

# **TAFOTA BARUGA GRAMMAR NOTES**

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## **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

The Baruga language is one of the fourteen languages in the Binandere family, Binandere stock. It is generally considered to be a Papuan language (Foley 1990), placed tentatively in a putative Trans-New Guinea Phylum, proposed by McElhanon and Voorhoeve (1971), Wurm (1975), and more recently Ross (1995) and Pawley (1995). About 1500 people in the lower Musa and Bareji River valleys of the Oro (Northern) Province speak three dialects of Baruga: Bareji, Mado, and Tafota. Bareji Baruga is spoken by about 500 people living in Songada, Karaisa, Sariri, mostly along the Yupuru and Bareji Rivers. The Mado dialect is spoken by about 400 people living in Embessa and three villages almost 100 miles up the Musa River just below the Musa Falls. The Tafota dialect is spoken by approximately 600 people living in Dove, Guruguru, Erika, Sananade along the Musa River, Kare Sovu, just east of Tafota Point, a delta formed by the convergence of the Musa River into Dyke Ackland Bay, and Foru #1 and Foru #2 along the Foru River.

Typologically, Baruga has the following structures: genitive + noun, specifier + noun, noun + qualifier/number, and NP + postposition. The unmarked order of core constituents in the clause is subject-object-verb (SOV), but word order of clausal constituents is fairly free with the one stipulation that the verb be last. In fact, the verb is the only constituent of the clause that obligatorily occurs. Any argument that is recoverable from the discourse context or the external deictic situation can be elided.

The chaining sentence structure, realised by serial verb constructions (SVCs) and switch reference constructions (SRCs), has received much attention in the literature on Papuan languages. However, it is not the only sentential option available to Baruga. The co-ranking sentence structure, in which each base terminates with a final verb, is also employed by the Baruga. Co-ranking structures (CRSs) manifest either hypotactic relationships, where

one base is dependent on the other, or paratactic relationships, where both bases are independent and usually linked by a coordinating conjunction. The Baruga make use of both structures in conversation and in oral and written discourse.

The Baruga are subsistence farmers, with taro as their main staple, supplemented by sweet potatoes, manioc (tapoica), cooking and sweet bananas, sugar cane, corn, pumpkins, aibica, pineapples and other tropical fruits and leafy vegetables, which they also grow. Their proximity to sago swamps enables sago to be another basic staple. Wild pig, wallaby, and other small game, fish and shellfish provide protein in their diet.

They build their homes of local materials, (e.g. kwila posts, mangrove stand posts, sago stem walls, black palm flooring, and nipa palm roof shingles. For transportation, they hollow out and tie together outrigger canoes. As a source of ready cash, the salt-water crocodiles that abound in the area are killed and their skins sold.

This analysis is based on texts (11,311 words) and elicited materials from the Tafota Baruga dialect gathered over field trips to the village area and working sessions with national translators at Ukarumpa from 1989-1997. The author is grateful to James Farr who collected the texts and carried out all the fieldwork from 1990 through 1996, except for one 10-day period when she was able to join him. Bomi Terrence Furoke provided many of the insights, texts and explanations of texts, and some elicited examples as well for this analysis. Thanks are due to all the Tafota Baruga translators, who have worked steadily on language teaching, translation, and preparing literacy materials: Sylvester Juumi Dadae Borego, Bomi Terrence Furoke, Benjamin Inoni, Sergius Jaima, Colin Romas Yadai, Martin Smith Katawara, Henry Saul Suriva, Peter Haywood Toda, Parmenas, Parthemo Suriva, Rodney John, Andrew Bate, and Johnstead Inoni.

## **2.0 ORTHOGRAPHIC AND OTHER PHONOLOGICAL NOTES**

Baruga has a modest phonological inventory of 14 consonants and 5 vowels. The orthography for Baruga is represented by the following set of symbols, 14 representing consonants: b, t, d, f, k, g, m, n, v, s, j, r, y and the digraph gh, and 5 representing oral vowels: i, e, a, o, u.

The orthographic symbols for Baruga consonants represent the following phonemes noted in slashes / / and allophones noted in brackets [ ].

Symbol	Phoneme	Description	Allophones
b	/b/	voiced bilabial plosive	[b/ <sup>m</sup> b]
d	/d/	voiced alveolar plosive	[d/ <sup>n</sup> d]
k	/k/	voiceless aspirated velar plosive	[k <sup>h</sup> ]
g	/g/	voiced velar plosive	[g/ <sup>N</sup> g]
m	/m/	voiced bilabial nasal	[m]
n	/n/	voiced alveolar nasal	[n]
t	/t/	voiceless aspirated alveolar plosive	[t <sup>h</sup> ]
f	/f/	voiceless bilabial fricative	[Φ]
v	/β/	voiced bilabial fricative	[β/w]
s	/s/	voiceless alveolar fricative	[s]
j	/dʒ/	voiced palato-alveolar affricate	[dʒ/ <sup>n</sup> dʒ]
gh	/ŋ/	voiced velar fricative	[ŋ]
r	/R/	voiced alveolar flap/tap	[R, l]
y	/j/	voiced palatal approximant	[j]

The orthographic symbols for the oral set of Korafe vowels represent the following phonemes and allophones.

Symbol	Phoneme	Description	Allophones
i	/i/	close front vowel	[i/i <sup>«</sup> ]
e	/e/	close-mid front vowel	[e/E/e <sup>«</sup> ]
a	/a/	open central vowel	[a/A/ai]
o	/o/	close-mid back rounded vowel	[o/□]
u	/u/	close back rounded vowel	[u]

The orthographic symbols for the corresponding set of nasalised vowels represents the following phonemes.

Symbol	Phoneme	Allophones
<i>f/in/im</i> <sup>1</sup>	/f/	[f]
<i>e~/en/em</i>	/e~/	[e~/E]
<i>ã/an/am/</i>	/ã/	[ã/A]
<i>õ/on/om</i>	/õ/	[õ/□]
<i>u~/un/um</i>	/u~/	[u~/]

<sup>1</sup> Nasalised vowels are written as *vowel* + *n* before 'd', 'g', 'j', 'gh' and at word breaks and as *vowel* + *m* before 'b'.

Vowel length is phonemic and is written as VV. Heterogeneous vowel sequences occur as bimoric complex nuclei in syllable rhymes. The oral set includes all possible combinations but 'uo'. The nasal set is limited, with only the second vowel being nasalised in several cases: 'iã, 'fũ, 'áff, óf', and úf. A few words exhibit lengthened vowels occurring in heterogeneous vowel sequences as complex  $V_1V_2V_2$  nuclei in a syllable (e.g. *aii/áff* 'yes', *sáffn* 'slowness', *sáffmbéa* 'catch').

Baruga has the following syllable patterns: V, CV, VV, CVV, VVV, CVVV, with V, VV, and VVV restricted to word initial syllable position.

Baruga words are stress-timed, with longer words pronounced in approximately the same time as shorter words. Primary stress within a word is associated with a 'heavy' syllable such as bee 'truth', a syllable which is uttered for a longer duration than the other syllables in the word. A heavy syllable may also manifest increased amplitude and a higher pitch.

Stress is predictable for many of the words in Baruga. Non-verbs and verb stems manifest word stress on: (1) the initial syllable of words with two syllables (2) the second syllable of mono-morphemic words with more than two syllables, or (3) the first (C)V(V) syllable (when this pattern occurs). In inflected verb forms, stress often falls on the initial vowel of vowel-initial suffixes following either the verb stem or an imperfective morpheme when one occurs in post-stem position. However, stress is a supra-segmental morpheme that is a defining component of forms encoding customary aspect. And stress is unpredictable in a number of instances. Where stress is not predictable, an acute accent (e.g. á) is written over the most sonorous vowel in the stressed syllable.

### 3.0 WORDS

#### 3.1 OPEN CLASSES OF WORDS

There are two basic open word classes: nouns and verbs. Qualifying adjectives appear to be largely derived from nouns, and adverbs (words modifying qualifiers, quantifiers, verbs, and other adverbs) and adverbial expressions are also largely derived from nouns, although a few arise from verbs. Therefore, I will include qualifying adjectives and adverbs in the discussion under nouns.

### 3.1.1 Nouns (also Adjectives and Adverbs)

Nouns semantically realise persons, places, things, ideas. They function syntactically as heads of noun phrases (NPs). Nouns can be marked for plural (by reduplication, an affix or an invariable morpheme that directly follows them and is included with them in the nuclear head of the NP). They can also be marked by the intensifiers *-ko* (also diminutive marker) and *-go* (also comparative marker).

1. The most widely utilised option for indicating the **plural** of nominals referring to people is reduplication of the first CV syllable:

- 1) *evetu* 'woman' → *evevetu* 'women'
- embó* 'man' → *embóbo* 'men'
- gimása* 'single man' → *gigímasa* 'single men'
- dóru* 'widow' → *dodóru* 'widows'

A very few objects are marked for the plural by CV reduplication.

- 2) *fátu* 'branch' → *fafátu* 'branches'

In the case of (*díbe*) *diféfeni* 'eyelashes', the second CV syllable is reduplicated.

2. Another plural index is the addition of *-koko* to the noun terminus:

- 3) *aríri* 'girl' → *arírikoko* 'girls'

Example (4) combines reduplication with the suffix *-koko*.

- 4) *iméndi* 'grandchild' → *imeméndikoko* 'grandchildren'.

In the following three illustrations in example (5), the suffix *-koko* is used to encode both plurality and the the endearment or nth degree concepts expressed by *-ko*. (See point 9.)

- 5) *evétuko* 'old woman' → *evévetukoko* 'old women'
- embóko* 'old man' → *embóbokoko* 'old men'
- enembo* 'person/people' → *enémbokoko* 'the poor people!'.

3. Some nouns pluralise by adding suffixes such as *-siri/-mesiri* and *-mono*. Nte that additional changes, such as CV reduplication, are also involved in some instances.

- 6) *mendiario* 'daughter-in-law' → *meméndiasíri* 'daughters-in-law'
- atóvo* 'father-in-law' → *atímono* 'fathers-in-law'
- óro* 'co-wife' → *óro nómono* 'co-wives'
- bí* 'sister-in-law' → *bí bimóno* 'sisters-in-law'

4. Other nouns duplicate the whole word:

- 7) *kása* 'side' → *kása-kása* 'sides'
- míno* 'payback' → *míno-míno* 'payback on both sides'

5. Some plurality is indicated by noun complexes (sequences of nouns) that indicate the two major members of the taxonomic set they're standing for.

- 8) *ru méndi* 'brothers and sons (lit. female's brother, son)'  
*ráo táto* 'female kinfolks of a woman (lit. female's sister, female's aunt)'  
*evétu embó* 'people (lit. woman-man)'

There are some noun complexes in which the second noun partially duplicates the first noun but has an extra syllable to indicate plurality.

- 9) *móse* 'spinster' → *móse gamóse* 'spinsters'  
*símu* 'flower' → *símu sigína* 'flowers'  
*gógho* 'decorations' → *gógho goghómba* 'the entire set of dance decorations'

7. The primary way of indicating **plurality of things** is by adding either the pluralising postposition *mane* or a plural quantifier like *duméni* 'some', *dano* 'all'.

- 10) *undari* 'food' → *undari mane* 'foodstuffs'  
*rígho* 'comb' → *rígho máne* 'combs'

8. Like Korafe, Baruga utilises an a-rhyming duplication of the word to indicate intensity.

- 11) *kíki káka* 'made-up tales' (from *kíki* 'story')  
*téfo táfo* 'any which way (lit. nothing-nothing)'

9. Some nouns can be marked with the **intensifier/diminutive marker** *-ko*. This marker covers a wide semantic range, including endearment, as in *Sergius ko* and *námboko* in example (12) or that this noun has the nth degree of the quality that characterises it, as in *evétuko* and *embóko*, and the more "diminutive" side of qualifying antonyms such as *sokúmako* 'thin' vs. *berágha* 'wide', *tufóko* 'short' vs. *númbobe* 'long', and *ráuko* 'soft' vs. *fakára* 'hard'.

- 12) *Sergius ko* 'dear Sergius'  
*námboko* 'dear in-law'  
*evétuko* 'old woman'  
*embóko* 'old man'

10. Some kinship terms are inalienably possessed nouns:

TABLE 1: INALIENABLY POSSESSED NOUNS IN TAFOTA BARUGA			
English	Tafota Baruga base noun	2 <sup>nd</sup> person possession	3 <sup>rd</sup> person possession
grandmother	<i>ánda avía</i> 'my grandmother'	<i>niavía</i> 'your grandmother'	<i>nuavía</i> 'his grandmother'
grandpa	<i>ánda abúa</i> 'my grandfather'	<i>niabúa</i> 'your grandfather'	<i>nuabúa</i> 'her grandfather'
mother	<i>ánda áya</i> 'my mother'	<i>níe</i> 'your mother'	<i>núe</i> 'his/her/their mother'
father	<i>ánda áfa</i> 'my father'	<i>nimámo</i> 'your father'	<i>numámo</i> 'his/her father'
wife	<i>ánda evétu</i> 'my wife'	<i>niyé</i> 'your wife'	<i>nuyé</i> 'his wife'
husband	<i>ánda embó</i> 'my husband'	<i>nimusari</i> 'your husband'	<i>númusari</i> 'her husband'
namesake	( <i>ánda</i> ) <i>akáu</i> 'namesake'	<i>niakáu</i> 'your namesake'	<i>nuakáu</i> 'his/her namesake'

11. Almost all verb stems<sup>2</sup> can occur with the deverbalising affix *ari* 'to do, doing'. They then function as heads of noun phrases or modifiers of heads of noun phrases.

12. **Distinguishing a class of qualifying adjectives is problematic.** Words that qualify nouns may actually be derived from nouns or be themselves nouns. However, there are some indications that there may be a small class of adjectives, comprised of words that are primarily used as qualifiers of a head noun within noun phrases (NPs). These include: *táubana* 'good', *akuágo* 'bad', *fakara* 'hard', *rau* 'soft', *séi* 'old', *réka* 'new', *yáfa* 'long', *safáu* 'wet, rotten' and *ubóru* 'round', *tufóko* 'short', *sokúmako* 'narrow'.

13. The bulk of words used to qualify nouns do appear to have nominal roots. Some function both as nouns and as modifiers, e.g. *bee* 'truth/reality' means 'true/real' when it qualifies a noun it postposes, and *yáura* 'wind' means 'cold' as a nominal attributive. A number appear to be derived from nouns by the intensifier *-ko* or the comparative marker *-go*, which encliticises to them:

- 13) *mósako* 'pretty' (from *móse* 'single lady')  
*gimásako* 'handsome' (from *gimása* 'single young man')  
*túmbago* 'black' (from *túmba* 'night')

Words expressing colour also often have a nominal base:

- 14) *saghai* 'white', also 'cockatoo'  
*buatu* 'green', also 'coconut type'  
*garágo* 'yellow (lit. like the *gará* 'root plant that produces a yellow dye)'  
*embóba támo* 'brown (lit. the brown *emboba* tree body)'  
*kakíta támo* 'green (lit. the green taro leaf body)'

Words like *jójabe* 'big' and *númbobe* 'tall' are used primarily as qualifying adjectives.

They do not follow the normal stress pattern for three-syllable words (stress on the 'VV/CVV syllable' or on the 2<sup>nd</sup> syllable if there is no 'heavy syllable'). Instead, they retain the stress pattern of the nouns from which they are derived, *jója* 'size' and *númbo* 'length'.

Like prototypical nouns, most words that qualify nouns may be marked to indicate plurality. Some obligatorily reduplicate (initial CV reduplication and some initial VCV reduplication) to indicate plural:

- 15) *akuago* 'bad' → *akokago* 'bad.PL', *ijóko* 'small' → *ijóijoko* 'small.PL'.

<sup>2</sup> If one does not consider the copula (*r*) as a verb stem, then all verbs occur with the deverbal affixes, *-ari* 'to do, doing', *-ámbi* 'not.do [NEG.DVB]', *-áita* 'about to do [ANT.DVB]' and *-áro* 'continually doing [DUR.DVB]'.

A few duplicate the entire word:

- 16) *esíko* 'pretty' → *esíko esíko* 'pretty, PL'.

Others can occur with the pluraliser *mane* (e.g. *táubana* 'good' → *táubana máne* 'good'), but it is not required in all contexts, as the examples below show.

- 17) *Amó* [aríri-koko] *táubana* *ungágha*<sub>NP</sub> *g-ére*.  
 1S girl-PL good two see.I.S-TP.1.IA  
 'I saw two nice girls.'
- 18) *Amó* [aríri-koko] *ungágha*, *táubana+mánenu*<sub>NP</sub> *g-ére*.  
 1S girl-PL two good+PL=CT see.I.S-TP.1.IA  
 'I saw two nice girls.'

14. Some qualifying words, including most of the small set of potential adjectives discussed under point 12, can be intensified to the comparative degree by hosting *-ko* or *-go* and the superlative degree by occurring with *bee* 'truly, very' modifying them.

- 19) *táubana* 'good'      *táubanago* 'better'      *táubana bée* 'best, very good'  
 20) *bóughu* 'heavy'      *bóughugo* 'heavier'      *bóughu bée* 'very heavy'  
 21) *ijóko* 'little'      *ijókoko* 'smaller'      *ijóko bée* 'smallest, very small'

15. Distinguishing a class of adverbs is also problematic. Modifiers of verbs and/or of other modifiers also appear to often have a noun or a member of the small set of potential adjectives as their basis: *séibe* 'first, already (from *sei* 'old')'. They often appear to be frozen postpositional phrases: *tútomi* 'speedily (lit. speed with [instrumental postposition])', *béago* 'also (having the comparative postposition *-go*)', *ámbova* 'after [locative], afterwards', *rékago* 'again (lit. like [comparative] new)'.

16. **Time words and expressions** appear to be frozen forms, derived from nouns (often with postpositions) or still functioning as nouns. They include *túmbo* 'yesterday', *oréki* 'today', *feféra inóno* 'each/every day', *túmbava* 'at night', *rífogha* 'mornings, in the morning (lit. with(D) the day)', *rífode* 'tomorrow (lit. with(PL) the day)', *onémbode* 'midday', *ungóboljama* 'afternoon', *oníno* 'two days ago', *ónde* 'three days ago', *evóvodu* 'forever (lit. traditional valuables that last for)'.

### 3.1.2 Verbs

Tafota Baruga verbs have forms which reflect distinctions along several parameters: sentence medial vs. sentence final verbs, stem 1 vs. stem 2 forms and plural stems, durative/non-durative aspect, realis/irrealis modality, marking events in sequence differently



from events that overlap, relative tense vs. absolute tense distinctions, and marking tense/aspect, person of subject (three-way distinction), and three different moods in a portmanteau morpheme on final verbs. All of these distinctions are discussed under the points below.

1. Most Tafota Baruga verbs manifest two stem forms: stem 1 and stem 2. The verb forms below are the stem 1 forms for three Tafota Baruga verbs.

22) *bore* 'break, STEM1'      *gembu* 'write/weave, STEM1'      *gi* 'see/look at, STEM1'

Stem 2 forms appear to be regularly formed by adding the morpheme {*u*} /*u~i*<sup>3</sup> or the morpheme {-*utu*} /-*utu~itu*/ to stem 1 forms, which undergo a morphophonemic process I call vowel gobbling.<sup>4</sup> Some additionally reduplicate the initial CV of the stem 1.

23)	<i>e</i> 'do/make, STEM 1	<i>u</i> 'do/make, STEM2'
	<i>fúre</i> 'blow, STEM1'	<i>furitu</i> 'blow, STEM2'
	<i>déri</i> 'tie (nipa palm), STEM1'	<i>dederu</i> 'tie (nipa palm roofing), STEM2'
	<i>útu</i> 'give, STEM1	<i>utútu</i> 'give, STEM2'

Some verbs regularly manifest an *-mbu* to *-fi* shift between stems 1 and 2.

24)	<i>gembu</i> 'write/weave, STEM1'	<i>gefi</i> 'write/weave, STEM2'
	<i>dimbu</i> 'dip up, STEM1'	<i>difi</i> 'dip up, STEM2'
	<i>tambu</i> 'meet/find, STEM1'	<i>tafi</i> 'meet/find, STEM2'

A few verbs have stem 2 forms that terminate with *-eru*.

25)	<i>gi</i> 'see/look at, STEM 1'	<i>geru</i> 'see/look at, STEM 2'
	<i>de</i> 'hit, STEM 1'	<i>deru</i> 'hit, STEM 2'

A number of verbs have suppletive stem 2 forms. Among these are:

26)	<i>iri</i> 'stay, STEM1'	<i>viti</i> 'stay, STEM2'
	<i>bu</i> 'get, STEM 1'	<i>ruru</i> 'get, STEM2'
	<i>undi</i> 'eat, STEM1	<i>di</i> 'eat, STEM2'

Stem 1 forms are used to express all events that have non-durative aspect. This includes a number of irrealis medial and final verb forms (including imperatives), the serialising and SS medial form (e.g. *éa* 'do', *búa* 'get', *gía* 'see') and the realis today's past tense final paradigm and medial DS form. They are also used with the non-durative

<sup>3</sup> The morphonemic rule governing the *u/i* alternation in Tafota Baruga is:  
-*u* → *i*/C[+coronal, -plosive]\_\_\_\_\_.

<sup>4</sup> The vowel gobbling rule is notated in the following formula:  $V_1 \rightarrow \emptyset / \_\_ -V_2$ . A prose definition is: within a word that has two or more morphemes, when one morpheme terminating with a vowel is followed by another morpheme with a vowel onset, the final vowel of the initial morpheme syncopates, or "is gobbled up."

deverbal forms.<sup>5</sup> Stem 2 forms are used to express all durative events (including those that overlap in some way with another event, often labelled simultaneous) and all realis events other than those indicated by the today's past tense paradigm. Only stem 2 forms can be used to express an imperfective view of events.

2. There appear to be 3 basic conjugation types: **e-verbs**, **i-verbs**, and **u-verbs**, this vowel realised as the terminal segment on the abrupt imperative forms.
  - a. **E-verbs** conjugate with *t* (-*tore*, -*toravore*, -*tue*) in the today's past tense.  
**I-verbs** and **u-verbs** conjugate without *t* (-*ere*, -*eravore*, -*ie*) in the today's past tense.
  - b. Many **u-verbs** manifest the -*mb* (STEM1)/ -*p* (STEM2) distinction discussed above.
3. In addition to distinguishing stem 1 from stem 2, Tafota Baruga regularly differentiates singular stems from plural stems. The plural forms are produced in the following ways:
 

Stem 1: Reduplicate the first CV in the stem 1 form of the verb and add *ge*, which appears to be a pro-verb belonging to the e-verbs. Therefore, although *bubu* below is a *u-verb* and *évi* is an i-verb, their plural stems are conjugated like e-verbs (*fure*).<sup>6</sup>

27) *fure* 'blow.STEM1' → *fufúrege* 'blow,STEM1.PL'  
*búbu* 'arrive.STEM1' → *bububuge* 'arrive.STEM1.PL'  
*évi* 'sleep.STEM1' → *evívige* 'sleep.STEM1.PL'

Stem 2: Most stem 2 plural forms appear to be formed by adding -*utu* to the end of the stem 1 plural forms. However, there are some irregular forms. Three examples of regular forms are:

28) *fufúrege* 'blow,STEM1.PL' → *fufuregutu* 'blow. PL.STEM2'  
*bububuge* 'arrive.STEM1.PL' → *bububugutu* 'arrive. PL.STEM2'  
*evívige* 'sleep.STEM1.PL' → *evivigutu* 'sleep. PL.STEM2'

<sup>5</sup> The basic deverbal form indicated by -*ari* has a stem 2 counterpart -*urari* [*u-ru-ari* with the imperfective simultaneous -*ru*], which is used to encode temporal overlap between the event it signals and the next event given in the discourse. The following translations approximate the semantic difference between the two forms: *dari* 'beating' and *derurari* 'while continually beating'.

<sup>6</sup> A number of the e-verbs have irregular plural formation, reduplicating this -*ge* constituent, rather than the stem: *e* 'do. STEM1' → *egege* 'do.STEM1.PL', *rege* 'say.STEM1' → *regege* 'say, STEM1.PL', *gae* 'shoot/spear,STEM1' → *gaegege* 'shoot/spear,STEM1.PL'.

Plural stems are usually used to indicate that the subject of the verb<sup>7</sup> (the entity performing the action of the verb) is plural, as example (29) indicates.

- 29)      *Feféra éini, námane óka káka áita*  
          *Fefera eini, namane oka kaka e-áita*  
          day one 1.PL.EXC meat search make.STEM1-ANT

*igigutare*

*i-ge-DUPCVC-utu-are*

go.I-DIST-PL-utu-NPT.1.IA

‘One day, we went hunting for meat.’

It should be noted, however, that dual subject often concords with a singular stem, and the Baruga tend to be sloppy in stem usage, using singular stems when plural would be used if they were being precise. When a noun phrase (NP) functioning as subject is clearly marked as plural, the singular stem is often used, because, as Tafota Baruga speakers explain, it is clear who and how many are doing the action. In example (30), the subject *namonde* is clearly plural, and the writer did not mark any of the verbs for plurality.

- 30)      ...*namónde*      *túmbade*      *fútara*      *naava*  
          *namonde*      *tumbade*      *fu-utu-ara*      *naa=va*  
          1P.INC      in.the.dark      come.I-utu-NPT.1.FN      village=LOC

*bubúritare.*

*buburitu-are.*

arrive.II-NPT.1.IA

‘...we came at night and arrived at the village.’

It might be more apt to call the singular stems, the unmarked<sup>8</sup> or default or neutral stems, as these are more commonly used. The plural stems are marked stems, used to focus on the plurality of subject or to clarify the number of subject when it is significant.

4. Baruga is the only Binandere language<sup>9</sup> to distinguish only 3 persons and no number in the tense/aspect-person of subject-mood portmanteau suffix on verb forms: 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons. It is also the only one to use plural stems routinely.

<sup>7</sup> Bomi Terrence Furoke assures me that, like Korafe, plural objects can also be indicated by a plural verb stem form. There are no clear examples of this so far in the data.

<sup>8</sup> Dixon (1994:56-7) distinguishes two types of markedness: formal and functional. A term in the system is formally unmarked if it is distinguished from other terms by having a zero allomorph or zero realisation. A term is considered functionally unmarked if the other terms all are assigned specific function, and in contrast, it is used in all other circumstances. By these definitions, the singular stem 1 form in Baruga is formally unmarked—all indexes of perfectivity, distributivity, and plurality are added to the stem. Functionally, both stem 1 and stem 2 forms are unmarked, occurring wherever plurality is not in focus or is adequately handled by another constituent.

5. The prefix *rei* and its plural counterpart *reisi-* encode imperfective aspect. This prefix is obligatory on present tense verb forms. When it occurs with medial verb forms, it encodes iterative or durative events that are in sequence with other events. Plurality can only be marked once on a verb form, therefore, *reisi* always occurs with the default (or singular) stem 2 form, rather than the plural stem 2 form.

- 31)
- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <i>Rei-buburit-ere.</i>                         | <i>Reisi-buburit-ere.</i>                        |
| IPF. <u>S</u> -come.out.II. <u>S</u> -PRES.1.IA | IPF. <u>PL</u> -come.out.II. <u>S</u> -PRES.1.IA |
| 'I am coming out.'                              | 'We are coming out.'                             |

6. Also signalling events with imperfective aspect is *-ru*, which marks a verb as encoding a relative temporal overlap (simultaneous) relationship with the immediately subsequent verb, only in sentences where the final verb encodes an event with irrealis status. It directly follows the stem 2 form of the verb before other affixes are appended. In example (32), the verbs *rourogo* [*rei- u -ru-a-go*] 'you will keep on doing' and *buburiturota mo* [*buburitu -ru-a-ta mo*] 'while you will be approaching' and *bejitu-rota* [*bejitu -ru-a-ta mo*] all contain the morpheme *-ru*.

- 32)
- |                      |                          |                 |                |               |                |               |
|----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|
| "Imo                 | rouro-go                 |                 | i-i-i-i-i-i-i, | an=da         | roo            |               |
| 2S                   | IPF.do.II.SIM.IR.SS-CPAR |                 | go.1.IMP+DUP   | 1S=GEN        | place          |               |
| <i>buburitú-rota</i> | <i>mo,</i>               | <i>uvu</i>      | <i>yaura</i>   | <i>furl-a</i> | <i>nenó=va</i> |               |
| arrive.II-SIM.IR.SS  | T/F                      | water           | cold           | come.IR-SS    | chest=LOC      |               |
| <i>bejitú-rota</i>   | <i>mo,</i>               | <i>e-e-e,</i>   | <i>Mambu,</i>  | <i>anda</i>   | <i>roo</i>     | <i>avóta,</i> |
| break.up-SIM.IR.SS   | T/F                      | oh-oh-oh,       | Friend         | 1S.GEN        | place          | that.D1.CR    |
| <i>bu-a</i>          | <i>terue!"</i>           | <i>re-t'ue.</i> |                |               |                |               |
| get.I-SS             | enter.I.IMP              | say.I-TP.3.IA   |                |               |                |               |
- "'Keep on going until while you are arriving at my place, cold water comes and breaks against (your) chest, oh, oh, oh, Friend, that over there now is my place, getting me enter!" he said.'

The verbs (*buburitúrota*, *bejitúrota*) encode logical contingency as well as temporal overlap between the event they mark and the subsequent event. These are strictly irrealis forms; their realis counterparts are *buburitúa* and *bejitúa*. However, at first glance, it seems like these SS irrealis simultaneous verbs with STEM2(ú)-*rota* are the same form as the general SS simultaneous verbs which only encode temporal overlap: STEM2(u)-*róta*. If they were, then it would mean that the imperfective, irrealis,

<sup>9</sup> All the other Binandere languages documented regularly distinguish 5 persons 1st singular, 2nd singular, 3rd singular, 1/3 plural, and 2 plural.

simultaneous form *-ru* were being used to encode events with realis status, such as *uróta* does in example (33), which details events in the near past (NPT) tense.

- 33)     ...*kaveréa*           *fútara,*                   *sumbúa*   *def*           *uróta,*  
           *kavere-a*           *fu-utara,*                   *sumbu-a*   *def*           *u-rotá,*  
           turn.back.I-SS   come.I-NPT.1/2.FN   run.I-SS   walk.about   make.I-SIM.SS
- vasa*       *dumeni=nu*   *gía*       *dóa,*           *fútara*  
       *vasa*       *dumeni=nu*   *gi-a*       *doa*           *fu-utara*  
       place       some=CT   see.I-SS   SEQ.SS       come.I-NPT.1/2.FN
- kambova*           *bububugutare.*  
       *kambo=va*       *DUPCV-bubugutu-are.*  
       house=LOC       PL-arrive.II-NPT.1.IA

‘...and then we turned around and came, and while we were running around, we saw some places, and we came and arrived at the house.’

