

# *Bare*

**Alexandra Aikhenald**



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**Alexandra Aikhenvald**

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## 0. Introduction

### 0.1. History and dialectal situation

Bare belongs to the Northern branch of the Arawak language family, known as the most extensive language family of South and central America. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Bare was the most widespread language in the Upper Rio Negro region, along the Baria river and the Casiquiare channel and Orinoco, embracing the Xié river and Upper Guainia, up to the Rriver Atabapo. The spread of Bare is shown in §0.4. As is reported by Wallace 1853(1972), Bare, along with Baria and Barauna, was used as a cover term for different indigenous nations of the region since the early 19th century (see also Grimes 1984:88,132, where Bare is confused with Baniwa, Mandawaca and Barauna/Barawana). Probably, Bare assimilated some of them, e.g. Manao etc. Bare, or *barezinho*, is still used as a kind of generic term for Amazonians all over Brazil (in colloquial Portuguese). A massive migration of indigenous population, including Bare, from Venezuela to Brazil took place in the period 1908-1921 (also see text 1, in §4). In all the sources (e.g. Koch-Grünberg 1911) Bare are referred to as highly civilized, hard-working people (unlike "wild, ear-piercing cannibals" Warekena, or belligerent Manao), which implies a high degree of acculturation from the early days on. This acculturation led to a gradual substitution of the Bare language by the local lingua franca Nheengatu, or Lingua Geral Amazonica, beginning from the early 20th century, and a subsequent substitution by Spanish and Portuguese now.

The etymology of the name Bare is not clear. Some suggest it should be associated with the name of the river Baria, from where the Baré could have originated. According to Martius 1867, Bare comes from a Nheengatu term for a "slave". Pérez 1988:446 and my informant suggested a link between the name Bare and the adjective *baqi-ni* "white" (based on the presumption that Bare used to be "whiter" and thus superior to other indigenous peoples of the region).

Some scholars (e.g. Koch-Grünberg 1906, Loukotka 1968, Nimuendaju 1832) recognize the division of Bare in two dialects: Arihini ("the ones from here"; see §2.4.3.) and Ihini ("the ones from there"). Nimuendajú (1932) locates the Ihini-Bare near Manao, in the Middle Rio Negro, and the Arihini Bare on the Upper Rio Negro. However, there are no linguistic indications for these dialectal differences. Among the extinct languages spoken in the area (see §0.4.), Bare shows striking similarities to Guinaw (extinct, cf. word lists in Koch-Grünberg 1928). According to my informant, Bare was mutually intelligible with Mandawaka, or Mawaca (extinct); there are a number of lexical similarities between Bare and Warekena of Xié, or Baniwa of Guainia, possibly due to a prolonged period of contacts between these two languages. There are possibly a few dialectal differences between Bare spoken in Brazil and in Venezuela.

### 0.2. Bare and its speakers

Bare has never been properly described. There are several word lists (Chaffanjon 1889, Civrieux and Lichy 1950, Crevaux and Montolieu in Crevaux, Sagot and Adam 1882, Koch-Grünberg 1906, 1911, 1913, Spix in Martius 1867, Nimuendajú 1932, Tavera-Acosta 1907, Pérez 1988) and a few hundred sentences written down by Koch-Grünberg 1911 (which, unfortunately, contain a number of errors). A rather deficient and superficial description of the variety spoken in Santa Rosa de Amanadona in Venezuela by Lopez Sanz (1972) shows a number of divergences from our materials, which may be due to dialectal differences.

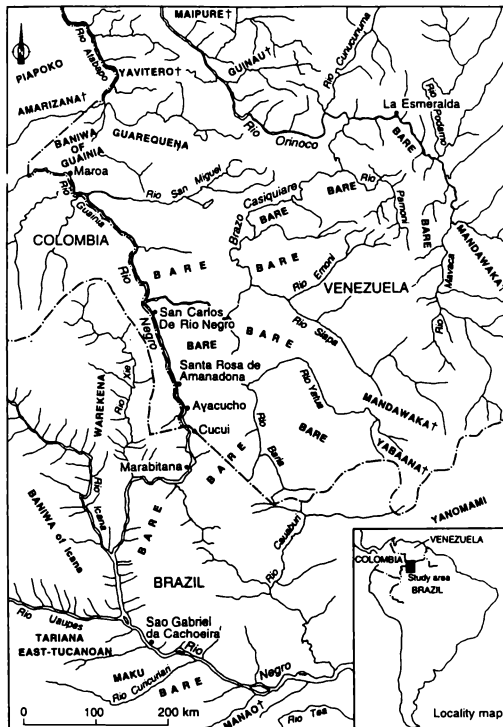
Although around 1265 people in Venezuela (see Pérez 1988) and 1000 in Brazil identify themselves as Bare, there are very few speakers of this language left. According to Pérez 1988, there were 19 people who still speak Bare in various places in Venezuela (Puerto Ayacucho, San Fernando de Atabapo, San Carlos de Rio Negro, Santa Rosa de Amanadona, Solano, Santa Lúcia and Santa

Elena), and four people in Brazil (Xié river); all of the speakers were well over fifty. According to my informant, all the speakers of Bare in the above mentioned localities in Venezuela were older than himself. The recent results of an expedition to the Xié river (Christiane Cunha de Oliveira, February 1994) showed that there are no speakers of Bare left there. Two semi-speakers of Bare live around São Gabriel da Cachoeira, Amazonas, Brazil.

### 0.3. Sociolinguistic setting and fieldwork situation

My data come from the work with the last fluent speaker of Bare in Brazil - the late Candelário da Silva, from community Tiburi, near Cucui, Amazonas, Brazil, in 1991, who was 71 at that time. He died on February 2, 1993. Candelário's family moved in 1912 from Venezuela (see Text 1 in §4), fleeing from an uprising under the governor T.Funes. This explains why most loans in Bare come from Spanish. Candelário was quadrilingual: his home language was Nheengatu, and he was equally fluent in Bare, Spanish and Portuguese. His children speak Portuguese and Nheengatu. Despite being fluent in the language and amazingly lucid, there are various indications of an advanced stage of language obsolescence of his Bare. My corpus contains over 150 pp. of texts and dialogues, and word-lists.

