ni=epen-ša*
1SG 1SG=teach=3SGf COMPL NEG 1SG=die-IRR
'I teach her if I won't die.' [JC-1/4/06-9]

The conditional clause may precede, as in (104), or follow, as in (105). When the condition is expressed by a negated predicate there is always the complementizer *apo* before the conditional clause, as example (105) shows.

The conditional clause may also be composed of a more complex predicate. In the case of a verb with a complement, the irrealis marking with *-ša* is generally found only on the main verb, and not on the complement, as in (106). The verb *perosokier* 'you swallow it' occurs twice in an identical form, but the first one is the unmarked complement of the verb *-ki'in-* 'want', whereas the second one constitutes the second clause.

(106) *piki'inaša perosokier, perosokier.*
pi=ki'in-a-ša *pi=ero-soki=ro* *pi=ero-soki=ro*
2SG=want-LK-IRR 2SG=swallow-seed=3SGM 2SG=swallow-seed=3SG
'If you want to swallow the seed, swallow it.' [HC-8/3/06-89]

The main verb *-ki'in-* 'want' has to have the linker *-a* added before the irrealis marker, because it is a stative verb. The conditional clause may also be built on the basis of a non-verbal predicate, as exemplified in (107):

(107) *intop pomorekoe' rom apo niwoyok čorosar apo koweša nčoron.*[242]
intop *po-morekoe'* *rom* *apo* *ni=woyok* *čorosar*
later other-year IMM COMPL 1SG=make corn.beer
apo *kowe-ša* *ni=čoron* [SIL-T5-4]
COMPL exist-IRR 1SG=corn
'Later next year, then I am going to make corn-beer, if I have corn.'

In (107) there is also an example of the use of the complementizer *apo* 'if, that', which occurs here twice, marking each clause. This occurrence on both clauses has also been shown for *apo* as a disjunctive connector 'or'. Why and in which cases *apo* is used once or twice is not apparent from my data.

Open conditional clauses closely resemble temporal clauses with *-ša*, cf. the temporal clause in (108):

(108) *etašani te netopoekoč, nisiaper.*
eto-a-ša=ni *te* *ni=etopoeko-čo* *ni=i-siap=ro*
finish-LK-IRR=1SG DEM1m 1SG=sweep-NOM2 1SG=CAUS-enter=3SGm
'When I finish sweeping, I put it in (again).' [RP/EC-17/7/04-87]

In counterfactual conditionals generally both clauses are marked by the participant nominalizer, in addition to the irrealis marker. The marking with this nominalizer

[242] The linker is not suffixed after *k(o)we'* 'exist', presumably because it is a fixed unit and would not be understood an more in the form *kowaša*, this is exceptional for a non-verbal predicate

seems to indicate that something cannot happen any more The nominalizer 'NOM1' is sometimes used to refer to an event completed in the past In (109) and (110) there are two examples of counterfactual conditionals (109) consists of two subsequent sentences that were uttered in a narrative The second part refers to the condition in the first one as well (110) was mentioned spontaneously in conversation

(109) *nka pipašerin yiti, nka rikačowon*
nka pi=pa-ša=ri-no yiti nka ri=kačo-wo-no
NEG 2SG=give-IRR=3SGf-NOM1 chili NEG 3SGf=go-COP-NOM1
'If you had not given her chili, she would not have gone '

koeč moeh rierin in ač –ha– nka rikačin
koeč moeh ri=eri-no in ač ha
because CERT 3SGf=drink-NOM1 water and HES

nka ri=kači-no
NEG 3SGf=go-NOM1
'Because she would have been able to drink water and, eh, she wouldn't have gone ' [GP-N1/I-44/45]

(110) *išer, vikačšapon, ver vipotopotohen*
išer vi=kač-ša-po-no ver vi=poto~poto-he-no
INTJ 1PL=go-IRR-PRFLX-NOM1 PERF 1PL=be wet~INT-DISTR-NOM1
'Phew, if we had gone (home) we would have got completely wet '
[LO/GP-13/3/06-15]

In (110) the adverb *ver* 'PERF /already' is used as a neutral connector, which separates the two subsequent predicates from another and makes clear that we are dealing with two clauses (cf 10 1)

This specific marking in counterfactual conditionals is like interrogative clauses, but different from relative clause marking in one important aspect the nominalizer is added even after an object enclitic This can be observed in the predicate *pipašerin* 'if you had given her' in (109) Further research could come to the conclusion that there are in fact two homophonous morphemes *-no*, of which only one is the nominalizing morpheme, and the other one is used in interrogative and counterfactual conditionals

10 3 3 Temporal clauses the role of departitive -wana in temporal clauses
The departitive morpheme *-wana* can generally be translated as 'do V and go' (cf 6 5 2 2) The question arises why a language should have grammaticalized such a meaning In fact the morpheme is used in a much more complex way, i e for temporal ordering of events in combined clauses Even though the morpheme can also be attached to a predicate not directly related to another in one sentence, the event is related to the context in general It means that something was done before the time of utterance Therefore it can mean something like 'before' in clause relations The clauses may also be coordinated with the connector *ač* 'and' in addition (112) Here are two examples of the use of *-wana* in clause combining

(111) *vinisawanap ši vikač.*
vi=inisa-wana-po *ši* *vi=kač*
1PL=fish-DEP-PRFLX HORT 1PL=go
'Let's fish before we go.' [RP-21/7/04-48]

(112) *ver nkowyowanaw ač načikpašap Sintia-viani-ye.*
ver *ni=kowyo-wana-wo* *ač* *ni=ačik-pa-ša-po*
PERF 1SG=bathe-DEP-COP and 1SG=visit-GO-IRR-PRFLX

Sintia-viani-ye
Cynthia.neighbour-LOC
'Before I went to visit my neighbour Cynthia I took a bath.' [DC-22/3/06-2]

When the event has not happened yet, as for example in a command, the morpheme *-wana* 'DEP' can be attached to the first one of two events. This is the case in the following example:

(113) *kew pihinoewanap piyonopa.*
ke-wo *pi=hino-e-wana-po* *pi=yono-pa*
EV-COP 2SG=see-DUR-DEP-PRFLX 2SG=walk-GO
'Go and see (them all) before you go.' [JC-6/4/06-41]

10.3.4. Verb–complement constructions

A complement clause has been defined as "a clause that functions as an argument (subject or object) of some other clause" by Payne (1997:313; on the base of Noonan 1985:42). This is a very general statement. In 10.2 I have shown how relative clauses are generally NPs that can also function as subjects or objects in a clause (in the case of headless RCs). The specific character of verb–complement constructions in Baure is manifested by a main verb which has a verb complement. The matrix clause that contains the main verb may in other languages be dependent on the complement clause, but in Baure every matrix verb can also occur on its own. The complement clause is always embedded in the matrix clause. Payne further argues that "[t]ypical matrix verbs for finite complements are verbs of utterance and cognition" (Payne 1997:314). In Baure, matrix verbs are verbs of utterance and cognition, but also verbs of motion, perception, temporal verbs, and many others. Non-verbal predicates also function as matrix predicates, e.g. *henokowor* 'it is good (that)'. In Chapter 7 free verbal particles are described and apparently some of these particles are directly derived from verbs. The development of these particles can be understood as a further grammaticalization of verb–complement constructions.

One type of complements is added unmarked, another type of complements has to be marked by the action nominalizer *-čo* 'NOM2' for subordination, which is also used for relative clauses (10.2.2). In principle there is not a real difference between relative clauses that are constructed with this nominalizer and marked complement clauses, but because of the different semantic interpretation this clause type is repeated here. In comparison we can recall the complement clauses marked by a connector, mainly *apo* 'if, that' (10.1.9). This type of complement clauses will not be taken into account again in this section.

The predicates that take subject or object complements, referred to by Noonan (1985:42–43) as "complement-taking predicates", in Baure take an unmarked complement. These predicates constitute a closed class. The predicates that have a complement but do not belong to the defined class of the typically complement-taking predicates always have a marked subordinated predicate complement. The complement may in both cases also be marked by the complementizer *apo* 'if, that' and others, as has already been discussed (10.1.9). The following sections will illustrate the closed class of complement-taking predicates (10.3.5) in Table 10.3, and then move on to the description of marked complementation (10.3.6).

10.3.5. Complement-taking predicates

Complement-taking predicates are verbs of utterance and cognition, will, perception, motion, and some others, as summed up in Table 10.3. There are also examples for each of the semantic groups of verbs in the table.

The complement construction can result in a juxtaposition of predicates, as in (114) with a verb of volition, repeated in Table 10.3.

	matrix V		complement
(114)	*noka*	*pɨkɨ'inow*	*nikotokopɨ.*
	noka	*pi=ki'ino-wo*	*ni=kotoko=pi*
	NEG	2SG=want-COP	1SG=catch=2SG

'You don't want me to touch (lit. catch) you.' [EU-24/3/06-33]

The complement *nikotokopi* 'I touch you' is a predicate in (114), but it can also be analyzed as a complete clause. There may also be explicit arguments in the complement clause, as the following examples with the same verb *-ki'in-* 'want' show:

(115) *nki'inow pon nik koeč nivei'inow.*
ni=ki'ino-wo po-no nik koeč ni=vei'ino-wo
1SG=want-COP other-CLF:human 1SG.eat because 1SG=be.hungry-COP
'I want to eat another one (lit. want another one to eat), because I am hungry.'[243] [JC-14/3/06-36]

(116) *ač to koveči roki'inow rokotoko to sipori.*
ač to kove-či ro=ki'ino-wo ro=kotoko to sipori
and ART dog-DIM 3SGm=want-COP 3SGm=catch ART frog
'And the little dog wants to catch the frog.' [GP-A4-9]

In both examples, (115) and (116), there are additional explicit object arguments. In (115) the object *pon* 'another one' occurs right after the matrix verb, and could be analyzed as the object of both verbs, 'want' and 'eat'. In (116) the object *to sipori* 'the frog' is only part of the complement clause *rokotoko to sipori* 'he catches the frog'.

[243] The classifier for humans is used here as a general form, but it does not refer to a human being

semantic class	predicates	example
utterance and cognition	*-no-* 'tell', *-ke-* 'EV (say)', *-kič-* 'say/do', *-ahač-* 'ask (for sth.)', *-vek-* 'speak', *-kik-* 'think, believe', *-tiri-* 'know (to do)', *-pomoek-* 'ask for'	*nti' nkikoe' peyinowori.* *nti' ni=kiko-i' pi=eyino-wo=ri* 1SG 1SG=believe-EMPH 2SG=lover-COP=3SGf 'I (even) believed she was your lover.'
will	*-ki'in-* 'want'	*noka pıki'inow nikotokopi.* *noka pi=ki'ino-wo ni=kotoko=pi* NEG 2SG=want-COP 1SG=catch=2SG 'You don't want me to touch (lit. catch) you.'
perception	*-hinok-* 'see', *-sompo-* 'hear'	*tič rimos rihinokperi ver nokawaperi.* *tič ri=mos ri=hinok-pa=ri* DEM2f 3SGf=m.i.law 3SG=see-GO=3SGf *ver noka-wapa=ri* PERF NEG-COS=3SGf 'The mother-in-law saw that she wasn't there any more.'
motion (towards)	*-kač-* 'go', *-yon-* 'walk'	*riyonpa wapoeri-ye riehmoekpap.* *ri=yon-pa wapoeri-ye ri=ehmoek-pa-po* 3SGf=walk-GO river-LOC 3SGf=wash.clothes-GO-PRFLX 'She walks to the river in order to wash clothes.'
other	*-ah(i)ko-* 'try', *-am(pik)-* 'bring', *-čona-* 'accompany', *-ita-* 'continue', *-sokia-* 'find', *-pa-* 'give', *-eptiaša-* 'do favour for', *(nka) henow-* 'it is (not) good that', *-asko-* 'help', *-won-* 'send'	*pepitiašani pitoenopani!* *pi=epitiaša=ni pi=ita-ino-pa=ni* 2SG=do.favour=1SG 2SG=weed-BEN-GO=1SG 'Please do me a favour and go to weed for me.'

Table 10 3: Complement-taking predicates

An explicit subject may also be included in the complement clause, but it rather follows the complement verb; only nominal subjects and names may occur before the predicate, as in (117).

(117) *neriki –ha– nki'inow ti Mersedia' riyakšer.*
neriki ha ni=ki'ino-wo ti Mersedia' ri=yak-ša=ro
now HES 1SG=want-COP DEM1f Mercedes 3SGf=sing.song-IRR=3SGm
'Now I want Mercedes to sing it (a song).' [SIL-T6-5]

The subject *ti Mersedia'* 'Mercedes' in (117) is the subject of the complement clause. The matrix clause has a 1SG subject, which is only marked on the matrix verb. In fact, the complement clause can be a complex sentence including more constituents, such as adverbials. This is exemplified in (118), in which the adverb *enevere* 'next day' introduces the complement clause:

(118) *mamit, nkɪ'inow enevere nahkoper niyonpašapo noiy.*
mamit *ni=ki'ɪno-wo* *enevere* *nɪ=ahko-pa=ro*
mamita 1SG=want-COP next.day 1SG=try-GO=3SGm

ni=yon-pa-ša-po *noiy*
1SG=walk-GO-IRR-PRFLX there
'Mum, I want to try to go hunting (lit. go to walk) there tomorrow.'
[RP-N4-22]

In (118) there is also another complement in the complement clause. Predicate clusters can be very complex, and double unmarked complementation occurs very frequently, as in (119) and (120) (cf. also (121)).

(119) *ntori, piki'inow paskoni nikotorek?*
ni=tori *pi=ki'ino-wo* *pi=asko=ni* *nɪ=kotorek*
1SG=friend 2SG=want-COP 2SG=help=1SG 1SG=work
'My friend, do you want to help me work?' [RP-N3-2]

(120) *avɪkoe' nokač nahkɪer nohiškier – naka!*
avɪko-i' *no=kač* *no=ahk=ro* *no=hišk=ro* *naka*
again-EMPH 3PL=go 3PL=try=3SGm 3PL=smell=3SGm NEG
'Again they went to try it to smell him – nothing!' [RP-N11-36]

Now I want to give a few more examples of other complement taking verbs. Probably all verbs of utterance can take a complement. In (121) the verb *-ahač-* 'ask' takes a complement, but it is itself also the complement of the preceding verb *-ki'in-* 'want':

(121) *nki'inow nahačeri noka rihɪnokow tič ntɪr novia'.*
ni=ki'ɪno-wo *ni=ahač=ri* *noka* *ri=hinoko-wo*
1SG=want-COP 1SG=ask=3SGf NEG 3SGf=see-COP

tič *ntɪr* *novɪa'*
DEM2f 1SGP girl.friend
'I want to ask if she hasn't seen my girl-friend.' [RP-N4-83]

The complement of *-ahač-* 'ask' in (121) is negative and is therefore introduced by the negative particle. Further the complement contains also an explicit object: *tič ntir novia'* 'my girl-friend'.