The two forms manifest a different stress pattern (*úróta* versus *uróta*), which I believe is indicative of a difference in underlying forms. I believe that the underlying form of the general SS simultaneous medial is [ *u - re -a-ta* ], using the verb *re* ‘say’, also used by related Binandere family languages (e.g. Korafe, Binandere, Ewage, Orokaiva, and Suena) in formation of the SS simultaneous medial form. Contrastively, the SS irrealis simultaneous medial [ *ú -ru-a-ta* ] has the irrealis simultaneous imperfective *-ru*. Note that this *úróta* verb form can only be used in sentences detailing events with irrealis status; the *-úa* form must be used in those with realis status.

7. As is the case for many Papuan languages, Tafota Baruga has both **medial verb** forms, forms that always are found sentence internally, and **final verb** forms, forms that occur sentence finally, embed in NPs, or precede tails that Dik (1981:19-21) terms P3 (position 3) in his language independent preferred order of constituents. Almost all final verb forms are finite verbs that indicate person of subject: 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> person.

Most final verb forms additionally express **absolute tense** (i.e. event time is related to the speech utterance encoding time). Absolute tense is encoded by the combination of the stem 1 or 2 form of the verb with the tense/aspect recurrent partial of the portmanteau suffix. Tenses having realis status are: **present** (any event that is concurrent with the speech act encoding time), **today’s past** (any punctiliar event that occurred on the day of the speech act encoding time, but preceded it), **near past** (any durative event that is completed within the year before the speech act encoding time or any non-durative event that is completed any time from a year before up until the night before the speech act

encoding time), **distant past** (any time before the initial point the near past tense allows). Among the paradigms manifesting irrealis status is **future** (any event projected to occur after the speech act encoding time) tense. Also having irrealis status are three final verb paradigms that do not express tense distinctions, but instead indicate respectively **customary aspect** (any event that customarily occurs or habitually occurred), **hortative modality** (any event that has not taken place at the speech act encoding time, but is marked as being permissible or desirable to happen in the immediate future) and **subjunctive/counterfactual modality** (any event that 'should' or 'might' take place).

All final verb forms are marked for **mood**: **indicative-assertive**, **finite-non asserted**, or **interrogative** (called **question**) **mood** in this discussion, or **imperative**. The discussion in the rest of this paragraph focuses on the initial three moods: indicative/asserted [IA], finite/non-asserted (used both in polar questions and embedded constructions) [FN], question [Q] marks verbs and copula used in questions with a content question word. To illustrate the changes in the verb that reflect a switch in mood, the verb *bubu* 'come/go out, arrive' is given below in the today's past tense, 2<sup>nd</sup> person forms.

	Indicative/Asserted	Finite/Non-Asserted	(Content) Question
34)	<i>bub-eravóre</i> arrive.I-TP.2.IA 'you arrived'	<i>bub-éra</i> arrive.I-TP.1/2.FN 'did you arrive?'	<i>bub-é</i> arrive.I-TP.1/2.Q '(when) did you arrive?'

These **three components**: **'tense'**, **person of subject**, and **mood** are realised in verb paradigms by a **portmanteau morpheme** that follows the verb stem or the imperfective simultaneous marker *-ru*, when it occurs. This portmanteau suffix may in turn be followed by a current relevancy marker like *ta* 'saying/here and now significant' or epistemic modals like *tano* 'perhaps' and *jogo* 'perhaps', indicating degree of likelihood. The constituents of the verb thus have this potential order:

**(re-/reisi-) VERB STEM (-ru) -TENSE/ASPECT/MODALITY.SUBJECT.MOOD {-tano}**

The morphemes placed in parentheses are not an obligatory part of every paradigm.

However, the present tense paradigm obligatorily requires a durative prefix, *re-* or *reisi-*.

35)	<i>Imó</i>	<i>ghanéna</i>	<i>róreta.</i>
	<i>Imo</i>	<i>ghanena</i>	<i>rei-u-ore=ta.</i>
	you.2S	greeting	IPF-do.II-PRES.1.IA=CR
	'I am herewith greeting you.'		

Verb forms which encode the imperative mood as a semantic component are deficient forms, in that they do not overtly mark tense/aspect or person of subject. For most verbs, the abrupt imperative has the same form as stem 1.<sup>10</sup> The stentorian (i.e. called out) imperative is formed by adding *-ro*<sup>11</sup> on to the abrupt imperative.

	<b>e-verb</b>	<b>u-verb</b>	<b>i-verb</b>
	<b>ABRUPT:</b>		
36)	<i>fure</i> 'break, I'	<i>gémbu</i> 'write/weave, I'	<i>gli</i> 'see/look at, I'
	<b>STENTORIAN:</b>		
37)	<i>furéro</i> 'break, I'	<i>gembúro</i> 'write/weave, I'	<i>gliro</i> 'see/look at, I'
	<b>PLURAL:</b>		
38)	<i>fufuregé</i> 'break, I'	<i>gegembugé</i> 'write/weave, I'	<i>gigigé</i> 'see/look at, I'
	<b>STENTORIAN PLURAL:</b>		
39)	<i>fufuregéro</i> 'break, I'	<i>gegembugéro</i> 'write/weave, I'	<i>gigigéro</i> 'see/look at, I'

The imperfective-simultaneous imperative form in Tafota Baruga does not appear to be a final form, although it has final position in clauses. It is a single phonological word with two components: STEM2 + *gía* 'see.SS': *ú-gía* 'be doing while...' Stress falls on the lexical STEM2 component.

	<b>e-verb</b>	<b>u-verb</b>	<b>i-verb</b>
40)	<i>furitú-gía</i> 'be blowing (while)...	<i>gefi-gía</i> 'be writing (while)...	<i>gerú-gía</i> 'be seeing (while)...

These sequences terminate sentences and either imply another simultaneous unspecified event that the speaker will engage in or else instruct the addressee to continue with his or her current activity or the one both speech act participants have in mind for him or her to do.

<sup>10</sup> The stem 1 form of the following verbs: *e* 'do.STEM1', *re* 'say.STEM1' and *de* 'hit, come into forcible contact with' is not the same as the abrupt imperative of these verbs: *ege* 'do!', *rege* 'speak!', and *dege* 'hit!' In this context, the grammatical morpheme *ge* in Tafota Baruga might possibly be translated 'focus on an individual instantiation of this event'.

<sup>11</sup> Actually the stentorian is probably formed by adding *-o* and inserting an epenthetic *-r-* to establish the *-o* as the nuclear segment in its own syllable.

8. **FINAL VERB SYNOPSIS** in first person forms for *fure* 'blow', *gembu* 'write' and *gi* 'see' (PLURAL forms given for IA mood set only)

REALIS:	e-verb: <i>fure/furitu</i>	u-verb: <i>gembu/gefi</i>	i-verb: <i>gi/geru</i>
<b>PRESENT:</b>	<b>re- STEM 2 -ore</b>	<b>re- STEM 2 -ere<sup>12</sup></b>	<b>re- STEM 2 -ore</b>
IA:	<i>rei-furit-ore</i> 'I am blowing'	<i>rei-gef-ere</i> 'I am writing'	<i>rei-ger-ore</i> 'I am seeing'
FN:	<i>rei-furit-ora</i> 'am I blowing?'	<i>rei-gef-era</i> 'am I writing?'	<i>rei-ger-ora</i> 'am I seeing?'
Q:	<i>rei-furit-o</i> '(what) am I blowing?'	<i>rei-gef-e</i> '(what) am I writing?'	<i>rei-ger-o</i> '(what) do I see?'
	<b>reisi- STEM 2 -ore</b>	<b>reisi- STEM 2 -ere</b>	<b>reisi- STEM 2-ore</b>
PL:	<i>reisi-furit-ore</i> 'we are blowing'	<i>reisi-gef-ere</i> 'we are writing'	<i>reisi-ger-ore</i> 'we are seeing'
<b>TODAY'S PAST:</b>	<b>STEM1 -tóre</b>	<b>STEM1 -ére</b>	<b>STEM1 -ére</b>
IA:	<i>fure-tóre</i> 'I blew (today)'	<i>gemb-ére</i> 'I wrote (today)'	<i>g-ére</i> 'I saw (today)'
FN:	<i>fure-tóra</i>	<i>gemb-era</i>	<i>g-era</i>
Q:	<i>fure-tó</i>	<i>gemb-e</i>	<i>g-e</i>
	<b>STEM1.PL -tóre</b>	<b>STEM1.PL -tóre</b>	<b>STEM1.PL -tóre</b>
PL:	<i>fufurege-tóre</i> 'we blew (today)'	<i>gegembuge-tóre</i> 'we wrote (today)'	<i>gigige-tore</i> 'we saw (today)'
<b>NEAR PAST:</b> <sup>13</sup>	<b>STEM2(-utu) -are</b>	<b>STEM2-v-utu -are</b>	<b>STEM2(-utu) -are</b>
IA:	<i>furit-are</i> 'I blew (yesterday)'	<i>gefi-v-ut-are</i> 'I wrote (yesterday)'	<i>ger-are</i> 'I saw(yesterday)'
FN:	<i>furit-ara</i>	<i>gefi-v-ut-ara</i>	<i>ger-ara</i>
Q:	<i>furit-a</i>	<i>gefi-v-ut-a</i>	<i>ger-a</i>
	<b>STEM2.PL -are</b>	<b>STEM2.PL -are</b>	<b>STEM2.PL -are</b>
PL:	<i>fufuregut-áre</i> 'we blew (yesterday)'	<i>gegembugut-áre</i> 'we wrote (yesterday)'	<i>gigigut-áre</i> 'we saw (yester.)'
<b>DURATIVE NP:</b>	<b>re- STEM2(-utu) -are</b>	<b>re- STEM2-v-utu -are</b>	<b>re STEM2-are</b>
IA:	<i>re-furit-are</i> 'I was blowing'	<i>re-gefi-v-ut-are</i> 'I was writing'	<i>re-ger-are</i> 'I was seeing'
FN:	<i>re-furit-ara</i>	<i>re-gefi-v-ut-ara</i>	<i>re-ger-ara</i>
Q:	<i>re-furit-a</i>	<i>re-gefi-v-ut-a</i>	<i>re-ger-a</i>
PL:	<i>reisi-furit-are</i> 'we were blowing'	<i>reisi-gefi-v-ut-are</i> 'we were writing'	<i>reisi-ger-are</i> 'we were seeing'
<b>DISTANT PAST:</b>	<b>STEM2 -rére</b>	<b>STEM2 -rére</b>	<b>STEM2 -rére</b>
IA:	<i>furitu-rére</i> 'I blew (last year)'	<i>gefi-rére</i> 'you wrote (last year)'	<i>geru-rére</i> 'I saw (last year)'
FN:	<i>furitu-réra</i>	<i>gefi-réra</i>	<i>geru-réra</i>
Q:	<i>furitu-re</i>	<i>gefi-re</i>	<i>geru-re</i>
	<b>e-verb: <i>fure/furitu</i></b>	<b>u-verb: <i>gembu/gefi</i></b>	<b>i-verb: <i>gi/geru</i></b>

<sup>12</sup> Some verbs use the set *-ere* (1), *-eravore* (2), *-ie* (3), instead of the set *-ore* (1), *-oravore* (2), *-ue* (3) for the present tense suffixes. The conditioning rules for its use are not clear to me at this point. Although it is illustrated in this synopsis with a u-verb, not all u-verbs use the *-ere* set. There is no consistent class assignation, nor phonological pattern.

<sup>13</sup> The morpheme *-utu* 'REPETITIVE?/IMPERFECTIVE?' is regularly used to form the near past tense. Where it is used as a regular part of the stem II form, it does not need to be added. But in cases such as verbs with the *-mb* → *-p* shift, *-utu* is regularly added to the regular STEM 2 form, and an epenthetic *-v-* is inserted between STEM 2 and *-utu*. Examples include: *ghapi-rere* 'I dug, DP' → *ghapi-v-ut-are* 'I dug, NPT', *tapi-rere* 'I found, DP' → *tapi-v-ut-are* 'I found, NPT' and *dipi-rere* 'I dipped up, DP' → *dipi-v-ut-are* 'I dipped up, NPT'. Most other verbs also add {-utu} in the near past tense if it is not present in the default stem II form: *u-rere* 'I did, DP' → *ut-are* [*u-utu-are*] 'I did, NPT', *eivi-rie* 'he slept, DP' → *evivuta* [*evi-v-utu-a*] 'he slept, NPT', *yavu-rie* 'he went up/inland, DP' → *yavuvuta* [*yavu-v-utu-a*] 'he went up/inland, NPT'. However, verbs like *gi/geru* 'see' (shown in the synopsis here) and *de/deru* 'hit' → *derare* 'I hit, NP' are irregular, i.e. do not exhibit *-utu* in the near past tense paradigms.



<b>DISTANT PAST: PL:</b>	<i>fufuregutu-rére</i> 'we blew (last year)'	<i>gegembugutu-rére</i> 'we wrote (last year)'	<i>gigigutu-rére</i> 'we saw (last year)'
<b>DURATIVE DP:</b>	<b>re- STEM2 -rére</b>	<b>re- STEM2 -rére</b>	<b>re- STEM2 -rére</b>
<b>IA:</b>	<i>rei-furitu-rere</i> 'I was blowing (last yr.)'	<i>rei-gefi-rére</i> 'I was writing (last year)'	<i>rei-geru-rere</i> 'I was seeing (l.yr)'
<b>FN:</b>	<i>rei-furitu-rera</i>	<i>rei-gefi-réra</i>	<i>rei-geru-rera</i>
<b>Q:</b>	<i>rei-furitu-re</i>	<i>rei-gefi-re</i>	<i>rei-geru-re</i>
<b>PL:</b>	<i>reisi-furitu-rere</i> 'we were blowing'	<i>reisi-gefi-rere</i> 'we were writing'	<i>reisi-geru-rere</i> 'we were seeing'
<b>IRREALIS:</b>	<b>e-verb: fure/furitu</b>	<b>u-verb: gémbu/gefi</b>	<b>i-verb: gí/geru</b>
<b>FUTURE/ANTICIPATORY: STEM1 -áita+róre</b>		<b>STEM1 -áita+róre</b>	<b>STEM1 -áita+róre</b>
<b>IA:</b>	<i>fur-áita róre/ríore</i> 'I'm about to blow'	<i>gemb-áita róre/ríore</i> 'I'm about to write'	<i>g-áita róre/ríore</i> 'I'm about to see'
<b>FUTURE, 1<sup>ST</sup> PERSON<sup>14</sup> STEM1 -áit-are</b>		<b>STEM1 -áit-are</b>	<b>STEM1 -áit-are</b>
<b>IA:</b>	<i>fur-áit-are</i> 'I will blow'	<i>gemb-áit-are</i> 'I will write'	<i>g-áit-are</i> 'I will see'
<b>FN:<sup>15</sup></b>	<i>fur-ára</i> 'will I/you blow?'	<i>gemb-ára</i> 'will I/you write?'	<i>g-ára</i> 'will I/you see?'
<b>Q:</b>	<i>fur-á</i> '(what) will you blow?'	<i>gemb-á</i> '(what) will you write?'	<i>g-a</i> '(how) will you see?'
<b>PL<sub>1</sub>:<sup>16</sup></b>	<i>fufureg-áita róre</i>	<i>gegembug-áita róre</i>	<i>gigigeg-áita róre</i>
<b>PL<sub>2</sub>:</b>	<i>fur-áita rósore</i>	<i>gemb-áita rósore</i>	<i>g-áita rósore</i>
<b>HORTATIVE: <sup>17</sup> STEM1 -óre</b>		<b>STEM1 -óre</b>	<b>STEM1 -áre</b>
<b>IA:</b>	<i>fur-óre</i> 'let me do'	<i>gemb-óre</i> 'may you do!'	<i>g-áre</i> 'let him/her/it do'
<b>PL:</b>	<i>fufureg-óre</i>	<i>gegembug-óre</i>	<i>gigig-óre</i>
<b>SUBJUNCTIVE/COUNTERFACTUAL: STEM1 -ásire</b>		<b>STEM1 -ásire</b>	<b>STEM1 -ásire</b>
<b>IA:</b>	<i>fur-ásire</i> 'I should/might blow'	<i>gemb-ásire</i> 'I should/might write'	<i>g-ásire</i> 'I should see'
<b>PL:</b>	<i>fufureg-ásire</i>	<i>gegembug-ásire</i>	<i>gigig-ásire</i>
<b>FN:<sup>18</sup></b>	<i>fur-ásira</i>	<i>gemb-ásira</i>	<i>g-ásira</i>
<b>Q:</b>	<i>fur-ási</i>	<i>gemb-ási</i>	<i>g-ási</i>

<sup>14</sup> Other than this first person form, the future indicative final verb complex is always the combination of the anticipatory deverbal form and a form of the verb *e* 'do'. The finite non-assertive and the question mood paradigms are complete paradigm sets.

<sup>15</sup> There is also an irrealis simultaneous future finite non-assertive paradigm: STEM2 -*ru-ara*. Examples of this include: *puritu-r-ara* 'while I will be blowing', *gepi-r-ara* 'while I will be writing', *geru-r-ara* 'while I will be seeing'.

<sup>16</sup> The Tafota Baruga have two strategies for making a future plural form of the verb. They can either mark the lexical anticipatory deverbal as plural (strategy found in PL<sub>1</sub>), or they can mark the accompanying verb *e* 'do' as plural (strategy found in PL<sub>2</sub>).

<sup>17</sup> Hortative verbs with more than a CV stem 1 use -*ore*, instead of -*are*, for first person, and -*oe*, instead of -*ae*, for third person. The second person -*adi* form remains constant for all verbs.

<sup>18</sup> There is also an irrealis simultaneous subjunctive/counterfactual finite non-assertive paradigm: STEM2 -*ru-asira*. Examples of this include: *puritu-r-asira* 'while I will be blowing', *gepi-r-asira* 'while I will be writing', *geru-r-asira* 'while I will be seeing'.

CUSTOMARY <sup>19</sup>	e-verb: <i>fure/furitu</i> STEM1+' - <i>rore</i>	u-verb: <i>gémбу/gefi</i> STEM1+' - <i>rore</i>	i-verb: <i>gí/geru</i> STEM1+' - <i>rore</i>
IA <sub>1</sub> :	<i>furee-rore/furee-riore</i>	<i>gembuu-rore/gembuu-riore</i>	<i>gii-rore/gii-riore</i>
or (IA <sub>2</sub> :	<i>fure-ta+róre/ríore</i> 'I (customarily) blow'	<i>gembu-ta+róre/ríore</i> 'I (customarily) write'	<i>gíta+róre/ríore</i> 'I (cust.) see'
FN:	<i>furee-rora/furee-riora</i>	<i>gembuu-rora/gembuu-riora</i>	<i>gii-rora/gii-riora</i>
Q:	<i>furee-ro/furee-rio</i>	<i>gembuu-ro/gembuu-rio</i>	<i>gii-ro/gii-rio</i>

9. Tafota Baruga **medial verbs** are non-finite forms, not marked for person of subject nor for mood. However, most of them do indicate a variety of parameters.
- They reflect a **distinction between irrealis and realis status** (or modality).
  - They exhibit **relative tense**, distinguishing events that occur in sequence (**SEQ**) from events that are overlapping or in some way simultaneous (**SIM**). The sequencing different subject medial forms are additionally marked for absolute tense. (See the discussion below.)
  - Medial verbs also indicate **co-reference of subject (SS)** or **non-coreference of subject (DS)** between a verb and the verb that follows it. Although Tafota Baruga medial verbs are not marked for person of subject, they are marked for number, using the plural stem forms.

**SS forms manifest less tense distinctions than DS forms.**

In fact, several SS forms are not marked for either tense or status. The most stripped down form is the simple SS form:

**STEM 1 + -a** (e.g. *e-a* 'do.SS').

- 41)      **e-verb**                      **u-verb**                      **i-verb**  
             *bore-a* 'break.SS'      *gembú-a* 'write/pole.SS'      *gí-a* 'see.SS'

It should be noted that although most verbs do use the stem 1 form as the stem for this form, a number shift from the stem final vowel to an 'i' (e.g. *yávu* → *yavía* 'go inland/up',

<sup>19</sup> The customary paradigm can either be a compound using the stem 1 form (e.g. *é, bú, gí*) with a conjugated form of the verb *e* 'do', usually the present tense paradigm or a verb sequence (phrase?) of the stem 1 form+*-ta* (*éta, búta, gíta*) with a conjugated form of the verb *e* 'do'. Terrence Furoke Bomi suggests that the longer *éta róre* set is the default Tafota Baruga set; the *é róre* set (with a shift from *rore* to *yore*) is the default Bareji Baruga set. Nevertheless, both sets are used by Tafota Baruga speakers. When the shorter set is used, there is only one primary stress, and it falls on the final vowel of the lexical component (e.g. *é, bú, gí*). It should be noted that this primary stress is a suprasegmental morpheme that is part of the encoding of customary aspect, both in final and medial forms. It contravenes the morphophonemic rules of vowel gobbling (i.e. vowel syncopation) and epenthetic consonant insertion. So when the medial customary suffixes *-ava* (SS) and *-avota* (DS) occur, this vowel continues to be stressed and is not "gobbled," nor is an epenthetic vowel inserted. See section 8.1 as well.

*jíre* → *jíría* 'stand', *nunge* → *nungía* 'hide', *fuge* → *fugía* 'throw'). Although the default interpretation of this form is that the event encoded precedes that of the subsequent verb, the Baruga appear to be using this form neutrally to indicate serial verbs which have no clearly defined temporal relationship (i.e sequencing or simultaneous) with the subsequent verb. If they wish to define the relationship precisely as a sequencing relationship, they add the word *doa* 'leave off, SS', which functions as a grammatical morpheme with the semantic components 'and then': *éa dóa* 'doing and then'.

	<b>e-verb</b>	<b>u-verb</b>	<b>i-verb</b>
42)	<i>bore-a dó-a</i> break.SEQ.SS'	<i>gembú-a dó-a</i> 'write/pole.SEQ.SS'	<i>gí-a dó-a'</i> 'see.SEQ.SS'

The temporal framework for the event encoded by the sequencing same subject medial verb depends on the tense encoded in the final verb. In (43), the event encoded by *bubua* *doa* 'he arrived and then' has realis status and has already happened at the speech act encoding time, but *sidara ea doa* 'it will be finished and then' in (44) has irrealis status and is projected to occur at a date after the speech act encoding time.

43)	<i>Egi náa=va</i> Egi village-LOC	<b><u>bubú-a+dóa</u></b> arrive.I-SS+SEQ.SS	<i>vit-íe.</i> remain.II-PRES.3.IA
	'Egi arrived at the village and is remaining.'		
44)	<i>November 17th</i> <i>November 17th</i> <i>November 17th</i>	<i>aghá=gova</i> <i>agha=go=va</i> thus.D1=CPAR=LOC	<i>énda</i> <i>enda</i> ground
	<i>náava</i> <i>naa=va</i> village=LOC	<i>yáita</i> <i>i-áita</i> go.I-ANT	<b><u>sidára+éa+dóa.</u></b> <i>sidara+e-a+doa,</i> finished+do.I-SS+SEQ.SS
		<i>róre.</i> <i>re-u-ore.</i> IPF.SEQ-do.STEM2-PRES.1.IA	

'Around November 17th, the course will finish, and then I am going to go home.'

Two other SS medial forms also are not marked for the realis/irrealis distinction. One has the components, STEM 2 + *-ta* 'saying, herewith'. This form is followed by a motion verb (*fu* 'come' or *í* 'go') and the combination means 'come/go along repeating action X'. The near past form of the verb *í* 'go', *angera* 'I went [*ang-era* 'go.NPT-NPT.1.FN'] is used in the examples in (45).

	<b>e-verb</b>	<b>u-verb</b>	<b>i-verb</b>
45)	<i>boritúta angéra</i> <i>boritú-ta+ang-éra</i> 'I went along breaking'	<i>gefíta angéra</i> ' <i>gefí-ta+ang-era</i> 'I went along poling (a canoe)'	<i>gerúta angéra</i> <i>gerú-ta+ang-era</i> 'I went along viewing'

The other form (the **SIMULTANEOUS SS** form) also has STEM 2 as its initial component. Its terminal component is -róta. The -róta marks a verb as having an overlap relationship (total or partial simultaneity) with the immediately subsequent verb:

u-rota 'while doing/making'.

- |     | <b>e-verb</b>                       | <b>u-verb</b>                    | <b>i-verb</b>                    |
|-----|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 46) | <i>boritu-róta</i> 'while breaking' | <i>gefi-róta</i> 'while writing' | <i>geru-róta</i> 'while viewing' |

The simultaneous, same subject forms occur with verbs having realis status (47) and verbs having irrealis status (48).

- |   |                   |                             |                |
|---|-------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|
| 47)   | <i>Egi náa-va</i> | <i><u>buburitu-róta</u></i> | <i>j-úe.</i>   |
|   | Egi village-LOC   | come.out.II-SIM.SS          | fall.I-TP.3.IA |
| 'While Egi was coming out to the village, he <u>fell</u> down.' |                   |                             |                |

- |   |                  |                   |                        |                             |
|---|------------------|-------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 48)   | <i>...enembo</i> | <i>dumeni</i>     | <i>gavéra</i>          | <i><u>regegutu-róta</u></i> |
|   | people           | some              | lies                   | say.II.PL-SIM.SS            |
|   | <i>eghá</i>      | <i>regeg-aita</i> | <i>róus-ue.</i>        |                             |
|   | thus             | say.I.PL-ANT      | IPF.do.II.PL-PRES.3.IA |                             |
| '... <u>while</u> some people are telling lies, they <u>will</u> say thus.' |                  |                   |                        |                             |

This SS simultaneous form is used with the verb *iri* 'remain' to signal a formulaic sequence encoding continuous aspect. See section 8.4.

Two other SS sequencing medial forms are limited to irrealis status:

**CUSTOMARY:** STEM 1 + -ava (See the procedural text in Appendix 5 for text examples.)

- |     | <b>e-verb</b>                       | <b>u-verb</b>                        | <b>i-verb</b>                   |
|-----|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 49) | <i>bore-ava</i> 'customarily break' | <i>gembú-ava</i> 'customarily write' | <i>gé-ava</i> 'customarily see' |

**SUBJUNCTIVE/COUNTERFACTUAL:** STEM 1 + -áuvava

- |     | <b>e-verb</b>                    | <b>u-verb</b>                     | <b>i-verb</b>                |
|-----|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 50) | <i>bor-áuvava</i> 'should break' | <i>gemb-áuvava</i> 'should write' | <i>g-áuvava</i> 'should see' |

There are also several sets of **durative forms** that apparently encode the notion of same subject following. In one of these sets, the invariant, non-finite, durative deverbal suffix -aro is added to the stem 1 form.

- |     | <b>e-verb</b>             | <b>u-verb</b>             | <b>i-verb</b>             |
|-----|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| 51) | <i>bor-áro</i> 'breaking' | <i>gemb-áro</i> 'writing' | <i>g-áro</i> 'looking at' |

This form only occurs in the formulaic durative verb sequence. For further discussion, see section 8.5.

In another set using stem 2 forms, the comparative morpheme -go, which suggests the action is mirrored (or repeated) and is best translated 'keep on' is added on to the finite non-asserted [FN] past tense (realis) forms of verbs and to a future (irrealis) invariant form.

The verb forms having realis status are at least semi-finite, manifesting a 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person form and a 3<sup>rd</sup> person form. Semantically, these forms are ambiguous as to whether the relationship they encode with the reference clause event is overlapping or sequencing.<sup>20</sup>

52) IRREALIS:

*rei-boritu-ró-go* 'keep on breaking'  
*rei-gefi-ró-go* 'keep on writing'  
*rei-geru-ró-go* 'keep on seeing'

REALIS:

53) NP1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup>:

<i>rei-borit-ára-go</i> 'kept on breaking'	3 <sup>RD</sup> : <i>rei-borit-á-go</i> 'kept on breaking'
<i>rei-gefivut-ára-go</i> 'kept on writing'	<i>rei-gefivut-á-go</i> 'kept on writing'
<i>rei-ger-ára-go</i> 'kept on seeing'	<i>rei-ger-á-go</i> 'kept on seeing'

54) DP1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup>:

<i>rei-boritu-réra-go</i> 'kept on breaking'	3 <sup>RD</sup> : <i>rei-boritu-ría-go</i> 'kept on breaking'
<i>rei-gefi-réra-go</i> 'kept on writing'	<i>rei-gefi-ría-go</i> 'kept on writing'
<i>rei-geru-réra-go</i> 'kept on seeing'	<i>rei-geru-ría-go</i> 'kept on seeing'

The plural durative prefix *reisi-* replaces *rei-* in these forms when the speaker wishes to focus on the plurality of actors performing the action encoded by the verb.

The finite non-asserted past tense forms of verbs (e.g. *reiburitara*, *reiburiturer*) are also used without the *-go* to signal same subject, durative activities sequenced in a switch reference construction (SRC). The duration signalled in these cases does not have as long a temporal expanse as that signalled by the addition of *-go*, and the event encoded does not overlap with a following event.

**Different subject sequencing verb forms are marked for tense, aspect or status/modality.**

**REALIS** forms are marked for **today's past, near past** or **distant past tense**.

**IRREALIS** forms indicate **future tense, subjunctive/counterfactual modality**, or **customary aspect**.

Both sequencing and simultaneous medial verbs are temporally related to the subsequent verb and ultimately in temporal relationship with the final verb. In addition to exhibiting

<sup>20</sup>

The most commonly used verb in this set is the verb *e* 'do' with the following forms:

F:	<i>rórogo</i> (1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> persons)	<i>rógo</i> (3 <sup>rd</sup> person)
PL:	<i>rósorogo</i> (1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> persons)	<i>rósogo</i> (3 <sup>rd</sup> person)
NP:	<i>riarago</i> (1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> persons)	<i>riago</i> (3 <sup>rd</sup> person)
PL:	<i>rósarago</i> (1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> persons)	<i>rósago</i> (3 <sup>rd</sup> person)
DP:	<i>roruréago</i> (1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> persons)	<i>roruriago</i> (3 <sup>rd</sup> person)
PL:	<i>rosuréago</i> (1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> persons)	<i>rosuriago</i> (3 <sup>rd</sup> person).

**relative tense** sequencing, sequencing medial verbs also indicate an absolute relationship to the speech act encoding time. When sequencing verbs occur in sentences that terminate with a distant past tense form of the verb, tense constraints require that distant past sequencing medial verb forms be used. The today's past forms are limited to sentences terminating with today's past or present tense. The near past tense may occur with any final verb having realis status that is not marked for distant past tense.

**Most different subject forms appear to have two components:**

[final 3rd person IA form of the verb (-ue/-iel/-al/-oe)] + [-ta 'saying, herewith'].

**Different subject sequencing forms** in near past and distant past tenses have a durative as well as non-durative set. All have a plural form as well as a singular form. All the different subject medial forms are non-finite, in the sense that there is no person of subject marker distinguishing first person from second or third. The forms are given below showing how most of them probably are derived from the indicative-assertive form. Note that the future and customary forms are not derived from the third person future or customary final forms. The plural form is only given for the today's past (TP) set, which uses stem 1, and the distant past (DP) set, which uses stem 2. In examples (55)-(66), X = 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, or 3<sup>rd</sup> person, Y = 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, or 3<sup>rd</sup> person, and X ≠ Y.