### 0.4. Maps of location





## 1. Phonology

### 1.1. Phoneme inventory and phonetic realizations of phonemes

Bare has 20 consonantal phonemes and four vowels, shown in Tables 1 and 2.

**Table 1. Consonantal phonemes**

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
voiceless unaspirated stops	p	t		k	
voiceless aspirated stops	ph	th		kh	
voiced unaspirated stops	b	d		*g	
voiceless affricates			tʃ		
voiceless fricatives		s			h
unaspirated nasals	m	n			
aspirated nasals	hm	hn			
flap		ɾ			
unaspirated glides	w		y		
aspirated glides	hw				

Note. \*g is a phoneme found exclusively in loan words.

**Table 2. Vocalic phonemes**

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e		
low		a	

#### 1.1.1. Consonantal phonemes, their realizations and phonotactics.

Like some other North Arawak languages of the region, Bare has a phonological opposition between aspirated and unaspirated voiceless stops, nasals and bilabial glide. Unaspirated phonemes have unrestricted occurrence. Aspirated phonemes can only occur in the word-initial or morpheme initial position. They can be either intrinsically aspirated, or derived as the result of H-metathesis (§1.2.). The aspirated alveolar *th* is rare; it is never derived. Examples of intrinsically aspirated phonemes are: *ph*: *phiwákana* "in the afternoon"; *pháni* "house"; *-phe* "yet"; *th*: *káthu* "butterfly"; *kh*: *khádi* "land, earth"; *bi-khábi* "your hand", *khíñéne* "person"; *hm*: *hmáɹadi* "jacú-bird"; *hmádaka* "wave"; *hn*: *hnu* "neck"; *hw*: *hwáɹuni* "strong", *hwíbudi* "electric eel". Examples of derived aspirated phonemes: *ph*: *pheba* "your nail"; *kh*: *khayúɹete* "a hunter"; *hm*: *hmayúɹete* "someone who does not hunt properly"; *hn*: *hnumuduka* "I kill"; *hw*: *hweba* "our nail". Unaspirated stops can be realized as aspirated morpheme- or word-initially, if the first syllable is stressed, e.g. *-péna/-phéna* "for", *téki/théki* "this".

Aspirated stops can be realized as unaspirated word-initially in unstressed syllables, e.g. *khíɹikúnama/ kíɹikúnama* "three". Palatal affricate *tʃ* can be realized as aspirated in stressed syllables, e.g. *afháti* "there, where". Unaspirated *t* can be realized as retroflexed *ɾ* before high front vowel *i*: *núti, núɹi* "my nose". The variety of Bare described by Lopez Sanz (1972) has the following phonemes which are lacking from the variety I am describing here: aspirated *tʃh* and retroflex *tɹ*; also the occurrence of aspirated *th* seems to be less restricted. Both phonemes are present

in other languages of region, e.g. Baniwa of Içana. We may hypothesize that the loss of these, as well as the high degree of free variation between aspirated and unaspirated phonemes may be due to language obsolescence. Aspiration as a prosodic parameter will be discussed in §1.3. below. Glottal fricative *h* has a rather low functional load. In word and morpheme-initial position, and word-final position it triggers translaryngeal vowel harmony (see §1.2). It can also trigger nasalization (see §1.3.1.2). Nasal unaspirated stop *n* can merge with the preceding vowel in normal-to-rapid speech register (see Dressler 1985, on a classification of speech registers), thus yielding a nasalized vowel (see §1.3.).

### 1.1.2. Vocalic phonemes, their realizations and phonotactics.

The existence of intrinsically nasal vowels is problematic. There are the following examples which show that at least high vowels *i* and *u* have phonemic nasal counterparts: *kuhu* "she" vs *kuhũ* "he"; *biti* "his nose" vs *titiĩ* "a type of monkey"; cf. also *titéhe* "knife" vs *tiwéhě* "cold".

In *titehe*, the final syllable belongs to the root. In *tiwehe*, the final syllable is the pausal form marker *hV*. As will be argued in § 1.4.2., the vowel nasalization can be interpreted as being triggered by *h* in pause-marking and deictic *-hV*.

Vowels in Bare can undergo regressive positional nasalization under two conditions:

- (i) vowels followed by nasal consonants:  $VNV > VNV$ , e.g., *ũni* "water";
- (ii)  $VNCV > \check{V}CV$  and  $VN\# > \check{V}\#$  (see §1.4.2) in rapid to normal registers, e.g.

slow: *hantifaɛ* "child", rapid to normal: *hãtifaɛ*

Bare has the following diphthongs: *aw*, e.g. *hawkada* "he is singing"; *nahawku* "on me"; *ew*: *ehew* "on him"; *ay*; *ahay* "tooth (somebody's)"; *ey*: *ehey* "his tooth".

Diphthongization as a phonological process will be discussed in §1.2. below.

### 1.1.3. Syllable structure and phonotactics

Syllable patterns in Bare are: (C)V(N). Syllables of (C)VN structure are realized as CV in rapid speech, e.g. slow speech: *nahanti-be* "their children", rapid to normal speech: *nahãnti-be*

The occurrence of aspirated consonants is mostly restricted to word- or morpheme-initial position. Intrinsically nasal vowels are only found in word-final position. The basic phonotactic restriction in Bare is linked to the sonority hierarchy (cf. Buller, Buller and Everett 1993):

- high	+ high	
	>	> +cons
- cons	-cons	

Two elements with the same sonority value are not allowed in Bare, and this accounts for the non-existence of sequences as *\*ea*, *\*ae*, *\*iu*, *\*ui*, *\*aa*, *\*ii*, *\*ee*, *\*uu*, *\*CC*. If such sequences appear on a morphological boundary, phonological processes apply (see §1.2.).

## 1.2. Phonological processes

Phonological processes in Bare are of two kinds: non-boundary processes and boundary processes. Non-boundary processes depend on speech registers.

**A.** Non-boundary processes are phonological processes which occur within a phonological word independently of morphological boundaries.

**A.1.** Consonant palatalization affects dental stops contiguous to front vowels *i* or *e*. Palatalized *d'* can be optionally realized as an affricate *ɕ*. Examples of progressive palatalization are:  $d > d'$ : *wamisid'a* "we smoked (food)";  $n > ñ$ : *numiñai* "my master". Examples of regressive palatalization are:  $d > d'$ :

*kúd'ehé* "far"; *n>ñ*: *khiñeñe* "person". Examples of progressive and regressive palatalization: *d>d'*, *n>ñ*: *d'iñabu* "road", *ñeña* "too much".