There are not many verbs of perception in my data, but one example with the verb *-hinok-* 'see' is (122). The sentence is from a narrative about a time when the people did not have fire yet.

(122) *ač to yandoe' rohinokow to čintinev nka notirow yaki.*
ač *to* *yandoe'* *ro=hinoko-wo* *to* *činti-nev*
and ART nandu 3SGm=see-COP ART person-PL

nka *notiro-wo* *yaki*
NEG 3PLP-COP fire
'And the nandu saw that the people didn't have fire ' [MD-N13-6]

Motion verbs can also take a complement, as already demonstrated in (121) with the verb *-kač-* 'go' The meaning of the complementation is generally 'to move somewhere in order to do something' (purposive) Usually only verbs marking motion towards are found with complements In imperative clauses the verbs *kew* 'go!' and *kewon* 'come!' are frequently used with a complement The cases of *-yon-* 'walk' with a complement are much rarer Other motion verbs are generally not found with complements In this respect I want to refer back to Chapter 7, in which a number of preverbal particles were shown, some of which are identical to motion verbs The preverbal particles probably go back to a complement or serial verb construction (10 3 7) It is also possible to analyze some of the clauses with motion verbs as asyndetic coordination This sometimes depends on the interpretation In the two subsequent sentences in (123) there are examples of this type of complementation

(123) *'ntori, kewon vinikpan!" boen, ver rokačow-hi ronikpa*
ni=tori *ke-wo-no* *vi=nik-pa-no* *boen*
1SG=friend EV-COP-NOM1 1PL=eat-GO-NOM1 well

ver *ro=kačo-wo=hi* *ro=nik-pa*
PERF 3SGm=go-COP=QUOT 3SGm=eat-GO
' "My friend, come so that we eat!" Well, he went to eat ' [RP-N2/II-18/19]

It is possible to analyze the predicates in the first sentence – *kewon vinikpan* 'come so that we eat' – as two clauses in unmarked coordination, as the two events 'come' and 'we eat' can be regarded as separate events that happen one after the other In the second sentence in (123) *ronikpa* 'he went eat' is the complement of the verb *rokačow-hi* 'he went' in my analysis

Many other verbs can take complements, but only a few more will be exemplified here The verb *-pa-* from the list of Table 10 3 is generally not the matrix verb in a complement construction, but in (124) it is The unmarked complement occurs right after the matrix verb

(124) *pikanačani nti , nipapi pinik*
pi=kanača-ni *nti'* *ni=pa=pi* *pi=nik*
2SG=win over-1SG 1SG 1SG=give=2SG 2SG=eat
'If you win over me, I give you to eat ' [JP-N10-10]

The verbs *-ah(ik)-* 'try', *-ita-* 'continue', *-čona-* 'accompany' are found frequently with a complement It may be important to repeat here that none of the complement-taking predicates have an obligatory complement, and they are therefore not matrix verbs in the strict sense Finally, a non-verbal predicate that can be used with an unmarked complement *nka henowor* 'it is not good' (125)

(125) *nka henowor rihinomirap ti monči espehe-ye,*

nka	*heno-wo=ro*	*ri=hino-mir-a-po*	*ti*	*monči espehe-ye*
NEG	good-COP-3SGm	3SGf=see-face-LK-PRFLX	DEM1f	child mirror-LOC

'It is not good that she regards herself in the mirror, ' [JC-13/7/04-106]

In (125) the complement is unmarked However, a marked complement is also possible with a meaning difference, resulting in *noka henowor* 'he is not good at' (126), and in order to lead up to the following section there is an example in (126) for comparison

(126) *noka henowor teč rohirokoč rokienan teč ropes-enš*

noka	*heno-wo=ro*	*teč*	*ro=hiroko-čo*	*ro=kienan*
NEG	good-COP=3SGm	DEM2m	3SGm=sit-NOM2	3SGm=be like this

teč	*ro=pes=enš*
DEM2m	3SGm=leg=APRV

'Well, you know, he can't sit down well because of his legs being like this ' [EU-N12-51]

10 3 6 Marked complementation

Nearly any predicate can take a marked complement or marked subordinate clause The types of complements will be described in this section Some complement-taking predicates from the preceding section can alternatively be used in the marked construction, usually with no meaning difference The matrix predicate can be directly followed by the marked complement (127), or the complement is preceded by a determiner (as in the RC), which functions as a complementizer in these constructions (128), the latter being the case in the majority of marked complement constructions

(127) *pivetkowor piwoiykoč te wotoki*

pi=ivetko-wo=ro	*pi=woiyko-čo*	*te*	*wotoki*
2SG=be able-COP=3SGm	2SG=make-NOM2	DEM1m	hammock

'You can make a hammock ' [DC-3/4/06-8]

(128) *nivetkow to nikotorekoč*

ni=ivetko-wo	*to*	*ni=kotoreko-čo*
1SG=be able-COP	ART	1SG=work-NOM2

'I am able to work ' [DC-3/4/06-10]

In both examples, (127) and (128), the verb *-ivetko-* 'be able' is followed by a marked complement clause In (127) the complement is juxtaposed to the matrix verb, whereas in (128) the complement is preceded by the article *to*, which shows that the predicate has changed into the nominal category

One major group of predicates that take a marked complement is non-verbal predicates In (125) above there is one example of non-verbal predicate with an unmarked complement This is rather exceptional, and it was also used for a distinction of meanings (compare (126)) Non-verbal predicates can be observed in clauses with temporal (129), manner (130), and intensity (131) adverbs and many others

(129) *ač porok, porok riepšačor.*
ač porok porok ri=epša-čo=ro
and never never 3SGf=appear-NOM2=3SGm
'And she never, never appeared (him).' [GP-N1/II-47]

(130) *ivikoe' teč rovepiač-enš.*
ivi-koe' teč ro=vepia-čo=enš
like.this-EMPH DEM2m 3SGm=tell.lies-NOM2=APRV
'Well, it was the case that he was telling lies, you know.' [GP-N8-57]

(131) *maiy teč nopinokiač.*
maiy teč no=pinokia-čo
much DEM2m 3PL=run-NOM2
'He ran very much (lit. It was very much that he ran).' [JP-N10-7]

The adverbs in examples (129) and (130) can also be used as particles before an unmarked predicate, which is then not analyzed as a complement construction. This is also the case with the preverbal particle *eto* 'terminative (FINISH)' (132, part 2). This particle has probably been derived from a complement construction with the same root functioning as a non-verbal predicate: *eto-* 'finish'. This complement construction always has to be marked, as shown in (132, part 1):

(132) *ver eton teč neparečoč ač nehemoekop.* nehmoekow, *ver eto nehmoekop, nokačpow novehšačpaw.*

ver eto=no teč no=iparečo-čo ač no=ehmoeko-po
PERF finish=3PL DEM2m 3PL=play-NOM2 and 3PL=wash-PRFLX

no=ehmoeko-wo ver eto no=ehmoeko-po
3PL=wash-COP PERF FINISH 3PL=wash-PRFLX

no=kač-po-wo no=vehšač-pa-wo
3PL=go-PRFLX-COP 3PL=change.clothes-GO-COP
'They finished playing and washed themselves. They washed, finished washing, and they went to change clothes.' [RP-N4-57]

The verb *-veyimira-* 'begin' also takes a marked complement, shown in (133):

(133) *kač veyimirap to vikotorekoč.*
kač veyimira-po to vi=kotoreko-čo
GO 1PL.begin-PRFLX ART 1PL=work-NOM2
'We will begin to work.' [GP-11/7/04-2]

Then there are a number of complement-taking predicates, as e.g. *-ki'in-* 'want', *-ah(i)ko* 'try', *-ita-* 'continue', that can occur as matrix verbs of a marked complement construction. The different constructions do not have any different interpretations. Example (134) can be compared to (114) through (119) above, and (135) to (118) and (120) of the preceding section.

(134) *kač rɪkɪ'ɪnaša teč rɪhɪropoč*
kač *rɪ=kɪ'ɪn-a-ša* *teč* *rɪ=hɪropo-čo*
GO 3SGf=want-LK-IRR DEM2m 3SGf=dance-NOM2
'When she wants to dance ' [GP-N7-101]

(135) *nahkošap to nɪhavɪakoč*
nɪ=ahko-ša-po *to* *nɪ=havɪako-čo*
1SG=try-IRR-PRFLX ART 1SG=swɪm-NOM2
'I will try to swim ' [DC-6/4/06-96]

The main difference in the two constructions – unmarked versus marked – is the independence of the marked clause The nominalizer *-čo* 'NOM2' marks the clause as subordinate and facilitates the movement within the sentence This is not possible with the unmarked complement construction, in which the complement always has to follow the matrix verb In (137) the marked complement clause may be moved to the front of the matrix predicate

(136) *nɪtaporeɪy to nɪkotorekoč*
nɪ=ɪta-poreɪy *to* *nɪ=kotoreko-čo*
1SG=continue-REP ART 1SG=work-NOM2
'I will continue again to work ' [DC-6/4/06-66]

(137) *to vɪmonočo neš nkaw plato*
to *vɪ=ɪmono-čo* *neš* *nka-wo* *plato*
ART 1PL=buy-NOM2 meat NEG-COP money
'For buying meat there is no money ' [HC-20/8/03-4]

In Table 10 3 the verb *-tɪrɪ-* 'know' is listed as a complement-taking predicate In general it takes unmarked complements The derived form *tɪrɪn* 'knowing' is formally a noun and takes marked complements In addition, speakers also use the verb *-tɪrɪ-* 'know' with a marked complement as an alternative All three possibilities are demonstrated in (138) through (140)

(138) *ntɪrɪow neherɪk*
nɪ=tɪrɪ-wo *nɪ=eherɪk*
1SG=know-COP 1SG=spin
'I know spinning ' [DC-6/4/06-74]

(139) *ntɪ' tɪrɪn to neherɪkoč*
ntɪ' *tɪrɪ-no* *to* *nɪ=eherɪko-čo*
1SG know-NOM1 ART 1SG=spɪn-NOM2
'I know spinning (very well) ' [DC-6/4/06-75]

(140) *nka ntɪrɪow teč nɪkonoekoč, nka ntɪrɪow nkonoek*
nka *nɪ=tɪrɪ-wo* *teč* *nɪ=konoeko-čo* *nka*
NEG 1SG=know-COP DEM2m 1SG=wrɪte-NOM2 NEG

nɪ=tɪrɪ-wo *nɪ=konoek*
1SG=know-COP 1SG=wrɪte
'I don't know to write, I don't know to write ' [HC-10/8/04-10/11]

The difference between (138) and (139) is based on the kind of predicate the verbal predicate in (138) is interpreted as a relatively more temporal state than the non-verbal predicate in (139), which is translated as 'know well' Nonetheless, (140) shows that a marked and unmarked construction can both occur with the verbal predicate *-tiri-* 'know' with seemingly no meaning difference

Finally, marked complements can have a wider range of meanings, as for example purposive, temporal, or reason A purposive complement is the one in (137) 'for buying meat' A temporal interpretation of a complement can be observed in (141)

(141) *neriki ne' teč nošimač to pore' ač –ha– nka nosokiaw to neron*

neriki	*ne'*	*teč*	*no=šim-a-čo*	*to*	*pore'*	*ač*	*ha*
now	here	DEM2m	3PL-arrive-LK-NOM2	ART	tari	and	HES

nka	*no=sokia-wo*	*to*	*no=iron*
NEG	3PL=find-COP	ART	3PL=parent

'Now that they arrived there at the tari (where it was hanging in a tree) they didn't find their father ' [GP-N7-6]

In (142) the complement is the reason why the man in the narrative cries

(142) *kač-hi royapa teč riavinon teč raro'inokočow teč rotiwapoekoe'*

kač=hi	*ro=yon-pa*	*teč*	*ri=avinon*
GO=QUOT	3SGm=walk-GO	DEM2m	3SGf=husband

teč	*ro=aro'inoko-čo-wo*	*teč*	*roti-wapa-ikoe'*
DEM2m	3SGm=be sad-NOM2-COP	DEM2m	3SGm-COS-EMPH

'Her husband went to cry, because he was sad for being all alone ' [GP-N1/II-59]

10 3 7 Serial verb constructions

Payne defines serial verbs as follows

> "A serial-verb construction contains two or more verb roots that are neither compounded [ ] nor members of separate clauses " (Payne 1997 307)

Serial verb constructions are well-known from West Africa, the Caribbean, and South east Asia Payne refers to verb roots in his definition However, other studies (eg Sebba 1997) take a wider view Finite verbs with possible person cross-reference on the verb, as in Baure, may also occur in serial verb constructions As mentioned above, serial verb constructions are distinguished from verb or predicate coordination (described in 10 3 1 to 10 3 3) The main distinction is that in a serial construction there is only one event, whereas in coordination the predicates refer to separable events The coordination of predicates is identical with the coordination of clauses without connector Serial verb constructions, on the other hand, are a number of verbs that are uttered in one clause In Baure the two categories seem pretty well distinguishable, whereas in other languages coordinated constructions may also be analyzed as serial constructions (cf Sebba 1997 195)

In the serial verb construction in Baure all verbs contain obligatorily subject cross-reference, except for cases where the serial construction is part of a subordinate

clause. In the series of verbs none is subordinate to the other. In my Baure data there are no serial verb constructions with more than two verbs. The construction reminds one of the apposition of NPs described in 10.2.9. It can be regarded as a kind of verbal apposition. Sometimes one verb is more general and the other more specific in for example the kind of motion, as in the following example:

(143) *čas monči-wo-ni nikač niyonpoek šonoki-ye.*
čas *monči-wo=ni* *ni=kač* *ni=yon-poek* *šonoki-ye*
long.ago child-COP=1SG 1SG=go 1SG=walk-down way-LOC
'In earlier times when I was a child, I walked barefoot that way.'[JC-7/3/06-4]

In (143) the speaker uses two verbs to refer to the event of walking: the first one is the general verb *-kač-* 'go', and the second one specifies the event by the verb *-yonpoek-* 'walk barefoot (lit. walk down)'. Both verbs cross-refer to the 1SG subject by the proclitic *ni-*. The verb *-kač-* is also used in complement constructions. It generally means 'to go to do something', but can also refer more abstractly to a future event or intention. A complement construction with the two predicates is possible with future reference, as e.g. in the order *pikač piyonpoek!* (2SG=GO 2SG=walk-down) 'Go and walk barefoot!'. Further more, the verb root *-kač-* 'go' is also used as a preverbal particle (cf. 7), which probably goes back to a reduction of the complement construction. In (144) the serial construction from Table 10.2 is repeated. The first verb is also *-kač-* 'go', but the second one is the verb *-pin-* 'flee'. Both verbs refer to the same event.