#### IRREALIS:

- 55) **FUTURE: -ota/-ata**  
*bub-óe* (IR.3.H) 'he will arrive' → *bub-óta* 'X will arrive, and then Y...'
- 56) **CUSTOMARY: -aveta**  
*bubú-ava* 'customarily arrive.SS' → *bubú-aveta* 'X customarily arrives, and then Y...'
- 57) **SUBJUNCTIVE/COUNTERFACTUAL: -asueta**  
*bub-ásue* 'he should arrive' → *bub-asuéta* 'X should arrive, and then Y...'
- 58) **APPREHENSION/PRECAUTIONARY SUBJUNCTIVE: -auvota/-auvata**  
*bub-auvara* 'should.arrive.SS' → *bub-auvota* '(lest) X might arrive'

#### REALIS:

- 59) **TODAY'S PAST:**  
*bubíe* 'he arrived today' → *bubíéta* 'X arrived today, and then Y...'
- 60) **TODAY'S PAST PLURAL:**  
*bububugetúe* 'they arrived today' → *bububugetuéta* 'X (PL) arrived today, and then Y...'
- 61) **NEAR PAST:**  
*bubúrita* 'he arrived a few days ago' → *buburítata* 'X arrived a few days ago, and then Y...'
- 62) **DURATIVE NEAR PAST:**

- rébubúrita* 'he was coming out a few days ago' → *reibuburitáta* 'X was coming out a few days ago, and then Y...'
- 63) **DISTANT PAST:**  
*buburitúrie* 'he arrived last year' → *buburituriéta* 'X arrived last year, and then Y...'
- 64) **DISTANT PAST PLURAL:**  
*bububugutúrie* 'he arrived last year' → *bububuguturiéta* 'X arrived last year, and then Y...'
- 65) **DURATIVE DISTANT PAST:**  
*rébuburitúrie* 'he was coming out last year' → *reibuburituriéta* 'X was coming out last year, and then Y...'
- 66) **DURATIVE PLURAL DISTANT PAST:**  
*reisibuburitúrie* 'they were coming out last year' → *reisibuburituriéta* 'X (PL) were coming out last year, and Y...'

**DS simultaneous forms** are not marked for tense, but depend on the final verb in the SRC in which they occur for their tense assignation. The **realis** form appears to arise from the present tense form. This form, however, lacks the durative prefix found in present tense forms (*rouvie* [*re- u -ie*] 'he does' → *úeta* 'while X is/was doing, Y...')

- 67) *rebubúritue* 'he is coming out' → *buburituéta* 'while X comes/came out, Y...'

The **irrealis DS simultaneous** form is homophonous with the SS simultaneous form

(STEM2+-*rota*):

- |     | <b>e-verb</b>                       | <b>u-verb</b>                    | <b>i-verb</b>                       |
|-----|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 68) | <i>boritu-róta</i> 'while breaking' | <i>gefi-róta</i> 'while writing' | <i>geru-róta</i> 'while looking at' |

Tafota Baruga has two other medial forms, which are non-finite, but appear to be indicating a **logical relationship** with the following verb **in addition to the temporal relationship** all other medial verbs encode. These realis logico-temporal medials signal both that the event they encode overlaps (**SIM**) with the following event indicated by the text, and also that the following event is logically contingent upon it. They are classed as medial verbs, because they only occur sentence medially and are not marked for person of subject. But they behave like final verbs that are marked for finite non-asserted mood in that they can be followed and linked to the rest of the sentence in a hypotactic relationship by *mo* (topic/contingency marker) or by *du* (purpose marker). Other medial verbs may not be postposed and related to subsequent events by these subordinating conjunctions. One form has realis status, and the other irrealis status.

The realis form has the components: STEM2 (stress on final vowel usually) + *-a* (or *-ua*). In example (69), the dual temporal-logical relationship *uua* has with the rest of the events in the sentence is conveyed by the two conjunctions used in the translation: *since* and *while*.

- 69) *Aría* *avó* *búro-va* *uu-a* *mo,* *ún=da*  
 go.DP-DP.3.FN there garden =LOC do.II-SS T/F 3S=GEN  
*ráo* *ere-a,* *gugúa+gumbáru* *bú-a* *gategé-a,*  
 younger.sister arise.I-SS possessions get.I.-SS choose.I-SS  
*ún=da* *bu-a,* *áiro* *itutu-ríe.*  
 3S=GEN get.I-SS different put/place.II-DP.3.IA

'Since she went and while she was working there in the garden, her younger sister arose, got their belongings, selected and got hers and put (them) in a different (place).'

The irrealis form has as its components: STEM2 with word stress on the stem, usually on the stem final vowel, + *-rota* [-*ru-a-ta* IPF.SIM-IR-saying]. In example (70), the speaker connects paddling with testing the water, a pivotal operation in the text. They are looking for a river, and they will find it when they feel colder water as they're paddling along.

- 70) *"Davíturota* *mo,* *íngo* *safáu* *ége!"*  
*"davitu-rota* *mo,* *íngo* *safau* *e-ge!"*  
 paddle.II.IPF-SIM-IR.SS T/F hand/arm wet make.I-FOC.IMP  
*retúe.*  
*re-túe.*  
 say.I-TP.3.IA

"While you will be paddling, make your hand wet (testing how cold the water is getting)!" he said.'

10. Sometimes medial verbs are used finally. We have already noted the use of a non final form STEM2+*gía* to encode the imperfective-simultaneous imperative under point 7 in the discussion of final verb forms. One also finds sentences broken off with a medial verb in other irrealis cases that fall within the domain of performatives. The polite command terminating with the final hortative form *iroe* 'that it may remain' in (72) below could also terminate with the irrealis future DS form *iróta* 'while remaining.SS/DS' or *iróta gía* 'while remaining.SS/DS, seeing.SS', shown in (72) below.

- 71) *Án=da* *róro* *ávo* *íti* *ir-óe!*  
 1S=GEN plate there put.I.IMP remain.I-H.3.IA  
 'Put my plate there so that it remains!'
- 72) *Án=da* *róro* *ávo* *íti* *ir-óta* *(gí-a)!*  
 1S=GEN plate there put.I.IMP remain.I-SIM.SS/DS (see.I-SS)  
 'Put my plate there so that it remains!'

The sequential future different subject form (stem 1 + *-ota/-ata*) is used as the final verb in the negative hortative sentence. And the sequential apprehension subjunctive different subject form (stem 1 + *-auvota/-auvata*) is used in precautionary (lest) clauses encoding as the last element in *Apprehension/Precautionary Sentences* (Section 9.10).



- 73a) Jo amó=kéna r-áta ning-ambi re.  
 NEG 1S=ALOC speak.I-SEQ.F.DS hear.I-not.do COP.IA  
 'He didn't tell me and I didn't hear.'

- 74b) Manía r-ata!  
 don't speak.I-NEG.H.(SEQ.F.DS)  
 'Don't speak!'

In example (74), the DS subjunctive form *ningáuvata* 'should hear' predicates an apprehension/precautionary construction in a negative imperative construction, in which the verb in the main clause, *radi* 'may you speak!', has the 2<sup>nd</sup> person hortative form.

- 74) Amó manía enémbo avó=du r-ádi<sup>21</sup> ning-áuvata.  
 1S don't people who=BEN/PUR say.I-IR.2.H hear.I-SEQ.CFAC.DS  
 'Don't talk about me to whomever, lest they might hear (who I am)!'

11. The comparative postposition *go* has already been discussed in its use with durative constructions (on verbs like *rourogo* 'will keep on doing' and *rouriago* 'kept on doing, DP') in examples (32), (52), (53), and (54). The inherently durative/imperfective verb *iri* 'remain' does not even require an imperfective marker (*rei-*, *-ru*) to occur with *-go*: *vitárago* 'I kept on staying'. The *-go* is also used with the imperative forms of the verb *gi* 'see': *Gigo!* 'Check on it (see for yourself)!'

### 3.2 CLOSED CLASSES OF WORDS

Closed word classes in Tafota Baruga include quantifiers and numerators, personal pronouns, demonstratives, interrogative/indefinite pronouns, negative particles, postpositions, conjunctions, and interjections.

<sup>21</sup> The form *rata* SEQ.F.DS/NEG.H can also be used here.

### 3.2.1 Quantifiers and Numerators

General quantifiers include:

<i>duméni/deméni</i>	'some'
<i>éini</i>	'a; another; one (in some contexts)'
<i>orúa/oruabe</i>	'a lot of, plenty'
<i>natópogo</i>	'lots'
<i>námbigo</i>	'lots'
<i>dáno</i>	'all'
<i>dánode</i>	'together'
<i>únda únda</i>	'each to his own'
<i>téfo</i>	'nothing, none'
<i>némbo</i>	'only'
<i>itóko/itókoko</i>	'a little bit'

Quantifiers modify nouns, but some also modify qualifiers or verbs, giving them an adverbial function.

Numerators include:

<i>dabáko</i>	'one'
<i>ungágha</i>	'two' (with the two of them)
<i>bákode</i>	'three' (cardinal number)
<i>báko</i>	'third' (ordinal number)
<i>ungágha ungagha</i>	'four' (with the two of them duplicated)
<i>íngo yovéni</i>	'five' (across the hand)
<i>íngo yovéni yovéni</i>	'ten'
<i>enémbo dabáko</i>	'twenty' (one man)

### 3.2.2 Personal Pronouns

	Citation	ACTOR/SUBJECT	EXCLUSIVE	EMPHATIC
			'I all alone, etc.'	'I by myself, etc.'
1S	<i>amó (an)</i>	<i>anóna</i>	<i>anúka(ko)</i>	<i>amó+andúpa(ko)</i>
2S	<i>imó (in)</i>	<i>inóna</i>	<i>inúka(ko)</i>	<i>imó+indúpa(ko)</i>
3S	<i>umó (un)</i>	<i>unóna</i>	<i>unúka(ko)</i>	<i>umó+undúpa(ko)</i>
1D	<i>angá</i>	<i>anganóna</i>	<i>angánúka(ko)</i>	<i>angá+andúpa(ko)</i>
2D	<i>ingá</i>	<i>inganóna</i>	<i>ingánúka(ko)</i>	<i>ingá+indúpa(ko)</i>
3D	<i>ungá</i>	<i>unganóna</i>	<i>ungánúka(ko)</i>	<i>ungá+undúpa(ko)</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>námane/ámane</i>	<i>námanena/ámanena</i>	<i>námane+anúka</i>	<i>námane+andúpa</i>
1PL.INC	<i>namónde/amonde/namónde amó</i>	<i>namónde anóna</i>	<i>namónde+anúka</i>	<i>namonde+andúpa</i>
2PL	<i>nímane/ímane</i>	<i>nímanena/ímanena</i>	<i>nímane+nénúka(ko)</i>	<i>nímane+nendúpa</i>
3PL	<i>nemó</i>	<i>nenóna</i>	<i>nemó+nénúka(ko)</i>	<i>nemó+nendúpa</i>
3PL	<i>númane/úmane</i>	<i>númanena/úmanena</i>	<i>númane+nénúka</i>	<i>númane+nendúpa</i>

	GENITIVE	BENEFACTIVE/RECIPIENT
1S	<i>ánda</i>	<i>andú</i>
2S	<i>índa</i>	<i>indú</i>
3S	<i>únda</i>	<i>undú</i>
1D	<i>angánda</i>	<i>angándú</i>
2D	<i>ingánda</i>	<i>ingándú</i>
3D	<i>ungánda</i>	<i>ungándú</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>námánda/ámánda</i>	<i>namándú</i>
1PL.INC	<i>amónde+ánda</i> <i>namónde+ánda</i>	<i>amónde+andú</i> <i>namónde+andú</i>
2PL	<i>nímanda</i>	<i>nímandú</i>
3PL	<i>némánda</i> <sup>22</sup>	<i>nendú</i> <sup>22</sup>
3PL	<i>númanda</i>	<i>númandú</i>

### 3.2.3 Demonstratives

Tafota Baruga exhibits a tripartite distinction in demonstrative pronouns: PROXIMAL: *e* ‘this (near the speaker)’, DISTAL 1: *a* ‘that (near the addressee)’ and DISTAL 2: *o* ‘that (away from speaker and addressee)’.

	PROXIMAL	DISTAL 1	DISTAL 2
Citation form:	<i>éna</i>	<i>ána</i>	<i>óna</i>
CEFF/INST:	<i>enámi</i>	<i>anámi</i>	<i>onámi</i>
FOCUS:	<i>enánu</i>	<i>anánu</i>	<i>onánu</i>
LOCATIVE:	<i>enáva</i> <i>éve</i>	<i>anáva</i> <i>ávo</i>	<i>onáva</i> <i>óve</i>
REC/BEN:	<i>enádu</i>	<i>anádu</i>	<i>onádu</i>
PURPOSE:	<i>emíndu</i>	<i>amíndu</i>	<i>omíndu</i>
PURPOSE:	<i>eghádu</i>	<i>aghádu</i>	<i>oghádu</i>
‘thus’	<i>eghá</i>	<i>aghá</i>	<i>oghá</i>
‘like that’	<i>eghágo</i>	<i>aghágo</i>	<i>oghágo</i>
COPULA: (It is here.)	<i>evére</i>	<i>avóre</i>	<i>ovére</i>
CURRENT RELEVANCY: (It’s right here!)	<i>evéta</i>	<i>avóta</i>	<i>ovéta</i>

### 3.2.4 Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns

The interrogative pronouns often are used as indefinite pronouns as well.

<i>avóna</i> ( <i>a-vo?=na</i> )	‘who, someone (ACTOR/SUBJECT)’
<i>avónu</i> ( <i>a-vo?=nu</i> )	‘whom, someone (OBJECT/FOCUS)’
<i>avóvi</i> ( <i>a-vo?=vi?</i> )	‘who, someone (COMMENT in COPULAR CLAUSE)’
<i>avóda</i> ( <i>a-vo?=da</i> )	‘whose, someone’s (GENITIVE)’
<i>avónajo</i> ( <i>a-vo?=na=jo</i> )	‘who, someone (ACTOR/SUBJECT, referential)’
<i>dómi</i> ( <i>do=mi</i> )	‘what, something (ACTOR/SUBJECT)’
<i>dónu</i> ( <i>do=nu</i> )	‘what (FOCUS), something’
<i>dodú</i> ( <i>do=du</i> )	‘why, for some reason’
<i>dóda</i> ( <i>do=da</i> )	‘where, somewhere’
<i>dóro</i> ( <i>do=ro</i> )	‘what (comment in copular construction)’
<i>bee dodú</i> ( <i>bee do=du</i> )	‘why (for what reason)’
<i>dáiyagha</i> ( <i>do-aiya?-agha</i> )	‘how, in some way’
<i>máka dáiyagharo?</i>	‘what kind of?’

<sup>22</sup>

This form is probably borrowed from the Dogoro language.

(List of interrogative-indefinite pronouns continued:)

<i>nía</i>	'which, where, whichever'
<i>níavo</i>	'where, whichever place'
<i>níaghago</i>	'whatever for'
<i>nanjógo</i>	'how many, however many'
<i>nanjigo</i>	'when, sometime, whenever'

### 3.2.5 Negative Particles

Tafota Baruga has two **negative focus particles**. The optional negator, *jo*, precedes the verb or whatever elements in the clause the speaker wishes to focus on as being specifically negated. The other, *manía/mana*, precedes clauses that convey prohibitions. For more information on these particles, see the discussion in section 5.6, *Negation of Clauses*.

### 3.2.6 Postpositions

Tafota Baruga postpositions indicate semantico-pragmatic relations the NP they mark has with another NP, a verbal predicate, or text segment in a discourse. They are enclitics,<sup>23</sup> not obligatory bound to a noun head or any other NP constituent, but instead cliticising to or following the terminal constituent of the NP, no matter what that constituent is, noun, modifier, demonstrative. Those with one syllable do not have separate stress, but those with two syllables may bear their own stress, i.e. *kéna*, *dáva*. At this point, the Tafota Baruga do not write them consistently, either as a unit with or separately from the previous word, the terminal constituent of the preceding NP. This orthographic ambivalence reflects their nature. In interlinear translations in this paper, an equal sign (=) marks the relationship between them and the preceding NP with which they form a postpositional phrase, when they are written as bound forms. No marking indicates their treatment as independent grammatical words.

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<sup>23</sup> Tegey (1976:636) defines clitics as elements which:

- "(a) normally do not bear stress,
- "(b) obligatorily attach to a stressed item,
- "(c) constitute a single unit in the phonological rather than the morphological sense with the item they attach to,
- "(d) may move to a certain position in the clause."

## 1. Postpositions on nouns or on adjectives:

<i>mane</i>	PLURAL
<i>ko</i>	INTENSIFIER/DIMINUTIVE

## 2. Postpositions with nouns:

<i>gha</i>	COMITATIVE, DUAL 'with'
<i>de</i>	COMITATIVE, PLURAL 'with'

## 3. Case marking affixes cliticise to NPs. Although it is possible to view them as the final constituent of NPs, they are viewed here as the terminal obligatory constituent (or constituents if there is more than one) of postpositional phrases with NPs + clitics.

*mo* TOPIC, default form of pronouns-topical, contingency conjunction (if, when)

<i>mi</i>	TOPIC marker of CONTROL, EFFECTOR OF CHANGE 'as for, with, by', occurs with common nouns, demonstrative pronouns and interrogative/indefinite pronouns other than <i>ávona</i> 'who'
<i>na</i>	ACTOR FOCUS, only goes on the proper names of people or on personal or interrogative/indefinite pronoun <i>ávona</i> 'who', only marks subjects in clauses
<i>-na</i>	designates a REFERENTIAL or TOPICAL constituent, always occurs bound to demonstrative pronouns
<i>nu</i>	FOCUS, CONTRASTIVE FOCUS (as well), don't know if contrast is always present, often marks objects (with either PATIENT or THEME role)
<i>du</i>	BENEFACTIVE/MALEFACTIVE, PURPOSE 'to, for, for the purpose of'
<i>da</i>	GENITIVE 'of, belonging to'
<i>va</i>	LOCATIVE 'at, in, to, on'
<i>dava</i>	RECIPIENT (INTERMEDIARY) 'to, for, from, in the area of'
<i>kena</i>	APPROXIMATE LOCATIVE 'toward, concerning, (may also mean from)'
<i>reta</i>	ABLATIVE 'from' (also means 'if you are saying', 'this is relevant to the discussion')
<i>va reta</i>	ABLATIVE 'from, in the vicinity from'
<i>go</i>	COMPARATIVE 'like'

## 4. Postpositions on clauses:

<i>ta</i>	'saying, here and now (CURRENT RELEVANCY-ASSERTIVE EVIDENTIAL)'
<i>jogo</i>	'perhaps (DUBITATIVE EVIDENTIAL)'
<i>tano</i>	'perhaps (DUBITATIVE EVIDENTIAL)'
<i>re</i>	'copula in indicative/asserted clauses'
<i>ra</i>	'copula in finite/non-asserted clauses or polar question clauses'
<i>ro</i>	'copula in content question clauses'
<i>reta</i>	'if x really is (used sentence medially)'

## 3.2.7 Conjunctions

<i>e~</i>	'and'
<i>gha</i>	and/with X (NP), DUAL (comitative postposition)
<i>de</i>	and/with X (NP), PLURAL (comitative postposition)
<i>éa dóa</i>	'and then (lit. doing and then)'
<i>kotú</i>	'and also; and another thing'
<i>áta</i>	'and/but consider this'
<i>o</i>	'or'
<i>ai/a f</i>	'or, yes? (in a tag question)'

(List of conjunctions continued:)

<i>tago</i>	'but'
<i>avóta</i>	"but"
<i>avótago</i>	"but"
<i>avoréta</i>	'but (from there)'
<i>avorétago</i>	'but (from there but)'
<i>aná</i>	'if, when, regarding that'
<i>nu, anánu</i>	'that fact as contrasted with'
<i>gía</i>	'so (seeing) (enabling cause)' (= <i>gido</i> in Korafe)
<i>aghá gía</i>	'seeing that' (= <i>agido</i> in Korafe)
<i>be gía</i>	'so'
<i>aghá degía</i>	"therefore" (= <i>ava sedo</i> in Korafe)
<i>amíndu</i>	'therefore' (sufficient cause) (= <i>aindae</i> in Korafe)
<i>amíndu réa</i>	'therefore (speaking on account of that) ( <i>aindae sedo</i> in K.)
<i>anámindu</i>	'on account of that'
<i>aghádu rea, eghádu rea</i>	'therefore'
<i>degía</i>	'lest'
<i>beva</i>	'because'
<i>anáda bee mo</i>	'because, the truth of that is'
<i>anáda rúru mo</i>	'because, the motivation for that is'
<i>amí/anámi réria mo</i>	'because, that is to say'
<i>aghá etúami réria mo</i>	'that which was done says'
<i>badina</i>	'because (Motu)'
<i>jo ambi tutunova</i>	'before it happened (lit. not having done, at the beginning)'
<i>=dal/anáda róva mo</i>	'in the middle of that, during'
<i>anáda ámbova</i>	'after that'
<i>agháde</i>	'at that same time'

### 3.2.8 Interjections

<i>avóre</i>	'all right'
<i>avóta</i>	'all right now'
<i>avoréta</i>	'it's all right now'
<i>avórego</i>	'like it's all right'
<i>avóko</i>	'truly all right'
<i>aghágo!</i>	'That's about like it is!' 'Something like that!'
<i>aghájorajógo</i>	'Just not sure, perhaps!' 'Whatsis name?'
<i>áiya kaváigo</i>	'horrors, trouble!'
<i>ae!/aeae/aeeee</i>	'wow! (emotive intensity governs recursive e-addition)
<i>e~</i>	'yes!'
<i>yóve, yóve, yóve</i>	'You don't say! Awesome!'
<i>arie!/aríee/aríeee</i>	'dear (used in episolar salutations), how wonderful'
<i>áija/aiyó</i>	'ow, ouch'
<i>Méka gíro!</i>	'Shame on you!'
<i>Néno béra!</i>	'You got what you deserve!'
<i>Etóravore!</i>	'Wow!'
<i>Ávo ámbu!</i>	'Kick the bucket!'
<i>Ávo járe!</i>	'Give up!'

### 3.3 NOUN COMPOUNDS/COMPLEXES

Tafota Baruga has a number of nominal roots that are juxtaposed to indicate taxonomic categories, generic-specific relationships, whole-part relationships, body part-production/emotion. These juxtaposed nominals are for the most part two phonological words

with two separate word stresses, but they function as a unit, filling the nuclear head of NPs.

The following is a partial list of categories with examples of each.

**Taxonomic categories:**

- 75) *nino óka* 'animals (lit. dog-pig in Tafota Baruga)  
*evétu embó* 'men and women'

**Taxonomic categories expressed by deverb+deverb:**

- 76) *divári furári* 'dance celebration (lit. dancing/singing-blowing)  
*gayári nandári* 'fishing (lit. spearing-grabbing)'

**Generic-specific:**

- 77) *dii jefona* 'Jefona bird (lit. bird-Jefona)  
*abúa ragáro Bóta Samáni* 'ancestor name(d) Bóta Samáni'

**Whole-part:**

- 78) *kámbo fóu* 'house ridgepole'  
*ika andóro* 'bark (tree skin)'

**Whole item-production:**

- 79) *ika bée* 'tree fruit'  
*ika vuri* 'newly forming fruit'

**Body part-product/emotions:**

- 80) *mendó menjuka* 'mucous (lit. nose mucous)'  
*néno akúago* 'anger (lit. esophagus bad)'

**Noun modifier combinations:**

- 81) *támo sagháí* 'European, white (lit. body cockatoo)'

**Noun+deverb modifier combinations:**

- 82) *bé gajári* 'promise (lit. mouth-close)'  
*káee itári* 'sorcery (lit. poison-hold)'

**Item identified by its components:**

- 83) *enima-yoyo* 'cross-bracing leaning post' (usually written as one word)

### 3.4 NOUN + VERB COMBINATIONS

Tafota Baruga packages a great number of events in formulaic (standardly used) noun+verb combinations. Both noun and verb retain separate word stress. In many of these combinations, the noun has patient role in relationship to the verb and is non-individuated and non-referential, behaving like an incorporated object. Many noun + verb combinations occur with the verb *e* 'do/make', and a number of them occur with *ri* 'say/speak'. Other verbs used in these combinations include: *de* 'hit, come in forcible contact with', *gae* 'spear, poke', *bu* 'get, acquire', *do* 'leave off, quit', *úndi* 'consume/eat', *rafe* 'tie', *iti* 'put/place', *tambu* 'find/meet' and *jire* 'stand'.

**Noun + e 'do/make':**

- 84) *vesa* + *e* 'distribute (lit. distribution+do)'  
*áno* + *e* 'be strong'

**Borrowed noun + e 'do/make':**

- 85) *makéti* + *e* 'sell' (English loan word nominal + Tafota Baruga verb)  
*tafároro* + *e* 'hold a church service' (Wedau loan word nominal + Baruga verb)

**Noun + re 'say/speak':**

- 86) *ji* + *re* 'cry (tears+say)'  
*akóno* + *re* 'cough (cough+say)'

**Noun + de 'hit/come in forcible contact with':**

- 87) *boáre* + *de* 'tattoo (tattoo-hit)'  
*émbe* + *de* 'beat sago'

**Noun + bu 'get/catch':**

- 88) *óka* + *bú* 'catch fish'  
*néno* + *bú* 'love (lit. neck-get)'

**Noun + miscellaneous other verbs:**

- 89) *báutava* + *úndi* 'smoke (lit. tobacco + consume)'  
*éka* + *jire* 'stand securely (foot-stand)'

In some of the combinations, the nominals appear to have more of an object complement relationship to the verb and can be modified. In (90), the noun *oka* 'fish' is non-referential with the N+V combination indicating the unitary, institutionalised activity, **fishing** (lit. **fish-getting**). This same noun+verb combination also occurs in (91), but here the noun is referential and individuated, occurring as the head of a NP, modified by *jójabe bée* 'very big'.

- 90) *Amó*    *óka+b-áita*            *rí-ore.*  
       1S    fish+get.I-ANT        IPF.do.I-PRES.1.IA  
       'I am going fishing.'

- 91) *Óka*    *jójabe-bei* *rur-a.*  
       fish    big-truly    get.II-NPT.3.IA  
       'He caught a very big fish.'

Other nominals behave more like verbal adjuncts, like 'sun' in 'sun-dried' in English or *úvu* in *úvu gúte* 'water-bathe'. They never get modified, and there is often another core argument in the clause.

- 92) *Ún=da*    *ári*            *akúago*    *nu*    *néno+íti!*  
       3S=GEN    do.DVB    bad    CT    neck+put.I.IMP!  
       'Forget about his bad deed!'



### 3.5 VERB + VERB COMBINATIONS

The stem of directional verbs ---*vore* 'descend', *viti* 'ascend'--- regularly combine with any form of the motion verbs *ii* 'go' and *fu* 'come' as phonological words (e.g. *vorefu* 'come down!', *vitíya* 'he went up').

We have already noted that the plural forms of verbs are a combination of the stem I form of the verb with its initial CV reduplicated and the pro-verb *ge* 'do, FOCUS?'.

## 4.0 PHRASES

### 4.1 NOUN PHRASES (NPs)

#### 4.1.1 The Structure of the General NP

Table Three maps out the constituent structure of the Tafota Baruga general NP. Basically constituents that identify the head precede it. Constituents that follow the head modify it and/or relate it to the predicate, sentence or discourse segment in which it plays a role.

TABLE THREE: TAFOTA BARUGA GENERAL NOUN PHRASE				
±Demonstrative <i>éna/ána/óna</i>	±Specifier <sup>1-2</sup> possessor	+HEAD noun	±Attributive <sup>1-2</sup> qualifier	±Function Marker demonstrative
	qualifier possessor phrase qualifier phrase	noun complex	quantifier qualifier phrase	interrogative pronoun

1. The demonstrative that precedes the noun is indicating that the noun is referential. It can be used to specify nouns encoding generic entities or entities that are uniquely identifiable within the speech act context. It may not be used where a referent is not identifiable within the speech act context, either because of unique or generic reference or previous introduction.

- 93)      [[*éna*]<sub>DEMONSTRATIVE</sub>      [*gága*]<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>...
- this.DEF                              speech/word
- '(Regarding) this speech...'

2. The specifier category is often filled by a possessor (i.e. a genitive postpositional phrase: NP=*da*). The most common realisation of the possessor is a possessive pronoun ((94)), but whole sentences can function as the head of a NP and have a genitive relationship with a noun (95).

94      [[*án=da*]<sub>POSSESSOR</sub>      [*isia*]<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>  
             1S=GEN                      taro  
             ‘my taro’

95)      [*Vésa*                      *utú-a*                      *dadáno+adúa=da*                      [*ámbo*]<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>NP=va...</sub>  
             gift/distribution      give.I-SS                      finish+do.I.F.3.FN=GEN                      behind=LOC  
             ‘After they will finish giving the gifts...’

The specifier can be a nominal, a word that often functions as a qualifier or a clause or clause sequence directly juxtaposed with the head.

96)      *ána*                      *g-ári*                      [*gha*]<sub>HEAD</sub>  
             that.D1.DEF                      see.I-DVB                      canoe  
             ‘that good quality wood for making canoes’ (identifies trees that make good canoes)

97)      *óna*                      *séi*                      *dotut-ára*                      [*fura*]<sub>HEAD</sub>  
             that.D2.DEF                      old                      leave.II-NPT.1.FN                      week  
             ‘a couple of weeks ago (lit. that old week over there that we left)’

98)      [[*ána*]<sub>DEMONSTRATIVE</sub>      [*ún=da*]<sub>POSSESSOR</sub>      [*séi*      *bée*]<sub>SPECIFIER 2</sub>      [*evóvo*]<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>  
             that.D1.DEF                      3S=GEN                      old      true                      heirloom  
             ‘that ancient heirloom of his’

3. The head is usually a noun, but a deverbal nominal, a noun+noun combination such as those listed above, or a clause or switch reference construction can function as the head of a NP. Usually, when clauses or SRCs function as the head, they do not occur with qualifiers or quantifiers.

99)      [*ána*                      [*gha+be*]<sub>HEAD</sub>                      *aná*]<sub>NP</sub>  
             that.D1.REF                      canoe+mouth                      that.D1.T/F  
             ‘regarding that canoe inside (where people sit down)’

Plurality is usually marked on the nominal head. Thus, the plural marker *mane* occurs with *susundo* ‘fragments’ as part of the head constituent in (100).

100)      [[*susundo+mane*]<sub>HEAD</sub>      *dáno*]<sub>NP</sub>  
             fragments=PL                      all  
             ‘all the fragments’

- 101) [[[[D-ari+ funumba+ari]<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>NP=da</sub>]<sub>POSSESSOR</sub> [gága]<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>NP=re</sub>.  
 hit.I-DVB+ knead+do.I.DVB=GEN speech=COP.IA  
 '(This) is a speech about processing sago (lit. hitting and kneading).'
- 102) [Éna [gága]<sub>HEAD</sub> tufóko]<sub>NP</sub>,  
 this.DEF speech short  
 [án=da [y-a áita r-óra]<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>NP</sub> re.<sup>24</sup>  
 1S=GEN go.I-SS do.I.ANT IPF-do.PRES.1.FN COP.IA  
 'This short speech is (about what) I will go and do (lit. my go and I am about to do).'