Palatalization also depends on speech register. The degree of palatalization is stronger in relaxed, rapid speech, e.g. slow: *nu-ñinu-ni*, rapid: *nu-ñiñu-ni* "my dog"

**A.2.** Vowel reduction in Bare occurs in post-tonic syllables in normal to rapid speech register. All non-rounded post-tonic vowels are realized as ə, e.g. *yaháɰika* "now" /*yaháɰikə*/. Pretonic vowels can be reduced to ə and Ø, depending on the speed of speech in the following context: *ehe* ' > ə/Øh ' , e.g.

slow speech: *nu-katəhesã* (1sg-know+IMPF), rapid speech: *nu-kathesã* "I know"

**A.3.** Vowel advancement consists in the realization of the back vowel *a* as front *æ*, adjacent to *y*, or in a diphthong *ay* in a stressed syllable, e.g. *tayni* /*tæini*/ "black".

**A.4.** Aspiration shift is a phonological process whereby, if a phonological word contains a non-initial aspirated consonant, it may lose its aspiration in rapid speech, and the stop of a following syllable may be realized as aspirated, e.g. *i-makhi-ka* > *imakikha* (3sgnf-end-DECL) "it ends".

**B.** Boundary processes occur on morphological boundaries within a phonological word.

**B.1.** H-metathesis is a phonological process which occurs word-initially. Morpheme-initial *h*-undergoes a subsequent metathesis with the following consonant. Phonologically, this results in the aspiration and devoicing of word-initial stops and sonants. In (1), it involves a series of vocalic changes which follow the H-metathesis and are listed in B.2.: i.e. *ua* > *a* (2a), *ia* > *e* (2b-d), *aa* > *a*(2e), *ea* > *e*(2f).

(1) *hmie* "husband" vs *nu-hmie* (1sg-husband) > *hnumie* "my husband"

- (2) (a) *nu-haba* (1sg-fingernail) > *hnu-aba* > *hnaba* "my fingernail"  
 (b) *bi-haba* (2sg-fingernail) > *bi-heba* > *pheba* "your fingernail"  
 (c) *wi-haba* (3sgf-fingernail) > *wi-heba* > *hweba* "her fingernail"  
 (d) *i-haba* (3sgm/2pl-fingernail) > *heba* "his, your(pl) fingernail"  
 (e) *wa-haba* (1pl-fingernail) > *hwa-aba* > *hwaba* "our fingernail"  
 (f) *me-haba* (3pl-fingernail) > *hme-aba* > *hmeba* "their fingernail"

**B.2.** Vowel fusion occurs on morphemic boundaries; accent shifts which accompany vowel fusions will be discussed in §1.3.1.1. The following processes apply on prefix+root and root+suffix boundaries:

Vowel coalescence:

V+V > V: *damakaɰu+uku* (jungle+DIR) > *damaraɰuku* "to the jungle"  
*id'aɰebi+ite* (shore+DIR) > *id'aɰebite* "to the shore"  
*wa+--abi* (1pl+with) > *wabi* "with us"

Diphthongization:

*f+u* > *iw*: *phaní + uku* > *phaníwku* "in the house"  
*i+ú* > *yu*: *phaní + úku* > *phanyúku* "in the house" (see §1.3.1.1)  
*a+u* > *au*: *yahañe-ka* (day-TH + DIR) + *-úte* "towards the day"

The following processes apply on prefix+root boundaries:

Vowel loss:

*u + a* > *a*: *nu--abi* (1sg+with/by) > *nabi* "with me"  
*u + i* > *i*: *nu--ima* (1sg+with) > *nima* "with me"  
*nu-- isa-ni* (1sg-canoe-POSS) > *nisani* "my canoe"  
*i+a* > *e*: *i+--abi* (3sgnf+with/by) > *ebi* "with him"  
*wi+--abi* (3sgf+with) > *bebi* "with you"  
*a+i* > *a*: *wa- + -isi* (1pl+--foot) > *wasi* "our foot"  
*e + i* > *e*: *me+ -isi* (3pl+foot) > *mesi* "their foot"

The following process applies on suffix + suffix boundary:

a- + -u > a: -wa "perlative" + -ute "directional" > wate  
 -wa "perlative" + -uku "locative" > waku

Boundary phonological processes in Bare display a high degree of variability, which can be accounted for by the processes characteristic of language obsolescence. Occasionally, especially in elicitation, or when the speaker was tired, some of the boundary processes on prefix-root boundary did not apply; instead of *nisani* "my canoe" the speaker said *nusani*.

**B.3.** Translaryngeal vowel harmony is vowel harmony in the context of glottal consonants. It is a rather rare phenomenon in the languages of the world (see Aikhenvald forthcoming a). Translaryngeal vowel harmony in Bare affects either two word-initial, or two word-final syllables, and thus can be considered a word-prosodic phenomenon (see §1.3. below). Vowel harmony is total and progressive. The scope of the word-initial vowel harmony in Bare includes the first two syllables of a phonological word, and it applies only if a morphological boundary falls between the two syllables. The first of them must be a prefix, and the root must begin with *h-*, e.g.

- (3) a- + -ihiwa (INDF+go) > ahiwa > ahawa "(one) goes"  
 (4) wa- + -ihisa (1pl+want) > wahisa > wahasa "we want"

As is shown by (5) and (6), the vowel harmony applies after the phonological processes of vowel changes (shown in §1.2.) on a morphological boundary.

- (5) bi-ahani (2sg-son) > beheni "your son"  
 (6) i-ahai (3sgnf-tooth) ehai > ehei "his tooth"

If the above conditions do not apply, translaryngeal vowel harmony does not take place, e.g. nu-yuhada "I walk".

The scope of the word-final vowel harmony is the two last syllable of the phonological word, and the last syllable contains *h*. There are four possibilities: (a) the deictic extraprosodic affix *-hṼ* is added to the stem, e.g., (7); (b) the non-possessed suffix *-hVi* is added to an inalienably possessed noun, e.g. (8); (c) *-h* is possibly a part of the stem, e.g. (9); (d) *h* is a pausal form marker, e.g. (10) (see §1.4.2.).