(144) *rokačpow ropinop.*
ro=kač-po-wo *ro=pino-po*
3SGm=go-PRFLX-COP 3SGm=flee-PRFLX
'he (went away and) fled' [RP-N3-53]

Another example with a different verb of motion is found in (145):

(145) *nošim nohasopikow to neč tekow to ka apo teč nariačowon.*
no=šim *no=haso-piko-wo* *to* *neč*
3PL=arrive 3PL=caravan-COME-COP ART DEM2PL

teko-wo *to* *ka* *apo* *teč* *no=ariačo-wo-no*
all-COP ART IND COMPL DEM2m 3PL=grow-COP-NOM1
'They arrived, coming as a caravan, all the ones that they had brought up.'
[JP-N9-65]

In (145) the event of arriving is specified by the second verb *nohasopikow* 'they come as a caravan', which contains the verbal morpheme or root *-pik-* 'come'. Both events happen at the same time: 'they arrive' and 'they come (in a specific way)'. In the next example the serial construction consists of two verbs of utterance.

(146) *ač piti' pikoponiani pikičini: ah, ikarek-niš te sowon.*
ač *piti'* *pi=koponia=ni* *pi=kič=ni* *ah*
and 2SG 2SG=answer-1SG 2SG=say.do=1SG INTJ

ikarek=niš *te* *sowon*
for.that.reason=EXCLA DEM1m rain
'And you answer me saying: ah, that's why it rains.' [DC-17/4/06-60]

In (146) the two verbs *-koponia-* 'answer' and *-kič-* 'say' occur in a serial construction, but the second one is more general. Maybe *-kič-* functions as a complementizer in (146), as in African languages and Caribbean creoles (cf. Sebba 1997:196–197).

An instrumental meaning in Baure, a language that does not have adpositions, translated as 'with' into English can be gained with the verb *-ina-* 'use', as demonstrated in (147).

(147) *roepkiekier roena' to yakis.*
ro=ipkiek=ro *ro=ina* *to* *yakis*
3SGm=blow.down=3SGm 3SGm=use ART stick
'He blew him down with a stick.' [RP-6/7/04-59]

The verb *-čon-* 'accompany' can be used in a comitative construction, as in (148).

(148) *heni, rokičowori-hi, nkotorekow nčonowor.*
heni *ro=kičo-wo=ri=hi* *ni=kotoreko-wo*
yes 3SGm=say.do-COP=3SGf=QUOT 1SG=work-COP

ni=čono-wo=ro
1SG=accompany-COP=3SGm
'Yes, he said to her, I work with him.' [RP-N3-14]

Further on, comparison is indicated with the verbs *-erok-* 'surpass' and *-ino-* 'be like' (cf. 5.5), as in (149) and (150):

(149) *rierokowoni riti' yonačowonowori, nkaw nti'.*
ri=eroko-wo=ni *riti'* *yonačowono-wo=ri* *nka-wo* *nti'*
3SGf=surpass-COP=1SG 3SGf oldest-COP=3SGf NEG-COP 1SG
'She is older than me (lit. she surpasses me in being the oldest).'
[DC-11/3/06-20]

When someone wants to point at the similarity of an action the verb *-ino-* 'be like' is used. This verb for comparison is also applied as a serial verb right after the predicate it refers to. In (150) this is also a complex predicate with a complement: *nki'inow noporia'* 'I want them to sew'. When referring to size or age there is also the alternative of incorporating the attribute into the verb *-ino-* 'be like' (cf. 5.5).

(150) *nki'inow noporia' roenow te naronow nerikikoe' monik.*
ni=ki'ino-wo *no=poria'ro=ino-wo* *te* *ni=arono-wo*
1SG=want-COP 3PL=sew 3SGm=be.like DEM1m 1SG=dress-COP

neriki-koe' *monik*
now-EMPH pretty
'I want them to sew like this, my dress is pretty now.'[244] [SIL-T1-3]

[244] This was the translation given by Baptista & Wallin in their data. An alternative translation could be 'I want them to sew like this, my pretty dress, is/looks now.'

In (150) the second predicate is non-verbal: *yonačowon-* '(be) the oldest'. There are possibly other constructions with the verb *-erok-* 'surpass' that include verbal predicates, but unfortunately the construction is not used frequently any more and therefore there are no more examples in the data. An alternative is an incorporated attribute in the verb *-erok-* 'surpass', as already shown in Chapter 5.

> "Finalmente (ya estoy cansando con este capítulo) si alguna otra partícula falta que pide ser puesta aquí y no se ofrece [ ], se perdonará el olvido [ ], á la ignorancia si todavia no se sabe, porque ne es capaz hombre abacarlo todo, y cada dia se vá aprendiendo de nuevo, y descubriendo mas en la obscuridad y espesura de estas lenguas bárbaras y abstrusas "

(Padre Antonia Magio de la Compañia de Jesus, 1749, writing at the end of his description of the Baure language, in Adam & Leclerc 1880 37)

"Finally (I am already getting tired with this chapter) if anything is missing here and is not included, it is due to forgetfulness, and the ignorance of still not knowing, because man is not capable of including everything, and each day one will learn more and discover more in the obscurity and jungle of these barbarous and abstruse languages " [translation· S D]

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APPENDIX A. Specific grammatical morphemes

A. 1. Affixes, clitics, particles

FORM		GLOSS		MEANING
-a	=	LK	=	linker
amo	=	why.not	=	interrogative particle 'why not?'
-anev	=	hPL	=	human plural
apo	=	COMPL	=	complementizer
avik	=	REP	=	repetitive
e-	=	UNSP	=	unspecified
=enš	=	APRV	=	approval
eto	=	FINISH	=	terminative, finish
-ča	=	AUG	=	augmentative
-či	=	DIM	=	diminutive
-čo	=	APPL	=	applicative
-čo	=	NOM2	=	action nominalizer
ha	=	HES	=	hesitation
-he	=	DISTR	=	distributive
-hi	=	WTE	=	weather/environment morpheme
=hi	=	QUOT	=	quotative
i-	=	CAUS	=	causative
-i	=	DUR	=	durative
-i'	=	EMPH	=	emphatic marker
imo-	=	CAUS	=	causative
-ino	=	BEN	=	benefactive
-'ino	=	SUBJ	=	subjectivity
ito	=	PROG	=	progressive
ka	=	IND	=	indefinite pronoun
kač	=	GO	=	go, intentional, directional
-k(i)e-	=	EV	=	empty verb root
ko	=	why	=	interrogative particle 'why'
ko-	=	ATTR	=	attributive
-ko	=	ABS	=	absolute morpheme
-koko	=	RCPC	=	reciprocal
kon	=	who/what	=	interrogative particle'who/what'
mo-	=	PRIV	=	privative
moeh	=	CERT	=	certainty
-nev	=	PL	=	plural
ni=, =ni	=	1SG	=	personal clitic
=niš	=	EXCLA	=	exclamative
nka	=	NEG	=	negative
no=, =no	=	3PL	=	personal clitic
-no	=	POSS	=	possessive marker
-no	=	NOM1	=	participant nominalizer
-pa	=	GO	=	go, intentional, directional
pi=, =pi	=	2SG	=	personal clitic
-pi	=	QNOM	=	quality nominalization

-pik	=	COME	=	directional: towards
-po	=	PRFLX	=	perfective & reflexive
-poeiy	=	REPN	=	negative repetitive (never again)
-poreiy	=	REP	=	repetitive
ri=, =ri	=	3SGf	=	personal clitic
-ri	=	NOM3	=	product nominalizer
ro=, =ro	=	3SGm	=	personal clitic
-ro	=	ro	=	unanalyzed morpheme, cf. 10.2.6
rom	=	IMM	=	immediate
-si	=	PASS	=	passive
-so	=	APRX	=	approximative
-ša	=	IRR	=	irrealis
ši	=	HORT	=	cohortative
ta	=	JUSS	=	jussive
tiow	=	CLEFT	=	cleft
toeri	=	POT	=	potential
ver	=	PERF	=	perfective
vi=, =vi	=	1PL	=	personal clitic
-wana	=	DEP	=	departitive
-wapa	=	COS	=	change of state
-wo	=	COP	=	copula
-(y)a	=	CANT	=	cantative
-ye	=	LOC	=	locative
yi=, =yi	=	2PL	=	personal clitic

A. 2. Classifiers

form	gloss	class members	attached to numerals	semantic class
-no	human	*činti* (person), *eton* (woman), *hir* (man), *roea-mokonoe'* (cloud), *wapoer* (river), *-ahakis* (tear), *-haše'* (hat), *soratı* (village), *toerkıer* (field worker), *or* (hour)	+	human, related to humans
-a	animal	*ka'an* (animal), *kahaw* (deer), *kove'* (dog), *mısı* (cat), *na'* (egg), *šiye'* (fox), *som* (tapir), *šowekon* (jaguar), *tot* (warthog)	+	quadruped animals
-ı	fruit & bird	*košı'ı'* (motacú fruit), *mokovore* (papaya), *poe'* (aguaí), *šoroe'* (cusi fruit), *tikorokoe'* (guava), *aren* (bird), *poeh* (duck), *sipor* (ostrich), *sorisorı* (owl), *tiporek* (chicken)	+	sweet round fruit, mainly from trees; birds
-e	unsweet	*kahap* (manioc), *mamis* (sweet potato), *mokovis* (pumpkin), *sipe'ek* (mate), *tawe'* (ball), *tikorıe'* (tutuma)	+	non-sweet fruit, mainly round
-pa	flat & round	*hanapa* (cedar wood board), *hawpa* (soap), *impok* (choruno for taking water from well), *rekirok* (choruno), *sipa* (mate), *šoropa* (charapa),	+	mostly flat and round things
-pe	cutlery	*hikoč* (knife), *tiyowok* (spoon), *trinči* (fork)	+	cutlery
-pi	long & thin	*arampripi* (wire), *eraserokoč* (lasso), *kiwor* (snake), *kaharopi* (thread), *sakopi* (worm), *seman* (week), *sepirok* (tape worm), *yakopi* (candle)	+	long, thin, sometimes flexible

-po	tiny	*hampon* (ant sp), *han* (wasp), *him* (fish), *hoser* (fly), *kočopon* (caiman), *kokon* (catarpillar), *kotirip* (ant sp), *kosipo* (shell), *kosoviri* (centipede), *ni'* (mosquito), *rim* (piranha), *šom* (tarantula), *wahašer* (ant sp.), *yomoep* (bee), *čičorop* (bean), *čoros* (maize), *kirikiri* (peanut), *moeišop* (pineapple seed), *ventiyop* (melon seed), *šep* (chivé); *šonkip* (way)	+	fish and insects, little tiny things
-mo	woven	*-aroni* (dress), *-čom* (skin), *haromok* (cloth), *koharimon* (table cloth), *koromok* (fabric), *-mom* (vagina), *pania'* (towel), *yorim* (mat)	+	textile, woven material
-mpe	flat	*hamerok* (paper), *kiher* (moon), *pari* (house), *plat* (banknote), *viter* (bat), *kes* (cheese)	+	flat
-sa	water	*-hewesa-* (jump in water), *-siapoesa-* (enter the water),		
-se	oval	*-arover* (boat), *senti* (watermelon), *was* (glass), *yašor* (canoe)	+	long or oblong (oval) containers
-si	stick	*-kori/korirok* (arrow), *lapis* (pencil), *yakis* (firewood)	+	wooden
-iro	round	*kareton* (wheel of the wheelbarrow), *kohi* (stone), *kohistot* (pebble), *panisar* (empanizada)	+	
-aro	liquid	*in* (water), *marok* (chicha)	+	liquids
-či	month	*kiher* (month, moon)	+	months
-aha	dish	*balde* (bucket), *baniador* (big bowl), *kihev* (cooking pot), *-nikori/nikirok* (plate)	+	widely open (food) containers, dishes
-ki	contents	*howoki* (hole), *toerok* (field), *kaye* (street)	+	contents, frequently of 2-dimensional places
-'ino	tool	*poe'* (axe)	+	tools
-seki	oval contents	*renek* (drink), *votel* (bottle),	+	contents of oval container
-eki	jug	*čomeki* (fat person), *hopi* (stone jug), *tikorie'* (choruno), *yašor* (boat, inside)	+	big container
-iki	net	*hokon* (basket), *-korak* (net)	+	net-like containers
-ahaki	pot contents	occurs in numerals and adjectives	+	contents of pot, kinds of food
-koki	inside	occurs in adjectives and compounds	–	inside of containers
-poki	hammock	*-imok* (hammock), *wotoki* (hammock)	+	long flexible
-ake	side3D	side of a house e.g.	+	side
-sare	side2D	occurs in adjectives *posare* 'other'	+	side of the village
-aso	time	*čas* (long time)	–	time
-pi	word	occurs in compounds and incorporated into verbs	–	words

-amok	flat & raised	*emokoe'* (chapapa), *kam/kater* (bed), *kareton* (wheelbarrow), *mes* (table), *širompek* (nest),	+	flat and raised things, possibly on legs, like a table
-yok	times	occurs with numerals	+	

Table A.2.1: Grammaticalized classifiers

form	gloss	class members	attached to numerals	semantic class
-čipi	roof	*-čipi* (back), *ečipi'* (roof), *kopir* (armadillo), *pehič* (armadillo sp.), *sipori* (frog), *sopiri* (tortoise)	+	roof-like
-imir	face	*-imir* (face)	?	face, front
-kis	eye	*-kis* (eyes), *wahis* (star)	+	eyes, stars
-waki	handful	*-waki* (palm of hand)	+	handful
-čipie	pile	*ečpie'* (island), *erapoe'* (pile of plantains)	+	pile of things
-čow	circle	*-čow/ečowe* (palm leaf), *erapoe'* (wreath), *šora-čow* (cusi leaf)	+	palm leafs, wreaths
-aki	diameter	*aki* (lagoon), *paraki* (room), *sorati* (village, size), *wapoer* (river), *yakis* (firewood, bound together)	+	big, round, bound together, with a diameter
-še	trunc	*eše'* (tree trunk)	?	tree trunks, river bank, vertical size, side
-poe	down	incorporated into verbs	–	ground, down
-api	under	noun compounds, incorporated into verbs	–	space under
-ači	other place	*ačiwani* (different place)	–	different place

Table A.2.2 Metaphorically extended and locative classifiers

form	gloss	class members	attached to numerals	semantic class, notes
plant parts				
-pon	leaf	*eponoe'* (leaf), *sonipon* (tobacco leaf)	+	leaf
-ewo	raceme	*erapoe'* (plantain)	+	raceme
-soki	seed	*-soki/esoki* (seed), *šoroesoki* (cusi nut), *koyorisoe'* (totaí nut)	+	seed
-poe	banana	*erapoe'* (plantain), *košapoe'* (banana)	+	banana
-moto	plant	*poremoi* (mate plant),	+	plant
-wok	tree	*ewokoe'* (tree)	+	tree
-čomomoe'	flower	*čomomoe'* (flower)	+	flower
body parts – human				
-ni	voice	*-noni* (voice)	+	voice
-wohis	hand	*-wohis* (hand)	+	hand