4. Tafota Baruga allows two qualifiers, a qualifier and a quantifier, or a quantifier and a qualifier to postpose the noun in the postnuclear attributive position. When more qualifiers are added, a slight pause must be inserted, making the extra qualifiers fill an appositional position following the initial NP.

- 103) [[bighi]<sub>HEAD</sub> [réka]<sub>QUALIFIER</sub> aná]<sub>NP</sub>  
 nipa.palm.leaves new that.D1.REF.T/F  
 'those green nipa palm leaves'
- 104) [[sirífa]<sub>HEAD</sub> [duméni]<sub>QUANTIFIER</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>  
 sago some  
 'some sago (bits)'
- 105) [[kotófu]<sub>SPECIFIER</sub> [méndi]<sub>HEAD</sub> [réka]<sub>QUALIFIER</sub> [ungágha]<sub>QUANTIFIER</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>  
 leader.clan boy new two  
 'two young boys from the leader clan'

Note that shifts in order usually reflect pragmatic choices the speaker is making. In the following two examples the order of qualifier and quantifier is switched, but the pragmatic functions are also shifted, so that when the qualifying colour precedes the quantifier, the NP is y-shifted and functioning as a topical element in the sentence. It should be noted that the plurality in the NPs in examples (106) and (107) is indicated by the occurrence of a quantifier and the marker on the qualifier. Plurality is not marked on the nominal head in these cases.

- 106) An-óna [[nino]<sub>HEAD</sub> [ungagha]<sub>QUANTIFIER</sub> [tamo fitugo mane]<sub>QUALIFIER</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>  
 1S-ACT dog two body black PL  
 nu det-óre  
 CT hit.I-TP.1.IA  
 'I hit two black dogs.'

24

The Tafota Baruga have not decided whether to write the copula with the previous word, so they end up doing a bit of both. The interlinear texts in this paper reflects their current ambivalence.

- 107)    [[*Níno*]<sub>HEAD</sub>    [*tamo fitugo mane*]<sub>QUALIFIER</sub>    [*ungagha*]<sub>QUANTIFIER</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>  
          dog                    body   black   PL                    two  
          *an-óna*                *det-óre.*  
          1S-ACT                hit.I-TP.1.IA

‘The two black dogs I hit.’

NPs with more than two qualifiers can be elicited from the people, but pauses are placed after the first two, making the other material appositional. There are a few instances in the current text corpus where the possessor is placed after the head. However, most of them appear to follow a pause and be appositional material. The one example that doesn’t is given below; it is a direct translation from Ewage which allows post-nominal head possessors.

- 108)    *Ji-de*                    [*benunu an=da*]<sub>NP</sub>    *ut-óre.*  
          tear=COM.PL           request   1S=GEN           give.I-TP.1.IA

‘With tears, I’m making (giving) my request.’

As mentioned above, sometimes qualifying words precede the nominal head. Example (109) illustrates the specifying or classifying function of the qualifying word as opposed to example (110), which illustrates its modifying function when it postposes the nominal head.

- 109)    [*ána*                    *táubana*                    [*gha*]<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>  
          that.D1.DEF           good                    canoe

‘an ideal canoe log (refers to any one of five trees used for making canoe hulls)’

- 110)    [*ána*                    [*gha*]<sub>HEAD</sub>                    *taubana*]<sub>NP</sub>  
          that.D1.DEF           canoe                    good

‘that good (well-designed) canoe’

6. The final constituent in the general NP is a demonstrative (example (111)) or interrogative pronoun (examples (112) and (113)).

- 111)    Bartimaeus                *aná*  
          Bartimaeus                that.T/F

‘concerning Bartimaeus’ or ‘Bartimaeus (topic)’

- 112)    *Naa*                    *niána=va*...  
          village                    whichever=LOC

‘Whichever village...’

- 113)    *undiri*                *ijóko*                *do*  
          instruction           little                what

‘whatever small instruction’

7. There are a few other NP types more specifically constrained, a pronominally headed NP, a “headless” NP, a serial NP, an accompaniment NP, a coordinate NP and an appositional NP. Deverbal nominal constructions are discussed below in section 4.3.1.

#### 4.1.2 Pronominally Headed NP

NPs headed by pronouns do not have any pre-nuclear constituents, and are limited to two potential post-nuclear constituents, a quantifier and a demonstrative or an interrogative pronoun. The resulting pronominally headed NP can be laid out in the following formula:

[PRONOUN]<sub>HEAD</sub> ±QUANTIFIER ±DEMONSTRATIVE/INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN

- 114) *nímane* *dáno*  
2.PL all  
'you all'
- 115) *Amó* *aná...*  
1.S that.D1.T/F  
'Concerning me,...'
- 116) *Nímane* *avóna...*  
2.PL who.ACT  
'Who of you...'

One of the customary ways to express plural possession is to use a plural pronoun followed by a singular pronoun with the genitive postposition cliticised to it.

- 117) [*namónde* *ánda*] *gaa+bee* *an*  
1.PL.INC 1S.GEN language+truth do.DVB  
'our belief (lit. truth talk doing)'

#### 4.1.3 “Headless” NP

When the referent is clear from the context, the head of the NP may be dropped.

Then, a non-nuclear constituent substitutes for the nominal head. Possessors, quantifiers and demonstratives are the primary constituents that substitute for a nominal head.

- 118) [*Kotófu* *embó,*] [*Égi* *da*]=*nu* *gae-tue*.  
leader.clan man Egi GEN=CT spear.I-TP.3.IA  
'The leader clan man (i.e. headman) killed Egi leader clan's (headman).'
- 119) [*Yuko=da*] *mo* *aghá* *e-túa=du...*  
Yuko=GEN T/F thus.D1 do.I-TP.3.FN=PUR/BEN  
'Because Yuko's (body) acted that way (got cold)...

- 120) *Dáno* *vegé-a...*  
all chop.I-SS  
'They chopped down all (the trees)...'
- 121) *...aná=mi* *digh-ádi!*  
that=CEFF/INST tie.I-IR.3S.H  
'...with that (weak vine) lash the canoe!'

#### 4.1.4 Serial NP

Nominal heads can be juxtaposed in a series. By definition, three heads must be present, but up to four heads have been found in the present Tafota Baruga text corpus.

**SERIAL NP = +HEAD1 +HEAD2 +HEAD3 ±HEAD4**

In contrast with the appositional NP discussed below in 4.1.7, each one of the heads adds its own entity (with reference to a separate entity in the real world) to the construction.

- 122) [*Foru Karesovu Erika*]<sub>SERIAL NP</sub> *namónde ánda gaa+bee ari*  
Foru Karesovu, Erika 1.PL.INC 1S.GEN language+truth do.DVB  
'the belief of us Foru, Karesovu, (and) Erika (people)'
- 123) [*Helen Norah Molly Velma*]  
Helen Norah Molly Velma  
'Helen, Norah, Molly, Velma'

#### 4.1.5 Accompaniment NP

Accompaniment NPs occur with comitative postpositions and occasionally also with other coordinate conjunctions.

**+NP<sub>1</sub> ±{unga} +NP<sub>2</sub>±{gha} ±NP<sub>3</sub>±{de} ±DEMONSTRATIVE/INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN**

In the above formula, in most instances (as the examples below indicate) the NP is realised by only a nominal head. However, in (126) the second NP has a nominal head and a quantifier as its constituents. A demonstrative never terminates any of the internal NPs. The {unga} represents a dual pronoun.. Either a dual or a plural comitative postposition, or an *e~* or *kotú* 'and' or a combination of them can occur in the {gha} position. The {de} should only occur when more than two entities are referenced by the NP, but there are cases where this rule does not hold.

- 124) *Apollos angá*  
 Apollos 1.D  
 'Apollos and I'
- 125) *Ruth ungá Annie gha*  
 Ruth 3D(3S.COM.D) Annie COM.D  
 'Ruth together with Annie'
- 126) *Sergius sasikoko ungágha=de*  
 Sergius children two=COM.PL  
 'Sergius together with two children'
- 127) *Clarence ungá Cyprian gha kotú Benjamin de*  
 Clarence 3.D Cyprian COM.D and Benjamin COM.PL  
 'Clarence the two of them with Cyprian and together with Benjamin'
- 128) *Clarence Cyprian de Benjamin de*  
 Clarence Cyprian =COM.PL Benjamin =COM.PL  
 'Clarence together with Cyprian and with Benjamin'

The final example in this section is a combination NP; a serial NP is the first constituent in an accompaniment NP.

- 129) *[[Helen Norah, Molly, Velma] Jimmy de Clarence de]*  
 Helen Norah Molly Velma Jimmy =COM.PL Clarence =COM.PL  
 'Helen Norah, Molly, Velma together with Jimmy and with Clarence'

#### 4.1.6 Coordinate NP

Coordinate NPs contain two or more heads, connected by a coordinating conjunction

ẽ 'and', *kotu* 'and' or an alternating conjunction *o* 'or', *aĩ* 'or'.

<b>+HEAD<sub>1</sub> ±[±CONJUNCTION +HEAD<sub>2-3</sub>] +CONJUNCTION + HEAD<sub>LAST</sub></b>
---

- 130) *[John o Peter o Terrenci] ra, eini=mi*  
 John or Peter or Terrence COP.FN one=CEFF  
*y-aíta rouv-ie.*  
 go.I-ANT IPF.do.II-PRES.3.IA  
 'Either John or Peter or Terrence it will be, one of them is going to go.'
- 131) *John, kotú Peter e~ Terrence, aghá*  
 John, and.also Peter and Terrence, thus.D1  
*igig-aíta rous-ue.*  
 go.I.PL-ANT IPF.do.II.PL-PRES.3.IA  
 'John, and also Peter and Terrence, those ones are about to go.'

### 4.1.7 Appositional NP

Appositional NPs either refer to the entity encoded in the initial NP with a pronoun, or they elaborate further on the initial NP, or they summarise the total aggregate.

$+NP_1 +NP_2 \pm NP_3 \pm NP_4$

The most common appositional NP in Tafota Baruga is the pronominal copy: NP + PRONOUN NP, as shown in examples (132) and (133).

- 132)    *Bartimaeus*      *umó*  
           *Bartimaeus*      *he*  
           'Bartimaeus, he'

- 133)    *evévetu*            *númane*            *béago*  
           woman.DUP      3PL                also  
           'the women also (lit. the women, they also)'

The pronominal copy (in singular form) must be used when possession or a case other than nominative occurs with the inclusive 1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun *namonde* 'we, including you', as example (134) shows.

- 134)    *namonde*    *an=da*      *paris*  
           1PL.INC    1S=GEN      parish  
           'our parish'

The pronominal copy also must be used with plural pronouns to express exclusivity. Since only one syllable pronouns can occur with the exclusive suffixes *-uka* or *-dupa* in the forms *anúka* 'I alone', *inuka* 'you alone' *unúka* 'he/she alone', *nendupa* '2/3 alone', these compound exclusive forms must copy the plural pronouns for them to express exclusivity, as in (135).

- 135)    *nímane*    *nen-dúfa*  
           2PL      2/3-alone  
           'you all alone'

The initial NP may be additionally elaborated by a "headless" NP that postposes it, as the underlined segment of example (136) illustrates.

- 136)    [[*bíghi*                    *réka*    *aná*]<sub>NP</sub> [*ungagha o dabáko agha=go*]<sub>NP</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>  
           nipa.palm.leaves    new    that.TOP    two            or    one            that=COMP  
           'those new nipa palm leaves, two or one like that'



Some appositional NPs have several NP constituents, the final one being a summarising NP that refers to the entire set of preceding NPs, underlined in examples (137), (138), and (139).

- 137) [[*enémbo=da* *kabéra*],<sub>NP</sub> [*dáno*]<sub>NP</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>  
 people=GEN canoe all  
 'the people's canoes, all (of them)'
- 138) [[*nundúb-ari* *eini-eini* *nanjogo* *aná*],<sub>NP</sub> [*dáno*]<sub>NP</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>  
 think.I-DVB one-one how.many that.D1.T/F all  
 'each and every thought however many, all (of them)'
- 139) [[*ána* *bógu* *nanjógo* *viti-ría*]<sub>NP</sub>  
 that.D1.DEF village how.many remain.II-DP.3.FN  
 [*yoveni+yoveni*]<sub>NP</sub> [*aná* *dáno*]<sub>NP</sub>]<sub>NP</sub>  
 side+side that.D1.T/F all  
 'however many villages there are, on each side, all of those (villages)'

## 4.2 PHRASES RELATED TO NOUN PHRASES

### 4.2.1 Modifier Phrases

Modifier phrases replace qualifiers in the pre-nuclear SPECIFIER constituent position and qualifiers and quantifiers in the post-nuclear ATTRIBUTIVE constituent position. Qualifiers may themselves be modified by an intensifier or diminishers. Intensifiers follow the nominal head; diminishers precede it.

- |      | INTENSIFIER  |    | DIMINISHER   |
|------|--|----|--|
| 140) | a) <i>taubana</i> <u><i>bee</i></u><br>good very<br>' <u>very</u> good'                        | b) | <u><i>ltóko</i></u> <i>ijóko</i> <i>re</i><br>a.bit small COP.IA<br>'It's <u>a bit</u> small.' |
| 141) | a) <i>Jójago</i> <u><i>bee</i></u> <i>reb</i> )<br>big true COP.IA<br>'It is <u>very</u> big.' |    | <u><i>ltóko</i></u> <i>jójago</i> <i>re</i> .<br>a.bit big COP.IA<br>'It's <u>a bit</u> big.'  |

Modifiers may be conjoined in one phrase by a coordinating conjunction *e~* 'and', *kotu* 'and', or an alternating conjunction *o* 'or', *af* 'or' or by comitative postpositions.

- 142) *ungagha* *o* *dabáko*  
 two or one  
 'two or one' (For entire NP, see example (136).)

- 143) *fitugo=gha*      *támo*      *saghái=gha*  
 Black=COM.D      body      cockatoo=COM.D  
 'black and white (lit. with black and with a cockatoo body)'

### 4.2.2 Postpositional Phrases

There are a number of postpositions (enclitics) that either cliticise to or follow NPs directly and indicate the semantic and/or pragmatic function of the NP, encoding its relationship with the following predicate, clause or discourse segment. The basic phrase structure is:

**+NP (any of the above NPs) +POSTPOSITION**

See section 3.2.6 for a list of the pronouns. Below are some postpositional phrases.

- 144) *Ruth*      *ungá*      *Annie=gha=na*  
 Ruth      3D(3S.COM.D)      Annie=COM.D=ACT  
 'Ruth together with Annie'

- 145) *éna*      *eini-eini=nu*  
 this.DEF      things=CT  
 'these things (are the ones that are prepared)'

- 146) *Naa*      *nianá=va=mi...*  
 village      whichever=LOC=CEFF  
 'Whichever village (will perform an excellent dance routine)...

It should be noted that the genitive and comitative markers are also postpositions, so the possessive constituent is really a postpositional phrase used as a constituent of the NP, and the comitative postpositions that conjoin really constitute a postpositional phrase together with the preceding nominal head. In the following example, the genitive postpositional phrase functions as the possessor constituent of a NP which becomes the initial constituent of a postpositional phrase with locative function.

- 147) *[[[[Afa]<sub>NP</sub>=da]<sub>POSSESSIVE PP</sub>      *ragaro]<sub>NP</sub>=va]<sub>LOCATIVE PP...</sub>*  
 Father=GEN      name=LOC  
 '...in the name of the Father...'*

### 4.2.3 Geminate Phrasal Constructions involving Postpositional Phrases

Geminate locatives or focus constructions, comprised of a postpositional phrase and a demonstrative or a postpositional phrase with a demonstrative and another postposition as its constituents are common.

- 148) *naa+notu=va* *ávo*  
village+abandoned.village.site=LOC there  
'there at the old village site'
- 149) *ána* *und=ári=da* *itátama* *aná=nu*  
that.TOP eat.1=DVB=GEN feeling that.D1.T/F=CT  
'that feeling of that nourishment' (functions as contrastive object)
- The *de* in (150) marks some deep emotional and spiritual responses, rather than indicating a plural (more than two) accompaniment situation. Note that the two responses are each marked by *de* and joined together in one NP initiated by the possessive pronoun *ánda* 'my' and that a final postposition *mi*, expressing effector of change, indicates the relationship of the emotions and spirit
- 150) [*án=da* *néno=de* *asísi=de=mi*]INSTRUMENT  
1s=GEN throat=COM.PL spirit=COM.PL=CEFF  
'...with my soul and spirit...'

### 4.3 NOMINALISED CLAUSES and SENTENCES

Tafota Baruga makes extensive use of deverbal and nominalised sentential constructions which function syntactically as subject or object complements in clauses or as constituents of NPs. These constructions terminate with either a deverbal or a finite non-assertive form of the verb. An NP which has as its head a sentential construction terminating with a finite non-assertive verb form, is restricted to two additional non-nuclear constituents, possessor and demonstrative. All these constructions may be multi-clausal switch reference constructions (SRCs), with the terminating element deriving their deverbal status.

#### 4.3.1 Deverbal Constructions

Deverbal forms briefly introduced in point 11, section 3.1.1 include *-ari* 'to do, doing', *-urári* 'while doing', *-ámbi* 'not.do [NEG.DVB]', *-áíta* 'about to do [ANT.DVB]' and *-áro* 'continually doing [DUR.DVB]'.

1. Deverbals may occur singly as the head of a general NP (e.g. *undari* 'food'/'to eat', *irari* 'lifestyle [lit. remaining]', *gári* 'appearance [lit. seeing/to see]'). Deverbal complexes (e.g. *divári furári* 'dance feast celebration', *dári funúmbari* 'process sago [lit. hitting kneading]') also regularly head general NPs. Other deverbals occur predictably with a

nominal complement, which appears to be incorporated into the deverbal NP (*dátu dighári* ‘betrothal/engagement arrangements [lit. to tie betrothal arrangements]’, *sirífa dári* ‘sago beating’, *néno bári* ‘love [lit. to get neck]’, *undári itári vása* ‘food storage place [lit. consumables putting place]’).

In the following examples, the deverbal constructions are followed by the topic marker *mo* and function as P2 (Dik 1981:19-21) sentential themes. In (151), the deverbal construction (in bold type) is an SRC with a customary SS verb *iava* ‘we customarily go’ and an (underlined) final deverbal *bubari* ‘on our arriving/arrival’.

- 151) ***I-ava*** ***sirífa*** ***rúru=va*** ***bub-ari*** *mo...*  
go.I-SEQ.CUST.SS sago base=LOC arrive.I-DVB T/F

‘Upon our going and arriving at the base of the sago tree...’

In example (152), a simultaneous imperfective deverbal form *derurári* [*deru-ru-ári*] ‘while hitting repeatedly’ terminates the deverbal construction, which is either a serial verb construction (SVC) or an SRC.

- 152) ...***embóbo*** ***tutúno+éa*** ***deru-r-ari*** *mo...*  
man-PL beginning+make.I-SS hit.II-IPF.IR.SIM-DVB T/F

‘...while the men are beginning to repeatedly beat the sago...’

2. In the following example, the SVC *vásia evári* ‘lying and sleeping’ functions as a specifier modifying the head noun, *vása* ‘place’.

- 153) ***Ún=da*** ***vasí-a*** ***ev-ári*** *vása...*  
3S=GEN lie.down.I-SS sleep.I-DVB place...

‘its lying down and sleeping place...’

A switch reference construction modifies the head noun *betáto* ‘path’ in example (154)

- 154) ...***umó*** ***ghumbú-a*** ***ere-a*** ***y-ári*** *betáto* *téfo...*  
3S fly.I-SS arise.I-SS go.I-DVB path nothing

‘...no way for it to fly away and arise and go...’

3. Deverbals are used to encode purpose. The anticipatory deverbal form *aíta* is used in conjunction with the verb *e* ‘do’ to encode a future intended event. The intended event is underlined in examples (155) and (156).

- 155) *Áta* *amó* *week* *bákode* *ir-áita* *r-óre=ta*  
but 1S week three remain.I-ANT do.IPF.II-PRES.1.IA=CR

‘But right now I am going to remain (here) for three weeks.’

- 156) ...*naa=va* *y-áita* *r-óre.*  
village=LOC go.I-ANT do.IPF.II-PRES.1.IA

‘...I am going to go to the village.’

The deverbal *ari* forms occur in postpositional constructions with the benefactive/purpose postposition *du* 'because of, on account of, for the purpose of'.

- 157) *Amó [án=da méndi bégo y-a an=dú jaa viti-a*  
 1S 1S=GEN boy firstborn go.I-SS 1S=BEN betelnut ascend.I-SS  
*buá fu-r-ári=du] re-tóra...*  
 get.I-SS come.I-EPEN-DVB=PUR say.I-TP.1.FN  
 'I told my firstborn son to go climb a betelnut tree for me and bring betelnuts...'

- 158) *Amó sonémbe-a sirifa d-ári=du úno+rí-ore.*  
 1S help.I-SS sago hit.I-DVB=PUR want+IPF.do.II-PRES.1.IA  
 'I want (you) to help me beat sago.'

- 159) *Maxine, imó mo, daiyagha u-r-ári=du an=da aghiga*  
 Maxine 2S T/F why do.II-IPF.IR.SIM-DVB=PUR 1S=GEN errand  
*ri-r-ári mo, ning-ambi e-ta rio?*  
 say.II-IPF.IR.SIM-DVB T/F hear.I-not.do do.I-SEQ.CUST.SS IPF.do.PRES.3.Q  
 'Maxine, regarding you, why while I am telling you about my errands for you to do, do you not hear (me)?'

### 4.3.2 Relative Constructions

**Relative constructions** modify a nominal head. In Baruga, relative constructions terminate with a finite non-assertive final verb form. Baruga relative constructions may either precede the noun they modify or include the noun they modify internally within the construction, in the first clause, if the relative construction is a switch reference construction containing more than one clause. Almost any constituent, subject, object, oblique arguments (other than comparatives) can be relativised. The resultant relative construction is commonly extraposed from the clause to the thematic external sentence initial position.

1. **Pre-nominal relative constructions** are restrictive relative clauses or SRCs; specifying the domain of the NP. As specifiers that identify the noun in time and space, they may directly precede the modified noun head without any relativiser (examples (160) and (161) or they can occur with the genitive postposition *da* (example (162)). In (160) and (162) the prenominal relative construction (which is a clause), further specifies the content of the speech, and in (161) the pre-nominal relative clause delimits which week the speaker is in mind.

- 160) [náman=*da* **egegutára** [gága]<sub>HEAD</sub> tufókoko]<sub>NP</sub> evé=*re*.  
 1PL.EXC=GEN do.II.PL-NPT.1/2.FN speech rather.short this=COP  
 ‘our rather short speech about (what) **we did** is this.’

- 161) [Óna **séi** **dotut-ara** [fura]<sub>HEAD</sub>]<sub>NP</sub> aghá=*de*...  
 that.D2 already leave.II-NPT.1.FN week thus.D1=COM.PL  
 ‘that week before last that **we have already left behind**, at that very time’

- 162) **Fura sei** **dotutara**=*[da]*<sub>RELATIVISER</sub> [gága]<sub>HEAD</sub>  
 week already leave.II-NPT.1.FN=GEN speech  
 ‘the speech about the week we already left behind’

2. Like English, Baruga sometimes employs interrogative/indefinite pronouns as relativisers in a **post-nominal non-restrictive relative construction**. In the following example *donu* ‘what’ initiating the relative clause is the relativiser.

- 163) undíri ijóko [**dó=nu**]<sub>RELATIVISER</sub> **etúa** aná  
 instruction little what=FOC do.I-TP.3.FN that.D1  
 ‘regarding the short instruction **that was done**’

3. Many relative constructions in Tafota Baruga are **replative (having an internal head) relative clauses** or SRCs. In the following examples, the relative replative clause or clause sequence with its noun head functions as object of the matrix clause. Replative relative constructions are non-restrictive.

- 164) [aná [**sirifa**]<sub>HEAD</sub> **dungé-ta** **ros-ora**  
 that.D1 sago burn.I-SEQ.CUST.SS IPF.do.II-PRES.1/2.FN  
**aná**<sub>RC/NP</sub> óto+é-a...  
 that.D1 wrap.in.leaves+do.I-SS  
 ‘that [sago]<sub>HEAD</sub> that we burn, we wrap in leaves...’

- 165) [**Easter da** [**undári b-ári**]<sub>HEAD</sub> **denémb-adúa** **aná=nu**]<sub>RC/NP</sub>  
 Easter GEN food get.I-DVB cook.I-F.3.FN that.D1.T/F=CT  
 undidig-aita róusue.  
 eat.RED.I.PL-ANT IPF.do.II.PL-PRES.3.IA  
 ‘That Easter [feast]<sub>HEAD</sub> which will be cooked, they will eat.’

### 4.3.3 Complement Constructions

Complement constructions are standardly used to introduce speeches and texts, functioning as predicate complements in the introductory copular clause. The actual complement constructions are often multiclausal, as they are below in (166) which has three clauses, and (167) while has two clauses.

- 166) *October 1992, [sirifa dáiy+agha é-aveta]*CLAUSE 1  
*October 1992 sago how+thus do.I-SEQ.CUST.DS*  
*[sirore-ta]*CLAUSE 2 *[ro-u-v-ia]*CLAUSE 3 *re.*  
*be.born.I-SEQ.CUST.SS IPF.SEQ-do.II-EPEN-PRES.3.FN COP.IA*  
 'October, 1992, it's (the explanation of) how (we) make sago and it comes into being.'
- 167) *Éna gága tufóko, [án=da*  
*this speech short 1S=GEN*  
*[y-á]*CLAUSE 1 *[áita r-óra]*CLAUSE 2]]COMPLEMENT *re.*  
*go.I-SEQ.IR.SS make.I.ANT IPF-do.II.PRES.1/2.FN COP.IA*  
 'This short speech is (about) my going to go and build (lit. my I am about to go and make [my house]).'

The following multi-clausal complement is the object of the verb *gia* 'seeing'.

- 168) *Angá mo, [bingoi=va óbegata ú-rotá*  
*1D T/F darkness=LOC gardening.work do.II-SIM.SS*  
*vit-ara]*OBJECT COMPLEMENT *gi-a...*  
*remain-NPT.1/2.FN see.I-SS*  
 'We two, seeing that we have remained doing the gardening work in the darkness...'

**Complement constructions encoding purpose** terminate with a finite non-assertive form of the verb and the benefactive/purpose postposition **du** 'because of, on account of, for the purpose of'. (See above for the discussion of deverbals encoding purpose.)

- 169) *...[umó jo aghá ámbi é-tua]=du,*  
*3S NEG thus.D1 do.NEG.DVB do.I-TP.3.FN=PUR*  
*amó néno akúago e-tóra gi-a...*  
*1S throat bad do.I-TP.1.FN see.I-SS*  
 '...because [he did not do thus], I became angry, so...'

In example (170), the question word conditioning the use of the question mood suffix on the final verb is within the complement clause. In other words, the dependent clause contains the constituent that governs the choice of the final verb form (terminating the independent clause).

- 170) *Imó, dáiyagha e-tua du,*  
*2S how do.I-TP.3.FN PUR*  
*y-a an=dú túna dimb-ámbi e-tó?*  
*go.I-SS 1S=BEN water dip.I-NEG.DVB do.I-TP.1/2.Q*  
 'You, whatever happened that you didn't go and fetch water for me?'

- 171) ...umó ún=da úno, [Sylvester dóda vit-ía  
 3S 3S=GEN wish Sylvester where remain.II-PRES.3.FN  
 aná=nu tamb-aita re-tua=**du** re-a,  
 that.D1=CT find.I-ANT say.I-TP.3.FN=PUR say.I-SS  
 ághi it-iéta, Eraston yavuréta...  
 message put.I-SEQ.TP.DS Eraston go.up.I.DS  
 ‘...speaking because he said his wish was to find where Sylvester was staying,  
 we sent a message, and Eraston went up...’

#### 4.4 A word about VERB PHRASES

Baruga has several verb sequences conveying aspectual notions, but most of these are not unambiguously one clause, therefore I prefer to discuss these sequences in section 8.0 following the discussion of serial verb constructions and switch reference constructions.

### 5.0 CLAUSE and SENTENCE STRUCTURE

#### 5.1 General Remarks

Baruga has two basic clause types: **copulative clauses** and **non-copulative clauses**. **Copulative clauses** can be further divided into **copular clauses** (so-called non-verbal clauses)<sup>25</sup> and **existential clauses** terminating with the verb *iri* ‘be, remain’. They tend to describe permanent or temporary qualities and states of a topical element. On the other hand, non-copulative clauses are usually active clauses, predicated by verbs whose paradigms reflect the conjugation of the verb *e* ‘do’. **Non-copulative clauses** might be further sub-divided according to the number of core arguments that potentially co-occur with their predicates. However, at this point in the investigation of Tafota Baruga, transitive clauses (clauses with two core arguments) are not differentiated from intransitive clauses (clauses with one core argument) on morphological grounds. Because a clause is not required to have any overt NP arguments if the referents of the NPs are clear within the context, it is often the

<sup>25</sup>

A case could be made for calling the copula a verb. Like verbs that occur in sentence-final position, it is marked for the speech act or mood value. However, if it is a verb, it is a degenerate verb, because it lacks an identifiable stem and is not inflected for subject co-reference or tense or aspect. For these reasons, as well as co-occurrence restrictions that govern the constituents of the stative copular clause, the copula is not considered to be a verb.



case that a transitive clause will have only one overt NP or none and resembles an intransitive clause.

Although SV/SOV ordering is the clausal default ordering for clauses that terminate with a verb in Tafota Baruga, only the verb final position is “fixed in concrete.” OSV is also a possibility, particularly when the object is the P1 (Dik 1981:19-21) topic of the clause. When the object ranks higher on the animacy hierarchy than the subject in these OSV clauses, the subject must be marked by *-na* (names of people, pronouns) or *-mi* (EFFECTOR OF CHANGE /FORCE/ INSTRUMENT for all other nouns).

NPs have syntactic and semantic functions in the clause in which they are placed. NPs may persist in exhibiting a pragmatic function such as theme or topic over several clauses or even an entire discourse. Syntactically, NPs are either core arguments or oblique arguments. Core arguments are not marked by the postpositions indicating semantic roles, but they may indeed be marked by the postpositions designating pragmatic roles. Placement of oblique NPs within the clause is not fixed but there are some basic tendencies that will be outlined in section 5.5: *Ordering Possibilities with Oblique Arguments*.

## 5.2 Copular Clauses

**Copular clauses** express states of affairs which can be described without reference to temporal limitations. They have three default constituents:

±P1:topic	+comment	+copula.
-----------	----------	----------

The topic constituent is not always present. No agreement between topic and comment is marked. The copula varies only for mood:

*re* [Indicative/Asserted],  
*ra* [Finite/Not Asserted, used with Polar Questions] and  
*ro* [used with Content Questions].

Copular clauses do not occur with oblique arguments, except possibly temporals.

- 172) [Umó]<sub>TOPIC</sub> [án=da káka]<sub>COMMENT</sub> *re*.  
 3S 1S=GEN older.sibling COP.IA

'She is my older sister.'