- (7) asa-hṼ (there-DEIC) > asāhā "there"  
 (8) numa-hVi (mouth-NPOSS) > numahai "mouth"  
 (9) kude-hṼ > kudehē "far away"  
 (10) -miñe-hē "deceased (masculine)"

### 1.3. Prosodic phenomena and the structure of a phonological word in Bare

#### 1.3.1. Prosodic phenomena and phonological word

Here I shall consider the following suprasegmental, or prosodic properties of a phonological word in Bare: stress, nasalization, aspiration, vowel harmony, diphthongization. Word-initial prosodic features include consonantal aspiration and vowel harmony (discussed above in §1.2.). Word-final prosodic features include vowel nasalization (§ 1.3.1.2), diphthongization (§1.3.1.3) and one specific case of vowel harmony (§1.3.1.4.).

##### 1.3.1.1. Stress

###### A. General characteristics.

Bare has contrastive stress, e.g. the following minimal pair: *kúɿ* "surubim: a kind of fish" and *kúɿi* "a spring". In disyllabic monomorphemic words, the stress falls most frequently on the first syllable, e.g. *mába* "bee", *dápa* "pacca". Occasionally, the last syllable is stressed, e.g. *beké* "future marker". In trisyllabic words the stress falls most frequently on the penultimate syllable, e.g. *mukáwa* "rifle", *yawáke* "yesterday", more rarely it falls on the antepenultimate syllable, e.g. *i-d'ékaða* "he made". In polysyllabic words, the stress can not go beyond the antepenultimate syllable (see below). The stress on loan words is maintained on the same syllable as in the donor language, e.g. *relós* "watch" (<Spanish *reloj*, Portuguese *relógio*), *pláya* "beach" (<Spanish *pláya*).

#### B. Accentual properties of morphemes and stress placement.

In Bare, there exists a certain interdependence between the organization of a phonological word and its morphological structure. All the prefixes are extraprosodic, in the sense that they do not affect the stress placement. Suffixes fall into accented, or prosodic, and extraprosodic ones. Extraprosodicity is an intrinsic property of a number of suffixes (11), phrasal enclitics, e.g. *-phe* in (12) and reduplicated syllables (13). In non-monomorphemic words, stress falls on the antepenultimate syllable of the word if there is an extraprosodic suffix, e.g. (14). The stress in polysyllabic words can not go before the antepenultimate syllable. The stress is shifted to the antepenultimate syllable, if an extraprosodic suffix or an enclitic contains two syllables, e.g. (12), or is added to a reduplicated root as in (15).

- (11) *damakáɿu-te* "to the jungle"  
jungle-DIR
- (12) *héna-phe i-dawí-waka* "He has not died yet"  
NEG-yet 3sgm-die-NEG
- (13) *nu-ɿumá-ma-ka* "I cried(a lot)"  
1sg-cry-RED-TH
- (14) *kúɿi-ni* "green"  
green-ADJ
- (15) *héna nu-ɿuma-má-waka* "I did not cry a lot"  
NEG 1sg-cry-RED-NEG

Nasal vowels in the word-final position (both intrinsically nasal vowels and derived nasals: see §1.3.1.2) are always stressed.

Bare displays a variation in prosodic characteristics of certain suffixes and, consequently, in the operation of boundary processes which depend on stress (see §1.2). Locative suffix *-uku* and directional *-ute* are treated as extraprosodic in slow, careful speech, and as accented in rapid speech, subsequently, different boundary processes apply (as shown in §1.2), e.g.

slow speech	rapid speech
<i>phaní + uku</i> > <i>phaníwku</i> (house+LOC)	<i>phaní+-úku</i> > <i>phanyúku</i> "in the house"
<i>yahañe-ká-ute</i> (day-TH+DIR)	<i>yahañe-ka + -úte</i> "towards the day"

#### 1.3.1.2. Nasalization as a prosodic feature

Vowel nasalization in Bare is also a word-final prosodic feature, since nasal vowels only occur in the word-final position. Thus a nasal vowel signals the end of a phonological word. Nasal vowels are

always stressed. Intrinsically nasal vowels have been exemplified in §1.1.2. Nasal vowels can also arise as the result of the following phonological process which can take place only word-finally:

$-V + -nV\#\# > \tilde{V}\#\#$

This process consists in dropping the word-final vowel of an extraprosodic suffix containing a nasal alveolar consonant *n*, and a subsequent weakening of the nasal consonant to a feature [+nasal] transferred to the preceding vowel. It occurs only across a morphological (suffixal) boundary, and involves all the suffixes of the form *-ni*, i.e. (a) "possessive marker" (16); (b) "deictic marker on independent pronouns" (17); (c) "adjectivizer"(18); (d) "verbal imperfective affix" (19).

- (16) nu-ʃinu-ni > nu-ʃinũ "my dog"  
1sg-dog-POSS
- (17) nu-ni > nũ "I, me"  
1sg-DEIC
- (18) baɬi-ni > baɬĩ "white"  
white-ADJ
- (19) i-dawi-ka-ni > idawikã "he died"  
3sgm-die-DECL-IMPF

The process does not apply to a syllable with a nasal vowel which belongs to the root, as in *phani* "house". This phonological process also applies under conditions discussed in §1.4.2.

### 1.3.1.3. Diphthongization as a prosodic feature

Optional word-final diphthongization of a high front vowel *i* is also characteristic of Bare; on its use see §1.4.2, e.g., *nu-ni*, *nu-nie* (1sg-DEIC) "I".

### 1.3.1.4. Prosodic characteristics and the structure of a phonological word

Bare has the following word-initial prosodic features: consonant aspiration and translaryngeal vowel harmony vowel harmony (the scope of which is two initial syllables). Word-final prosodic features are vowel nasalization, translaryngeal vowel harmony (the scope of which is two word-final syllables) and vowel diphthongization. These prosodic parameters are essential in defining a phonological word in Bare. A phonological word in Bare can consist of one fully stressed morphological word and a clitic; on cliticizeable elements in phonological phrases see §1.4.