-ser	tooth	*-ser* (tooth)	+	tooth
-pasiri	nose	*-pasiri* (nose)	+	nose
-čokon	ear	*-čokon* (ear)	+	ear
-pes	leg	*-pes* (leg)	+	leg
-imas	genitals	*-imas* (male genitals)	+	genitals
body parts – animals				
-hi	horn	*ehi'* (horn)	+	horn
-išɨ	feather	*ešiš* (feather)	+	feather
-ihis	tail	*-ihos* (tail)	+	tail
-powoki	arm	*-powoki* (arm)	+	arm
-tip	nail	*-tip* (fingernail, hoof)	+	fingernail, hoof
time				
-morekoe'	year	*-morekoe'* (year)	+	year
-sekone	day	*roseskoner* (day)	+	day
-yitinoe	night	*yotoer* (night)	+	night
specific				
-ešɨ	piece	*neš* (meat)	+	pieces of meat
-čon	snail	*čoris* (snail), *čorisčon* (snail sp)	+	snails
-čosoe	fence	*ečosoe'* (fence)	+	fence
-čoro	frame	*ewnokoe'* (door)	+	door frame
-esonokoe	door	*esonokoe'* (door)	+	door
-torokoe	corner	*-torok(oe')* (corner)	+	corner
new classifiers				
-kori	cf *-si*	*-kori/ korirok* (arrow)	+	< *-kori* 'arrow'
-toto	cf *-iro*	*kohistot* (pebble), *koten* (caramellized sugar cane)	+	< *kohistot* 'pebble'
-kor	cf *-iki*	*-korak/ korakok* (fishing net)	+	< ***-korak*** 'fishing net'
-si	cf. *-e*	*mamis* (sweet potato)	+	< *mamis* 'sweet potato'
-tono	button	*voton* (button)	+	< Sp *botón* 'button'
-mes	cf.*-amok*	*mes* (table)	+	< Sp. *mesa* 'table'

Table A 2 3: Unique classifiers or "repeaters"

APPENDIX B Text Samples

B 1 Narratives

B 1 1 to sıporı ač to kotıs Rosalía Pıaıcobo (second versıon [RP-N2/II])
'The frog and the lızard'

1 *nakırok-ye teč kotıs rokomıračow teč sıporı ačow rovekıer*
nakırok-ye *teč* *kotıs* *ro=komıračo-wo teč* *sıporı* *ačo-wo*
long ago-LOC DEM2m lızard 3SGm=meet-COP DEM2m frog and-COP

ro=vek=ro
3SGm=talk=3SGm
'Long ago the lızard met the frog and saıd to hım '

2 *rokıčowor-hı "ntorı, nkı'ınow paskoša nıwoyıkša to nıwer?"*
ro=kıčo-wo=ro=hı *nı=torı* *nı=kı'ıno-wo* *pı=asko-ša*
3SGm=say-COP=3SGm=QUOT 1SG=frıend 1SG=want-COP 2SG=help-IRR

nı=woyık-ša *to* *nı=wer*
1SG=make-IRR ART 1SG=house
'He saıd (ıt ıs saıd) "My frıend would you help me make (repaır) my house?" '

3 *"boen", rokıčowor-hı teč sıporı, "ač rekıčın?"*
boen *ro=kıčo-wo=ro=hı* *teč* *sıporı* *ač* *rekıčın*
well 3SGm=say-COP=3SGm=QUOT DEM2m frog and when
' "Well", he saıd to the frog, "and when?" '

4 *"bueno", rokıčowor-hı, "nopı (to) ka rekıč "*
bueno *ro=kıčo-wo=ro=hı* *no=pı* *to* *ka* *rekıč*
well 3SGm=say-COP=3SGm=QUOT 1SG.tell=2SG ART IND when
' "Well", he saıd to hım, "I tell you know when " '

5. *teč worapık teč ses, raserokow to ses*
teč *worapık* *teč* *ses* *ro=aseroko-wo* *to* *ses*
DEM2m come DEM2m sun 3SGm=be.strong-COP ART sun
'The sun came up and ıt was gettıng strong.'

6. *rokıčowor-hı ntorı, ver nkı'ınowapa paskopanı*
ro=kıčo-wo=ro=hı *nı=torı* *ver* *nı=kı'ıno-wapa*
3SGm=say-COP=3SGm=QUOT 1SG=frıend PERF 1SG=want-COS

pı=asko-pa=nı
2SG=help-GO=1SG
'He saıd to hım. "My frıend, now I want you to help me." '

7 *boen, rokıčowor-hı, rokač teč sıporı*
boen *ro=kıčo-wo=ro=hı* *ro=kač* *teč* *sıporı*
well 3SGm=say-COP=3SGm=QUOT 3SGm=go DEM2m frog
' "Well", he saıd. The frog went '

8. *ver raročow ani-ye.*
   ver *ro=aročo-wo* *ani-ye*
   PERF 3SGm=climb.up-COP sky-LOC
   'He already climbed up.'

9. *ver kač noemčowa' teč rower.*
   ver *kač* *no=im-čowa'* *teč* *ro=wer*
   PERF GO 3PL=put-palm.leaf DEM2m 3SGm=house
   'They already went to put the palm leaves on the house (roof).'

10. *raserokpaw to ses.*
    ro=aserok-pa-wo *to* *ses*
    3SGm=be.strong-GO-COP ART sun
    'The sun was getting strong.'

11. *rokičowor-hi: "ntori, ver henowe'..."*
    ro=kičo-wo=ro=hi *ni=tori* *ver* *heno-wo-i'*
    3SGm=say-COP=3SGm=QUOT 1SG=friend PERF good-COP-EMPH
    'He said to him: "My friend, better ... (we stop)." '

12. *"nokaw", rokičowor-hi, "nti' nehemo'inow kweša ne' to ses!"*
    noka-wo *ro=kičo-wo=ro=hi* *nti'* *ni=ehemo'ino-wo*
    NEG-COP 3SGm=say-COP=3SGm=QUOT 1SG 1SG=relax-COP

    kwe-ša *ne'* *to* *ses*
    exist-IRR here ART sun
    ' "No", he said to him. "I am relaxing when there is sun here!"

13. *tiow to kik nkotorekiy rokičowor-hi teč kotis.*
    tiow *to* *kik* *ni=kotorek-yi* *ro=kičo-wo=ro=hi*
    CLEFT ART really 1SG=work-LOC 3SGm=say-COP=3SGm=QUOT

    teč *kotis*
    DEM2m lizard
    ' "This is exactly the time that I work (best)", said the lizard to him.'

14. *ah boen, nkačikop iškon narimpeaw.*
    ah boen *no=kač-i-ko-po* *iškon* *no=ari-mpe-a-wo*
    INTJ well 3PL=go-DUR-ABS-PRFLX until 3PL=finish-CLF:flat-LK-COP
    'Ah, well, they went on until they finished the roof.'

15. *ver teč narimpeačow rokopoek teč sipori rokačpow inowoko-ye, roehewesaw, koeč ver nka rawantačpaw to ses, roehewesaw inowoko-ye.*
    ver *teč* *no=ari-mpe-a-čo-wo* *ro=kopoek* *teč*
    PERF DEM2m 3PL=finish-CLF:flat-LK-NOM2-COP 3SGm=come.down DEM2m

    sipori *ro=kač-po-wo* *ino-woko-ye* *ro=ehewe-sa-wo*
    frog 3SGm=go-PRFLX-COP water-place-LOC 3SGm=throw-CLF:water-COP

    koeč *ver* *nka* *ro=awantač-pa-wo* *to* *ses*
    because PERF NEG 3SGm=endure-GO-COP ART sun

ro=ehewe-sa-wo *ino-woko-ye*
3SGm=throw-CLF:water-COP water-place-LOC
'When they had finished the roof, the frog came down and went away to the water place (where he lives), he jumped into the water, because he couldn't endure the sun; he jumped into the water.'

16. *boen, ver teč kotis ver rohičpaw ronikpa.*
boen *ver* *teč* *kotis* *ver* *ro=hič-pa-wo* *ro=nik-pa*
well PERF DEM2m lizard PERF 3SGm=wait-GO-COP 3SGm=eat-GO
'Well, the lizard was already waiting to eat.'

17. *ver te – retorok teč sipori noiy inowoko-ye.*
ver *te* *ro=etorok* *teč* *sipori* *noiy* *ino-woko-ye*
PERF DEM1m 3SGm=leave DEM2m frog there water-place-LOC
'Then the frog left to the water place there.'

18. *rokičowor-hi: "ntori, kewon vinikpan!"*
ro=kičo-wo=ro=hi *ni=tori* *ke-wo-no* *vi=nik-pa-no*
3SGm=say-COP=3SGm=QUOT 1SG=friend EV-COP-NOM1 1PL=eat-GO-NOM1
'He (the lizard) said to him: "My friend, come, we go to eat!" '

19. *boen, ver rokačow-hi ronikpa.*
boen *ver* *ro=kačo-wo=hi* *ro=nik-pa*
well PERF 3SGm=go-COP=QUOT 3SG=eat-GO
'Well, then (it is said,) that he went to eat.'

20. *ver eto nonik.*
ver *eto* *no=nik*
PERF FINISH 3PL=eat
'Then they finished eating.'

21. *kičowor: "boen, ntori", rokičowor-hi. "asoropaiy ver paskoni."*
kičo-wo=ro *boen* *ni=tori* *ro=kičo-wo=ro=hi*
say-COP=3SGm well 1SG=friend 3SGm=say-COP=3SGm=QUOT

asoropaiy *ver* *pi=asko=ni*
thank.you PERF 2SG=help=1SG
'He said: "Well, my friend", he said. "Thank you for your help." '

22. *"heni", rokičowor-hi, "čapti – rek-?"*
heni *ro=kičo-wo=ro=hi* *ač-piti'* *rek(ičin)*
yes 3SGm=say-COP=3SGm=QUOT and-2SG when
' "Yes", he said, "And what about you – when (shall I help you)?" '

23. *"boen, nti' nopi to rekič niwoyikow to niwer", rokičowor-hi teč sipori.*
boen *nti'* *no=pi* *to* *rekič* *ni=woyiko-wo* *to* *ni=wer*
well 1SG 1SG.tell=2SG ART when 1SG=make-COP ART 1SG=house

ro=kičo-wo=ro=hi *teč* *sipori*
3SG=say-COP=3SGm=QUOT DEM2m frog
' "Well, I tell know when I make my house", said the frog to him." '

24. *ver teč worapikčap ko to sowon, rokačow-hi rokič*:
ver *teč* *worapik-čo-pa* *ko* *to* *sowon ro=kačo-wo=hi*
PERF DEM2m come-NOM2-GO like ART rain 3SGm=go-COP=QUOT

ro=kič
3SGm=say
'The rainy season came, then he came, it is said, and said:'

25. "ver, ntori", rokičowor-hi, "hãti'?" rokičowor-hi.
ver *ni=tori* *ro=kičo-wo=ro=hi* *hã-(pi)ti'*
PERF 1SG=friend 3SGm=say-COP=3SGm=QUOT INTJ-2SG

ro=kičo-wo=ro=hi
3SGm=say-COP=3SGm=QUOT
' "Now, my friend", he said, "what about you?" '

26. *"nti' nopi ko ver nki'inow piwoyikopa to niwer, paskopani."*
nti' *no=pi* *ko* *ver* *ni=ki'ino-wo* *pi=woyiko-pa*
1SG 1SG.tell=2SG like PERF 1SG=want-COP 2SG=make-GO

to *ni=wer* *pi=asko-pa=ni*
ART 1SG=house 2SG=help-GO=1SG
' "I tell you know that now I want that you come to make my house, come and help me!" '

27. *"boen, tekičin enevere", rokičowor-hi teč sipori.*
boen *tekičin* *enevere* *ro=kičo-wo=ro=hi* *teč* *sipori*
well time.point next.day 3SGm=say-COP=3SGm=QUOT DEM2m frog
' "Well, the time is tomorrow", he said to the frog.'

28. *ač enevere ver rokačpow teč kotis raskopa teč sipori.*
ač *enevere* *ver* *ro=kač-po-wo* *teč* *kotis*
and next.day PERF 3SGm=say-PRFLX-COP DEM2m lizard

ro=asko-pa *teč* *sipori*
3SGm=help-GO DEM2m frog
'And the next day the lizard came and went to help the frog.'

29. *enevere teč ver raročow ečpi-ye ver kač noem to ečowe', ver kač rosowe', rosowe'.*
enevere *teč* *ver* *ro=aročo-wo* *ečpi-ye* *ver* *kač*
next.day DEM2m PERF 3SGm=climb.up-COP roof-LOC PERF GO

no=ım *to* *ečowe'* *ver* *kač* *ro=sowe'* *ro=sowe'*
3PL=put ART palm.leaf PERF GO 3SGm=rain 3SGm=rain
'The next day he climbed up the roof and they put up the palm leaves; it started to rain.'

30. *kač rosowe' čonok.*
kač *ro=sowe'* *čonok*
GO 3SGm=rain big
'It started to rain heavily.'

31. *ač teč kotis nka rawantačow, nka rawantačow.*
ač *teč* *kotis* *nka* *ro=awantačo-wo* *nka* *ro=awantačo-wo*
and DEM2m lizard NEG 3SGm=endure-COP NEG 3SGm=endure-COP
'And the lizard didn't endure (the rain).'

32. *"ntori", rokičowor-hi, ver rehemo'inapa.*
ni=tori *ro=kičo-wo=ro=hi* *ver* *ro=ehemo'in-a-pa*
1SG=friend 3SGm=say-COP=3SGm=QUOT PERF 3SGm=relax-LK-GO
' "My friend", he said to him (the frog), he was already pausing.'

33. *"nokaw", rokičowor-hi, "tiow te kiko naserok to nkotorekočow", rokičowor-hi teč sipori.*
noka-wo *ro=kičo-wo=ro=hi* *tiow* *te* *kiko* *ni=aserok*
NEG-COP 3SGm=say-COP=3SGm=QUOT CLEFT DEM1m really 1SG=be.strong

to *ni=kotoreko-čo-wo* *ro=kičo-wo=ro=hi* *teč* *sipori*
ART 1SG=work-NOM2-COP 3SGm=say-COP=3SGm=QUOT DEM2m frog
' "No!" he said. "This is exactly the time when I work (best)", said the frog.'

34. *boen, ver teč kotis nka rawantačow rehevipoekow, romaniwapa rehevipoekow ač rosiapo ropeni-ye.*
boen *ver* *teč* *kotis* *nka* *ro=awantačo-wo* *ro=ehevipoeko-wo*
well PERF DEM2m lizard NEG 3SGm=endure-COP 3SGm=fall.down-COP

ro=mani-wapa *ro=ehevipoeko-wo* *ač* *ro=siapo* *ro=peni-ye*
3SGm=be.cold-COS 3SGm=fall.down-COP and 3SGm=enter 3SGm=cave-LOC
'Well, the lizard didn't endure and fell down; he got cold, fell down, and he entered his cave.'