- 173) [Oréki]<sub>TOPIC</sub> [rífo táubana]<sub>COMMENT</sub> *re*.  
 today day good COP.IA

'Today is a beautiful day.'

The response to (173) could easily be example (174), which lacks a topic constituent, containing simply a comment and a copula.

- 174) [Táubana bée]<sub>COMMENT</sub> re.  
good 1.GEN COP.IA  
'(It) is very beautiful.'

Polar questions occur with the finite non-assertive [FN] copula *ra*.

- 175) [Aríri embávoba]<sub>TOPIC</sub> [esíko]<sub>COMMENT</sub> ra?  
girl previously.mentioned.one pretty COP.FN  
'Is the girl we've been discussing pretty?'

- 176) [Imó]<sub>TOPIC</sub> [avó]<sub>COMMENT=ra?</sub>  
2S all.right=COP.FN  
'Are you all right?'

Example (177) is a content question with the copula *ro*.

- 177) [Aná]<sub>TOPIC</sub> [do]<sub>COMMENT=ro?</sub>  
that.D1 what=COP.Q  
'What is that?'

A special form of the interrogative/indefinite personal pronoun, *avovi* 'who' is only used as the comment in copular constructions. It can terminate the clause without the copula.

- 178) Nímane avovi?  
2PL who.(Q)  
'Who are you?'

Of the pragmatic role markers (*mo*, *mi*, *na*, *nu*), only *mo* [TOPIC/FOCUS] and *nu* [CONTRASTIVE] can occur with copular clauses. Copular clauses never occur with a pronoun marked by *na* [ACTOR]<sup>26</sup> or a noun marked with *mi* [EFFECTOR OF CHANGE]. NPs marked by the contrastive focus marker *-nu* do occur as exponents of the comment, as the NP *donu* 'what?' does in this example.

- 179) [Aná]<sub>TOPIC</sub> [do=nu]<sub>COMMENT</sub> ro?  
that.D1 what=CT COP.Q  
'What is that?'

However, NPs marked by *nu* can not be exponents of the topic. Therefore, (181) is not grammatical, although its counterpart (180) is a well-formed clause.

<sup>26</sup>

The *-na* which occurs with demonstratives is homophonous with this *na*, but it indicates a referential or topical constituent, not an actor. The pronoun *aná* must occur with *-mi*, *anámi*, to designate a controlling referent.

- 180) [Aná gha]TOPIC [avó=da]COMMENT ro?  
 that.TOP canoe who=GEN COP.Q  
 'To whom does that canoe belong?'
- 181) \*[Aná gha=nu]TOPIC [avó=da]COMMENT ro?  
 that.D1 canoe=CT who=GEN COP.Q

### 5.3 Existential Clauses

Like copular clauses, **existential clauses** are stative clauses. However, they encode either the location of an entity or a temporary state. Instead of terminating with a copula, all existential clauses terminate with a form of the verb *iri* 'remain'.

Unlike the copular clause, this clause does have a core subject argument that the existential verb cross-references. Formally then, existential clauses appear like non-copulative clauses.

However, the subject of existential clauses always has pragmatic topic function and is the constituent that Dik (1981:19-21) says has position 1 (P1) in the clause. Functionally, existential clauses behave like copular clauses, encoding states which provide a comment on topics. Like copular clauses, existential clauses are limited in what they allow as oblique arguments. Temporal expressions can occur. Locative expressions are often encoded in the comment. Example (182) locates an entity *unda komana* 'her friend' in space.

- 182) Kotú [unda komána]TOPIC [New.Britain ana=va vit-íe.]COMMENT  
 and.also 3S.GEN friend New.Britain that=LOC remain.II-PRES.3.IA  
 'And another thing, her friend is (staying) there in New Britain.'

Other existential clauses encode temporary possession.

- 183) [Imó]TOPIC [óvu vit-ía?]COMMENT [Amo,]TOPIC [vit-íe.]COMMENT  
 2S clay.pot remain.II-PRES.3.FN 1s remain.II-PRES.3.IA  
 'Do you have a clay pot? I do. (lit. Regarding you, is a clay pot remaining? Me, it remains.)'

Some existential clauses encode temporary states of affairs.

- 184) [Numámo mo]TOPIC [díbe+réka vit-ía?]COMMENT  
 3.father T/F eye+new remain.II-PRES.3.FN  
 'Is his father alive (lit. new eyes)?'

In contrast to copular clauses, all the pragmatic postpositions may mark the subject NP. Thus, *mo* occurs with *numamo mo* 'his father' is (184), *nu* copies *aná ariri* 'that girl' in (185), and *mi* occurs with *aná ariri* in (186).

- 185) [Aná ariri,]<sub>P2</sub> [nu]<sub>P1-TOPIC</sub> [ávo vit-íe.]<sub>COMMENT</sub>  
 that.D1 girl CT there remain.II-PRES.3.IA

'That girl she's (the one who is) there.'

- 186) [Aná aríri=mi]<sub>TOPIC</sub> [un-úka=ko ir-ieta]<sub>COMMENT</sub> (g-ére.)  
 that.D1 girl=CEFF 3S-EXC=DIM remain.I-SIM.R.DS see.I-TP.1.IA

'(I saw) that girl remaining (there) by herself. (lit. While that girl was remaining by herself, (I saw her).')

All copulative constructions must be negated using the negative deverbal form of the existential verb *iri* 'remain'. Therefore, (187) is well-formed, but (188) is ungrammatical.

- 187) Amó jo númbobe ir-ambi re  
 1S NEG long remain.1-NEG.DVB COP.IA

'I am not tall.'

- 188) \*Amó jo númbobe re  
 1S NEG long COP.IA

## 5.4 Non-Copulative Clauses (one-placed, two-placed, three-placed)

Non-copulative clauses terminate with verbs other than *iri* 'remain', which are for the most part active verbs. These clauses have at least one core argument, SUBJECT, with which the final verb agrees in person. Oblique arguments (encoding purpose, temporal, locative, comparative notions, etc.) often are arguments of these clauses (semantically predications). An NP (or PP) with pragmatic topic [P1] function can be the syntactic subject, object, or even an oblique argument.

### 1. Examples with one core argument (which is underlined):

- 189) Umo tuto=mi rei-suf-ie.  
 3S speed=CEFF/INST IPF.SEQ-run.II-PRES.3.IA

'He is running quickly.'

- 190) Yavata jojabee=mi gaj-etúe.  
 northwest.tradewind big=CEFF/INST close.I-TP.3.IA

'A great northwest storm has closed in.'

In the next example, the theme *eini mo* 'the other one' is external to the clause, but is the referent of the subject of the clause. The subject is not indicated by an NP within the clause, but merely by the verb person of subject co-referencing.

- 191) Eini=mo, túmbo onémbo f-út-a.  
 other=T/F yesterday just come.I-utu-NPT.3.(IA)

'The other one, she came just yesterday.'

2. **Clauses with two core arguments** (two-placed predications) normally are ordered SOV.

- 192) [Ruth ungá Annie gha=na]SUBJECT [jaa]OBJECT [b-íe.]VERB  
 Ruth 3S.D Annie COM.D=ACT betelnut get.I-TP.3.IA

'Ruth and Annie got betelnut.'

In the following content question, the subject is encoded by the person marking on the verb, not by an overt NP. A locative oblique argument *dóda* also occurs.

- 193) [Án=da isia]OBJECT [dó=da]OBLIQUE [it-é?]VERB  
 1S=GEN taro what=GEN/LOC? put.I-TP.1/2.Q

'Where did you put my taro?'

Some clauses manifest OSV ordering. A common reason for the shift from the default ordering is that the object has topic (pragmatic) function and the subject focus (pragmatic) function. In example (194), the subject is marked as focal actor.

- 194) ...[émbe]OBJECT [anó=na]SUBJECT [vegútu-rere.]VERB  
 sago 1S=ACT chop.II-DP.1.IA

'...the sago tree I chopped up.'

When OSV ordering occurs, pragmatic markers are often present. The marking is obligatory when the fronted object is lower on the animacy hierarchy than the subject. In such cases, one of the two arguments must be marked with a pragmatic marker (*mo*, *mi*, *na nu*). Let us perform various permutations on the following sentence (195).

- 195) [Aná ariri]SUBJECT [méndi]OBJECT [de-túe.]VERB  
 that.D1 girl boy hit.1-TP.3.IA

'That girl hit the boy.'

An optional EFFECTOR OF CHANGE marker *mi* can mark the subject as the focal actor.

- 196) [Aná ariri=mi]SUBJECT [mendí]OBJECT [de-túe.]VERB  
 that.D1 girl=CEFF boy hit.I-TP.3.IA

'That girl hit the boy.'

However, if we switch subject and object, the *mi* is no longer optional, as we see in examples (197) and (198) below. Example (198) without the *mi* is ill-formed.

- 197) [Méndi(=nu)]OBJECT [ariri=mi]SUBJECT [de-tue.]VERB  
 boy(=CT) girl=CEFF hit.I-TP.3.IA

'The boy the girl hit.'

- 198) \*[Méndi(=nu)]OBJECT [ariri]SUBJECT [de-tue.]VERB  
 boy(=CT) girl hit.1-TP.3.IA

Because *méndi* 'boy' and *ariri* 'girl' are at the same point on the animacy hierarchy, the subject occurring in second position must be marked. However, in the following example, the



	SUBJECT		OBJECT <sub>1</sub>	OBJECT <sub>2</sub>	VERB
203)	<i>Númane</i>	<i>avóna</i>	<i>namonde</i>	<i>gitofo</i>	<i>ámbi adúa...</i>
	3.PL	who.ACT	1PL.INC	enemy	not.do do.I.F.3.FN

'Those ones whoever will not become enemies (to) us...'

In example (204), the initial object, *nimane dano* 'you all', is the recipient of the second object, *ghanena* 'the greeting'.<sup>28</sup> This clause, which terminates a letter, has four overt NP arguments, rare for Baruga which averages about one NP argument per clause, although many clauses (up to 40% in some texts) have no NPs. It should be added that this clause is highly formulaic.

	OBJECT 1		INSTRUMENT/MANNER	
204)	...[ <i>nímane</i>	<i>dáno</i> ] <sub>REC</sub>	[ <i>án=da</i>	<i>néno=de</i>
	2.PL	all	1S=GEN	neck=COM.PL
				<i>asísi=de=mí</i> ]
				spirit=COM.PL=CEFF
	LOCATIVE/PATH		OBJECT 2	VERB
	[ <i>Afa=da</i>	<i>ragáro=va</i> ]	[ <i>ghanéna</i> ]	<i>r-óre.</i>
	Father=GEN	name=LOC	greeting	do.IPF.II-PRES.1.IA

'...I am greeting (lit. greeting am doing) all of you with my soul and spirit in the name of the Father.'

## 5.5 Ordering Possibilities with Oblique Arguments

The Tafota Baruga do not generally include more than two NP arguments in a clause, so they have a tendency to move time, purpose, locative, instrument and other oblique arguments into extra-clausal positions giving them what Andrews (1985:81-2) calls "external functions of the clause." Dik (1978:19-21) refers to external NPs/PPs that precede the clause as theme (P2) and those that follow the clause as tail (P3) pragmatic functions in his language independent preferred order of constituents (LIPOC). NPs encoding core arguments may also be extraposed into these two positions.

Some "rules of thumb" reflecting commonly recurrent placement of oblique arguments with specified semantic roles are noted here. These are not laws, but general guidelines that can be contravened. NPs that encode TEMPORAL notions often precede or follow the subject.

<sup>28</sup> An alternate analysis of this construction is to consider *ghanena róre* as a noun + verb complex instead of as a separate NP object.

- |      |               |                |             |                      |                         |
|------|---------------|----------------|-------------|----------------------|-------------------------|
|      | TIME          |                | SUBJECT     | LOCATIVE             | VERB                    |
| 205) | <i>Aná=da</i> | <i>ámbo=va</i> | <i>lesu</i> | <i>kámbo éini=va</i> | <i>teteru-rieta,...</i> |
|      | that.D1=GEN   | back=LOC       | Jesus       | house a=LOC          | enter.II-SEQ.DP.DS      |
- ‘After that Jesus entered a house,...’

Although there is no intonational break in example (205), more often, temporal arguments that precede the subject function as an external P2:THEME, establishing the temporal setting within which the main predication holds. Thus, the initial entire temporal construction in (206) is external to the main predication. However, there are two temporal arguments in this segment, the outer time setting, which precedes the clause, and the inner temporal argument *rekago* again which follows the subject.

- |      |                |               |                  |                |             |               |
|------|----------------|---------------|------------------|----------------|-------------|---------------|
|      | TIME           |               |                  |                | SUBJECT     | TIME          |
| 206) | <i>Aghá=de</i> | <i>fefera</i> | <i>duméni=da</i> | <i>ámbo=va</i> | <i>lesu</i> | <i>rekago</i> |
|      | thus.D1=COM.PL | sun           | some=GEN         | back=LOC       | Jesus       | again         |
- 
- |  |                 |                 |
|--|-----------------|-----------------|
|  | VERBS/SVC       |                 |
|  | <i>kavére-a</i> | <i>a-ría...</i> |
|  | turn.back.I-SS  | go.DP-DP.3.FN   |

‘At that time, after some days, Jesus again turned back and went...’

Occasionally, the temporal argument does not follow the subject, but is positioned further on in the clause, as in example (207).

- |      |                |             |               |               |
|------|----------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|
|      | SUBJECT        | OBJECT      | TIME          | VERB          |
| 207) | <i>...angá</i> | <i>gága</i> | <i>bée</i>    | <i>rífode</i> |
|      | 1D             | talk        | true tomorrow | say.I-IR.1.H  |

‘...let us talk (about our) real concerns tomorrow!’

PPs encoding LOCATIVE notions are positioned in close proximity to whatever constituent they modify, usually the verb.

- |      |                  |               |            |               |                    |
|------|------------------|---------------|------------|---------------|--------------------|
|      | ...TIME          | TIME          | SUBJECT    | LOCATIVE      | VERB               |
| 208) | <i>...rékago</i> | <i>Friday</i> | <i>amó</i> | <i>náa=va</i> | <i>vit-áre.</i>    |
|      | again            | Friday        | 1S         | village=LOC   | remain.II-NPT.3.IA |

‘...again on Friday, I remained at home.’

In example (209) which has two locative PPs, the canoe platform where the brother is sitting is associated with the brother, but ‘at (by) the arm’ is very closely connected to the verb *bua* ‘get.I.SS’.

- |      |                 |                       |                       |                |
|------|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
|      | SUBJECT         | LOCATIVE <sub>1</sub> | LOCATIVE <sub>2</sub> | VERB           |
| 209) | <i>...ún=da</i> | <i>ru</i>             | <i>fáforo=va</i>      | <i>íngo=va</i> |
|      | 3S=GEN          | brother               | platform=LOC          | arm=LOC        |

‘...she got (hold of) her brother (who was) on the raft by the arm...’

Placement of oblique arguments is a matter of speaker choice. The speaker’s choice depends very much on what he or she considers the oblique argument to modify: an NP, the verb, the



verb+object together, the entire predication. In the following two examples, manner expressions, indicated by a comitative postposition and an instrument postposition respectively, are positioned nearest to the entity they modify. Therefore, in (210), *orugha* ‘with fear’ follow *evétu umó* ‘the woman she’, but in (211), *tatávami* ‘speedily’ directly precedes the verb.

- 210) ...*aná*    *evétu*    *umó*    *óru=gha*    *éka+íngo*    *dádada+ú-rota* ...  
           that.D1   woman   3S.T/F   fear=COM.D   leg+hand   shake+do.II-SIM.SS  
           ‘...that woman while she was shaking her legs and arms in fear...’

- 211) *Asisi+Kakára*    *mi*    *lesu*    *tatáva=mi*    *unumbé-a*    *bú-a*, ...  
       Spirit+Holy    CEFF   Jesus   speed=CEFF   accompany.I-SS   get.I-SS  
       ‘The Holy Spirit speedily accompanied Jesus taking (him) and...’

NPs encoding the RECIPENT/BENEFACTIVE notion usually either precede or follow the object, the more significant entity preceding the less significant one. In (212), the object, *sasíkoko da undári* ‘the children’s food’, is more significant than *nino* ‘dogs’. But in (213), the spirits’ burning question concerns them, and *námandu* ‘to us’ precedes the object, *donu* ‘what’.

- 212) *Námane*    *sasíkoko=da*    *und-ári*    *nino=du*    *ut-óta* ...  
       1PL.EXC   children=GEN   eat.I-DVB   dog=BEN/PUR   give.I-SEQ.F.DS  
       ‘(If) we will give the children’s food to dogs, and...’

- 213) “*Imó*    *náman=du*    *do=nu*    *aita*    *uno+r-o?*”  
       2S    1PL.EXC=BEN/PUR   what=CT   do.I.ANT   want+do.IPF.II-PRES.2/3.Q  
       *lesu*    *míno*    *núman=du*    *eghá*    *rí-rie* ...  
       Jesus   payback   3PL=BEN/PUR   thus.PROX   say.II-DP.3.IA  
       “‘What do you want to do to us?’ Jesus said thus in response to them...”

## 5.6 Negation of Clauses

The negative deverbal form of the verb (or of *iri* ‘remain’ [i.e. *irámbi* ‘not remain’] in copulative clauses) is used to negate clauses occurring in indicative-assertive, finite-non-assertive/interrogative, and question mood. If the speaker wishes to focus on a specific time when the negated event did not occur, he or she frames the clause with the negative deverbal and a form of the verb *e* ‘do’, as seen in examples (214) and (215).

- 214) *A=mín=du,* *amó* *báutava* *und-ámbi*  
 that.D1=CEFF=PUR 1S tobacco eat.I-NEG.DVB  
*é-ta* *r-óre.*  
 do.I-SEQ.CUST.SS IPF.do.II-PRES.1.IA

'Therefore, I do not smoke tobacco.'

- 215) *...umó* *jo* *aghá* *ámbi* *e-túa=du,*  
 3S NEG thus.D1 do.I-NEG.DVB do.I-TP.3.FN=PUR  
*amó* *néno* *akúago* *e-tóra...*  
 1S throat bad do.I-TP.1.FN

'...on account of the fact that he didn't do that, I became angry...'

If time is irrelevant to the event encoded, as in (216), the negative deverbal occurs with the copula.

- 216) *...amó* *báutava* *und-ári* *úno+ámbi* *re.*  
 1S tobacco eat.I-DVB want+do.I-NEG.DVB COP.IA

'...I don't want to smoke tobacco.'

Example (217) is a negated topic-comment copular clause in which the negative deverbal *irambi* 'not remain' occurs with the copula.

- 217) *Túna* *dimb-ári* *aná* *jo* *búro* *jójabe* *ir-ámbi* *re.*  
 water dip.I-DVB that.D1 NEG work big remain.I-NEG.DVB COP.IA

'Fetching water is no major job.'

In both examples (215) and (217), the negative focus marker *jo* also occurs. It is an optional marker of negation, preceding the entity or entities which receive the negative focus. In both of the above examples, the negative focus is on an NP, a pronoun in (215) and a noun with a qualifier in (217). In (218), the negative focus is on the deverbal comment.

- 218) *Amó* *jo* *gámbi* *re.*  
 1S NEG see.I-NEG.DVB COP.IA

'I didn't see (it).'

Negated commands were discussed in section 3.2.2 and illustrated with examples (73a), (74b) and (74). They obligatorily occur with the negative focus marker *mana/manía* and the future DS medial form of the verb. Like *jo*, *mana/manía* precede the constituent in the negated command that the speaker wishes to focus on. In (219), the focus is on *andu* 'to me', and in (220) on the verb *utata* 'give'.

- 219) ...ámbo=va **manía** an=dú gogóre+áta!  
 back=LOC don't 1S=BEN disobedience+do.I.SEQ.F.DS  
 '...afterwards don't disobey me!'
- 220) Náman=dava mema **manía** ut=ata!  
 1PL.EXC=ALOC pain don't give.I-SEQ.F.DS  
 'Don't give us trouble!'

### 5.7 Sentences: Statements, Polar Questions, Content Questions and Commands

Baruga simple sentences are minimally composed of one base with accompanying prosodies. Sentence bases correspond syntactically to the clauses discussed above, and have either (P1 SO)V or (P1:TOPIC)-COMMENT constituent structure.

In simple sentences with (P1 SO)V constituent structure, the verb must be an independent final verb, and those with (P1:TOPIC-)COMMENT structure must terminate with the copula {re} [re~ra~ro]. The maximal constituent structure of Korafe simple sentences can be represented by one of the following two structures:

**Periphery, P2:THEME, P1 SOV, P3:TAIL** or

**Periphery, P2:THEME, P1:TOPIC COMMENT, P3:TAIL,**

where P2 and P3 are NPs or PPs, not clauses.

**STATEMENTS** terminate with a verb or copula marked by the indicative assertive mood marker.

- 221) Báutava=da gága éini aná evére.  
 Tobacco=GEN speech another that.D1 here=COP.IA  
 'Another discussion point about tobacco is this here.'

Example (222) terminates with a locative in the P3 tail position following the final verb.

- 222) ...fufugut-áre náman=da náa=va.  
 come.PL.II-NPT.1.IA 1PL.EXC=GEN village=LOC  
 '...we came, to our village.'

**POLAR QUESTIONS** are distinguished by the rising intonation pattern which characterises them, together with the finite non-assertive mood marker which marks the final verb or copula. The intonation contour reaches its highest pitch on the final verb or on the tag question ái 'yes?', when it is present.

- 223) Éna gaga ning-éra?  
 this speech hear.I-TP.1/2.FN  
 'Have you heard this message?'

- 224) *Nímane* *án=da* *ámbo+nímbi=du* *gaa* *r-éra,* *áf?*  
 2PL 1S=GEN back+tail=BEN talk say.I-TP.1/2.FN yes

'Were you talking about my disciples, yes?'

Combination tag questions are really combinations of two clauses, the first one terminating

with *áf* 'yes', the second one being simply a copular comment clause: *téfo ra?*, 'is it no?'.

- 225) *Nímane* *namónde* *án=da* *abuá* *David* *da* *kíki* *éini* *mo*  
 2PL 1PL.INC 1S=GEN grandfather David GEN story a/one T/F  
*irúgutu-rera,* *aĩ,* *téfo* *ra?*  
 show.II-DP.1/2.FN, yes nothing COP.FN

'Have you learned a certain story about our ancestor David, yes or no?'

**CONTENT QUESTIONS** have two features that differentiate them from other sentences: an interrogative word and the question mood marking on the copula or final verb.

In (226), the interrogative word is *dódu* 'why'.

- 226) *Imo* *dódu* *sosóu+ríq?*  
 2S what=BEN/PUR anger+do.IPF.II-PRES.1/2.Q

'Why are you angry?'

The interrogative word *níavo* 'which one' and the copula *ro*, inflected for question mood, mark example (227) as a content question.

- 227) *God* *da* *Avo+Dari* *ró=va,* *gága* *jójabee* *mo*  
 God GEN bottom+hit.I-DVB inside=LOC talk big T/F  
*níavo=ro?*  
 which.one=COP.Q

'In God's Commands, the great talk is which one?'

**COMMANDS** are indicated by the verb forms that occur with them. Imperative and stentorian forms occur with simple positive commands. Examples (36), (38), (39) and (40) give the verb forms used in positive commands, and example (228) gives a sentence encoding a positive command.

- 228) *Éna* *gága...ín=da* *bepóro=va* *íti.*  
 This talk 2S=GEN head=LOC put.I.IMP

'This talk...get it into your head!'

The verb *gigigego* in (229) illustrates the use of a plural stem in a command form. For some reason, the verb *gi* 'see' often occurs with *go*. I am not sure exactly of its individual meaning in this context, but together with *gi*, it carries the suggestion that the addressee should check out the information for himself or herself to judge its accuracy.

- 229) **Gigige=go!**  
see.PL.1=CPAR

'See for yourselves! (Check it out!)

Negative commands must occur with either the negative hortative focus word *mana/mánia* or with *róurogo* where an clause encoding apprehension follows a negated command. The future DS medial verb form predicates simple negative commands. However when an inconsequential clause follows the negative command, the negative hortative form may replace the future DS medial form. Examples (73a), (74b), (219) and (220) illustrate simple negative commands.

## 6.0 SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS: SVCs

Whereas many Papuan languages use verbs stripped down to the stem form as internal nuclear constituents in serial verb constructions, Baruga does not string verb stems together to form serial verb constructions (SVCs). However, it appears that the same subject form: stem+*-a* is used to form constructions that could be analysed as serial verb constructions. The string of verbs in example (230) encodes a set of events not clearly marked to indicate the nature of the relationship (overlap or in sequence) between them. It terminates with a verb marked as irrealis, 2<sup>nd</sup> person, hortative.

- 230)    ...*undí-a*    *dandí-a*    *é-a*    *vasí-a*    *ev-ádi...*  
         eat.I-SS    chew.I-SS    do.I-SS    lie.down.I-SS    sleep-IR.2S.H

'...let (your followers) eat, chew betelnut, do and lie down and sleep...'

Since the Baruga do not use the simple stem form of the verb to convey events integrated as a unit, I cannot prove with finality at this point that Baruga actually has serial verb constructions. However, one of the characteristics of serial verb constructions is that when an SVC construction terminates one sentence, the entire set of nuclear constituents or a goodly portion of them often get recapitulated as a unit at the onset of the following sentence. The following Baruga example illustrates this phenomenon.

- 231) ...*enémbo=da*      *kabéra*      *avóre*,  
           people=GEN      canoe      all.right
- [*dáno*    *dé-a*            *bunúnu+é-a*            *sidára+é-tue*].<sub>SVC</sub>  
           all      hit.I-SS      come.apart+do.I-SS      finish+do.I-TP.3.IA
- [*Dé-a*            *bununu+é-a*            *sidára+e-tuéta*]<sub>RECAPITULATED UNIT...</sub>  
           hit.I-SS      come.apart+do.I-SS      finish+do.I-SEQ.TP.DS
- ‘...the people’s canoes, all right, all of them were buffeted and came apart and were completely demolished. They were buffeted and came apart and were completely demolished and...’

Note the use of the nominal+verb combinations, *bununu ea* ‘come apart’ and *sidára étue* ‘be finished’ as single constituents of the SVC in the above example.

The following properties are common to all the constructions treated as SVCs in Tafota Baruga:

- 1) They contain a series of two or more verbs, the nuclear constituents of the SVC.
- 2) The verbs are ordered iconically, reflecting the order of the events they refer to, or, at least, the speaker's perception of the order of events.
- 3) The temporal relationships (i.e. sequencing and overlap relationships) between the verbs are not overtly expressed by their structure, as they are by the medial verbs in switch reference constructions (SRCs).
- 4) Only the terminal verb is inflected, but the scope of its inflection (which includes tense, aspect, mood, subject marking and speech act value) extends over all the verbs in the series.
- 5) All verbal constituents encode events in which at least one of the referents, usually the one realised as subject, is ‘shared’. (The default value for subject referent for the series is assumed to be the one marked on the terminal verb.) In addition to its direct coding on the verb, the subject NP is sometimes referenced by an overt NP.
- 6) Nominal + verb combinations (see section 3.4) are regarded as a verbal unit, distributionally equivalent to single verb constituents of the SVC.

Two basic structural types of SVCs can be identified for Baruga: 1) **contiguous SVCs** and 2) **non-contiguous SVCs**. **Contiguous SVCs** minimally consist of an uninterrupted sequence of two or more verbs, as in example (232). This contiguous set of verbs follows any nominals and modifiers present in the construction, as example (233) illustrates.

- 232) ...*ovénembe-a*      *kúsu+e-a*      *bub-ieta.....*  
 ...hug.coastline.I-SS      visible+do.I-SS      come.out.I-SEQ.TP.DS  
 ‘...hugging the coastline, they became visible and approached...’

- 233) *God=du*      “*aiye*”      *re-a*      *righí-a*      *ingegebé-a,...*  
 God=BEN/PUR      thank.you      say.I-SS      hold.I-SS      break.I-SS  
 ‘...saying “thank-you” to God, he held and broke the bread,...’(from Mark 8:34)

**Non-contiguous SVCs** allow nominals and modifiers to intervene between any two verbs in an SVC. In both of the following examples, the scope of the imperative mood covers the entire construction, but both have an NP/PP (underlined) between one verb in the string and the following imperative form of the verb.

- 234) *Éna gága ningí-a bú-a índa bepóro=va íti!*  
 This speech hear.I-SS get.I-SS 2S=GEN head=LOC put.I.IMP  
 ‘Hearing this speech, take it in, and put it in your head.’

There is a slight change of subject from singular to dual in the following example, but such shifts without overt marking are very common in Baruga and are basically handled by the use of the pronoun without affecting the containing construction.

- 235) ...*táta da aríri róro=nu bú-a ingé vore=fu!*  
 ...aunt GEN girl middle=CT get.I-SS 2D descend.I=come.I.IMP  
 ‘...getting auntie’s middle daughter, the two of you come down!’

Example (236) is also a non-contiguous SVC.

- 236) ...*kapátuna turúsugi-a bu-a*  
 ...kafatuna.vine pull.up.I-SS get.I-SS  
*étova dighí-a sidára+e-túa...*  
 top=LOC tie.I-SS finishe+do.I-TP.3.FN  
 ‘...(the clan group) pulled up the kafatuna vine and got it and tied it on top of the (other vine) until they finished...’

However, when a construction with a sequence of verb stem+*-a* forms encodes a change of location as in (237) where the protagonists move from the reef into the deep water, regarding the construction as a non-contiguous SVC is problematic.

- 237) *Dave-a rarigí-a vore-a vore-a*  
 paddle.I-SS pass.through.breakers.I-SS descend.I-SS descend.I-SS  
*ghandíba=va fě+fě+ú-rotá...*  
 deep.water=LOC float+float+do.II-SIM.SS  
 ‘They paddled and passed through the breakers and descended and descended and while they were floating and floating in the deep water...’

When the speaker pauses and it is clear that separate events are involved as in (238), then the verbs inflected with *-a* are viewed as predicating their own clauses and forming a switch reference construction.

- 238) ...[[*yaváta* *éini* *fugí-a*],<sub>CLAUSE</sub> [*éini* *fugí-a*],<sub>CLAUSE</sub>  
northwest.wind one throw.I-SS one throw.I-SS  
[*aghá* *e-túa*],<sub>CLAUSE</sub><sub>SRC</sub> *avóre*...  
thus.D1 do.I-TP.3.FN all.right  
‘...the northwest wind tossed one (around), and it tossed another around, and it did thus, all right...’

## 7.0 SWITCH REFERENCE CONSTRUCTIONS: SRCs

**Switch reference constructions (SRCs)** are a regular feature of Baruga. A switch reference construction is a chaining construction consisting of two or more clauses (or bases; clause=base). The terminal clause in an SRC is headed by a single final verb/deverbal form or by an SVC that terminates with a final verb, expressing the absolute tense and modality for the entire construction. The non-terminal clauses are each headed by a ‘medial verb’ or by an SVC terminating with a ‘medial verb’.