Clitics (see criteria in Anderson 1992, Zwicky and Pullum 1983) display the following properties:

(a) clitics in Bare are phrasal enclitics and they are always placed after the first phonological word of a phrase, e.g. clitic *-phe* "yet, still" below:

- (20) ba-yada-phe "one still sees"  
IMP-see-YET
- (21) hena-phe ba-yada-waka "one does not see yet"  
NEG-yet IMP-see-NEG

(b) they are monosyllabic, e.g. *-ki* "emphatic", *-phe* "yet"; (c) they are extraprosodic.

## 1.4. The structure of a phonological phrase

### 1.4.1. Stress weakening and cliticization

The following syntactic relations may be mapped with the help of a single phonological phrase in Bare: possessive and adpositional noun phrases, verb phrases containing an auxiliary. The union of two or more phonological words into a higher prosodic unit - a phonological phrase - is marked in Bare by weakening the stress on the first component of the phrase. This is illustrated by *ʃĩnu hãní* "cub" (*ʃĩnu* "dog", *hãní* "child"). Here *ʃ* stands for a vowel with a weaker stress.

Certain items can undergo cliticization within a phonological phrase, in rapid speech register. These are: sentence-initial *idĩ* "then, so", demonstratives, negation *hena*, non-pausal forms of personal pronouns (see below), verbal aspectual markers *beke* "future" and *maka* "again". Cliticized items undergo the following phonological processes: (a) they lose their stress; (b) -i# > -y, e.g. *idĩ* "then" > *idy-*; (c) #a > Ø, e.g. *ada* "this" > *da-*; (d) *hena* > *he-* "negation"; (e) V#V > V, e.g.

slow speech

*i-díá nú* (3sgnf+drink I)

*áda hiñáfati*

*héna ikú-waka* (NEG 3sgnf+for-NEG)

*héna abéuku* (NEG when)

rapid speech

*idianú* "he(mosquito) sucks me"

*da-hiñáfati* "this woman

*he-ikú-waka* "he does not have"

*henabéuku* "never"

### 1.4.2. Pausal forms

Bare uses three "tokens" to mark the boundaries of phonological phrases under specific discourse conditions: diphthongization of a final high vowel *i* (§1.3.1.3), the lack of the truncation of the final syllable *ni* after a morphological boundary (§1.3.1.2), the insertion of a *hV* syllable. We shall use the labels "position-dependent", or "pausal" to characterize the corresponding forms of phonological words. Their use is somewhat similar to punctuation marks in written language.

The diphthongization of a final high front vowel *i* immediately before a pause is illustrated by (22) and (23). In (22), a diphthongized form is used to mark the utterance-final position of an emphasized constituent *kuhuni* "they". This contrasts with (23) where a short form of the same constituent is used, since it is not in a sentence-final position and does not need any special emphasis. The diphthong *-ie* occurs only in this particular circumstance in Bare.

(22) *awate-te kuhunie* "Where are they?"  
there-LOC they

(23) *me-kasa-ka kuhuni nu-bana-ute* "They came to my house".  
3pl-come-DECL they 1sg-house-DIR

The lack of the truncation of the final syllable *ni* and subsequent vowel nasalization after a morphological boundary (§1.3.1.2) occur under the following conditions:

- (a) in slower speech with longer pauses after each phonological phrase;
- (b) to mark emphasized constituents, or special pauses required by the structure of the narrative.

If no special emphasis is required, "shorter" forms with a nasalized final vowel will be used instead of "longer" pausal forms which contain a final syllable *-nV*. The opposition between longer and shorter forms can be illustrated by some minimal pairs below.

In (24) the use of a longer form *wikuni* "she had, lit. to her", instead of *wikũ* indicates the emphasis of the predicate. The constituent "my aunt" has undergone the left dislocation (see §3.8) as a

contrastive focus and is followed by a pause; thus, a "longer" form *nutiani* "my aunt" is used instead of a shorter *nutiā* followed by a pause. In (25) a shorter form of the predicate is used since no emphasis is required.

- (24) wakadaha-waka nu-tia-ni w-iku-ni u-miyuqi  
 long ago-DER 1sg-aunt-POSS 3sgf+for-IMPF 3sgf-garden  
 "Long ago my aunt, what (she) used to have, (was) a garden"
- (25) nikū wamaqi "I am hungry" (lit. hunger is to me)  
 1sg+for-IMPF hunger

Longer forms are also used in very slow careful speech, e.g. when the speaker was asked to dictate something. Pausal forms with the final *-nV* syllable are underlying, with respect to the non-pausal ones. Thus, the enclitics and suffixes can only be added to the underlying forms, as shown in (26) and (27). In (26) the emphatic particle *--ki* is used with the underlying form *nuni* "I", and not *nu*. In (27), the underlying form of the word *nu-tia-ni* "my aunt" is used with the negative extraprosodic suffix *-waka*.

- (26) nu-ni-ki a-maku-da-sa nu-kameni  
 I-DEICT-EMPH INDF-put out-TH-CAUS 1sg-fire  
 "It was really me who put out my fire"
- (27) hena nu-tia-ni-waka kuhu "She is not my aunt"  
 NEG 1sg-aunt-POSS-NEG she

A syllable *-hṼ* can be added to a phonological word which precedes a pause. *-hṼ* can be either added word-finally, or, less often, it can appear on a morphological boundary; in the latter case the addition of *-hṼ* follows the application of boundary processes. In both cases the vowel of the pausal marker undergoes translaryngeal vowel harmony and nasalization, which can be explicated as triggered by *h* (see Matisoff 1972). *hṼ* is always extraprosodic. The use of word-final *-hṼ*, with subsequent translaryngeal vowel harmony and vowel nasalization is attested in Warekena of Xié. Word-final *-hṼ* is illustrated by (28). In (29) the same word does not precede a pause, and the *-hṼ* syllable is not added.

- (28) hena nu-kiate-d'a-waka damakaruku nahauna-hã  
 NEG 1sg-fear-FCT-NEG jungle+LOC 1sg+alone-PAUS  
 "I am not afraid to be in the jungle by myself"
- (29) kuhu u-ka-d'ekada humuduka weheuna  
 she 3sgf-CAUS-learn 3sgf+shoot 3sgf+alone  
 id'uaqi humuduka-ka  
 well 3sgf+shoot-DECL  
 "She learned how to shoot by herself (and) she shoots well"

*-hṼ* on morpheme boundary is shown in (35). Non-pausal form of *mehema* "with them" is *mema* (< me "3pl" + *-ima* "with").