35. *rokičowor-hi teč siporı: "ah, ntori", rokičowor-hi.*
ro=kičo-wo=ro=hi *teč* *sipori* *ah* *ni=tori*
3SGm=say-COP=3SGm=QUOT DEM2m frog INTJ 1SG=friend

ro=kičo-wo=ro=hi
3SGm=say-COP=3SGm=QUOT
'The frog said to him: "Ah, my friend", he said.'

36. *ver nkanačivi: "nti' awantač aw piti' nokaw", rokičowor-hi.*
ver *ni=kanači=pi nti'* *awantač* *aw* *piti'* *noka-wo*
PERF 1SG=win-2SG 1SG endure and.not 2SG NEG-COP

ro=kičo-wo=ro=hi
3SGm=say-COP=3SGm=QUOT
' "I won over you, I endured it, unlike you, you didn't", he said to hım.'

37. *"heni", teč sipori rokičow teč kotis koeh te kotis ver rehevipoekow koeč ver romaniwapa, ač rosiapo noiy ropeni-ye.*
heni *teč* *sipori* *ro=kičo-wo* *teč* *kotis*
yes DEM2m frog 3SGm=say-COP DEM2m lizard

koeh(koe') *te* *kotis* *ver* *ro=ehevipoeko-wo* *koeč* *ver*
so.that DEM1m lizard PERF 3SGm=fall.down-COP because PERF

ro=mani-wapa ač ro=siapo noiy ro=peni-ye
3SGm=be.cold-COS and 3SGm=enter there 3SGm=cave-LOC
"Yes", said the frog to the lizard. Because the lizard fell down because of being cold and he entered his cave there."

38. *ehwohikier ropeni-ye, nka ravikow ver noiy kwapoek te ropeni-ye.*
ehwohi-ko=ro ro=peni-ye nka ro=aviko-wo
content-ABS=3SGm 3SGm=cave-LOC NEG 3SGm=return-COP
ver noiy kwo-a-poe-ko te ro=peni-ye
PERF there exist-LK-down-ABS DEM1m 3SGm=cave-LOC
'He was content in his cave, he didn't return. He was already down there in his cave.'

39. *ač rokičowor teč sipori: "ah, ntori", rokičowor-hi, nkanačivi.*
ač ro=kičo-wo=ro teč sipori ah ni=tori
and 3SGm=say-COP=3SGm DEM2m frog INTJ 1SG=friend
ro=kičo-wo=ro=hi ni=kanači=pi
3SGm=say-COP=3SGm=QUOT 1SG=win=2SG
'And the frog said to him: "Ah, my friend", he said, "I won you out." '

40. *nka pawantačowor, rokičowor-hi teč sipori.*
nka pi=awantačo-wo=ro ro=kičo-wo=ro=hi teč sipori
NEG 2SG=endure-COP=3SGm 3SGm=say-COP=3SGm=QUOT DEM2m frog
' "You haven't endured it", said the frog to him.'

41. *boen, nkačap, ntori, rokičowor.*
boen ni=kač-pa ni=tori ro=kičo-wo=ro
well 1SG=go-GO 1SG=friend 3SGm=say-COP=3SGm
' "Well, I will go (Good-bye), my friend", he (the lizard) said to him.'

42. *(ro)kačpow-hi teč kotis.*
(ro=)kač-po-wo=hi teč kotis
(3SGm=)go-PRFLX-COP=QUOT DEM2m lizard
'The lizard went away.'

43. *porok ronik koeč ver romaniwapa.*
porok ro=nik koeč ver ro=mani-wapa
never 3SGm=eat because PERF 3SGm=be.cold-COS
'He never ate, because he was already so cold.'[245]

[245] He would have been invited to eat at his friend's house for helping him with the house. This is still a custom today.

B. 1.2. to it Guillermina Pinaicobo (first version [GP-N1/I])
'The eel'

1. *nakirok-ye kwe' tıč eton ač kwe' tič rišonon ač riti' ehirikon.*
nakirok-ye kwe' tič eton ač kwe' tič
long.ago-LOC exist DEM2f woman and exist DEM2f

ri=šonon ač riti' ehirıko-no
3SGf=daughter.in.law and 3SGf spın-NOM1
'Once upon a time, there was a woman and she had a daughter-in-law, who was a spınner.'

2. *tirin teč reherikoč tič eton ti rišonon.*
tiri-no teč ri=eheriko-čo tič eton ti
know-NOM1 DEM2m 3SGf=spin-NOM2 DEM2f woman DEM1f

ri=šonon
3SGf=daughter.in.law
'Thıs daughter-in-law was a woman who knew to spin.'

3. *ač hepčin rikovıanow to it, tiow teč riveyonow teč it.*
ač hepčın rı=ko-viano-wo to it tiow teč
and it.seemed 3SGf=ATTR-companion-COP ART eel CLEFT DEM2m

ri=veyono-wo teč it
3SGf=make.love-COP DEM3m eel
'And it was the case that she was companion to the eel; she was the one who made love with the eel.'

4. *ač tıč rimos kač riepherı, rıephawori iškoniš to risokier.*
ač tič ri=mos kač rı=epha=rı rı=epha-wo=ri
and DEM2f 3SGf=mother.in.law GO 3SGf=spy=3SGf 3SGf=spy-COP=3SGf

iškon=iš to ri=sokia=ro
until=EXCLA ART 3SGf=find=3SGm
'And the mother-in-law went to spy on her; she spied on her until she found him.'

5. *hepčin tiow teč –ha– riavinon teč ıt.*
hepčin tiow teč ha rı=avinon teč it
it.seemed CLEFT DEM2m HES 3SGf=husband DEM2m eel
'It seemed that the eel was her husband (lover).'

6. *ač kač riepheri.*
ač kač ri=epha=ri
and GO 3SGf=spy=3SGf
'And she went to spy on her.'

7. *rikičowori-hi: –ha– nka pehmoekpap?*
ri=kıčo-wo=ri=hi ha nka pi=ehmoek-pa-po
3SGf=say-COP=3SGf=QUOT HES NEG 2SG=wash.clothes-GO-PRFLX
'She said to her: well, don't you go to wash clothes?'

8. *heni, nehmoekpap, rikičowori-hɪ.*
   heni *ni=ehmoek-pa-p* *rɪ=kičo-wo=ri=hi*
   yes 1SG=wash.clothes-GO-PRFLX 3SGf=say-COP=3SGm=QUOT
   'Yes, I will go to wash clothes, she said to her.'

9. *teč rɪkačowekoe' kač risapkoe' teč howoki ač retorok teč it.*
   teč *ri=kačo-wo-ikoe'* *kač* *rɪ=sap-koe'* *teč* *howoki*
   DEM2m 3SGf=go-COP-EMPH GO 3SGf=poke-EMPH DEM2m hole

   ač *ro=etorok* *teč* *it*
   and 3SGm=leave DEM2m eel
   'She (the mother-in-law) went in fact, and she poked the hole and the eel came out.'

10. *ti peropin teč it teč riavinon tič eton, retorok.*
    ti *pero-pi-no* *teč* *it* *teč* *ri=avinon*
    DEM1f? long-CLF:long&thin-NOM1 DEM2m eel DEM2m 3SGf=husband

    tič *eton* *ro=etorok*
    DEM2f woman 3SGm=leave
    'He was very long, the husband of that woman, he left.'

11. *ah, tiow ča-pti', rikičow, tiow ča-pti' mehewočonor ti nišonon ač rikomorikier.*
    ah *tiow* *ča-pti'* *ri=kičo-wo* *tiow* *ča-pti'* *mehewo-čo-no=ro*
    INTJ CLEFT and-2SG 3SGf=say-COPCLEFT and-2SG bad-APPL-NOM1=3SGm

    tɪ *ni=šonon* *ač* *ri=komorik=ro*
    DEM1f 1SG=dau.in.law and 3SGf=kill=3SGm
    'You are the one, she said, you are the one who spoiled my daughter-in-law; and she killed hɪm.'

12. *ač rikačow riamper yaki-ye rikač rihačoropier.*
    ač *ri=kačo-wo* *ri=am-pa=ro* *yaki-ye* *ri=kač*
    and 3SGf=go-COP 3SGf=bring-GO=3SGm fire-LOC 3SGf=go

    ri=ha-čoro-pi=ro
    3SGf=off-peel-CLF:long&thin=3SGm
    'And she went and put him into the fire, and she took off his skin.'

13. *ač rišoere' rinik tič rišonon.*
    ač *ri=šoere'* *ri=nik* *tič* *ri=šonon*
    and 3SGf=cook 3SGf=eat DEM2f 3SGf=dau.in.law
    'And she cooked (it) so that her daughter-in-law would eat.'

14. *teč kope'ap rošim tič rišonon ričow (riyičow?) wapoeri-ye kač rɪnɪkpa tɪč.*
    teč *kope'ap* *ro=šim* *tič* *ri=šonon*
    DEM2m afternoon 3SGm=arrive DEM2f 3SGf=dau.in.law

    ri=čo-wo *(rɪ=yi-čo-wo)* *wapoeri-ye* *kač* *ri-nik-pa* *tič*
    3SGf=APPL-COP 3SGf=LOC-APPL-COP river-LOC GO 3SGf=eat-GO DEM2f
    'In the afternoon the daughter-in-law came from the river to eat.'

15 *ač rımer yıtı ač kač rınık*
ač *rı=ım=ro* *yıtı* *ač* *kač* *rı=nık*
and 3SGf=put=3SGm chılı and GO 3SGf=eat
'And she (the mother-ın-law) put chılı (ın the food) and she (the daughter-ın-law) ate '

16 *a te kač moro'ıner nka to ka rıer*
a *te* *kač* *moro'ın=ro* *nka* *to* *ka* *rı=er*
and DEM1m GO be thırsty=3SGm NEG ART IND 3SGf=drınk
'And she got thırsty because there was nothıng for her to drınk '

17 *ač rıhınoek to ka noıy to ka rına ač porok rısokıer ın*
ač *rı=hınoek* *to* *ka* *noıy* *to* *ka* *rı=ına*
and 3SGf=search ART IND there ART IND 3SGf=use

ač *porok* *rı=sokıa=ro* *ın*
and never 3SGf=find=3SGm water
'And she looked for somethıng that she could use (drınk), but she dıdn't find any water '

18 *tı rıkačpow wapoerı-ye, rıvıawana teč porespa*
tı *rı=kač-po-wo* *wapoerı-ye* *rı=vıa-wana* *teč* *porespa*
and 3SGf=go-PRFLX-COP rıver-LOC 3SGf=take-DEP DEM2m mate
'She left for the rıver, takıng a *mate* on her way '

19 *rıkačpow tı eton, rıkačpow wapoerı-ye rıropa ın*
rı=kač-po-wo *tı* *eton* *rı=kač-po-wo*
3SGf=go-PRFLX-COP DEM1f woman 3SGf=go-PRFLX-COP

wapoerı-ye *rı=ıro-pa* *ın*
rıver-LOC 3SGf=drınk-GO water
'The woman left, she left for the rıver ın order to drınk water '

20 *ač rıhewesaw wapoerı-ye*
ač *rı=hewe-sa-wo* *wapoerı-ye*
and 3SGf=throw-CLF water-COP rıver-LOC
'And she jumped ınto the rıver '

21 *rıkahašotokıe porespa ač rıhewesaw*
rı=ka-hašo-tokıe *porespa* *ač* *rı=hewe-sa-wo*
3SGf=ATTR-hat-head mate and 3SGf=throw-CLF water-COP
'She put the *mate* on her hat and jumped ınto the water '

22 *rıkačow tıč rımos kač rıpanperı, rıhewesaw porok rıavıkop*
rı=kačo-wo *tıč* *rı=mos* *kač* *rı=pan-pa=rı*
3SGf=go-COP DEM2f 3SGf=mo ın law GO 3SGf=follow?-GO=3SGf

rı=hewe-sa-wo *porok* *rı=avıko-po*
3SGf=throw-CLF water-COP never 3SGf=return-PRFLX
'She left and her mother-ın-law went to follow her, she jumped ınto the water and never came back '

23. *ač rikičowor=hi –ha–...*
ač *ri=kičo-wo=ro=hi* *ha*
and 3SGf=say-COP=3SGm=QUOT HES
'And she said to him...'

24. *pepipawon, nen? rokičowori=hi teč rišir, to riavinon tič eton.*
pi=epi-pa-wo-no *ni=en* *ro=kičo-wo=ri=hi* *teč*
2SG=come-GO-COP-NOM1 1SG=mother 3SGm=say-COP=3SGf=QUOT DEM2m

ri=šir *to* *ri=avinon* *tič* *eton*
3SGf=son ART 3SGf=husband DEM2f woman
'Where are you coming from? said her son, the husband of that woman.'

25. *verap ti peyon koeč rikahašow te porespa ač veraper inowoko-ye, rikičowor=hi.*
ver-a-pa *ti* *pi=eyon* *koeč* *ri=ka-hašo-wo* *te*
already-LK-GO DEM1f 2SG=wife because 3SGf=ATTR-hat-head-COP DEM1m

porespa *ač* *ver-a-pa=ro* *ino-woko-ye*
mate and PERF-LK-GO=3SGm water-place-LOC

ri=kičo-wo=ro=hi.
3SGf=say-COP=3SGm=QUOT
'She already went away, your wife, because she put a *mate* on her head and went to the water, she said to him.'

26. *aiy senior, rokičow=hi, nerikikoe' nihinoekperi rikačpow.*
aiy *senior* *ro=kičo-wo=hi* *neriki-koe'* *ni=hinoek-pa=ri*
INTJ lord 3SGm=say-COP=QUOT now-EMPH 1SG=search-GO=3SGf

ri=kač-po-wo
3SGf=go-PRFLX-COP
'Oh Lord, he said, right now I will look where she left for.'

27. *ač rovekiri, rovekiri noiy wapoeršenokoe-ye.*
ač *ro=veki=ri* *ro=veki=ri* *noiy* *wapoer-šenokoe-ye*
and 3SGm=talk=3SGf 3SGm=talk=3SGf there river-bank-LOC
'And he talked to her, talked and talked, there at the river bank.'

28. *roki'inow, roki'inow koehkoe' rietoračor-enš.*
ro=ki'ino-wo *ro=ki'ino-wo* *koehkoe' ri=etora-čo=ro=inš*
3SGm=want-COP 3SGm=want-COP so.that 3SGf=come.out-APPL=3SGm=EXCLA
'Well, he wanted (so much) that she would come out again.'

29. *hepčin-hi tiow tič howewapa; teč ripasiriow nerikikoe' ti howe' tič eton riam teč porespa.*
hepčin=hi *tiow* *tič* *howe-wapa* *teč* *ri-pasiri-ow*
it.seemed=QUOT CLEFT DEM2f dolphin-COS DEM2m 3SGf=nose-COP

neriki-koe' *ti* *howe'* *tič* *eton* *ri-am* *teč* *porespa*
now-EMPH 3SGf dolphin DEM2f woman 3SGf=take DEM2m mate
'And it was the case that she had changed into a dolphin; that woman had now the nose of a dolphin; she had taken the *mate*.'