- As stated in section 3.1.2, Baruga medial verbs, other than the verb stem+*-a* form<sup>29</sup> discussed above, are inflected for relative tense (a sequencing or overlap relationship with the reference verb in the following clause). The marking medial verb also indicates whether the subject in its clause is co-referential or non-co-referential with the subject in the following reference clause. Example (239) has two SRCs.

- 239x253) 1) *Aghá* *re-a+dóa* *avóre* *a-ría*  
thus.D1 say.I-SS+SEQ.SS all.right go.DP-DP.3.FN  
2) *kopíri* *aná* *méndi* *réka* *ungágha* *mi*  
head that.D1 boy new two CEFF  
*kotópu* *méndi* *réka* *ungágha* *mi* *u-rieta*  
leader boy new two CEFF do.II-SEQ.DP.DS  
*gía* *avóre* *pu-rie*  
see.I.SS all.right come.I-DP.3.IA

‘They spoke thus, and all right, they went, and regarding the head (of the group), the two young boys, the two young leader boys were acting (as heads), seeing (that), all right, they (the group) came.’

<sup>29</sup>

This form seems to function as part of the medial switch reference system as well as being used in SVCs. It is treated as a medial verb in a switch reference construction, i.e. head of a clause, when it is followed by a pause, a pause word such as *avóre* ‘all right’, a conjunction, or the morpheme *doa* ‘SEQ.SS’ (grammaticised from *do-a* ‘leave.off-SS’).



The first SRC has two bases terminating respectively with the medial verb sequence, *rea+doa* 'saying and then' and the final verb, *aria* 'they went'. The medial verb *rea+doa* indicates that the two clauses have co-referential subjects and that the event encoded by *aria* follows it in time. The second SRC has three bases terminating respectively with the medial verb, *urieta* 'they acted and then a different subject', the medial verb, *gia* 'seeing', and the final verb, *furie* 'they came'. The medial verb *urieta* indicates that the following verb has a different subject and encodes a subsequent event. The group following the young men leading two leader clans are indicated as the subject of the verbs *gia* and *furie*. The temporal relationship (sequence or overlap) between *gia* and *furie* is not clearly indicated, but by putting the pause word *avore* and a pause in, the story teller indicates that *gia* predicates a clause or base in the SRC.

2. The parameters indicated by medial verbs are: the co-referentiality status of subjects between the marking verb and the following reference verb, the relative temporal relationship between the two events the verbs encode, realis versus irrealis status, and the internal temporal nature of the verb, perfective or imperfective. For the discussion and examples of perfective and imperfective forms, see section 3.1.2, point 6 and examples (31), (32) and (33) and point 9.
3. Normally SRC bases are juxtaposed without additional connectives, and the default relationship between medial verbs is considered to be a coordinate relationship. However, some conjunctions are used to overtly mark 1) a simultaneous 'and' relationship between two clauses: *ã*, 2) an 'and then' relationship: *kotu*, 3) cause effect relationships: *gia* 'so [enabling cause]' and *amindu* 'therefore [efficient cause]', and 4) logical contingency *mo* 'since-while [with simultaneous forms]'.

In example (240), the main participants are partitioned into two groups simultaneously performing different actions; the speaker focuses on the fact that two sets of actions are performed but is not particularly interested in distinguishing two sets of subjects, so he uses SS verb forms and the conjunction *ã* 'and'. In this case, the two sets of events could be reversed. In the clause labelled (3), both groups of participants re-combine and participate jointly in the event. No shift in subject is marked in the entire construction.

- 240) 1) ...ávo eví-a díbe+bú-a ě 2) duméni ivári eví-a,  
 there sleep.I-SS eye+get.I-SS and some fire burn.I-SS  
 3) néno+jĩ+e-tueta avóre...  
 neck+dry+do.I-SEQ.TP.DS all.right

'...there they slept getting some "shut-eye", **and** some lit a fire, and they became comfortable, all right...'

- 241) Urieta, kotú Sokéya umó únda mendó,  
 u-riéta kotu sokeya umo unda mendo,  
 do.II-SEQ.DP.DS and.then River.Gar-fish 3S 3S.GEN nose  
 ená itikéna aná únda nómono Tembóre na  
 ena iti=kena ana unda nomono tembore na  
 this top=ALOC that 3S.GEN cousin Rainbow.Fish ACT  
 righía boriturie.  
 righi-a boritu-rie.  
 hold.I-SS break.II.IPF-DP.3.IA

'He did (that), **and then** the River Gar-Fish his nose, this one on the top, that his cousin Rainbow Fish held and broke.'

- 242) Riríeta gia, umó riríe,  
 ri-riéta gi-a umo ri-ríe,  
 say.II-SEQ.DP.DS see.I-SS 3S say.II-DP.3.IA  
 "Amó jo gámbi re," riríe.  
 "amo jo gi-ámbi re" ri-ríe.  
 1S NEG see.I-NEG COP.IA say.II-DP.3.IA

'He spoke, **so** he said, "I didn't see (them)," he said.'

- 243) Urieta, Sokéya umó eréa ingótu bua,  
 u-riéta sokeya umo ere-a ingotu bu-a,  
 do.II-SEQ.DP.DS River.Gar-fish 3S arise.I-SS charcoal get.I-SS  
 únda nómono Tembóre da támova ávo  
 unda nomono tembore da támova=va avo  
 3S.GEN cousin Rainbow.Fish GEN body=LOC there  
 gutiturieta, oréki **amíndu**  
 gutitu-rieta, oreki amindu  
 wash.II.IPF-SEQ.DP.DS now on.account.of.that  
 Tembóre da támova ána bíngoi+bíngoi, aná únda  
 tembore da támova=va ana bingoi+bingoi, ana unda  
 Rainbow.Fish GEN body=LOC that darkness+darkness that 3S.GEN  
 nómono Sokéya na daviturie, ingótu=mi.  
 nomono sokeya na davitu-rie, ingotu=mi.  
 cousin River.Gar-fish ACT brush.II.IPF-DP.3.IA charcoal=CEFF/INST

'He did (that), and the River Gar-fish he arose and got charcoal, and bathed his cousin's body there, and now **therefore** on Rainbow-Fish's body that blackness, that's what his cousin River Gar-Fish smeared (on it), with charcoal.'

Baruga can indicate contingency relationships between a medial base and the following segment of the SRC. This always involves a simultaneous medial verb form.

244)	<i>Áta,</i> <i>ata,</i> but	<i>imó</i> <i>imo</i> you.2S	<i>vóre+pu-r-áita</i> <i>vore+pu-r-áita</i> descend.I+come.I.EPEN-ANT	<u><i>úrota</i></u> <i>u-rota</i> do.II-SIM.IR.SS	<u><i>mo,</i></u> <i>mo</i> T/F
	<i>táta=da</i> <i>tata=da</i> Aunt=GEN	<i>aríri</i> <i>ariri</i> daughter	<i>róro=nu</i> <i>roro=nu</i> middle=CT	<i>búa</i> <i>bu-a</i> get.I-SS	<i>ingá vore+fu!</i> <i>inga vore+fu!</i> 2D descend.I+come.I.IMP

'But **when** you are about to come down, get (our) aunt's middle daughter, that one, and the two of you come down!'

See also examples (69) and (70) in section 3.1.2.

4. The motion verbs *ii* 'go' and *fu* 'come' are irregular verbs with suppletive stems used in the formation of some of the past tense verb paradigms. The sequence of SS forms with *doa* 'leaving off' does not occur with these verb: \**ya dóa* or \**furá dóa*. The forms *ya* 'going' and *furá* 'coming' are SS sequencing irrealis forms. But for SS sequencing realis medial forms, these two verbs appear to be using finite non-assertive past tense final verb paradigms. Example (245) provides a reason for hypothesising that these forms are used as medial verbs, at least in some instances. In this example, the content question word *doda* 'where?' appears in the clause terminated by *etéra* 'they came', but *etéra* is marked for finite non-asserted modality, not question modality. Only the terminal verb in the SRC *vité* 'are you remaining', is marked for question modality. Thus, it appears that the modal marking on *etéra* is suppressed and *etéra* is functioning like a medial verb in an SRC with three bases, terminated by *vité*. Note that the third base is a contiguous SVC with three verbs as its nuclear component.

245)	1) <i>Imó</i> 2S	<i>do=da</i> what=LOC/GEN	<i>réta</i> from	<u><i>et-éra</i></u> come-SEQ.TP.2.FN/SS?
	2) <i>evé</i> here	<u><i>bubú-a,</i></u> arrive.I-SS		
	3) <i>án=da</i> 1S=GEN	<i>tii=va</i> dibble.stick=LOC	<u><i>pai-a</i></u> press.I-SS	<u><i>asumbé-a vit-é?</i></u> sit.I-SS remain.1/2-PRES.2.Q

'Where have you come from and arrived here and you are pressing down and sitting on my dibble stick and remaining?'

These motion verbs do occur with SS simultaneous medial forms, both realis and irrealis *iróta* 'while going' and *fururóta* 'while coming' as well as a total set of DS forms.

5. Many instances have been found already of the phenomenon termed apparently anomalous switch reference in which a marking clause marked SS incorrectly monitors the following reference clause, which has a different subject. These reference clauses, which are correctly monitored in terms of their temporal relationship with the other events in the

SRC, indicate temporal notions, emotions, and significant background circumstances. A temporal margin is encoded by the mismatched reference clause, *rifo atitáta* 'day dawned' in example (246).

- 246)     ...*eví-a*           *rifo*    *atit-ata*                   *ere-a...*  
           sleep.I-SS       day     dawn.II-SEQ.NPT.DS       arise.I-SS  
           '...we slept, and day dawned, and we arose...'

In example (247), a significant background circumstance is encoded. It marks the point where the group leave their ocean route and take a river route instead. Again, a finite non-assertive form of the verb *fu* 'come' is used as a SS sequencing realis medial verb here. The subject of the SS form *etía* is one of the travelling party, but the subject of *vorepueta* 'while coming down' is *úvu sagháí* 'white water'.

- 247)     ...*avóre,*   *et-ía*  
           all.right   come.TP-SEQ.TP.3.FN/SS?  
  
           *úvu*    *saghái*    *vore=f-ueta*  
           water   white     descend.I-come.II-SIM.R.DS  
  
           *g-íe.*  
           see.I-TP.3.IA  
  
           '...all right, he came, and he saw white water coming down (lit. while white water was coming down, he saw (it)).'

More work needs to be done to determine the functions that Baruga examples of anomalous switch reference have.

## 8.0 FORMULAIC VERB SEQUENCES

The constituents of the following verb sequences adhere to a rigid, predictable order: a lexical component that provides the primary meaning of the sequence (having a SS suffix) and an auxiliary component that provides the grammatical markings that relate the sequence to the larger structure it is in. The sequences primarily encode aspects. If one considers that each medial verb predicates its own clause, then the sequences (other than those whose initial constituent is a verb stem marked by -a) are clause sequences and cannot be verb phrases.

## 8.1 Customary Verb Sequence

Tafota Baruga has two verb sequences encoding gnomic, customary, or habitual activities. Each has two components; a non-finite form of the verb that carries the lexical content of the sequence and an auxiliary verb *e* 'do' that carries most of the grammatical content of the sequence and relates it to the larger structure (clause, sentence, discourse) it is in. The shorter structure is one phonological word: a compound verb when singular forms of *e* 'do' occur, but a two-word sequence with plural forms of *e* 'do'.

248) **STEM 1 (with a lengthened vowel) - *e* 'do'**

*Irúgee-rovie* 'she teaches'

*kofi undii-riore* 'I habitually drink coffee'

*gha aghágo righii-egeguturie* 'they habitually pulled canoes that way'

The longer structure is always a two-word sequence involving a medial verb + a form of the verb *e* 'do'.

249) **STEM 1-*ta* + *e* 'do' or**

*irúgeta róvie* 'she teaches'

*kofi undíta riore* 'I habitually drink coffee'

*gha aghágo righita egeguturie* 'they habitually pulled canoes that way'

- 250) *Tutúno=va*      *aná,*      *ená*      *éini-eini*      *nu*  
beginning=LOC    that.D1      this      things      FOC

[*simbuge-ta*      *ros-ore*].  
prepare.1-SEQ.CUST.SS      IPF.SEQ.PL-do.PRES.1.IA

'At the start, we routinely prepare these things.'

## 8.2 Completive Verb Sequence

This sequence indicates that an action is completed. It follows the structure:

**STEM1 of lexical verb+*-a* + *sidara/dadano* 'finish' + *e* 'do'**

- 251) *Funumbé-a*      *sidára+ári*      *mo...*  
knead.sago.I-SS    finish+do.I.DVB    T/F

- 252) *...ávo*      *nángu+undí-a*      *sidára+é-a...*  
there    pillow+eat.I-SS    finish+do.I-SS

'...they finished resting there and then...'

## 8.3 Superlative Verb Sequences

This sequence encodes the ideas to 'do an activity properly, thoroughly'. The formula for this sequence is:

**STEM1 of lexical verb+*-a* + SUPERLATIVE WORD + *e* 'do'.**

Five superlatives appear to be used in Baruga, *gogho*, *vatétena*, *nutu* and two which no longer can be isolated from e 'do': *degitege*, *farásege*. The superlative *gogho* can be used with any lexical verb.

- 253)     ...*amó*     *a=min=du*     *ngaɸ*     *iti-a+gogho+é-a...*  
              1S.T/F    that.D1-CEFF=BEN/PUR    ear     put.I-SS+well+do.I-SS  
              '...I therefore pay close attention to (what's going on)...'

The superlatives (*vatetena*, *nutu* and *degitege*) are much more restricted: *vatétena* only occurring with *dighia* 'lashing (thoroughly)', *rapea* 'lashing (thoroughly)' and *éa* 'doing (properly)', *nútu* only occurring with *evia* 'sleeping (soundly)', *degitege* only occurring with *evia* 'sleeping (soundly)', *dea* 'hitting (thoroughly)', and *rea* 'speaking (properly, covering all bases)' and *farasege* occurring with *undia* 'eating (out of house and home)' and *boruma déa* 'raining (cats and dogs)'.

When *undia* is used with *sidára+e* 'finish', it signifies that someone has finished eating, but when it occurs with *farásege*, it indicates that all the food in the house was consumed.

- 254)     *Enémbo*     *et-ia*     *kámbo=va*  
              person    come.TP-SEQ.TP.3.FN/SS?    house=LOC  
              *undári*     *undí-a*     *farásege-tue.*  
              food     eat.I-SS     do.thoroughly.I-TP.3.IA  
              'A person came and has totally consumed all the food in the house.'

## 8.4 Verb Sequence encoding Continuous Aspect

The formula for this verb sequence is a combination of the SS simultaneous form of any lexical verb followed by a form of the verb *iri* 'remain':

**+STEM2 of lexical verb+-rota + *iri* 'remain'.**

Examples (255) and (256) illustrate the use of this sequence.

- 255)     ...*bingoi-va*     *óbegata*     *u-róta*     *vit-ára...*  
              darkness-LOC    gardening    do.II-SIM.SS    remain.II-NPT.1.DS  
              '...we were continually gardening in the darkness (lit. while we were doing gardening in the darkness, we were remaining).'

256)	<i>Aghá</i>	<i>rea</i>	<i>avóre,</i>	<i>umó</i>	<i>ávo</i>
	<i>Agha</i>	<i>re-a</i>	<i>avore,</i>	<i>umo</i>	<i>avo</i>
	thus.D1	say.I-SS	okay	3S	there
	<u><i>dandituróta</i></u>		<u><i>iriéta,</i></u>		
	<i>danditu-rota</i>		<i>iri-léta,</i>		
	chew.II.IPF-SIM.IR.SS		remain.I-SIM.R.DS		

256 continued:

<i>únda</i>	<i>támo.nandári</i>	<i>vitía</i>	<i>aghá</i>	<i>ea...</i>
<i>unda</i>	<i>tamo.nandari</i>	<i>viti-a</i>	<i>agha</i>	<i>e-a</i>
3S.GEN	dependents	ascend.I-SS	thus.D1	do.I-SS

Having spoken thus, all right, while he kept on chewing (betel nut) there, his followers went up and did thus...

## 8.5 Durative Verb Sequence

The durative verb sequence normally has the following formulaic structure:

[STEM1 of verb X + -aro] + [durative FN form of *u* 'do.STEM2'+-go] ± [STEM1 of verb X+-a]

257) *Aria,* *ungá* *júmba* *mane*  
*a-ria* *unga* *jumba* *mane*  
 go.DP-DP.3.FN 3D jumba.sweet.potatoes PL

*rategaro,* *roururiago* *rategéa*  
*ratega-aro,* *re-u-ru-riago* *ratega-a*  
 collect.I-DUR.DVB IPF.SEQ-do.II-IPF.IR.SIM-SEQ.DP.3.SS collect.I-SS

*búa* *bubúa* *danode* *itía,*  
*bu-a* *bubu-a* *dano=de* *iti-a,*  
 get.I-SS arrive.I-SS all=COM.PL put/place.I.S-SS

*ungá* *kusía+urie.*  
*unga* *kusía+u-rie.*  
 3D picnic+do.II-DP.3.IA

'They went, and the two of them were gathering jumba sweet potatoes and they kept on doing that, they gathered them, got them and came out and put them all (down), and the two of them had a picnic.'

## 9.0 Co-Ranking Sentences (CRSs)

A co-ranking sentence (CRS)<sup>30</sup> has as its primary constituents two or more bases of the same rank, each with a finite or 'final' verb rather than a 'medial' verb. Such bases can either be clauses, or clause sequences that act as a unit (e.g. SVCs, SRCs or other CRSs). They terminate with a final verb or a copula. Because each base is absolutely grounded, taking the speech act moment as its temporal and modal reference point, bases in CRSs are not required to share tense, aspect, mood, polarity, illocutionary force or any arguments. The other significant characterising feature is the nature of the juncture between bases in CRSs, that is, the use of conjunctions and pauses.

<sup>30</sup>

Longacre (1985:238) uses the term 'co-ranking structures' to refer to structures which combine "verbs of the same rank."



Bases constituting CRSs combine together in interdependent equal and unequal relationships. The terms 'parataxis' and 'hypotaxis' are used to describe these relationships between bases (Halliday 1985:195).<sup>31</sup>

Bases that are "on equal footing" with each other in CRSs can be said to be arranged 'paratactically'. In Baruga, this means that all the bases terminate in final verbs or copula, marked either for indicative-assertive mood or question mood. Or else both of them are polar questions, each marked with the finite non-assertive modal marker and manifesting the rising intonational contour that characterises polar questions in the initial base. Bases are either juxtaposed or conjoined by conjunctions, which follow a pause after the initial base. These conjunctions include: *e~* 'and', *kotu* 'and additionally', *o* 'or', *ai/af* 'or', and *áta* 'but'. Paratactic CRSs may have more than two bases. Example (258) illustrates two juxtaposed bases that are in a paratactic or equivalent relationship with each other. Each base has a topic-comment structure and terminates with a copula, marked for indicative assertive mood.

258)     ...1) *aná*     *avóre*,             2) *méma*     *téfo*     *re*.  
            ...     *ana*     *avo=re*,             *mema*     *tefo*     *re*.  
            ...     that.D1 okay=COP.IA     pain     no     COP.IA

'...1) that's all right, 2) (there) are no problems (with that).'

In (259), each base terminates with a final verb or copula marked for indicative assertive mood. The bases are linked by *kotú* 'and then'.

<sup>31</sup> Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik (1985:918-19,944) suggest that "coordination and subordination are special cases" of *parataxis* and *hypotaxis* respectively. Coordination is a relationship between those structures that potentially occur with 'and'; it is a subset of the equivalence relationships included in parataxis. *Hypotaxis* includes subordination of clauses.

Halliday (1985:198) views *parataxis* and *hypotaxis* as "general relationships which are not restricted to the rank of clause. They define complexes at any rank: clause complex, group or phrase complex, word complex". Subordination that involves rank-shifting, such as embedding of clauses, is not *hypotaxis* in his framework. He differentiates embedding from hypotaxis this way: "Embedding is a mechanism whereby a clause or phrase comes to function as a constituent within the structure of a group, which itself is a constituent of a clause. In hypotaxis one clause depends on another, but in no sense is it a constituent part of it (Halliday 1985:219).

- 259) 1) *Únda* *irári* *kambési* *bée* *aná,*  
*unda* *iri-ari* *kambesi* *bee* *ana*  
 3S.GEN remain.I-DVB place true/real as.for  
*éko* *kásava* *iri-ta* *róuvie.*  
*eko* *kasa=va* *iri-ta* *re-u-ie,*  
 kunai.grass outside.area=LOC remain.I-SEQ.CUST.SS IPF-make.II-PRES.3.IA  
 2) *kotú* *éko* *rórova* *táima* *divéga* *máne=va*  
*kotu* *eko* *roro=va* *taima* *divege-a* *mane=va*  
 and.also kunai.grass inside=LOC bush cut.off.I-DVB PL=LOC  
*ávo* *iri-ta* *róuvie.*  
*avo* *iri-ta* *re-u-ie.*  
 there remain.I-SEQ.CUST.SS IPF-make.II-PRES.3.IA

'1) As for its true nest (lit. remaining place), it makes it in the outside area of the kunai grass, 2) and it also makes it there in the middle of cut down bush materials in the midst of the kunai grass.'

Example (260) is a hypothetical conditional sentence. We have placed the initial base, the protasis, in brackets, so we can focus on the second base, the apodosis, which has two constituent bases linked by *af* 'yes/or' in a paratactic relationship. Each of the bases is a polar question, so each terminates with a verb or copula marked for finite non-assertive mood. This is the only construction type where bases marked for finite non-assertive mood are in a paratactic relationship with each other.

- 260) [1) *Amó* *y-a* *Peter* *it-ádora* *mo,*]  
 1S go.I-SS Peter put.I-F.1.FN T/F  
 2a) *voré+pu-r-ia* *plane kambési=va plane b-ára* *ái.*  
 descend.I+come.I-EPEN-SS plane place=LOC plane get.I-F.1.FN yes/or  
 2b) *b-ámbi* *ára?*  
 get.I-NEG.DVB do.F.1.FN  
 '(If I go put Peter (at Popondetta), ) 1) will I come down and get the plane at the airstrip, 2) or won't I?'

In (261), all three bases are in paratactic relationship. The relationship between the first base and the second is mildly adversative, encoding a change in direction and marked by *atá* 'but', which is the first constituent in the second base. The third base is a projection of the second, following the direct quote pattern discussed below in section 10.1 As noted above, bases can be marked for distinct moods. In this case, the first base is marked for indicative assertive mood, the second, for imperative mood, and the third for finite-non assertive mood (associated with polar questions).

- 261) 1) *Namane aná, dano sao=va y-aita ros-ore,*  
 1PL.EXC that.D1 all lake=LOC go.I-ANT IPF.PL.do.II-PRES.1.IA  
 2) *atá imó gi-go,* 3) *namónde y-ara?*  
 but 2S see.I.IMP-CPAR 1PL.INC go.I-F.1.FN

'1) Regarding us, we're all about to go to the lake, 2) but you, see about it, 3) will we go together?'

Where 'hypotactic' relationships occur, one base, usually the initial or dependent base is in an unequal relationship with the dominant base. Dependent bases do not occur independently of dominant bases, but dominant bases may occur independently of any other base. CRSs with bases in hypotactic relationship are usually binary constructions. When the dependent base is sentence initial, it is comparable to the theme (P2) discussed earlier, and the independent base is what is called the rheme (Halliday 1985:38,53). Dependent bases also occur in sentence-terminal or tail position, specifying one additional item of supporting information. Dependent bases terminate with a finite non-assertive form of the verb or copula, usually followed by a conjunction indicating the thematic character of the base and its semantic relationship with the following base. Occasionally, the copula is absent and just the topic-comment construction occurs. The conjunctions from *tago* on to the end of section 3.2.7 all encode hypotactic relations. The following example with the conjunction *tágo* 'but (translated although)' encodes an adversative hypotactic relationship between the initial dependent base and the terminal independent base.

- 262) 1) *Amó vore-a undíri áita r-óre=tágo,*  
 1S descend.I-SS sports do.I.ANT IPF.do.II.-PRES.1.IA=but  
 2) *amó ánda neno éto=va vevéra úa=du róre.*  
 1S 1S=GEN throat top=LOC heat do.II-SS=PUR IPF.do.II.-PRES.1.IA

'1) Although I want to descend and do sports, 2) I'm behaving (this way and not going) because and while pain is throbbing in my neck and chest area.'

Example (263), which contains example (258) within it, is a double set of hypothetical conditional sentences, juxtaposed with each other without a conjunction. The hypothetical conditions are themselves conjoined by the alternating conjunction *o* 'or' in a paratactic relationship. But here we are focusing on the nature of the conditional sentences manifested by base 1 (a and b) and base 2 (a and b). Base (1a) terminates with a verb marked for future tense and finite-non-assertive mood and is in hypotactic relationship to the base (1b), which is a copular clause in indicative-assertive mood. Likewise, the dependent base (2a) encodes a

negated event in the future and is in hypotactic relationship with the independent base (2b), which also terminates with a copular clause.

- 263)
- 1a) *Avóna* *amó* *sonembari* *úno+éa* *adúa*  
*avona* *amo* *sonembe-ari* *uno+e-a* *e-adua*  
 someone.ACT 1S help-DVB desire+do.I-SS do.I-F.3.FN
- 1b) *aná* *avore*,  
*ana* *avo=re*,  
 that.D1 okay=COP.IA
- 2a) *o* *úno+ámbi* *adúa*  
*o* *uno+e-ámbi* *e-adua*  
 or desire+do.I-NEG do.I-F.3.FN
- 2b) *aná* *avóre*, *méma téfo* *re*.  
*ana*, *avo=re*, *mema tefo* *re*.  
 that.D1 okay=COP.IA pain no COP.IA

'If someone wants to help me, all right, or if he doesn't want to help me, all right, no problem!'

In hypothetical conditions like (263), the dependent base (protasis) always terminates with a finite, non-assertive form of the verb in the future tense. The independent base (apodosis) occurs with an indicative assertive copula, but can occur with a verb form in the future tense. Counterfactual conditions follow the pattern of hypothetical conditions, marking the terminal verb in each base with a counterfactual modal suffix instead of a future tense suffix. In example (264), the topic marker *mo* '(here translated) if' is the final constituent in the first clause and makes explicit the contingency relationship between the bases.

- 264) ...1) *Nangu Und-ari* *Fefera=va* *aná* *émbo*  
 Pillow Nurture.I-DVB Day=LOC that.D1 man  
*ingo+dimb-ari=de* *r-asueta* *jebug-asua* *mo*,  
 hand+dip.I-DVB=COM.PL say.I-SEQ.CFAC.DS get.well.I-CFAC.3.FN T/F
- 2) *umó* *bu-a* *kóto+egeg-asue*.  
 3S get.I-SS court+do.I.PL-CFAC.3.IA

'...1) on the Day of Resting, if he (Jesus) would speak to the man with a withered hand and he would get well, 2) they would get him and try him in court.'

Sentences with bases conjoined by *gía* 'seeing, so', *agha gía* 'seeing thus' or *aghá degía* 'seeing that' encode enabling cause. In (265), the first and second base are joined by *gía* 'so'.

- 265) ...1) *amó* *néno+akúagoetóra* *gía*  
*amo* *nenó+akuagoe-tora* *gi-a*  
 1S throat+bad do.I-TP.1/2.FN see.I-SS
- 2a) *gáa* *iníni=gha* *retóreta;*  
*gaa* *inini=gha* *re-toreta;*  
 word/talk loudness=COM.D say.I-SEQ.TP.DS
- 2b) *umó* *béago* *andú* *sosóu+étue.*  
*umo* *béago* *an=dú* *sosou+e-tue.*  
 3S also 1=BEN/PUR angry+do.I-TP.3.IA

‘...1) I became upset (lit. bad throat) so, 2a) I spoke with loud talk, 2b) (and) he also became angry at me.’

The following example gives a reason-result sentence. The reason is expressed in the initial base terminating with *da bee aná* ‘the truth of or reason for’. Reason-result constructions appear to parallel cause-effect constructions. It should be noted that the result base often is the same as the effect base, having the same connectives.

In (266), the purpose postpositional clitic *du* marks the embedded clause encoding the result/effect. The clause in which it is embedded *urota vitera* ‘I am remaining acting’ re-echoes the original reason as a cause.

- 266) 1) *Anda* *Baga* *vitéra-da* *bee* *aná,*  
*Anda* *Baga* *viti-éra=da* *bee* *ana,*  
 1S.GEN Baga remain.II-PRES.1/2.FN=GEN real.part that.D1
- 2) *námonde* *ánda* *gaa* *anánu* *righía* *kavérea*  
*namonde* *anda* *gaa* *ananu* *righi-a* *kavere-a*  
 1P.INC 1S.GEN language that.CT hold.I-SS turn.back.I-SS
- itóta* *Bible=va* *terári-du*  
*iti-ota* *Bible=va* *tere-ari=du*  
 put/place.I-SEQ.IR.DS Bible=LOC enter.I.S-DVB=BEN/PUR
- úrota* *vitére.*  
*u-rota* *viti-ere.*  
 do.II-SIM.IR.SS remain.II-PRES.1.IA

‘The reason I am remaining at Baga: I am remaining doing activities in order that we will hold, turn (translate) and put our language, that one, so that it will enter into the Bible.’

## 10.0 Projections

Quotations or thoughts are presented or projected through the medium of speech acts or mental processes.<sup>32</sup> In the structure of Baruga quotations, the base encoding the

<sup>32</sup> According to Halliday (1985:196,227-8), quotations and indirect quotes are "representations of a linguistic representation" rather than "representations of a non-linguistic experience". They are "the secondary clause that is projected through the primary clause, which instates it as (a) a locution or (b) an idea." Projections may be in a paratactic, hypotactic, or embedding relationship with the instating clause.

speech act or mental process may precede or follow the base containing the quotation, or two speech act bases may bracket the quotation or thought. The basic speech act/mental process verb in Baruga is *re* 'say'.

### 10.1 Projections: Direct Quotations

Direct quotations are sentences with two to three bases in paratactic relationship with each other. The quote formula may precede and/or follow the actual quotation. In (267), the underlined quote formula both precedes and follows the quotation, which is in bold font. Note that all three bases, the initial quote formula, the quotation formula, and the terminal quote formula all terminate with final forms having indicative-assertive mood.

- 267) ...1) *umó* *ri-rie* 2) "***Amó jo gámbi re***,"  
 3S say.II-DP.3.IA 1S NEG see.I-NEG.DVB COP.IA  
 3) *ri-rie*  
 say.II-DP.3.IA

'...1) he said, 2) "I didn't see (it)," 3) he said.

In (268), the quote formula only precedes the quotation.

- 268) ...1) *lesu* *numan=du* *eghá* *ri-rie*  
 Jesus 3PL=BEN/PUR thus.PROX say.II-DP.3.IA  
 2) "***Amó manía enémbo avo=du r-adi, ning-auvata!***"  
 1S don't person who=BEN/PUR say.I-H.2.IA hear.I-SEQ.CFAC.DS  
 '...1) Jesus said thus to them, 2) "Don't tell which person I am, lest they hear!"