- (30) *nihwa-waka mehemā*  
 1sg+go-PURP 3pl+PAUS+with  
 "So they called me, they made me go with them"

✓ The status of diphthongization as an utterance-final pause marker, and pausal forms marked with *-hV* is different from the use of underlying phonological forms with word-initial *-ni* as a pause-marking devices in Bare. The forms with a diphthongized vowels are not underlying, and the forms with a final nasal *ni* are underlying. The presence of different pause-marking devices in different syntactic contexts is discussed in Selkirk (1984:312). Bare is one of rare languages which uses phonological, i.e. lexical, devices for pause-marking (contrary to earlier assumptions, e.g. Selkirk 1984:312; see for further discussion Aikhenvald forthcoming (a)).

## 2. Morphology

### 2.0. Types of morphemes

Like all Arawak languages, Bare is predominantly suffixing, with few prefixes. These are: cross-referencing and possessive prefixes, attributive *ka-* and privative *ma*. Bare has the following constraints on the phonological scope of morphemes, which agree with the principles reconstructable for North-Arawak (see Aikhenvald forthcoming a): (a) all prefixes are monosyllabic; (b) all suffixes can contain one or two syllables; (c) non loan-roots contain two syllables, occasionally three syllables.

### 2.1. Word classes in Bare

The following word-classes can be identified in Bare: NOUNS - an open class, characterized by grammatical categories of possession, peripheral cases, number, residual gender (§2.2.); NUMERALS - a closed class (§2.3.); PRONOUNS - a closed class (§2.4.); ADJECTIVES: possibly a closed class which combines a number of properties of verbs and nouns, and a number of characteristics of its own (§2.5.); ADPOSITIONS - a closed class, which partly coincides with possessed nouns (§2.6.); ADVERBS AND PARTICLES - a closed class of non-inflecting words (§2.7.); VERBS: an open class, which has grammatical categories of person/number/gender, mood, (optional) tense/aspect etc. (§2.8.).

### 2.2. Nouns

Nouns are an open class which have the following grammatical categories: possession, number, peripheral cases, gender. Nouns function as heads of NPs and arguments of verbs.

#### 2.2.1. Possession

Possession is a characteristic category of nouns in all Arawak languages. There are two subclasses of nouns: alienably possessed (an open class) and inalienably possessed (a closed class), which consists of body parts and kinship nouns. Inalienable possession is marked by possessive prefixes given in Table 5. Non-possessed forms of inalienably possessed nouns have no prefix and a suffix *-hVi* (subject to translaryngeal vowel harmony on word boundary):

possessed form(1sg pronoun)	non-possessed form	
<i>nu-nene</i>	<i>nene-hei</i>	"tongue"
<i>nu-numa</i>	<i>numa-hai</i>	"mouth"
<i>nahai</i>	<i>ahai-hi</i>	"tooth"

Alienablepossession is marked by a possessive prefix and one of the following possessive suffixes: *-ni* , *-je*, *-se*; *e* or  $\emptyset$  (all of which go back to Proto-Arawak). Non-possessed forms are unmarked. The following principles seem to govern the distribution of possessive suffixes:

- (a) *-se* is used with cultural items and loan-words, e.g. *wa-dutur-se* (1pl-doctor-POSS) "our doctor"; *nu-biñehe-se* (1sg-medicine-POSS) "my medicine";
- (b) *-je* is used with artefacts and some separable body parts, e.g., *nu-kaku-je* "my fish-net"; *nu-dabid'aha-je* "my arrow"; *nu-dabana-je* "my leaf"; *nu-kaf umada-je* "my spittle";
- (c) *-ni* is used with the majority of inalienable possessed nouns, e.g. *nu-mafeta-ni* "my knife"; *nu-sabu-ni* "my dream"; *nu-miñi-ni* "my cat";
- (d) *-e* is used with a few items, e.g. *hnumi-e* "my hammock" (hmi "hammock"); *nu-kameni-e* "my fire";
- (e) Ø possessive suffix is used with some artefacts, including loan words, e.g. *nu-sapat'yu* "my shoe"; *nu-dati-hyauku* "my ear-ring".

*Hi* "blood" shows partial suppletion in the formation of possession: *hi* "blood", *niya* "my blood", *iya* "his blood". The possessive form of *phani* "house" is *-bana*. Partial suppletion in possessive forms of this item is also attested in other Arawak languages of the region. The *-bana* form is also used in compounding, e.g. *bana-numa* "lit.house-mouth, door" and in possessive NPs, e.g. *nu-diñaje bana* (1sg-son house) "the house of my son".

Bare shows a considerable degree of variation in possessive suffixes used with alienably possessed items, e.g. *nu-kubati-ni* or *nu-kubati-e* (1sg-fish-POSS) "my fish", *nu-kameni-e* or *nu-kameni-je* (1sg-fire-POSS) "my fire". As pointed out in Campbell and Muntzel (1988), a high degree of free variation is one of the symptoms of "language death".

In possessive NPs, the order is possessor-possessed (see §3.1). The possessed item is in possessed form (which coincides with the 3rd person possessor form without a prefix). There is no agreement in gender between the possessor and the possessed, unlike other Arawak languages, e.g.,

- (31) *nu-tiyu-miñawa*    *ñiñu-ni*            "the dog of my deceased aunt"  
           1sg-aunt-DEC:FEM dog-POSS
- (32) *ñiñu ahai*                                "dog's tooth"  
           dog    tooth+POSS

In possessive constructions with a non-pronominal possessor, a zero person marking is used on the possessed noun. Similarly, a zero possessive marker is used on adpositions with a non-pronominal argument, e.g.

- (33) *nihwa nu-yuɟuda*            *nu-yaka-ji*                    *bana*  
           1sg+go 1sg-go around 1sg-parent-MASC house  
           *ñinu hemuda*    *i-kaɟuka*    *nũ*    *nu-dana habi*  
           dog jump            3sgnf-bite I    1sg-arm on  
           "I went around my father's house, the dog jumped and bit me on my arm"

If a plural suffix is added to a possessed noun, possessive suffix is omitted, e.g. *nu-ñiñu-ni* (1sg-dog-POSS) "my dog", *nu-ñiñu-be* (1sg-dog-PL) "my dogs".