30. *tiow teč ver riti' ripasiriwapa neriki ikarek kwe' teč rišon napiri' tič – ti howe'.*
tiow *teč* *ver* *riti'* *ri=pasiri-wapa* *neriki* *ikarek*
CLEFT DEM2m already 3SGf 3SGf=nose-COS now therefore

kwe' *teč* *ri=šon* *napiri'tič* *ti* *howe'*
exist DEM2m 3SGf=tit also DEM2f DEM1f dolphin
'She already had the nose, and thus she also had her tit, this dolphin.'

31. *koeč eton ti rihewesaw, porok avikoe' riavikop.*
koeč *eton* *ti* *ri=hewe-sa-wo* *porok*
because woman DEM1f 3SGf=throw-CLF:water-COP never

aviko-i' *ri=aviko-po*
again-EMPH 3SGf=return-PRFLX
'Because this woman jumped in the water, and she never ever returned.'

32. *kwe' tič rišon, kwe' teč-hi napiri' renow to etonanev-enš teč rimom tič eton.*
kwe' *tič* *ri=šon* *kwe'* *teč=hi* *napiri'* *ro=ino-wo*
exist DEM2f 3SGf=tit exist DEM2m=QUOT also 3SGm=be.like-COP

to *eton-anev=enš* *teč* *ri=mom* *tič* *eton*
ART woman-hPL-APRV DEM2m 3SGf=vagina DEM2f woman
'She had her tit, she also had what women have, well, a vagina the woman had.'

33. *koeč to nen ikomorikonow te howe' moeh nohinokir.*
koeč *to* *nen* *ikomoriko-no-wo* *te* *howe'*
because ART DEM3PL kill-NOM-COP DEM1m dolphin

moeh *no=hinok=ro*
CERT 3PL=see=3SGm
'Because those who are killing dolphins can see it.'

34. *renokow to načonow to etonanev, tič howe'.*
ro=inoko-wo *to* *no=ačo-no-wo* *to* *eton-anev*
3SGm=resemble-COP ART 3PL=have-NOM1-COP ART woman-hPL

tič *howe'*
DEM2f dolphin
'The same what women have, has the dolphin woman.'

35. *hepčin tiow tič eton maspoen ač rihewesaw teč rimaspoepi.*
hepčin *tiow* *tič* *eton* *maspoen* *ač* *ri=hewe-sa-wo*
it.seemed CLEFT DEM2f woman crazy and 3SGf=throw-CLF:water-COP

teč *ri=maspoe-pi*
DEM2m 3SGf=be.crazy-QNOM
'It was the case that the woman was crazy and jumped into the water because of her craziness.'

36. *kačpikow to riavinon ver –ha– rar'inokopikow verap tič reyon, ver rihewesaw, porok avikoe' riavikop.*
kač-piko-wo *to* *ri=avinon* *ver* *ha* *ro=ar'inoko-piko-wo*
go-COME-COP ART 3SGf=husband PERF HES 3SGm=be.sad-COME-COP

ver-a-pa *tič* *ro=eyon* *ver* *ri=hewe-sa-wo*
already-LK-GO DEM2f 3SGm=wife PERF 3SGf=throw-CLF:water-COP

porok *aviko-i'* *ri=aviko-po*
never again-EMPH 3SGf=return-PRFLX
'When her husband came, he became very sad that his wife had gone, that she had jumped into the water and would never come back.'

37. *nka rohinokowori, mavir roti' rovekowori, porok rietoračor, kačpow kwaperi inowoko-ye.*
nka *ro=hinoko-wo=ri* *mavi=ro* *roti'* *ro=veko-wo=ri*
NEG 3SGm=see-COP=3SGf sick=3SGm 3SGm 3SGm=talk-COP=3SGf

porok *ri=etora-čo=ro* *kač-po-wo* *ko-wapa=ri*
never 3SGf=come.out-APPL=3SGm go-PRFLX-COP exist-COP=3SGf

ino-woko-ye
water-place-LOC
'He didn't see her, and he talked to her in vain; she would never come out, she was already in the water."

38. *ač rikavikopikow tiwe' nka to ka, kač roya.*
ač *ri=k-aviko-piko-wo* *tiwe'* *nka* *to* *ka* *kač* *ro=ya*
and 3SGf=ATTR=return-COME-COP but NEG ART INDGO 3SGm=cry
'(He wanted) that she would return, but nothing; he went to cry.'

39. *roya to rokos 'inowapa ti reyon veraperi inowoko-ye.*
ro=ya *to* *ro=kos 'ino-wapa* *ti* *ro=eyon* *ver-a-pa=ri*
3SGm=cry ART 3SGm=be.sad-COS DEM1f 3SGm=wife already-LK-GO=3SGf

ino-woko-ye
water-place-LOC
'He cried for he got sad that his wife had gone into the water.'

40. *tiow teč rikep, porok avikoe' riavikop ti reyon.*
tiow *teč* *ri=ke-po* *porok* *aviko-i'* *ri=avıko-po*
CLEFT DEM2m 3SGf=EV-PRFLX never again-EMPH 3SGf=return-PRFLX

ti *ro=eyon*
DEM1f 3SGm=wife
'This is what she had done; his wife never returned again.'

41. *rokačpikow roti' roweri-ye, rokač roya', royaw, royaw, rokičowori=hi tič ren:*
ro=kač-piko-wo *roti'* *ro=weri-ye* *ro=kač* *ro=ya'*
3SGm=go-COME-COP 3SGm 3SGm=house-LOC 3SGm=go 3SGm=cry

ro=ya-wo *ro=ya-wo* *ro=kičo-wo=ri=hi*
3SGm=cry-COP 3SGm=cry-COP 3SGm=say.do-COP=3SGf=QUOT

tič *ro=en:*
DEM2f 3SGm=mother
'He went home and started to cry, he cried and cried, and he said to his mother:'

42 *išer, rokɪčowori=hɪ, kotɪrapɪwor pɪtɪ', nen, koeč pɪtɪ', nen, tɪow pɪtɪ' –ha–, tɪow pɪtɪ' ɪmokačɪr*
išer ro=kɪčo-wo=rɪ=hɪ kotɪrapɪ-wo=ro pɪtɪ' nɪ=en
INTJ 3SGm=say-COP=3SGf=QUOT fault-COP=3SGm 2SG 1SG=mother

koeč pɪtɪ' nɪ=en tɪow pɪtɪ' ha tɪow pɪtɪ' ɪmo-kač=rɪ
because 2SG 1SG=mother CLEFT 2SG HES CLEFT 2SG CAUS-go=3SGf
'You see, he said to her, it is your fault, mother, because you, mother, were the one who made her go '

43 *korɪ pɪpan yɪtɪ? korɪ pɪpan yɪtɪ?*
ko=rɪ pɪ=pa-no yɪtɪ ko=rɪ pɪ=pa-no yɪtɪ
why=3SGf 2SG=gɪve-NOM1 chilɪ why=3SGf 2SG=gɪve-NOM1 chilɪ
'Why dɪd you gɪve her chilɪ? Why dɪd you gɪve her chilɪ?'

44 *nka pɪpašerɪn yɪtɪ, nka rɪkačowon*
nka pɪ=pa-ša=rɪ-no yɪtɪ nka rɪ=kačo-wo-no
NEG 2SG=gɪve-IRR=3SGf-NOM1 chilɪ NEG 3SGf=go-COP-NOM1
'If you had not gɪven her chilɪ, she would not have left '

45 *koeč moeh rɪerɪn ɪn ač –ha– nka rɪkačɪn*
koeč moeh rɪ=erɪ-no ɪn ač ha nka rɪ=kačɪ-no
because CERT 3SGf=drɪnk-NOM1 water and HES NEG 3SGf=go-NOM1
'Because ɪf she could have drunk water she wouldn't have left '

46 *rɪkačpow teč rɪamoro'ɪnop teč rɪmomonɪrowapa, tɪow teč rɪkačpow*
rɪ=kač-po-wo teč rɪ=a-moro'ɪno-po teč
3SGf=go-PRFLX-COP DEM2m 3SGf=?-be tɪred-PRFLX DEM2m

rɪ=mo~monɪ-ro-wapa tɪow teč rɪ=kač-po-wo
3SGf=INT~be thɪrsty-ro-COS CLEFT DEM2m 3SGf=go-PRFLX-COP
'She left for good because she was tɪred of her thɪrst, that's why she left '

47 *boen, tɪwe' ntɪ' moeh nɪkač nephaperɪ ɪškon n-am, n-am,*
boen tɪwe' ntɪ' moeh nɪ=kač nɪ=epha-pa=rɪ ɪškon nɪ=am
well but 1SG CERT 1SG=go 1SG=spy-GO=3SG untɪl 1SG=take

1SG=take
nɪ=am
'Well, I had to go and spy on her untɪl she took, she took '

48 *ɪškon nɪsokɪašerɪ ač nampɪkopowori*
ɪškon nɪ=sokɪa-ša=rɪ ač nɪ=ampɪko-po-wo=rɪ
untɪl 1SG=find-IRR=3SGf and 1SG=brɪng-PRFLX-COP=3SGf
'Untɪl I would find her and would brɪng her '

49 *porok, porok rɪavɪkop*
porok porok rɪ=avɪko-po
never never 3SGf=return-PRFLX
'She never, never returned '

50 *tıow tı howewapa nerıkı*
tıow *tı* *howe-wapa* *nerıkı*
CLEFT DEM1f dolphın-COS now
'She has changed ınto a dolphın now '

51 *teč rıharnokıwapa to yıtı*
teč *rı=har-nokı-wapa* *to* *yıtı*
DEM2m 3SGf=burn-mouth-COS ART chılı
'She burnt her mouth wıth chılı '

52 *sıete'-hı rıkopıtıekıer teč rınık to wakes*
sıet-e'=hı *rı=kopıtıek=ro* *teč* *rı=nık* *to* *wakes*
seven-CLF fruıt=QUOT 3SGf=squash=3SGm DEM2m 3SGf=eat ART patasca
'She squashed seven chılies ınto the *patasca* that she was eatıng '

B 2 Songs

B 2 1 Marıa Inmaculada Mercedes Peña [MP-S3]

1 *navıkoporeıy-a nerıkı-ya vıtır-a vıesta*
nı=avıko-poreıy-a *nerıkı-ya* *vıtır-a* *vıesta*
1SG=return-REP-CANT now-CANT 1PLP-CANT fiesta
'Now I return again for our fiesta '

2 *yavıkoporeıy-a nerıkı-ya vıtır-a vıesta*
yı=avıko-poreıy-a *nerıkı-ya* *vıtır-a* *vıesta*
2PL=return-REP-CANT now-CANT 1PLP-CANT fiesta
'Now they return again for our fiesta '

3 *Ave Marıa-ya Purísıma Inmaculata, Marıa Concepcıón*
Ave Marıa-ya *Purísıma Inmaculata, Marıa Concepcıón*
Ave Marıa-CANT Purísıma Inmaculata Marıa Concepcıón
'Ave Marıa, etc '

B. 2.2. Korpoči' – La Corpita enamorada Juanita Pinaicobo [JP-S2]
'Little Corpita in love'

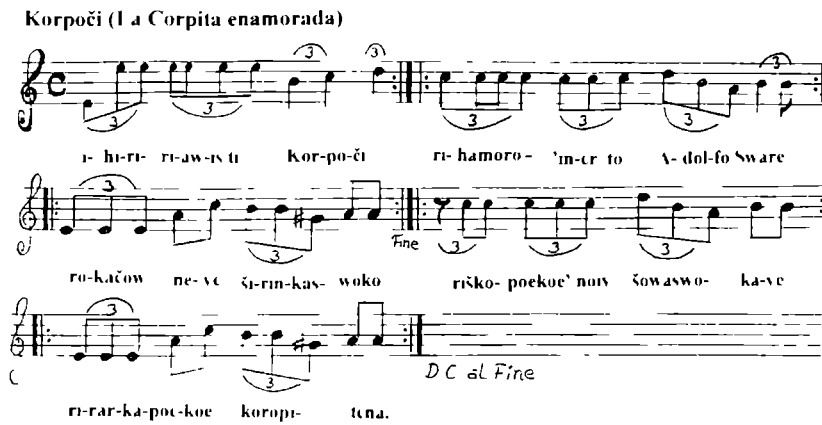
1. *ihiriɾiawoniš ti Korpoči'*
   ihiri~ri-a-wo=niš *ti* *Korpo-či'*
   very~INT-LK-COP=EXCLA DEM1f Corpita-DIM
   'How much was it that this Corpita ...'

2. *rihamoro'iner to Adolfo Sware'.*
   ri=hamoro'in=ro *to* *Adolfo Sware*
   3SGf=miss-3SGm ART Adolfo Suarez
   '... (she) missed Adolfo Suarez.'

3. *rokačow ne-ye širinkaswoko.*
   ro-kačo-wo *ne-ye* *širinkas-woko*
   3SGm=go-COP here-LOC siringa-place
   'He went away (here) to the siringa plantation.'

4. *riškopoekoe' noiy šowaswoka-ye.*
   ri=iško-pa-ikoe' *noiy* *šowas-wok-a-ye*
   3SGf=until-GO-EMPH there palma.real-place-CANT-LOC
   'She went no further than there, to the plantation of the *Palma Real.*'

5. *rirarakapoekoe' koropitena.*
   ri=ra~rako-pa-ikoe' *koropi-ten-a.*
   3SGf=swollow~INT-GO-EMPH liana-juice-CANT
   'The only thing she went to drink was liana juice.'