### 10.2 Projections: Indirect Quotations

Two to three bases may also constitute an indirect quotation, the quote formulas and the indirect quotation, but usually the quote formula follows the indirect quotation, which is in hypotactic relationship with it. Most commonly, the quotation terminates with a final non-assertive form of the verb and a demonstrative.

- 269) 1) *Imó ya andu túna* *dimbádi*  
*Imo i-a an=du tuna dimbu-adi*  
 2S go.I-SS 1S=BEN/PUR water dip.I-H.2.IA  
 2) *retóra* *mo,* 3) *ningéra?*  
*re-tóra mo,* *ningi-éra?*  
 say.I-TP.1/2.FN T/F hear.I-PRES.1/2.FN

'2) When I said 1) **that you should go and fetch water for me**, 3) did you hear?'

## 11.0 DISCOURSE OBSERVATIONS

Tafota Baruga, like Korafe, utilises two distinct structures for packaging discourses- **iconically ordered** structures and **thematically oriented** structures.

Personal narratives, legends, and procedures standardly employed by the group make constant use of switch reference constructions that follow strict tense ordering constraints, with the events presented iconically (i.e. in the order in which they actually occurred in the real world context). Sentences are often linked by tail-head recapitulation (repeating the final verb in the sentence as a serial or medial form at the onset of the subsequent sentence or beginning the subsequent sentence with a generic or pro-verb like *ea* 'doing' or *aghá ea* 'doing thus'). Background information is highly marked, often breaking the iconic ordering constraints.

Descriptions of objects, explanations (reasons, etc.), hortatory discourses (attempting to motivate the addressees to think or act a certain way), and most letters are organised around general themes. These discourses make constant use of both simple sentences and the more complex co-ranking structures. Instead of utilising tail-head recapitulation between sentences, sentences tend to be directly juxtaposed or joined by conjunctions.

Appendix 3 gives a legend and is a good example of an iconically ordered discourse.

## 12.0 MISCELLANEOUS NOTES AND UNSOLVED MYSTERIES

1. ***nu*, *aghá* and *réta***: I can't distinguish the uses of ***nu***, ***aghá***, and ***réta*** from each other yet.

Contrastive focus is certainly involved. Is ***nu*** or ***réta*** exhaustive contrastive focus?

Sometimes ***réta*** functions like the Korafe ***ava*** 'that, contrastive, change of direction'. But some of the functions ***áva*** has are taken up by the contrastive marker ***nu*** or by ***agha*** 'that, thus'.

The ***réta*** additionally functions as a source postposition with the basic meaning, 'from'. Is this ***réta*** a combination of ***re*** [COPULA] or of ***re*** 'say' + ***-ta*** [CURRENT RELEVANCY]?

2. **MARKERS ON VERB FORMS indicating IMPERFECTIVE/DURATIVE NOTIONS**: The whole imperfective picture in Baruga seems unclear to me. We are getting some verbs having durative aspect used only medially, but some, like Korafe, the finite non-assertive

(FN) ones occur both as SS medials and as verbs that terminate hypotactic and embedded clauses.

The general imperfective prefixes *rei-* and *reisi-* appear to co-occur with the irrealis simultaneous imperfective *-ru* in some irrealis durative forms. Sometimes *-ru* seems to be encoding a continuing activity in sequence with another activity rather than overlapping.

What are the semantic components which attach to these morphemes?

The *-útu/-itu* stem morpheme appears to distribute actions over several instances; the morpheme *ge* (which appears to be a pro-verb from the e-verb class) distributes the action over several participants mostly (either subject or object) but may also distribute over several instances. In the case of the imperatives that require *-ge*, it appears to be focusing in on this one instance of the action. The contrast here seems to be that *-ge* focuses on each individualised action whereas *{-utu}* focuses on the plurality of events, but that's just a hypothesis.

The suffix *-go* indicates that durative actions are repeated several times; it is added on to forms that are already marked for durative aspect.

I don't know precisely what *-aro* means, probably something in the repetitive area.

3. **TOPIC AND FOCUS MARKERS:** *mo* and *aná*: I can't pin down when *mo* is used to indicate topics and contingencies and when *aná* is used. Note that at NP onset, the form is *ána* with initial syllable stress, whereas at NP terminus or as a recapitulatory pronoun, the form is *aná* with terminal syllable stress. It does appear that *mo* is used more often with hypothetical and counterfactual contingencies than *aná* is, but both appear to be used for temporal contingencies.
4. I have not figured out all the stress rules applying to verbs yet. I also have not determined when morphophonemic rules such as epenthetic *r-* or *v-* insertion, fusion, and vowel assimilation must be carried out.
5. The ***-ta* morpheme** has several uses. It appears to be a current relevancy marker. It occurs on all medial verbs except the simplest form, which may also be used for serialisation. And it also is present in most of the words for 'but' (*atá*, *avoréta*, *avótago*, *tágo*). Is it a homophonous form with several distinct meanings? If *-ta* is polysemous, what are the basic semantic components that enable its use in distinct environments?



6. The meaning of *dava* and its use is not totally clear to me.

*lesu un=da ambo+nimbi ri-rieta un-dava pu-ria...*  
 Jesus 3S=GEN back+tail say.II-SEQ.DP.DS 3S-ALOC come.I-DP.3.FN  
 'Jesus called his disciples, and they came to him...'

*Mark 8:7: Kotú núman=dava uvu+oka ijojokokode dano lesu na*  
 and.also 3PL=ALOC water+fish very.tiny=COM.PL all Jesus ACT  
*bú-a...*  
 get.I-SS

'And also from them Jesus got all the very little fresh water fish...'

7. I need to do a lot more work on the relationships (coordinate-paratactic, coordinate-dependent, subordinate-hypotactic) between clauses in SRCs and also between CRSs. There does not seem to be as much division in Baruga between SRCs and CRSs. Other than the *aná* and some of the 'but' set (*avótago*, *avorétago*, etc.), all of them seem to be used to overtly indicate the nature of the juncture in SRCs as well as CRSs.

I am confused about the nature of the 'but' set. I need to sort out the constituent morphemes of each one of the set. At this point, they often appear to be marking some kind of pragmatic information, such as contrast. The short forms *avore* 'all right (there=COP.IA)' and *avóta* 'all right now (there=CR)' appear to have the constituent structure shown, but I'm not sure where they're all used and what they actually mean.

8. The use of *mane* as a marker of plural on the qualifiers instead of directly following the nominal head is a puzzle to me. See example (107).
9. The intonation contours characterising sentences still need to be machine-analysed with a program like CECIL.
10. We need to ask the Baruga to determine the status of motion verbs, finite non-assertive or medial, when the rest of the construction is clearly a switch reference construction.
11. When does one handle demonstratives as embedders and when does one handle them as conjunctions or connectives combining two sentential bases, particularly when they function together with the embedded item as the pragmatic theme of the sentence? Should relative constructions be presented under NPs or under CRSs? We've treated them inconsistently here. We've alluded to their being embedded in temporal expressions in section 9.5, but discussed them as a base and treated NPs such as *anáda bee* 'the reason for that' as conjunctions joining them to the independent base in section 9.8.

## APPENDICES

## VERB PARADIGMS

## Appendix 1: Final Verb Paradigms

## Conjugation of e 'do'

[Morphophonemic rules: vowel gobbler, fusion of *rei/reisi* with *u*, and *v* and *r* insertion apply.]

REALIS FINAL FORMS:	1 <sup>ST</sup> PERSON	2 <sup>ND</sup> PERSON	3 <sup>RD</sup> PERSON
<b>PRESENT:</b>	<b>IA:</b> <i>rei- u -ore</i> <i>róre/rí-ore</i> 'I am doing'	<b>rei- u -oravore</b> <i>róravore/rí-oravore</i> 'you are doing'	<b>rei- u -v-ie</b> <i>róuv-ie</i> 'he/she/it is doing'
	<b>FN:</b> <i>róra/rí-ora</i>	<i>róra/rí-ora</i>	<i>róuv-ia</i>
	<b>Q:</b> <i>ro/rí-o</i>	<i>ro/rí-o</i>	<i>róuv-i</i>
<b>PRESENT:</b>	<b>PL:</b> <i>reisi- u -ore</i> <i>rós-ore</i> 'we are doing'	<b>reisi- u -oravore</b> <i>rós-oravore</i> 'you (PL) are doing'	<b>reisi- u -ue</b> <i>rós-ue</i> 'they are doing'

<b>TODAY'S PAST:</b>	<b>IA:</b> <i>e-tóre</i> 'I did (today)'	<i>e-tóravore</i> 'you did (today)'	<i>e-túe</i> 'he/she/it did (today)'
	<b>FN:</b> <i>e-tóra</i>	<i>e-tóra</i>	<i>e-túa</i>
	<b>Q:</b> <i>e-tó</i>	<i>e-tó</i>	<i>e-tú</i>
<b>TODAY'S PAST:</b>	<b>PL:</b> <i>e -ge+DUPCV -tore...</i> <i>egege-tóre</i> 'we did (today)'	<i>egege-tóravore</i> 'you (PL) did (today)'	<i>egegetúe</i> 'they did (today)'

<b>NEAR PAST:</b>	<b>IA:</b> <i>u -utu -are</i> <i>út-are</i> 'I did (yesterday)'	<i>u -utu -aravore</i> <i>út-aravore</i> 'you did (yesterday)'	<i>u -utu -a</i> <i>út-a</i> 'he/she/it did (yest.)'
	<b>FN:</b> <i>út-ara</i>	<i>út-ara</i>	<i>út-a</i>
	<b>Q:</b> <i>út-a</i>	<i>út-a</i>	<i>út-a</i>
<b>NEAR PAST:</b>	<b>PL:</b> <i>e -ge+DUPCV-utu -are...</i> <i>egegut-áre</i> 'we did (yesterday)'	<i>egegut-áravore</i> 'you (PL) did (yest.)'	<i>egegut-á</i> 'they did (yesterday)'

<b>DURATIVE NP:</b>	<b>IA:</b> <i>rei- u -are</i> <i>rí-are</i> 'I was doing'	<i>rei- u -aravore</i> <i>rí-aravore</i> 'you were doing'	<i>rei- u -ia</i> <i>r-ía</i> 'he/she/it was doing'
	<b>FN:</b> <i>rí-ara</i>	<i>rí-ara</i>	<i>r-ía</i>
	<b>Q:</b> <i>rí-a</i>	<i>rí-a</i>	<i>r-ía</i>
<b>DURATIVE NP:</b>	<b>PL:</b> <i>reisi- u -are</i> <i>rós-are</i> 'we were doing'	<i>reisi- u -aravore</i> <i>rós-aravore</i> 'you (PL) were doing'	<i>reisi- u -a</i> <i>rós-a</i> 'they were doing'

<b>DISTANT PAST:</b>	<b>IA:</b> <i>u-rére</i> 'I did (last year)'	<i>u-réravore</i> 'you did (last year)'	<i>u-ríe</i> 'he/she/it did (l. year)'
	<b>FN:</b> <i>u-réra</i>	<i>u-réra</i>	<i>ú-ria</i>
	<b>Q:</b> <i>u-ré</i>	<i>u-ré</i>	<i>u-rí</i>
<b>DISTANT PAST:</b>	<b>PL:</b> <i>e- ge+DUPCV-utu -rere...</i> <i>egegutu-rére</i> 'we did (last year)'	<i>egegutu-réravore</i> 'you (PL) did (l. year)'	<i>egegutu-ríe</i> 'they did (last year)'

Continuation of Conjugation of e 'do'				
REALIS FINAL FORMS:				
		1 <sup>ST</sup> PERSON	2 <sup>ND</sup> PERSON	3 <sup>RD</sup> PERSON
DURATIVE DP:	IA:	<i>rei- u -rere</i> <i>rorere</i> 'I was doing (l. yr)'	<i>rei- u -reravore</i> <i>roreravore</i> 'you were doing (l. yr)'	<i>rei- u -rie</i> <i>rou-rie</i> 'he/she/it was doing'
	FN:	<i>ró-rera</i>	<i>ró-rera</i>	<i>róu-ria</i>
	Q:	<i>róre</i>	<i>ró-re</i>	<i>róu-ri</i>
DURATIVE DP:	PL:	<i>reisi- u -rere</i> <i>rósu-rere</i> 'we were doing'	<i>reisi- u -reravore</i> <i>rósu-reravore</i> 'you (PL) were doing'	<i>reisi- u -rie</i> <i>róusu-rie</i> 'they were doing'

IRREALIS FINAL FORMS:				
		1 <sup>ST</sup> PERSON	2 <sup>ND</sup> PERSON	3 <sup>RD</sup> PERSON
FUTURE:	IA:	<i>e -áita re- u -ore</i> <i>áita róre/ríore</i> 'I'm about to do'	<i>e -áita re- u -oravore</i> <i>áita róravore/ríoravore</i> 'you're about to do'	<i>e -áita re- u -v-ie</i> <i>áita róuvie</i> 'he/she/it's about to do'
FUTURE: only in 1 <sup>st</sup> person:	IA:	<i>e -áita-are</i> or <i>e -áita-re</i> <i>áit-are</i> 'I will do'		
FUTURE	FN:	<i>e -ara</i> <i>ára</i> 'will I do?'	<i>e -adora</i> <i>adóra</i> 'will you do'	<i>e -adua</i> <i>adúa</i> 'will he/she/it do?'
FUTURE	Q:	<i>e -a</i> <i>á</i>	<i>e -ado</i> <i>adó</i>	<i>e -adu</i> <i>adú</i>
FUTURE	PL <sub>1</sub> :	<i>e -áita reisi- u -ore...</i> <i>áita rósore</i>	<i>áita rósoravore</i>	<i>áita rósue</i>
FUTURE	PL <sub>2</sub> :	<i>e -ge+DUPCV -áita re- u -ore</i> <i>egeg-áita róre</i>	<i>egeg-áita róravore</i>	<i>egeg-áita róuvie</i>

HORTATIVE:	IA:	<i>e -are</i> <i>áre</i> 'let me do'	<i>e -adi</i> <i>ádi</i> 'may you do!'	<i>e -ae</i> <i>áe</i> 'let him/her/it do'
HORTATIVE:	PL:	<i>e -ge+DUPCV -are...</i> <i>egeg-áre</i>	<i>egeg-ádi</i>	<i>egeg-áe</i>

COUNTERFACTUAL/SUBJUNCTIVE IA: e -asore, e -asoravore, e -asue				
	IA:	<i>ásore</i> 'I should/might do'	<i>ásoravore</i> 'you should/might do'	<i>ásue</i> 'he/she/it should do'
	FN:	<i>ásora</i>	<i>ásora</i>	<i>ásua</i>
	Q:	<i>asó</i>	<i>asó</i>	<i>asu</i>
	PL:	<i>e -ge+DUPCV -asore</i> <i>egeg-ásore</i>	<i>egeg-ásoravore</i>	<i>egeg-ásue</i>

CUSTOMARY (uses STEM 1)	IA <sub>1</sub> :	<i>ee-rore/ee-ríore</i>	<i>ee-roravore/ee-ríoravore</i>	<i>ee-rouvie</i>
	IA <sub>2</sub> :	<i>éta róre/ríore</i> 'I (customarily) do'	<i>éta róravore/ríoravore</i> 'you (customarily) do'	<i>éta rouvie</i> 'he/she/it cust. does'
	FN:	<i>ee-rora/ee-ríora</i>	<i>ee-rora/ee-ríora</i>	<i>ee-rouvia</i>
	Q:	<i>éro/ério</i>	<i>ee-ro/ee-rio</i>	<i>ee-rouvi</i>

### Conjugation of *fure* 'blow', *gémбу* 'write', *gi* 'see'

REALIS FINAL FORMS:	e-verb: <i>fúre/furitu</i>	u-verb: <i>gémбу/gefi</i>	i-verb: <i>gi/geru</i>
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PRESENT:	IA.1:	<i>rei-</i> STEM 2 -ore	<i>rei-</i> STEM 2 -ere <sup>33</sup>	<i>rei-</i> STEM 2 -ore
	IA.1:	<i>rei-furit-ore</i> 'I am blowing'	<i>rei-gef-ere</i> 'I am writing'	<i>rei-ger-ore</i> 'I am seeing'
	IA.2:	<i>rei-furit-oravore</i>	<i>rei-gef-eravore</i>	<i>rei-ger-oravore</i>
	IA.3:	<i>rei-furit-ue</i>	<i>rei-gef-ie</i>	<i>rei-ger-ue</i>
	FN1/2:	<i>rei-furit-ora</i> 'am I blowing?'	<i>rei-gef-era</i> 'am I writing?'	<i>rei-ger-ora</i> 'am I seeing?'
	FN.3:	<i>rei-furit-ua</i>	<i>rei-gef-ia</i>	<i>rei-ger-ua</i>
	Q.1/2:	<i>rei-furit-o</i> '(what) am I blowing?'	<i>rei-gef-e</i> '(what) am I writing?'	<i>rei-ger-o</i> '(what) do I see?'
	Q.3:	<i>rei-furit-u</i>	<i>rei-gef-i</i>	<i>rei-ger-u</i>
PRESENT	PL.1:	<i>reisi-</i> STEM 2 -ore	<i>reisi-</i> STEM 2 -ere	<i>reisi-</i> STEM 2 -ore
	PL.1:	<i>reisi-furit-ore</i> 'e are blowing'	<i>reisi-gef-ere</i> 'we are writing'	<i>reisi-ger-ore</i> 'we are seeing'
	PL.2:	<i>reisi-furit-oravore</i>	<i>reisi-gef-eravore</i>	<i>reisi-ger-oravore</i>
	PL.3:	<i>reisi-furit-ue</i>	<i>reisi-gef-ie</i>	<i>reisi-ger-ue</i>

TODAY'S PAST:	IA.1:	STEM1 -tóre	STEM1 -ére	STEM1 -ére
	IA.1:	<i>fure-tóre</i> 'I blew (today)'	<i>gemb-ére</i> 'I wrote (today)'	<i>g-ére</i> 'I saw (today)'
	IA.2:	<i>fure-tóravore</i>	<i>gemb-éravore</i>	<i>g-éravore</i>
	IA.3:	<i>fure-túe</i>	<i>gemb-íe</i>	<i>g-íe</i>
	FN1/2:	<i>fure-tóra</i>	<i>gemb-era</i>	<i>g-era</i>
	FN.3:	<i>fure-túa</i>	<i>gemb-ía</i>	<i>g-ía</i>
	Q.1/2:	<i>fure-tó</i>	<i>gemb-e</i>	<i>g-e</i>
	Q.3:	<i>fure-tú</i>	<i>gemb-í</i>	<i>g-í</i>
TODAY'S PAST	PL.1:	STEM1.PL -tóre		
	PL.1:	<i>fufurege-tóre</i> 'we blew (today)'	<i>gegembuge-tóre</i> 'we wrote (today)'	<i>gigige-tore</i> 'we saw (today)'
	PL.2:	<i>fufurege-tóravore</i>	<i>gegembuge-tóravore</i>	<i>gigige-toravore</i>
	PL.3:	<i>fufurege-túe</i>	<i>gegembuge-túe</i>	<i>gigige-túe</i>

NEAR PAST:	IA.1:	STEM2-(utu) -are	STEM2-v-utu -are	STEM2-(utu) -are
	IA.1:	<i>furit-are</i> 'I blew (yesterday)'	<i>gefi-v-ut-are</i> 'I wrote (yesterday)'	<i>ger-are</i> 'I saw(yesterday)'
	IA.2:	<i>furit-aravore</i>	<i>gefi-v-ut-aravore</i>	<i>ger-aravore</i>
	IA.3:	<i>furit-a</i>	<i>gefi-v-ut-a</i>	<i>ger-a</i>
	FN1/2:	<i>furit-ara</i>	<i>gefi-v-ut-ara</i>	<i>ger-ara</i>
	FN.3:	<i>furit-a</i>	<i>gefi-v-ut-a</i>	<i>ger-a</i>
	Q1/2/3:	<i>furit-a</i>	<i>gefi-v-ut-a</i>	<i>ger-a</i>
NEAR PAST:	PL.1:	<i>fufuregut-áre</i> 'we blew (yesterday)'	<i>gegembugut-áre</i> 'we wrote (yesterday)'	<i>gigigut-áre</i> 'we saw (yesterday)'
	PL.2:	<i>fufuregut-áravore</i>	<i>gegembugut-áravore</i>	<i>gigigut-áravoree</i>
	PL.3:	<i>fufuregut-á</i>	<i>gegembugut-á</i>	<i>gigigut-á</i>

Continuation of Conjugation of <i>fúre</i> 'blow', <i>gémbu</i> 'write', <i>gí</i> 'see'				
REALIS FINAL FORMS:		e-verb: <i>fúre/furitu</i>	u-verb: <i>gémbu/gefi</i>	i-verb: <i>gí/geru</i>
DURATIVE NPT:	IA.1:	<i>rei-</i> STEM2(-utu) -are	<i>rei-</i> STEM2-v-utu -are	<i>re</i> STEM2-are

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Some verbs use the set -ere (1), -eravore (2), -ie (3), instead of the set -ore (1), -oravore (2), -ue (3) for the present tense suffixes. The conditioning rules for its use are not known yet.

	IA.1:	<i>rei-furit-are</i> 'I was blowing'	<i>rei-gefi-v-ut-are</i> 'I was writing'	<i>rei-ger-are</i> 'I was seeing'
	IA.2:	<i>rei-furit-aravore</i>	<i>rei-gefi-v-ut-aravore</i>	<i>rei-ger-aravore</i>
	IA.3:	<i>rei-furit-a</i>	<i>rei-gefi-v-ut-a</i>	<i>rei-ger-a</i>
	FN.1/2:	<i>rei-furit-ara</i>	<i>rei-gefi-v-ut-ara</i>	<i>rei-ger-ara</i>
	FN.3:	<i>rei-furit-a</i>	<i>rei-gefi-v-ut-a</i>	<i>rei-ger-a</i>
	Q.1/2/3:	<i>rei-furit-a</i>	<i>rei-gefi-v-ut-a</i>	<i>rei-ger-a</i>
DURATIVE NPT:	PL.1:	<i>reisi-furit-are</i> 'we were blowing'	<i>reisi-gefi-v-ut-are</i> 'we were writing'	<i>reisi-ger-are</i> 'we were seeing'
	PL.2:	<i>reisi-furit-aravore</i>	<i>reisi-gefi-v-ut-aravore</i>	<i>reisi-ger-aravore</i>
	PL.3:	<i>reisi-furit-a</i>	<i>reisi-gefi-v-ut-a</i>	<i>reisi-ger-a</i>

DISTANT PAST:	IA.1:	<b>STEM2 -rére</b>		
	IA.1:	<i>furitu-rére</i> 'I blew (last year)'	<i>gefi-rére</i> 'you wrote (last year)'	<i>geru-rére</i> 'I saw (last year)'
	IA.2:	<i>furitu-réravore</i>	<i>gefi-réravore</i>	<i>geru-réravore</i>
	IA.3:	<i>furitu-ríe</i>	<i>gefi-ríe</i>	<i>geru-ríe</i>
	FN.1/2:	<i>furitu-réra</i>	<i>gefi-réra</i>	<i>geru-réra</i>
	FN.3:	<i>furitu-ría</i>	<i>gefi-ría</i>	<i>geru-ría</i>
	Q.1/2:	<i>furitu-re</i>	<i>gefi-re</i>	<i>geru-re</i>
	Q.3:	<i>furitu-ri</i>	<i>gefi-ri</i>	<i>geru-ri</i>
DISTANT PAST:	PL:	<i>fufuregutu-rére</i> 'we blew (last year)'	<i>gegembugutu-rére</i> 'we wrote (last year)'	<i>gigigutu-rére</i> 'we saw (last year)'
DURATIVE DP:	IA.1:	<b>re- STEM2 -rére</b>		
	IA.1:	<i>rei-furitu-rére</i>	<i>rei-gefi-rére</i>	<i>rei-geru-rere</i>
	IA.2:	<i>rei-furitu-réravore</i>	<i>rei-gefi-réravore</i>	<i>rei-geru-reravore</i>
	IA.3:	<i>rei-furitu-ríe</i> 'I was blowing (l. year)'	<i>rei-gefi-ríe</i> 'I was writing (last year)'	<i>rei-geru-ríe</i> 'I was seeing (l. yr.)'
	FN.1/2:	<i>rei-furitu-réra</i>	<i>rei-gefi-réra</i>	<i>rei-geru-réra</i>
	FN.3:	<i>rei-furitu-ría</i>	<i>rei-gefi-ría</i>	<i>rei-geru-ría</i>
	Q.1/2:	<i>rei-furitu-re</i>	<i>rei-gefi-re</i>	<i>rei-geru-re</i>
	Q.3:	<i>rei-furitu-ri</i>	<i>rei-gefi-ri</i>	<i>rei-geru-ri</i>
DURATIVE.DP	PL.1:	<i>reisi-furitu-rére</i> 'we were blowing'	<i>reisi-gefi-rére</i> 'we were writing'	<i>reisi-geru-rére</i> 'we were seeing'
	PL.2	<i>reisi-furitu-réravor</i>	<i>reisi-gefi-réravore</i>	<i>reisi-geru-</i> <i>réravore</i>
	PL.3:	<i>reisi-furitu-ríe</i>	<i>reisi-gefi-ríe</i>	<i>reisi-geru-ríe</i>

Continuation of Conjugation of <i>fúre</i> ‘blow’, <i>gémbu</i> ‘write’, <i>gi</i> ‘see’				
IRREALIS FINAL FORMS: e-verb: <i>fúre/furitu</i> u-verb: <i>gémbu/gefi</i> i-verb: <i>gi/geru</i>				
FUTURE/ANTICIPATORY: IA.1: STEM1 -áita+róre				
	IA.1:	<i>fur-áita róre/ríore</i> ‘I’m about to blow’	<i>gemb-áita róre/ríore</i> ‘I’m about to write’	<i>g-áita róre/ríore</i> ‘I’m about to see’
	IA.1:	<i>fur-áita róravore/ríoravore</i>	<i>gemb-áita róravore/ríoravore</i>	<i>g-áita róravore/ríoravore</i>
	IA.1:	<i>fur-áita róvie/róuvie</i>	<i>gemb-áita róvie/róuvie</i>	<i>g-áita róuvie</i>
FUTURE IA.(1 <sup>ST</sup> ONLY): STEM1 -áita-are				
	IA.1:	<i>fur-áit-are</i> ‘I will blow’	<i>gemb-áit-are</i> ‘I will write’	<i>g-áit-are</i> ‘I will see’
	FN.1:	<i>fur-ára</i> ‘will I/you blow?’	<i>gemb-ára</i> ‘will I/you write?’	<i>g-ára</i> ‘will I/you see?’
	FN.2:	<i>fur-ádora</i>	<i>gemb-ádora</i>	<i>g-ádora</i>
	FN.3:	<i>fur-ádua</i>	<i>gemb-ádua</i>	<i>g-ádua</i>
	Q.1:	<i>fur-á</i> ‘(what) will you blow?’	<i>gemb-á</i> ‘(what) will you write?’	<i>g-a</i> ‘(how)will you see’
	Q.2:	<i>fur-ádo</i>	<i>gemb-ado</i>	<i>g-ádo</i>
	Q.3:	<i>fur-ádu</i>	<i>gemb-adu</i>	<i>g-ádu</i>
FUTURE				
	PL <sub>1</sub> 1:	<i>fur-áita rósore</i>	<i>gemb-áita rósore</i>	<i>g-áita rósore</i>
	PL <sub>1</sub> 2:	<i>fur-áita rósoravore</i>	<i>gemb-áita rósoravore</i>	<i>g-áita rósoravore</i>
	PL <sub>1</sub> 3:	<i>fur-áita róusue</i>	<i>gemb-áita róusue</i>	<i>g-áita róusue</i>
	PL <sub>2</sub> .1:	<i>fufureg-áita róre</i>	<i>gegembug-aita róre</i>	<i>gigigeg-áita róre</i>
	PL <sub>2</sub> .2:	<i>fufureg-áita róravore</i>	<i>gegembug-aita róravore</i>	<i>gigigeg-áita róravore</i>
	PL <sub>2</sub> .3:	<i>fufureg-áita róuvie</i>	<i>gegembug-aita róuvie</i>	<i>gigigeg-áita róuvie</i>

HORTATIVE:	IA.1:	STEM1-óre	STEM1-óre	STEM1-áre
	IA.1:	<i>fur-óre</i> 'let me do'	<i>gemb-óre</i> 'may you do!'	<i>g-áre</i> 'let him/her/it do'
	IA.2:	<i>fur-ádi</i>	<i>gemb-ádi</i>	<i>g-ádi</i>
	IA.3:	<i>fur-óe</i>	<i>gemb-óe</i>	<i>g-áe</i>
HORTATIVE:	PL.1:	<i>fufureg-óre</i>	<i>gegembug-óre</i>	<i>gigig-óre</i>
	PL.2:	<i>fufureg-ádi</i>	<i>gegembug-ádi</i>	<i>gigig-ádi</i>
	PL.3:	<i>fufureg-óe</i>	<i>gegembug-óe</i>	<i>gigig-óe</i>

COUNTERFACTUAL/SUBJUNCTIVE: IA.1: STEM1 -ásire				
	IA.1:	<i>fur-ásire</i> 'I should/might blow'	<i>gemb-ásire</i> 'I should/might write'	<i>g-ásire</i> 'I should see'
	IA.2:	<i>fur-ásiravore</i>	<i>gemb-ásiravore</i>	<i>g-ásiravore</i>
	IA.3:	<i>fur-ásue</i>	<i>gemb-ásue</i>	<i>g-ásue</i>
	FN.1/2:	<i>fur-ásira</i>	<i>gemb-ásira</i>	<i>g-ásira</i>
	FN.3:	<i>fur-ásua</i>	<i>gemb-ásua</i>	<i>g-ásua</i>
	Q.1/2:	<i>fur-ási</i>	<i>gemb-ási</i>	<i>g-ási</i>
	Q.3:	<i>fur-ásu</i>	<i>gemb-ásu</i>	<i>g-ásu</i>
CFAC/SUBJUNCTIVE.PL.1:fufureg-ásire				
	PL.2:	<i>fufureg-ásiravore</i>	<i>gegembug-ásiravore</i>	<i>gigig-ásiravore</i>
	PL.3:	<i>fufureg-ásue</i>	<i>gegembug-ásue</i>	<i>gigig-ásue</i>

Continuation of Conjugation of <i>fúre</i> 'blow', <i>gémbu</i> 'write', <i>gí</i> 'see'			
IRREALIS FINAL FORMS: e-verb: <i>fúre/furitu</i> u-verb: <i>gémbu/gefi</i> i-verb: <i>gí/geru</i>			
CUSTOMARY	IA <sub>1.1</sub> : STEM1 with final vowel stressed + -rore		
	IA <sub>1.1</sub> : <i>furée-rore/riore</i>	<i>gembúu-rore/riore</i>	<i>gíi-rore/riore</i>
	IA <sub>1.2</sub> : <i>furee-roravore/rioravore</i>	<i>gembuu-roravore/rioravore</i>	<i>gíioravore/rioravore</i>
	IA <sub>1.3</sub> : <i>furée-rouvie</i>	<i>gembuu-rouvie</i>	<i>gíi-riouvie</i>
	(IA <sub>2.1</sub> : <i>furei-ta+róre/riore</i> 'I (customarily) blow')	<i>gembu-ta+róre/riore</i> 'I (customarily) write'	<i>gíta+róre/riore</i> 'I (cust.) see'
	FN.1/2: <i>furee-rora/riora</i>	<i>gembuu-rora/riora</i>	<i>gíi-rora/riora</i>
	FN.3: <i>furee-rouvia</i>	<i>gembuu-rouvia</i>	<i>gíi-rouvia</i>
	Q.1/2: <i>furee-ro/rio</i>	<i>gembuu-ro/rio</i>	<i>gíi-ro/gíi-rio</i>
	Q.3: <i>furee-rouvi</i>	<i>gembuu-rouvi</i>	<i>gíi-rouvi</i>
CUSTOMARY	PL <sub>1.1</sub> : STEM1 with final vowel stressed + -rosore		
	PL <sub>1.1</sub> : <i>furee-rosore</i>	<i>gembuu-rosore</i>	<i>gíirosore</i>
	PL <sub>1.2</sub> : <i>furee-rosoravore</i>	<i>gembuu-rosoravore</i>	<i>gíi-rosoravore</i>
	PL <sub>1.3</sub> : <i>furee-rousue</i>	<i>gembuu-rousue</i>	<i>gíi-rousue</i>
	(PL <sub>2.1</sub> <i>furéta rosore</i> 'we (customarily) blow')	<i>gembúta rosore</i> 'we (customarily) write'	<i>gíta rosore</i> 'we (cust.) see'

IMPERATIVE FORMS: e-verbs: <i>e/u, fúre/furitu</i> , u-verb: <i>gémbu/gefi</i> , i-verb: <i>gí/geru</i>			
ABRUPT IMPERATIVE: STEM 1 (±-ge for a few verbs)			
<i>ege</i> 'do, make!'	<i>fúre</i> 'blow!'	<i>gémbu</i> 'write!'	<i>gí</i> 'see/look at'
ABRUPT IMPERATIVE PLURAL: STEM 1+DUPCV+-ge			
<i>egege</i>	<i>fufúrege</i>	<i>gegémbuge</i>	<i>gígige</i>
STENTORIAN IMPERATIVE: STEM 1 -r-o			
<i>egóro</i>	<i>furéro</i>	<i>gembúro</i>	<i>gíro</i>
STENTORIAN IMPERATIVE PLURAL: STEM 1+DUPCV+-ge -r-o			
<i>egegéro</i>	<i>fufuregéro</i>	<i>gegembugéro</i>	<i>gígigéro</i>
SIMULTANEOUS IMPERATIVE: STEM 2 <i>gía</i>			
<i>u gía</i> 'be doing while...'	<i>furitu gía</i> 'be blowing while...'	<i>gefi gía</i> 'be writing while...'	<i>geru gía</i> 'be seeing while...'