### 2.2.2. Peripheral cases

Like the vast majority of Arawak languages (with only two exceptions: Tariana and Apuríña), Bare does not use case-marking for core grammatical relations A, S and O (in terms of Dixon 1994).

Bare has a system of case-markers for expressing the following peripheral roles: locative *-uku*, perlative *-wa*, directional *-te*, elative *-tei*. Some of these case affixes can combine with each other. Case suffixes always follow possessive and plural suffixes. The phonological processes which occur on suffix boundaries are described in §1.2.

Locative case refers to location in space and time, e.g., (34); it can also mean "up to", as in (35). It is marked with suffix *-uku* (which can be stressed or unstressed, see discussion in §1.3.2), e.g., *phaní-uku* "in a house", *miyuǰé-uku* "in a garden", *nu-tuwé-uku* "in the back of the neck". The suffix *uku* also appears in few adverbs, e.g. *abé-uku* "then, when", *ibé-uku* "then". Case marker goes on the head of an attributive noun phrase, as illustrated in (36).

(34) ad'i nu-ɸana-ka nu-diɸaǰe bana-uku  
 here 1sg-stay-SEQ 1sg-son house-LOC  
 "Here I stay in my son's house"

(35) nu-yaka-w-miɸiyawa wiɸa kasā u-khuɸuna-waká-uku  
 1sg-parent-FEM-DEC:FEM 3sgf+hair come+PF 3sgf-knee-NOM-LOC  
 "My deceased mother, her hair went up to her knee"

(36) wakadahawaka nihiwa nu-khawanaind'a  
 long ago 1sg+go 1sg-work  
 babuahárute bakū iɸaɸi-úku kúd'ehẽ  
 downstream+DIR one river-LOC far  
 "Long ago I went to work downstream on one river, far away"

Locative case is used exclusively on nouns and relational nouns (e.g. possessed nouns in adpositional function) which do not have an intrinsic locational meaning. The locative case marker can not be added to such nouns as *d'aǰebi* "shore", adpositions, or relational nouns such as *-abi* "over", *-babi* "around"; adverbs such as *kud'ehe* "far away", *aweheni* "here" etc. The unmarked form of these nouns is used in the locative sense, e.g.

(37) idi hnumada-ka kuhū id'arabi  
 there 1sg-leave-DECL he shore  
 "I left him (the pig) there, on the shore."

(38) ɸabati hiyanuma ada habi "A bird sat on a tree"  
 bird 3sgnf+sit tree on

Perlative case means "along" and is marked by the suffix *-wa*, e.g. *awehéni-wa* "along here", *aɸādi-wa* "along there", e.g.

(39) nu-bihite hamu wabua "I saw a snake along the river"  
 1sg-meet snake river+ALONG

(40) ídi-wa nu-yada ind'a-waka-na kuhū  
 there-ALONG 1sg-see NEG EXIST-NEG-PAST he  
 "I passed along there, I saw: he(the dead snake) was no longer there"

Directional case "towards, towards and on" is marked by *-te* (stressed, see §1.3.1.1.). Elative is formed from directional, with the help of *-i*. Nouns fall into two classes with respect to the formation of directional case:

(a) nouns which form locative case in *-uku* take a thematic vowel *-u* in directional and elative cases, e.g. *kadí-ute* "to the ground", *kadí-utei* "from the ground", *uní-ute*, *uni-úte* "to the water", *uni-útei* "from the water", *eñúte* "up", *eñutei* "from up".

(41) nu-duka-sa nisa-ni nu-yada-waka damakarute  
1sg-push-CAUS 1sg+canoe-POSS 1sg-see-PURP jungle+DIR  
"I pushed the canoe, to see the jungle"

(42) nu-but'yu-ka i-d'uqa nu-yada-waka neka iku i-d'uqa-ute  
1sg-open-DECL 3sgnf-belly 1sg-see-PURP what to 3sgnf-belly-DIR  
"I opened his (snake's) belly to see what was there to his belly"

The directional case with expressions of time means "following", e.g.

(43) nihiwa wahawa hawa kuhũ bakũ yahane-úte  
1sg+go 1pl+go go he other day-DIR  
"I went to take him the next day"

(44) unaharukútei i-temuda yamadu fuma-ma-ka  
river-EL 3sgnf-hear curupira cry-RED-SEQ  
"From the river, he heard the evil spirit crying"

(45) idi i-mahasa-ka nu-witi-utei  
then 3sgnf-disappear-DECL 1sg-eye-EL  
"Then he (a ghost) disappeared from my eyes"

(b) nouns, relational nouns and adverbs which do not have locative case, take a thematic vowel *i* and form directional in *-ite*, elative in *-itei*:

(46) nu-waqa-ka d'aqebite "I approached the shore"  
1sg-approach-DECL shore+DIR

(47) miŋi i-kasa i-sia phani dukabíte  
cat 3sgnf-come 3sgnf-enter house under+DIR  
"The cat came under the house"

(48) wakadahawaka nihiwa Armindu Pereira  
long ago 1sg+go name  
i-lanja-ní-uku awehéntei batíwite  
3sgnf-boat-POSS-LOC here+EL upstream+DIR  
"Long ago I went with Armindu Pereira on his boat, from here upstream"

(49) miŋi i-kasa i-sia phani dukabítei  
 cat 3sgnf-come 3sgnf-enter house under+DIR  
 "The cat came from under the house"

(50) bihiwá awehéntei abeuku i-makhi  
 2sg+go here+EL when 3sgnf-finish  
 "You will go away when it (the drink) finishes"

(51) hwíbudi (i)kasā nu-nabítei  
 eel (3sgnf)-come+IMPF 1sgnf-back+EL  
 "An eel came from my back/from behind me"

Note that the distinction between two classes of nouns helps to explain different form of directional and elative suffixes in such examples such as: *uni* "water" - *uni-ute* "to the water"; *d'ajebe* "shore" - *d'ajebite* "to the shore", \**d'ajebiute*. Enclitic postpositions *ite* "into" and *itei* "from" are probably related to the directional and elative case markers, e.g.