B 3 Dialogue Rosalia Pinaicobo (RP) & Estéban Chipeno (EC) [RP/EC-D1]

1 EC *nti nikač ntoeroko-ye nki'inow ntapa noiy nekošowkono-ye*
nti ni=kač ni=toero-ko-ye ni=ki'ino-wo ni=ta-pa
1SG 1SG=go 1SG=field-ABS-LOC 1SG=want-COP 1SG=weed-GO

noiy ni=ekošo-woko-no-ye
there 1SG=manioc-place-NOM1-LOC
'I go to my field I want to weed there in the manioc field'

2 RP *ver henokikwore'*
ver heno-kik-wo=ro-i
already good-really-COP=3SGm-EMPH
'That's good indeed'

3 EC *tič ekoš rom kotinow ne' koeč ver kotinowapa čišepiwaper, čišepiwa*
tič ekoš rom ko-tino-wo ne' koeč ver
DEM2f manioc soon ATTR-size-COP here because already

ko-tino-wapa čɨ-še-pɨ-wapa=ro čɨ-še-pɨ-wa
ATTR-size-COS big-size-CLF long&thin-COS big-size-CLF long&thin-TEMP
'The manioc plants are already this size here (showing), because they are already that size, they are already big, they are big'

4 EC *reporewančowor to es hiwok*
ro=eporewan-čo-wo=ro to es'hiwok
3SGm=cover-APPL-COP=3SGm ART grass
'The weed is already covering it'

5 RP *ah, es'hiwok!*
ah es'hiwok
INTJ grass
'Ah, the weed!'

6 EC *nti' nkew hareko nikpaša navikop enevere nkasiaper te ntač*
nti' ni=ke-wo hareko nik-pa-ša ni=avik-po
1SG 1SG=say-COP maybe 1SG eat-GO-IRR 1SG=return-PRFLX

enevere ni=kasia-pa=ro te ni=ta-č
next day 1SG=finish-GO=3SGm DEM1m 1SG=weed-NOM2
'I say, maybe I go to eat now and return tomorrow and finish weeding'

7 RP *kewonoeš pinikpan! verowapa te nikirok pinik*
kewono=iš pi=nik-pa-n vero-wapa te
do-COP-NOM1=EXCLA 2SG=eat-GO-NOM1 already-COS DEM1m

nikirok pi=nik
plate 2SG=eat
'Well, then come to eat! The plate is already (on the table) Eat'

8. RP: *etašap to pinık pikačporeiyop?*
   eto-a-ša-po *to* *pi=nik* *pı=kač-poreiy-po*
   finish-LK-IRR-PRFLX ART 2SG=eat 2SG=go-REP-PRFLX
   'When you finish eating, do you go again?'

9. EC: *nkačporeiyop nkasiaper.*
   ni=kač-poreiyo-po *ni=kasıa-pa=ro*
   1SG=go-REP-PRFLX 1SG=finish-GO=3SGm
   'I go again to finish it.'

10. EC: *napiri' teč –ha– mamis ver čonokowaper te reporewančowor to es'hiwok.*
    napiri'teč *ha* *mamis* *ver* *čonoko-wapa=ro*
    also DEM2m HES potato already big-COS=3SGm

    te *ro=eporewan-čo-wo=ro* *to* *es'hiwok*
    DEM1m 3SGm=cover-APPL-COP=3SGm ART grass
    'Also that potato is already big so that the weed covers it.'

11. EC: *ač nkew enevere nter koehkoe' nkasier ač ...*
    ač *ni=ke-wo* *enevere* *ni=ta=ro* *koehkoe'*
    and 1SG=say-COP next.day 1SG=weed=3SGm so.that

    ni=kasia=ro *ač*
    1SG=finish=3SGm and
    'And I say, tomorrow I weed so that I finish it and ...'

12. EC: *ver –ha– ratowye teč viposonev.*
    ver *ha* *ro=atowye* *teč* *vi=poso-nev*
    already HES 3SGm=be.clean DEM2m 1PL=drain-PL
    'Our drains are already clean.'

13. EC: *ač ver etoroni. rokavirovirohewapa to monikowaper.*
    ač *ver* *eto=ro=ni* *ro=ka-viro~viro-he-wapa*
    and already finish=3SGm=1SG 3SGm=ATTR-wind~INT-DISTR-COS

    to *moniko-wapa=ro*
    ART pretty-COS=3SGm
    'And I already finished it. The wind is blowing, it is pretty.'

14. RP: *faltowniš teč roka- rokoetoer.*
    falto-wo=niš *teč* *ro=ka-* *ro=ko-ito=ro*
    miss-COP=EXCLA DEM2m 3SGm=ATTR 3SGm=ATTR-weed=3SGm
    'It only needs weeding then.'

15. EC: *heni.*
    'Yes.'

16. EC: *nti' nišomomokikoe' noiy ečore-ye to nihinokow yahpi' rokavirovirohew.*
nti' *ni=šomo~mo-kiko-i'* *noiy* *ečore-ye* *to* *ni=hinoko-wo*
1SG 1SG=stand~INT-really-EMPH there edge-LOC ART 1SG=see-COP

yahpi' *ro=ka-viro~viro-he-wo*
INTJ 3SGm=ATTR-wind~INT-DISTR-COP
'I stood real still there at the edge (of the field) and watched and hoo! how the wind is blowing.'

17. EC: *ah, nkew kikoe' neriki ver ...*
ah *ni=ke-wo* *kiko-i'* *neriki* *ver*
INTJ 1SG=say-COP really-EMPH now already
'Ah, I am telling you really, it is ...'

18. RP: *ver ratowyewapa.*
ver *ro=atowye-wapa*
already 3SGm=be.clean-COS
'It is clean.'

19. EC: *ver ratowyewapa.*
ver *ro=atowye-wapa*
already 3SGm=be.clean-COS
'Yes, it is clean.'

20. RP: *eto to pinikoč pehomo'in!*
eto *to* *pi=niko-čo* *pi=ehmo'in*
finish ART 2SG=eat-NOM2 2SG=relax
'Finish eating so that you (can) relax.'

APPENDIX C. Word Lists

C 1. Regional words

aguaí	=	fruit of a tree (*Sapotaceae Chrysophyllum gonocarpum*)
canelón	=	tree sp. (*Melia azedarach L.*)
chaisa, chaicita	=	bird sp., kind of little pigeon
charapa	=	the biggest branch of a *cusi* palm tree, where the leaves part[246]
chapapa	=	dried cow skin for drying things in the sun: maize, manioc, plantain, cotton, etc.
chicha	=	fermented drink, mainly made of sweet corn, but also of manioc, plantain and other fruit
chivé	=	manioc flour: manioc is grated, starch washed out, dried in the sun, and toasted; the people eat it with any meal
choruno	=	tutuma with a relatively big hole for taking out water from the well or used as a container in kitchen
cuyabo	=	bird sp. (*Caprimulgus Rufus*)
cusi	=	American Oil Palm (*Arecaceae Attalea speciosa*)
empanizada	=	round pieces of cane (cooked and thickened)
machupo	=	fish sp. (alternative names muchupo/ mochopo)
tacú	=	mortar made of tree stem, used all over Amazonia
masaco (majaw)	=	kind of dish: half-ripe plantains fried and mashed up in mortar with pieces of meat (possible also fish)
mate	=	kind of big wild pumpkin with a long peak, also used as container for chicha or water; 'mate' is also used to refer to the well-known leaf used for teas, which is unrelated to pumpkin
motacú	=	palm (*Arecaceae Allagoptera leucocalyx*)
ojé	=	tree sp. (*Ficus insipida*)
palma real	=	palm sp. (*Roystonea Regia O.F. Cook*)
patasca	=	kind of dish: stew with potatoes and chili and brain of cow
siringa(les)	=	Siringa: *Syrinx*, rubber yielding tree; Siringal: plantation.
tajibo	=	Lapacho tree (*Tabebuia ipe*)
taititu	=	name used for God (< Quechua *taita* 'father' + Spanish diminutive *-ito* = 'little father', Muysken, p.c.)
tari	=	tutuma with a small hole at the top for transport of liquids
totaí	=	mocaw palm (*Arecaceae Acrocomia aculeata*)
tujuré	=	besides being the name of a small village near Baures, it is the name for a typical meal (soaked and boiled corn or rice)
tutuma	=	big fruit of the calabash tree (*Crescentia cujete Linnaeus*) used in various ways in Bolivia when dried: as plates, bowls, containers for food and drink.
urucú	=	small red seeds from tree (*Bixa orellana*) that are used for colouring food and in ancient times also for painting the skin (in some regions of Amazonia this is still done)
wopičon	=	bad ghosts or spirits of the dead, who you might meet in the jungle or the dark

[246] "el palo mayor del cusi, donde se parten las hojas"

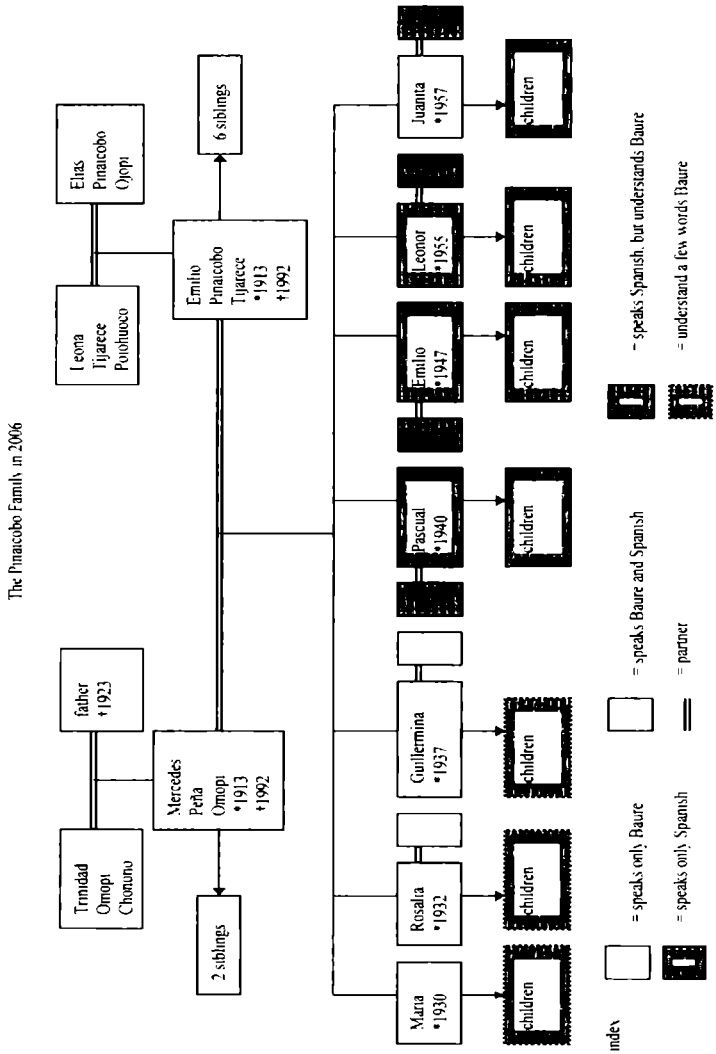
C. 2. The Swadesh List of 207 words

1.	I	*nti'*	104.	to think	*-hino'inok-*
2.	you (SG)	*piti'*	105.	to smell	*-hišhik-*
3.	he	*roti'*	106.	to fear	*-ipik-*
4.	we	*viti'*	107.	to sleep	*-imok-*
5.	you (PL)	*yiti'*	108.	to live	*-čik-*
6.	they	*noti'*	109.	to die	*-epen-*
7.	this	*teč* (m), *tič* (f), *to neč* (PL)	110.	to kill	*-ikomorik-*
8.	that	*ten* (m), *tin* (f), *to nen* (PL)	111.	to fight	*-weč-*
9.	here	*ne'*	112.	to hunt	*-yonpa-*
10.	there	*noiy*	113.	to hit	*-etopik-*
11.	who	*woyikowon; kon*	114.	to cut	*-ašok-*
12.	what	*woyikowon; kon*	115.	to split	*-piria, -epiri* -CLF-*č-*
13.	where	*-yi-* (LOC)	116.	to stab (pierce with arrow)	*-yok-*
14.	when	*rekičin*	117.	to scratch	*-torič-*
15.	how	*-kie-*V*-čowon*	118.	to dig	*-somerok-*
16.	not	*nka*	119.	to swim	*-haviak-*
17.	all	*tek*	120.	to fly	*-ar-*
18.	many	*maiy*	121.	to walk	*-yon-*
19.	some	*ikowe', ikoweči*	122.	to come (base suffix)	*-pik*
20.	few	*ikowe', ikoweči*	123.	to lie (lie down)	*-košpoe-*
21.	other	*po-*CLF	124.	to sit (sit down, sit)	*-hirik-*
22.	one	*po-*CLF*-š*	125.	to stand (get up, stand)	*-išom-*
23.	two	*(m)api-*CLF	126.	to turn (intr.)	*-šoporiporik-*
24.	three	*mpo-*CLF	127.	to fall	*-ehevipoek-*
25.	four	*kwatro-*CLF	128.	to give	*-pa-*
26.	five	*sinko-*CLF	129.	to hold	*-kotok-*
27.	big	*čo-*CLF, *čonok*	130.	to squeeze	*-kopitik-?*
28.	long	*pero-*CLF	131.	to rub (wash by rubbing)	*-ehko-*
29.	wide	*čaharik*	132.	to wash	*-sipa-*,
30	thick	*čo-*CLF		(wash by rubbing)	*-ehko-*
31.	heavy	*kohinikon*	133.	to wipe (wash by r bing)	*-ehko-*
32.	small	*ti'-*CLF	134.	to pull	*-hišok-*
33.	short	*mohi-*CLF	135.	to push	*-ponik-*
34.	narrow	*tiherik*	136.	to throw	*-ehwe-*
35.	thin	*haročkon*	137.	to tie	*-harič-*
36.	woman	*eton*	138.	to sew	*-poria-*

37	man	*hır*	139	to count	–
38	person	*činti*	140	to say	*-kič-, -ke-, -vek-*
39	child	*monči, ahınev* (PL)	141	to sing	*-ak-*
40	wife	*-eyon*	142	to play	*-ıpareč-*
41	husband	*-avınon*	143	to float	*-aropık-/-aropa-*
42	mother	*-en*	144	to flow	*-pını'ıkıa-ʾ*
43	father	*-ıa'*	145	to freeze	–
44	anımal	*ka'an*	146	to swell	*-hawok-*
45	fish	*hım*	147	sun	*ses*
46	bırd	*aren*	148	moon	*kıher*
47	dog	*kove'*	149	star	*wakıs*
48	louse	*-ın*	150	water	*ın*
49	snake	*kıwor*	151	raın	*sowon*
50	worm	*sakopı*	152	rıver	*wapoer*
51	tree	*ewokoe'*	153	lake	*akı*
52	forest	*kakıwok*	154	sea	–
53	stick	*-sı'*	155	salt	*čove*
54	fruit	*-ı'*	156	stone	*kohı'*
55	seed	*-sokı*	157	sand	*hahap*
56	leaf	*-pon, eponoe'*	158	dust	*yınırep*
57	root	*-ekıton*	159	earth (ground)	*yınır, poewok*
58	bark (of a tree)	*ečopı*	160	cloud	*roeamokonoe'*
59	flower	*čomomoe'*	161	fog	*top*
60	grass	*es'hıwok*	162	sky	*anı*
61	rope	*eroserokoč*	163	wınd	*vır*
62	skın	*-čom*	164	snow	–
63	meat	*-enšon, neš*	165	ıce	–
64	blood	*ıtı*	166	smoke	*kotıskon*
65	bone	*nop*	167	fire	*yakı*
66	fat (N)	*eskıap*	168	ash	*po'ıp*
67	egg	*na'*	169	to burn (ıntr)	*-haro-*
68	horn	*-hı'*		(tr)	*-hımok-*
69	taıl	*-ıhos*	170	road	*kaye*
70	feather	*ešıš*	171	mountaın	–
71	haır	*-čahahı*	172	red	*moserokon*
72	head (phys)	*-po'e*	173	green	*kotıskon*
	(mental)	*-tokıe'*	174	yellow	*yaskon*
73	ear (outsıde)	*-čokon*	175	whıte	*kotıp'kon*
	(ınsıde)	*-senokı*	176	black	*hamkon*
74	eye	*-kıs*	177	nıght	*yotoer*