## Appendix 2: Medial Verb Forms of e ‘do’, *fúre* ‘blow’, *gémбу* ‘write’, *gi* ‘see’

SAME SUBJECT FORMS NOT MARKING STATUS (REALIS OR IRREALIS)			
<i>e/u</i>	<i>fure/furitu</i>	<i>gembu/gefi</i>	<i>gi’geru</i>
<b>STEM1 + -a</b>			
<i>éa</i> ‘doing’	<i>furéa</i> ‘blowing’	<i>gembúa</i> ‘writing’	<i>gía</i> ‘seeing’
<b>SEQUENCING: STEM1 + -a + <i>doa</i></b>			
<i>éa dóa</i> ‘having done and’	<i>furéa dóa</i> ‘having blown and’	<i>gembúa dóa</i> ‘having written and’	<i>gía dóa</i> ‘having seen and’
<b>SEQUENCING-SIMULTANEOUS (+motion verb): STEM2+<i>-ta</i> + form of <i>ii</i> ‘go’ or <i>fu</i> ‘come’</b>			
<i>úta</i> + motion verb ‘going along doing’	<i>furituta</i> + motion verb ‘going along blowing’	<i>gefita</i> + motion verb ‘going along writing’	<i>geruta</i> + motion verb ‘going along seeing’
<b>SIMULTANEOUS: STEM2 + <i>-rota</i> [-re-a-ta]</b>			
<i>uróta</i> ‘while doing’	<i>furituróta</i> ‘whileblowing’	<i>gefirota</i> ‘while writing’	<i>geruróta</i> ‘while seeing’
<b>DEVERBAL: STEM 1 <i>-aro</i></b>			
<i>áro</i> [e -aro] ‘doing a while’	<i>furáro</i> ‘blowing a while’	<i>gembáro</i> ‘writing a while’	<i>gáro</i> ‘seeing a while’

SAME SUBJECT SEQUENCING FORMS ENCODING EVENTS WITH IRREALIS STATUS			
<i>e</i>	<i>fure</i>	<i>gembu</i>	<i>gi</i>
<b>CUSTOMARY: STEM 1 WITH CLASS VOWEL TAKING WORD STRESS + <i>-ava</i></b>			
<i>éava</i> ‘customarily doing’	<i>furéava</i> ‘customarily blowing’	<i>gembúava</i> ‘customarily writing’	<i>gíava/géava</i> ‘customarily seeing’
<b>COUNTERFACTUAL/SUBJUNCTIVE: STEM 1 + <i>-áuvava</i></b>			
<i>áuvava</i> [e -auvava] ‘might do and’	<i>furáuvava</i> ‘might blow and’	<i>gembáuvava</i> ‘might write and’	<i>gáuvava</i> ‘might see and’
<b>COUNTERFACTUAL/APPREHENSION: STEM 1 + <i>-auvota/auvata</i></b>			
<i>áuvota/áuvata</i> [e -áuvota/e -áuvata] ‘(lest X) might do’	<i>furáuvota/furáuvata</i> ‘(lest X) might blow’	<i>gembáuvota/gembauvata</i> ‘(lest X) might write’	<i>gáuvota/gáuvata</i> ‘(lest X) might see’

SAME SUBJECT SEQUENCING FORMS ENCODING DURATIVE IRREALIS EVENTS			
<i>u</i>	<i>furitu</i>	<i>gefi</i>	<i>geru</i>
<b>IRREALIS, CUSTOMARY: <i>rei-</i> STEM 2 <i>-ava</i></b>			
<i>rouvava</i> [rei- u -v-ava] ‘customarily doing’	<i>rei-furituruava?</i> ‘customarily blowing’	<i>rei-gefiava?</i> ‘customarily weaving’	<i>rei-geruava?</i> ‘customarily seeing’
<b>IRREALIS, CONTINUING, FUTURE, SINGULAR: <i>rei-</i> STEM 2 <i>ru-a-go</i></b>			
<i>rourogo</i> ‘will keep on doing’	<i>rei-furiturogo</i> ‘will keep on blowing’	<i>rei-gefirogo</i> ‘will keep on weaving’	<i>rei-gerurogo</i> ‘will keep on seeing’
<b>IRREALIS, CONTINUING, FUTURE, PLURAL: <i>reisi-</i> STEM 2 <i>-ru-a-go</i></b>			
<i>rousorogo</i> ‘will keep on doing’	<i>reisi-furiturogo</i> ‘will keep on blowing’	<i>reisi-gefirogo</i> ‘will keep on writing’	<i>reisi-gerurogo</i> ‘will keep on seeing’



SAME SUBJECT SEQUENCING FORMS ENCODING DURATIVE REALIS EVENTS			
<i>u</i>	<i>furitu</i>	<i>gefi/gefivuta</i>	<i>geru</i>
<b>REALIS, NEAR PAST, SINGULAR: <i>rei-</i> STEM 2 -<i>ara/rei-</i> STEM 2 -<i>a</i></b>			
<i>riara</i> 'I was/you were doing'	<i>rei-furitara</i> 'I was/you were blowing'	<i>rei-gefivutara</i> 'I was/you were writing'	<i>rei-gerara</i> 'I was/you were seeing'
<i>ria</i> 'he/she/it was doing'	<i>rei-furita</i> 'he/she/it was blowing'	<i>rei-gefivuta</i> 'he/she/it was writing'	<i>rei-gera</i> 'he/she/it was seeing'
<b>REALIS, NEAR PAST, PLURAL: <i>reisi-</i> STEM 2 -<i>ara/reisi-</i> STEM 2 -<i>a</i></b>			
<i>rosara</i> 'we/you were doing'	<i>reisi-furitara</i> 'we/you were blowing'	<i>reisi-gefivutara</i> 'we/you were writing'	<i>reisi-gerara</i> 'we/you were seeing'
<i>rosa</i> 'they were doing'	<i>reisi-furita</i> 'they were blowing'	<i>reisi-gefivuta</i> 'they were writing'	<i>reisi-gera</i> 'they were seeing'
<b>REALIS, DISTANT PAST, SINGULAR: <i>rei-</i> STEM 2 -<i>rera/rei-</i> STEM 2 -<i>ria</i></b>			
<i>roudera</i> 'I was/you were doing'	<i>rei-furiturer</i> 'I was/you were blowing'	<i>reigefirera</i> 'I was/you were writing'	<i>reigerurera</i> 'I was/you were seeing'
<i>rouria</i> 'he/she/it was doing'	<i>reifuritura</i> 'he/she/it was blowing'	<i>reigefiria</i> 'he/she/it was writing'	<i>reigeruria</i> 'he/she/it was seeing'
<b>REALIS, DISTANT PAST, PLURAL: <i>reisi-</i> STEM 2 -<i>rera/reisi-</i> STEM 2 -<i>ria</i></b>			
<i>rousurera</i> 'we/you were doing'	<i>reisi-furiturer</i> 'we/you were blowing'	<i>reisi-gefirera</i> 'we/you were writing'	<i>reisi-gerurera</i> 'we/you were seeing'
<i>rousuria</i> 'they were doing'	<i>reisi-furituria</i> 'they were blowing'	<i>reisi-gefiria</i> 'they were writing'	<i>reisi-geruria</i> 'they were seeing'
<b>REALIS, CONTINUING, NEAR PAST, SINGULAR: <i>rei-</i> STEM 2 -<i>ara-go/rei-</i> STEM 2 -<i>a-go</i></b>			
<i>riarago</i> 'I/you kept on doing'	<i>rei-furitárago</i> 'I/you kept on blowing'	<i>rei-gefivutárago</i> 'I/you kept on writing'	<i>rei-gerarágo</i> 'I/you kept on seeing'
<i>riago</i> 'he/she/it kept on doing'	<i>rei-furitágo</i> 'he/she/it kept on blowing'	<i>rei-gefivutágo</i> 'he/she/it kept on writing'	<i>rei-gerágo</i> 'he/she/it kept on seeing'
<b>REALIS, CONTINUING, NEAR PAST, PLURAL: <i>reisi-</i> STEM 2 -<i>ara-go/reisi-</i> STEM 2 -<i>a-go</i></b>			
<i>rosarago</i> 'we/you kept on doing'	<i>reisi-furitárago</i> 'we/you kept on blowing'	<i>reisi-gefivutárago</i> 'we/you kept on writing'	<i>reisi-gerarágo</i> 'we/you kept on seeing'
<i>rosago</i> 'they kept on doing'	<i>reisi-furitágo</i> 'they kept on blowing'	<i>reisi-gefivutágo</i> 'they kept on writing'	<i>reisi-gerágo</i> 'they kept on seeing'
<b>REALIS, CONTINUING, DISTANT PAST, SINGULAR: <i>rei-</i> STEM 2 -<i>rera-go/rei-</i> STEM 2 -<i>ria-go</i></b>			
<i>rorurerago</i> 'I/you kept on doing'	<i>rei-furiturérago</i> 'I/you kept on blowing'	<i>rei-gefirérago</i> 'I/you kept on writing'	<i>rei-gerurérago</i> 'I/you kept on seeing'
<i>roruriago</i> 'he/she/it kept on doing'	<i>rei-furituriago</i> 'he/she/it kept on blowing'	<i>rei-gefiriago</i> 'he/she/it kept on writing'	<i>rei-geruriago</i> 'he/she/it kept on seeing'
<b>REALIS, CONTINUING, DISTANT PAST, PLURAL: <i>reisi-</i> STEM 2 -<i>rera-go/reisi-</i> STEM 2 -<i>ria-go</i></b>			
<i>rosurérago</i> 'we/you kept on doing'	<i>reisi-furiturérago</i> 'we/you kept on blowing'	<i>reisi-gefirérago</i> 'we/you kept on writing'	<i>reisi-gerurérago</i> 'we/you kept on seeing'
<i>rousuriago</i> 'they kept on doing'	<i>reisi-furituriago</i> 'they kept on blowing'	<i>reisi-gefiriago</i> 'they kept on writing'	<i>reisi-geruriago</i> 'they kept on seeing'

SAME SUBJECT SIMULTANEOUS AND LOGICAL CONTINGENCY FORMS			
<i>u</i>	<i>furitu</i>	<i>gefi</i>	<i>geru</i>
<b>REALIS: STEM 2 WITH CHARACTERISING VOWEL TAKING WORD STRESS + -<i>a</i></b>			
<i>úa</i> 'at that point while doing'	<i>furitúa</i> 'at that point while blowing'	<i>gefiá</i> 'at that point while writing'	<i>gerúa</i> 'at that point while seeing'
<b>IRREALIS: STEM 2 -<i>úrota</i> [<i>u -ru -a-ta</i>]</b>			
<i>úrota</i> 'at that point while doing'	<i>futitúrota</i> 'at that point while blowing'	<i>gefirota</i> 'at that point while writing'	<i>gerúrota</i> 'at that point while seeing'
<b>DIFFERENT SUBJECT FORMS ENCODING EVENTS WITH REALIS STATUS</b>			

<i>e/u</i>	<i>fure/furitu</i>	<i>gembu/gefi/gefivuta</i>	<i>gi/geru</i>
<b>SIMULTANEOUS: STEM 2 -ueta</b>			
<i>úeta</i> 'while X do, Y'	<i>furitueta</i> 'while X blow, Y'	<i>gefíeta</i> 'while X write, Y'	<i>gerueta</i> 'while X see, Y'
<b>SIMULTANEOUS PLURAL: STEM 1+DUPCV+utu -ueta</b>			
<i>egegutuetá</i>	<i>fufuregutuetá</i>	<i>gegembugutuetá</i>	<i>gigigutuetá</i>
<b>SEQUENCING TODAY'S PAST: STEM 1 -tueta/-ieta</b>			
<i>etuéta</i>	<i>furetuéta</i>	<i>gembíeta</i>	<i>giéta</i>
'X saw today, and Y' 'X blew today, and Y' 'X wrote today, and Y' 'X saw today, and Y'			
<b>SEQUENCING TODAY'S PAST PLURAL: STEM 1+DUPCV -tueta/-ieta</b>			
<i>egegetueta</i>	<i>fufuregetueta</i>	<i>gegembugetueta</i>	<i>gigigetuetá</i>
<b>SEQUENCING NEAR PAST: STEM 2(-v-utu) -ata</b>			
<i>útata</i> 'X saw yesterday, and Y'	<i>furitáta</i> 'X blew yesterday, and Y'	<i>gefívuotáta</i> 'X wrote yesterday, and Y'	<i>geráta</i> 'X saw yesterday, and Y'
<b>SEQUENCING NEAR PAST PLURAL: STEM 1+DUPCV+-utu -ata</b>			
<i>egegutáta</i>	<i>fufuregutáta</i>	<i>gegembugutáta</i>	<i>gigigutáta</i>
<b>SEQUENCING DURATIVE NEAR PAST: re- STEM 2(-v-utu) -ata</b>			
<i>rieta</i> 'X was doing, and Y'	<i>rei-furitáta</i> 'X was blowing, and Y'	<i>rei-gefívuotáta</i> 'X was writing, and Y'	<i>rei-geráta</i> 'X was seeing, and Y'
<b>SEQUENCING DURATIVE NEAR PAST PLURAL: reisi- STEM 2 -ata</b>			
<i>rosuéta</i>	<i>reisi-furitáta</i>	<i>reisi-gefívuotáta</i>	<i>reisi-geráta</i>
<b>SEQUENCING DISTANT PAST: STEM 2(±-utu) -rieta</b>			
<i>uríeta</i> 'X saw last year, and Y'	<i>furituriéta</i> 'X blew last year, and Y'	<i>gefíriéta</i> 'X wrote last year, and Y'	<i>geruriéta</i> 'X saw last year, and Y'
<b>SEQUENCING DISTANT PAST PLURAL: STEM 1+DUPCV -rieta</b>			
<i>egeguturiéta</i>	<i>fufureguturiéta</i>	<i>gegembuguturiéta</i>	<i>gigiguturiéta</i>
<b>SEQUENCING DURATIVE DISTANT PAST: re- STEM 2 -rieta</b>			
<i>roruriéta</i> 'X was doing, and Y'	<i>rei-furituriéta</i> 'X was blowing, and Y'	<i>rei-gefíriéta</i> 'X was writing, and Y'	<i>rei-geruriéta</i> 'X was seeing, and Y'
<b>SEQUENCING DURATIVE DISTANT PAST PLURAL: reisi- STEM 2 -rieta</b>			
<i>rosuriéta</i>	<i>reisi-furituriéta</i>	<i>reisi-gefíriéta</i>	<i>reisi-geruriéta</i>

DIFFERENT SUBJECT FORMS ENCODING EVENTS WITH IRREALIS STATUS			
<i>e</i>	<i>fure</i>	<i>gembu</i>	<i>gi</i>
<b>SIMULTANEOUS: STEM 2 -rota [re-a-ta]</b> (This is the same as the SS form.)			
<i>uróta</i> 'while X will do, Y'	<i>furituróta</i> 'while X will blow, Y'	<i>gefiróta</i> 'while X will write, Y'	<i>geruróta</i> 'while X will see, Y'
<b>SIMULTANEOUS PLURAL: STEM 1+DUPCV+utu -ueta</b>			
<i>egeguturota</i>	<i>fufureguturota</i>	<i>gegembuguturota</i>	<i>gigiguturota</i>
<b>SEQUENCING FUTURE: STEM 1 -ata/-ota</b>			
<i>áta</i> [e -ata] 'X will see, and Y'	<i>furóta</i> 'X will blow, and Y'	<i>gembóta</i> 'X will write, and Y'	<i>gáta</i> 'X will write, and Y'
<b>SEQUENCING FUTURE PLURAL: STEM 1+DUPCV -ata</b>			
<i>egegetata</i>	<i>fufuregata</i>	<i>gegembugata</i>	<i>gigigata</i>
<b>SEQUENCING COUNTERFACTUAL/SUBJUNCTIVE: STEM 1 -asueta</b>			
<i>asuéta</i> [e -asueta] 'X should do, and Y'	<i>furasuéta</i> 'X should blow, and Y'	<i>gembasuéta</i> 'X should write and Y'	<i>gasuéta</i> 'X should see, and Y'
<b>SEQUENCING COUNTERFACTUAL/SUBJUNCTIVE PLURAL: STEM 1+DUPCV -asueta</b>			
<i>egegasueta</i>	<i>fufuregasueta</i>	<i>gegembugasueta</i>	<i>gigigasueta</i>
<b>SEQUENCING CUSTOMARY: STEM 1 with final vowel stressed -avota/avata</b>			
<i>éavota</i> 'X would do, and Y'	<i>furéavota</i> 'X would blow, and Y'	<i>gembúavota</i> 'X would write, and Y'	<i>giavota/géavota</i> 'X would see, and Y'
<b>SEQUENCING CUSTOMARY PLURAL: STEM 1+DUPCV+stress -avota/avata</b>			
<i>egegéavota</i>	<i>fufuregéavota</i>	<i>gegembugeavóta</i>	<i>gigigéavota</i>

### APPENDIX 3: LEGEND

The format of the interlinear examples in this text differs slightly from the format within the main body of the paper. It was copied directly from the original Shoebox texts and has preserved some of its particular glossing, STEM1 for I, STEM2 for II, DUR for the stem 1 forms of *i* 'go' and *fu* 'come' and the lack of single quotes around the free translation.

This legend is about how the River Gar-fish got a flattened and snub 'nose'. The protagonists are Rainbow Fish and River Gar-fish. In the story, they engage in activities as if they were humans. The story is recounted using the distant past tense, but legends are often told using the today's past tense forms.

TBT2-5 Tembore Unga Sokeya Gha 001

(Sergius Jaima, age 25, Erika Village-February 20, 1992)

**Nómono nómonoghada gága réta**  
 nomono nómono=gha =da gaga reta  
 cousin cousin=COM.D=GEN speech from

**tutúno róre.**  
 Tutuno +re- u -ore.  
 beginning+IPF.SEQ-do.STEM2-PRES.1.IA

I am beginning from the story about two cousins (lit. a cousin with a cousin).

TBT2-5 Tembore Unga Sokeya Gha 002

**Tembóre ungá Sokéya gha númanda ko-kómana**  
 Tembore unga sokeya =gha numan=da DUPCV-komana  
 Rainbow.Fish 3D River-Gar-Fish=COM.D 3PL =GEN PL- friend  
**eréa, kusía áita irúaveta,**  
 ere -a, kusia +e -aita i -ru -aveta  
 arise.STEM1-SS picnic+make.STEM1-ANT go.DUR-IPF.SIM-  
 SEQ.CUST.DS

**númonde í-ta uríe.**  
 numonde í -ta u -ríe.  
 3PL.INC go.I-SEQ.CUST.SS do.STEM2-DP.3.IA

The Rainbow Fish the two of them with the River Gar-Fish (and?) their friends would arise and customarily go to make picnics, and they would regularly go.

TBT2-5 Tembore Unga Sokeya Gha 003a

**Iava númanda jumba mane**  
 i -ava numan=da jumba mane  
 go.DUR-SEQ.CUST.SS 3PL =GEN sweet.potatoes PL

**rategaro, róuvava**  
 ratega -aro, re- u -ava  
 collect.STEM1-DUR.DVB IPF.SEQ-do.STEM2-SEQ.CUST.SS

**rategéa bua vitía,**  
 ratega -a bu -a viti -a,  
 pick.up.STEM1-SS get.STEM1-SS ascend.STEM1-SS

**númonde íka ea gagembeaveta/**  
 numonde ika e -a gagembe -aveta/  
 3PL.INC tree do.STEM1-SS ignite.STEM1-SEQ.CUST.DS

**gagembeaveta eviaveta,**  
 gagembe -aveta evi -aveta  
 ignite.STEM1-SEQ.CUST.DS burn.STEM1-SEQ.CUST.DS

They would go and pick up jumba sweet potatoes, take them and ascend, and they would fetch firewood and ignite it and it would burn, and

TBT2-5 Tembore Unga Sokeya Gha 003b

**Ávo ingía undía eréa, undiri**  
 avo inge -a undi -a ere -a undiri  
 there roast.STEM1-SS eat.STEM1-SS arise.STEM1-SS game

**róusuava voréa,**  
 reisi- u -ua -ava vore -a,  
 IPF.SEQ.PL- do.STEM2-TP.3.FN-SEQ.CUST.SS descend.STEM1-SS

**úvu gutía doa fuava**  
 uvu gute -a +doa fu -ava  
 water wash.STEM1-SS+SEQ.SS come.DUR-SEQ.CUST.SS

**naava bubu-ta urie.**  
 naa =va bubu -ta u -rie.  
 village=LOC arrive.STEM1-SEQ.CUST.SS do.STEM2-DP.3.IA

they would roast and eat them there, arise and play games, and they would bathe and then they would come and arrive at home.

TBT2-5 Tembore Unga Sokeya Gha 004

**Aghá urota irí-ta urie.**  
 agha u -rota iri -ta u -rie.  
 thus do.STEM2-SIM.IR.SS remain.STEM1-SEQ.CUST.SS do.STEM2-DP.3.IA

They would remain acting that way.

TBT2-5 Tembore Unga Sokeya Gha 005

**Vitiriago feféra éini ungá eréa,**  
 viti -ria -go fefera eini unga ere -  
 a,  
 remain.STEM2-SEQ.DP.3.FN.SS-CPAR day a/one 3D arise.STEM1-SS

**Tembóre na únda nómonodu ririe.**  
 tembore=na un=da nomono=du ri -rie.  
 Rainbow.Fish=ACT 3S=GEN cousin=BEN/PUR say.STEM2-DP.3.IA

They were remaining, and one day the two of them, arose, and the Rainbow Fish said to his cousin.

TBT2-5 Tembore Unga Sokeya Gha 006

**Unda nomono Sokéya du ririe, "Fu**  
 un=da nomono sokeya =du ri -rie, "Fu  
 3S=GEN cousin fish.name=BEN/PUR say.STEM2-DP.3.IA come.DUR.IMP

**angá ya, námonde ánda kusía+éta**  
 anga i -a namonde an=da kusia+e -ta  
 1D go.DUR-SS 1P.INC 1S=GEN picnic+do.STEM1-SEQ.CUST.SS

**róra, kambési anáva, ávo angá jumba**  
 re- u -ora, kambesi ana=va avo anga jumba  
 IPF.SEQ-do.STEM2-PRES.1/2.FN place that.D1=LOC there 1D  
 kaukau

**rategéa kusía+are!" ririe.**  
 rategé -a kusia +e -ore!" ri -rie.  
 collect.STEM1-SS picnic+make.STEM1-IR.1.H say.STEM2-DP.3.IA

He said to his cousin, the River Gar-Fish, "Come, let's the two of us go and there at that place where we repeatedly make picnics, we two will collect jumba sweet potatoes and made a picnic!" he said.

TBT2-5 Tembore Unga Sokeya Gha 007

**Riríeta, únda nómono erórurieta,**  
 ri -ríeta un=da nomono eroru -rieta  
 say.STEM2-SEQ.DP.DS 3S=GEN cousin arise.STEM2-SEQ.DP.DS

**ungá aríe.**  
 unga a -rie.  
 3D go.DP-DP.3.IA

He spoke and his cousin arose, and the two of them went.



"Amó jo gámbi re," riríe.  
 "amo jo gi -ámbi re" ri -ríe.  
 1S NEG see.STEM1-NEG COP.IA say.STEM2-DP.3.IA

He spoke, so he said, "I didn't see (them)," he said.

TBT2-5 Tembore Unga Sokeya Gha 012

Aghá riríeta, Tembóre umó néno akuago  
 agha ri -ríeta tembore umo neno +akuago  
 like.that say.STEM2-SEQ.DP.DS Rainbow Fish 3S throat+bad

uría gia, eréa  
 u -ría gi -a, ere -a  
 do.STEM2-DP.3.FN see.STEM1-SS arise.STEM1-SS

únda nómonoko Sokéya nandía,  
 un=da nomono=ko sokeya nandi -a,  
 3S=GEN cousin=DIM River Gar-fish catch.STEM1.S-SS

dáro dáro  
 de -áro +de -áro  
 hit.STEM1-DUR.DVB+hit.STEM1-DUR.DVB

roururiago dea,  
 re- u -ru -riago de -a,  
 IPF.SEQ-do.STEM2-IPF.IR.SIM-SEQ.DP.3.FN/SS-CPAR hit.STEM1-SS

únda mendó itikénanu righía boriturie.  
 Un=da mendo iti=kena=nu righi -a boritu -rie.  
 3S=GEN nose top=ALOC=CT hold.STEM1-SS break.STEM2.IPF-DP.3.IA

He spoke thus, and the Rainbow Fish became "bad esophagus" (upset) so he arose and caught his cousin, River Gar-Fish, and hit and hit (him) and kept on doing and hit (him), and he hold his nose at the top and broke (it).

TBT2-5 Tembore Unga Sokeya Gha 013

Uríeta, aná mendó yáfabe irí-ta  
 U -ríeta ana mendo yafabe iri -ta  
 do.STEM2-SEQ.DP.DS that.D1 nose long remain.STEM1-SEQ.CUST.SS

uría, aná tufókoko urie.  
 u -ría, ana tufoko=ko u -rie.  
 do.STEM2-DP.3.FN that.D1 short =INT do.STEM2-DP.3.IA

He acted (thus), and that nose that had remained very long, that one became very short.

TBT2-5 Tembore Unga Sokeya Gha 014

Uríeta, Sokéya umó eréa ingótu  
 u -ríeta sokeya umo ere -a ingotu  
 do.STEM2-SEQ.DP.DS River.Gar-fish 3S arise.STEM1-SS charcoal

bua, únda nómonoko Tembóre da támová  
 bu -a, un=da nomono tembore =da tamova  
 get.STEM1-SS 3S=GEN cousin Rainbow Fish=GEN body=LOC

ávo gutiturieta, oréki amíndu  
 avo gutitu -rieta, oreki amindu  
 there wash.STEM2.IPF-SEQ.DP.DS now on.account.of.that

**Tembóre da támová ána bíngoi+bíngoi, aná únda**  
 tembore =da tamova=va ana bingoi+bingoi, ana un=da  
 Rainbow.Fish=GEN body=LOC that darkness+darkness that.D1 3S=GEN

**nómono Sokéya na daviturie, ingótumi.**  
 nomono sokeya =na davitu -rie, ingotu =mi.  
 cousin River.Gar-fish=ACT brush.STEM2.IPF-DP.3.IA  
 charcoal=CEFF/INST

He did (that), and the River Gar-fish he arose and got charcoal, and bathed his cousin's body there, and now therefore on Rainbow-Fish's body that blackness that his cousin River Gar-Fish smeared (on it) with charcoal.

TBT2-5 Tembore Unga Sokeya Gha 015

**Urieta, kotu Sokéya umó únda**  
**mendó,**  
 u -riéta kotu sokeya umo un=da  
 mendo,  
 do.STEM2-SEQ.DP.DS and.then River.Gar-fish.name 3S 3S=GEN nose

**ená itikéna aná únda nómono Tembóre na**  
 ena iti=kena ana un=da nomono tembore =na  
 this top=ALOC that.D1 3S=GEN cousin Rainbow.Fish=ACT

**righía boriturie.**  
 righi -a boritu -rie.  
 hold.STEM1-SS break.STEM2.IPF-DP.3.IA

He did (that), and then the River Gar-Fish his nose, this one on the top, that his cousin Rainbow Fish held and broke.

TBT2-5 Tembore Unga Sokeya Gha 016

**Uria-du, umó únda mendó itikéna aná**  
 u -ria =du umo un=da mendo iti=kena ana  
 do.STEM2-DP.3.FN=BEN/PUR 3S 3S=GEN nose top=ALOC that.D1

**tufóko tukéna, aná númbobe irí-ta**  
 tufoko tu =kena, ana numbobe iri -ta  
 short bottom=ALOC that.D1 long remain.STEM1-SEQ.CUST.SS

**róuvie.**  
 re- u -ie.  
 IPF.SEQ-do.STEM2-PRES.3.IA

Because he did (that), regarding him, his nose on the top is short, on the bottom, it's remaining very long.

TBT2-5 Tembore Unga Sokeya Gha 017

**Atá ánda gága etía evé**  
 ata an=da gaga eti -ía eve  
 and.consider 1S=GEN speech come.TP-TP.3.FN here

**sidára etue.**  
 Sidara +e -tue.  
 finished+do.STEM1-TP.3.IA

And herewith my talk has come and here has ended.



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