75	nose (outside)	*-pasiri*	178	day	*roseskoner*
	(inside)	*-siriki*	179	year	*(-)moroekoe'*
76	mouth	*-noki*	180	warm	*kopirokon*
77	tooth	*-ser*	181	cold	*tokonokon*
78	tongue	*-pen*	182	full	*ačokon*
79	fingernail	*-tip*	183	new	*koton*
80	foot	*-poiy*	184	old	*čino*-CLF
81	leg	*-pes*	185	good	*heno*-CLF, *henok*
82	knee	*-čovekos*	186	bad	*mehewkon*
83	hand	*-wohis*	187	rotten	*-poshe-, -posok-*
84	wing	*-tosi*	188	dirty	*topop'kon*
85	belly	*-heki*	189	straight	*tovirikon*
86	guts	*etis*	190	round	*kočoporikon*
87	neck	*-pih*	191	sharp (knife)	*serakon*
88	back	*-čipi*	192	dull (knife)	*maseror*
89	breast	*-čakoki*	193	smooth	*tamorikon*
90	heart	*et'ko'in*	194	wet	*-potok-*
91	liver	*eperon*	195	dry	*morokon*
92	to drink	*-er-*	196	correct	–
93	to eat	*-nik-*	197	near	*anekon*
94	to bite	*-komorok-*	198	far	*averečon*
95	to suck	*-hik-*	199	right	*koyan*
96	to spit	*-hanek-*	200	left	*sap*
97	to vomit	*-ewso'in-*	201	at (LOC)	*-ye*
98	to blow (play flute)	*-hakia-*	202	in (LOC)	*-ye*
99	to breathe	*-aher-*	203	with (use)	*-ina-*
100	to laugh	*-koka-*,	204	and	*ač*
	(heavily)	*-hahak*	205	if	*apo*
101	to see	*-hinok-*	206	because	*koeč*
102	to hear	*-sompo-*	207	name	*woiy*
103	to know (how to do)	*-tiri-*			
	(someone, something)	*-čo-*			

APPENDIX D. Pattern of language loss across generations



The family tree of the *Pinaicobos* is taken as an example of language loss and how it progressed. The first one to speak Spanish in their family was a man, the now deceased grandfather of three speakers I work with (Guillermina, Rosalía, Juanita). The next generation was bilingual, and already in the following generation there are some people who do not speak Baure. The children of the people generally do not even have a passive knowledge any more, as they have never been confronted with anyone speaking it. Juanita is exceptional, as she is the youngest of the third generation. She only learnt the language because she insisted on doing so, and she nursed her mother until she died and communicated in Baure with her a lot. She is a perfect speaker, but does have a Spanish accent as much as I can tell.

APPENDIX E. Data Representation

The data references are composed as follows:

[name - text type - line in shoebox]

The name codes can be found in Tables 1.5.1 and 1.5.2. in Chapter 1.3.2.

Text types:

Elicitation	∅, only date and number	
Specific elicitation:	locative	L
	perfective	P
	interrogative	Q
Narrative	N	
Song	S	
Artificial story	A	
Dialogue	D	

Narratives:

N1	*to it*	'the eel'
N2	*sipori & kotis*	'frog & lizard'
N3	*šiye' & šowekon*	'fox & tiger'
N4	*to monči & ti torokas*	'the child and the pigeon'
N5	*ričop ti sopir*	'the shell of the tortoise'
N6	*sopir & sipor*	'frog & ostrich'
N7	*to mapin ahinev & ti marip*	'the two children and the witch (Hansel & Gretel)'
N8	*to mapin pernev*	'the two Pedros'
N9	*to anenev & to noper ka'anonev*	'the old people and their animals'
N10	*worik & tiš*	'donkey & tick'
N11	*worik & wakiron*	'donkey & house lord'
N12	*nokoečapiow to sipori & to kotis*	'the birthday of frog & lizard'
N13	*sipor, sopir & to yaki*	'ostrich, tortoise & the fire'
N14	*to kiwor*	'the snake' (personal narrative)'

Songs:

S1	*Hosebiasita*	'Little Josebia'
S2	*Korpoči*	'Little Corpita'
S3	*Maria Inmaculada*	'Mary, the immaculate'
S4	*misišawonoe'*	'Cat's beard'
S5	*Canción de Baures*	'The Baures' song'
S6	*Canción de Juanita*	'Juanita's song'

Artificial stories:

A1	*ti monči Wawori-ye*	'The child from/in Baures'
A2	*niweri-ye*	'In my house'
A3	*to yor*	'The monkey'
A4	frog story	

SIL-data:

T1	*tin en Rensa*	'Mama Lorenza' (T-288)
T2	*ti nen Rupin*	'Mama Rufina' (T-288)
T3	*ti nen Visita*	'Mama Visita' (T-288)
T4	*ti Guillermin*	'Guillermina' (T-288)
T5	*ti nen Mersedia*	'Mama Mercedes' (T-288)
T6	*to Ramon*	'Ramón' (T-288)
T7	syntax outline	(T-559)

N1	*šiyepi*	'Fox story' (T-288,)
N2	*to mpon moerononev*	'The three orphans'
N3	*to monči & to retiropos*	'The child and his pellet bow'

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Samenvatting

Het Baure wordt gesproken in het Boliviaanse Amazonegebied door ongeveer 60 mensen, die bijna allemaal ouder zijn dan zestig jaar. Het Baure is een ernstig bedreigde taal. Het is een Zuid-Arawakse taal en heeft als verwante buurtalen het Trinitario, Ignaciano (samen ook wel Moxo genoemd) en het Paunaca. In de jaren 50 en 60 van de 20e eeuw is het Baure onderzocht door Priscilla Baptista en Ruth Wallin, taalkundigen van het Amerikaanse Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), met als resultaat een grammaticale schets van ongeveer dertig bladzijden in het tagmemisch model, een kort artikel van vijf bladzijden en een woordenlijst.

Dit boek bevat de eerste volledige beschrijving van het Baure. Het is niet op een specifiek theoretisch model gebaseerd en is daarom breder toegankelijk voor taalwetenschappers van alle theoretische oriëntaties. De gegevens waarop dit boek is gebaseerd werden door de auteur verzameld tijdens drie veldwerkperioden in Bolivia, van in totaal ongeveer zeven maanden. Het veldwerk werd uitgevoerd in Baures, het centrum van het Bauretalig gebied, en in enkele gemeenten in de buurt. Het boek is opgebouwd als volgt.

Hoofdstuk 1, de introductie, geeft relevante geografische, demografische en historische achtergronden van de Baure Indianen. Hier is ook informatie over het veldwerk, de verzameling van gegevens en het onderzoek te vinden. Tenslotte wordt het Baure met verwante Arawaktalen vergeleken.

Hoofdstuk 2 behandelt de fonologische structuur van de taal, beschrijft de klanken en geeft minimale paren van klinkers en medeklinkers. Daarna zijn fonologische processen beschreven, zoals klinkerelisie, palatalisatie, delabialisatie en nasaliteitsspreiding. Ook de fonotaxis, zoals lettergreepstructuur, klemtoon, morfofonologie en de huidige orthografie worden behandeld. In de morfofonologie zijn in het bijzonder de volgende processen van belang: stemgeving van *non-continuous* medeklinkers, klinkerassimilatie en klinkerverlies, klinkerharmonie, en metathese. Deze processen vinden niet alleen plaats tussen morfemen binnen woorden maar ook tussen woorden binnen een fonologische zinsnede.

De beschrijving van de grammatica bevat zes hoofdstukken over morfologie. In hoofdstuk 3 worden algemene morfologische processen besproken en een beschrijving gegeven van woordvorming in het Baure door middel van wortels, stammen, bases, affixen en clitische elementen. Reduplicatie van lettergrepen kan worden aangetroffen in het bijzonder op werkwoorden, bijwoorden en interjecties, alsmede op onomatopoëtische substantieven. Dit hoofdstuk geeft definities van alle identificeerbare *parts of speech*.

In hoofdstuk 4 wordt de interne structuur en de morfologie van de naamwoordfrase besproken. Naamwoorden kunnen worden onderverdeeld in bezeten en niet-bezeten. De bezeten naamwoorden moeten worden gemarkeerd met een persoonsclitic. Meervoudsmarkering is ongewoon, maar er is specifieke meervoudsaanduiding van enkele naamwoorden die betrekking hebben op menselijke wezens. Baure heeft geen naamvallen, maar er is een morfeem dat locatie markeert. Net als de andere Arawaktalen heeft het Baure een nominaal classificeringssysteem.. De *classifiers* markeren onder anderen getallen en bijvoeglijke naamwoorden. Zij kunnen ook als

deel van *compounds* en in werkwoorden gevonden worden Het laatste deel van hoofdstuk 4 beschrijft de gebruik van bijvoeglijke naamwoorden en andere *modifiers*

Hoofdstuk 5 richt zich op hoe verbale en niet-verbale predicaten kunnen worden onderscheiden Hier is subjectmarkering van bijzonder belang Verbale predicaten markeren het subject met een *proclitic* op dezelfde plaats waar naamwoorden de bezitter kunnen markeren Niet-verbale predicaten markeren het subject met een *enclitic* op de plaats waar verbale predicaten een object markeren

De speciale verbale morfologie wordt in hoofdstuk 6 beschreven Er zijn drie niveaus van verbale affigering Het eerste niveau wordt gevormd door de *root*, de wortel van een werkwoord, het tweede niveau door de stam, en het derde door de basis De regels voor het aanhechten zijn per niveau verschillend Er worden onder andere de volgende categorien gemarkeerd door verbale affixen causatief, benefactief, perfectief, reflexief, reciprook, intentioneel, irrealis, en departitief

Hoofdstuk 7 bespreekt specifieke verbale partikels, die tegenwoordig de verbale suffixen beginnen te vervangen

In hoofdstuk 8 worden de kleine woordklassen en hun morfologie beschreven, zoals de bijwoorden, persoonlijke en demonstratieve voornaamwoorden, interjecties, en discourspartikels

De hoofdstukken over morfologie worden gevolgd door een beschrijving van zinnen en zinscombinaties In hoofstuk 9 worden alle belangrijke zinstypen beschreven de simplexe zin, negatie van zinnen, gebiedende en vragende zinnen, antwoorden op vragen, en speciale strategieen in zinnen binnen dialogen

Hoofdstuk 10 toont hoe zinnen gecombineerd kunnen worden Er is bijvoorbeeld een strategie van zinscombinaties door middel van connectieven (vergelijkbaar met conjuncties) Eveneens kan een zin in een andere zin ingebed worden door middel van nominalisatie Verder kunnen werkwoorden ook in series of als complement verschijnen, waardoor een volledige zin opgebouwd kan zijn uit een complexe aaneenkoppeling van werkwoorden en deelzinnen

In de appendices zijn listen van alle affixen en *classifiers* Tevens is er een selectie van verschillende typen gesproken tekst, waaronder mythologische verhalen, liederen, en een dialoog

Curriculum vitae

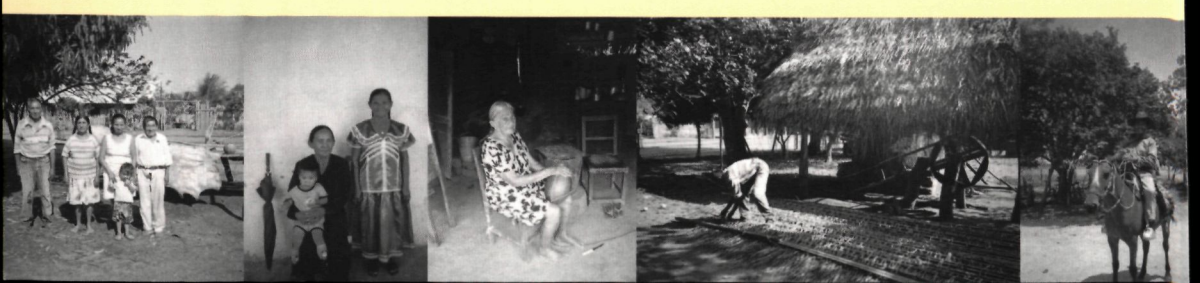
Swintha Danielsen was born on the 5th of October 1972 in Hameln, Germany After her *Abitur* in 1992, she studied English Linguistics, Mathematics and Philosophy at the University of Hanover In 2001 she received her *Magister* degree with the thesis "Article and Aspect in English and English-based Creoles A prospect on the interaction of two basic linguistic categories" During the next year she worked as a linguistic assistant in the *LEXIKURS*-project at the University of Hanover under supervision of Cornelia Zelinsky-Wibbelt The present dissertation was written during a three-year doctoral scholarship at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics and the Radboud University in Nijmegen, The Netherlands Swintha's future research will concentrate on the Arawak language family, in particular on comparative issues concerning Arawak languages in Bolivia

cnws

This book is first and foremost a grammatical description of Baure, a seriously endangered language from Bolivian Amazonia. Baure belongs to the Southern Arawak language family and it forms part of the Guaporé-Mamoré linguistic area. This book is the first detailed and comprehensive grammatical description of Baure, covering its phonology, morphology, syntax, and discourse stucture. It is based on the author's extensive fieldwork in Bolivia in 2003, 2004, and 2006. The book furthermore addresses the historical, cultural, and sociolinguistic background of the speakers of Baure.

Special attention is given to the complex (morpho)phonological processes within a phonological phrase, the rich noun classification system, the distinction of verbal and non-verbal predicates with respect to the argument marking pattern, the three-level distinction of verbal morphology, and specific clause types based on different nominalization strategies, which also play an important role in clause subordination. The relation to the surrounding Southern Arawak languages Trinitario, Ignaciano, and Paunaca is investigated through comparison of the lexicon and the grammar.

The appendices contain different text types, lists of grammatical morphemes, classifiers, and the Swadesh 200 word list. It is a highly valuable addition to our knowledge of South American languages and cultures in general and the Arawak languages in particular. This book is aimed at linguists from all backgrounds and is of special interest to typologists, historical linguists, Arawakanists, Americanists, and anthropologists. It is also an important record of a dying language for its speech community and their descendants.

The author Swintha Danielsen studied English Linguistics, Mathematics and Philosophy at the University of Hanover and received her Magister degree with a thesis on article and aspect in English and English-based Creoles. She participated in the LEXIKURS-project at the University of Hanover and obtained a doctoral scholarship at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics and the Radboud University in Nijmegen, the Netherlands to carry out research on the Baure language and more in general on comparative issues concerning Arawak languages in Bolivia.

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