(52) wakadahawaka kuhuni khiña-nu ite me-peruka awami  
 long ago they person-PL into 3pl-turn monkey  
 "Long ago monkey turned into people"

(53) wakadahawaka kuhuni khiña-nu itei me-peruka awami  
 long ago they person-PL from 3pl-turn monkey  
 "Long ago people became monkeys" (lit. monkeys turned from people)

Bare has double case marking. Perlative, locative and directional can occur together. Morpheme ordering is iconic (cf. similar phenomena in other Arawak languages: Aikhenvald in prep.):

locative + perlative: uku + wa > kua (rules in §1.2)

perlative + locative: wa + uku > waku

perlative + directional: wa + ute > wate

The first combination is by far the most frequent one. It means "location along or on the edge of smth", as illustrated below:

(54) damakaru-kua nu-ŋehedi purke nu-ŋehedi nu-yuwahada-ka  
 jungle-LOC+ALONG 1sg-like because 1sg-like 1sg-walk-SEQ  
 "I like (to walk) along the jungle, because I like to walk"

(55) i-birana i-kaŋi i-ñumá-kua  
 3sgnf-go out 3sgnf-slobber 3sgnf-mouth-LOC+PERL  
 "Spittle is coming out of his mouth"

The second combination is rarer. It means "onto something, in order to go along with it", e.g.

(56) nu-muda nisaníwaku nihiwa wabúte  
 1sg-embark 1sg+canoe-POSS-PER+LOC 1sg+go river+DIR  
 "I embarked in my canoe, in order to go along with it (to go to the river)"

Perlative and directional cases can occur together, and the combination means "towards along":

- (57) yahane yuka-ute wa-kása-ka wa-ʃana-wate  
 day dawn-DIR 1pl-come-DECL 1pl-stay-PER+DIR  
 "Towards the dawn (lit. the dawn of the day) we arrived towards  
 along the shore where our village is".

No examples of cooccurrence of elative and perlative, or locative and directional have been attested.

### 2.2.3. Number

Bare has two numbers: singular (unmarked) and plural, marked with *-be*, *-ñu*, or *-ñube*. As in other Arawak languages, number is optional, i.e. it receives overt marking only if the plurality of the item has to be particularly underlined. This can be exemplified by the story about a turtle and a jaguar. In the beginning, the fact that there were many monkeys has to be stressed, and so they are introduced in plural:

- (58) id'ya awadari-ñu me-nikā me-ʃana-ka ukáʒisi  
 then cairara-PL 3pl-eat 3pl-stay-DECL inajá  
 "Then cairara-monkeys were eating inajá-fruit".

Later on, the monkeys are referred to in singular; the plural agreement on the verb remains:

- (59) id'ya awádaʒi me-muda me-kuada kuhũ  
 then cairara 3pl-come down 3pl-take he  
 "Then the monkeys came down to take him"

Frequently, when the plurality of a referent has been already stated, a plural referent can be referred to with the help of (a) third person singular pronoun; (b) 3rd person singular cross-referencing on the verb. This is illustrated with (60) and (61), which come from the same text.

- (60) kuhu me-bihitey  
 he 3pl-encounter  
 "They (strangers) will find it (the money) (buried in speaker's garden)"

- (61) hena nu-mada-waka i-khabi kuhũ thesa paʒata waʒa  
 NEG 1sg-let-NEG 3sgnf-take he this money all  
 "I will not let them take all the money"

There appears to be the following tendencies in the use of the plural suffixes:

- (a) *-ñu/-nu* (see §1.1.1.) tends to be used with human and animate nouns; it also has collective sense: *khiña-nu* (person-PL) "people"; *suʒudawa-nu* "soldiers" (a group of); *kwati-ñu* "jaguars"; *nu-yakaʒi-ñu* "parents"; *habia-nu* "a group of pigs"; it can sometimes be used with inanimate nouns denoting human attributes, e.g. *phani-ñu* "houses";

(b) *-be* tends to be used with inanimate nouns, and nouns which refer to animals, e.g. *ada-be* "trees"; *kubasika-be* "small fishes"; *nu-witi-be* "my eyes"; *nu-biya-be* "my domestic animals"; *-be* is also used in the interrogative *ikabe* "how many, how much", e.g.

(62) *ika-be khiña-nu a-kasa* "How many people arrived?"  
 how-PL person-PL INDF-arrive

Some nouns which denote animate beings can be used with both *-ñu* and *-be*, and there is a slight difference in meaning: *ƒabati-be* "birds(one by one); *ƒabati-ñu* "birds"(a group of). If a noun contains a derivational suffix *ƒi* "masculine" or *-ƒati* "feminine", or *-ni*, "masculine?", they are suppressed in the plural, e.g. *heñaƒi* "man", pl. *heña-be* "men"; *khiñe-ni* "person", *khiñe-nu* "people". The suffix *-tibe* is used in one case: *nahani* "my son", pl. *nahan-tibe* "my sons". The suffix *-ñuhube* is used with *hiñaƒati* "woman", pl. *hiña-ñuhube* "women"; *hantiƒaƒe* "child", pl. *hantiñuhube* "children". Adjectives do not agree in number with the head, e.g. *eñsa hiñañuhube baƒini* "these white women".

### 2.3.4. Gender category and gender agreement

A characteristic feature of North-Arawak languages is the presence of gender (and/or classifier) agreement in head-modifier and predicate-argument constructions. Among North-Arawak languages of the Upper Rio Negro, Bare and Warekena have lost the system of classifiers (on Warekena, see Aikhenvald and Amorim forthcoming; also see below). Bare has a residual opposition of two genders in some nominalizations (see under C below), and residues of gender agreement in head-modifier constructions (see under B below). It is possible that the loss of gender agreement in head-modifier constructions may be due to the processes of language death, especially if one remembers that the everyday language of the speaker Nheengatu, or *Lingua Geral*, has no gender oppositions whatsoever. The same process of loss of gender agreement in head-modifier constructions takes place in Warekena; note that this language is under way to extinction, too, and the everyday language of the speakers is also Nheengatu. Gender agreement is obligatory in predicate-argument constructions (see under A below). Lopez Sanz (1972) does not mention the gender opposition in Bare.

#### A. Gender agreement in predicate-argument constructions

Gender agreement in predicate-argument construction is expressed by cross-referencing prefixes on prefixed verbs; see §2.8.3 on rules for neutralization of this agreement, e.g.

(63) *heñaƒi i-kasa* "a man came"  
 man 3sgnf-arrive

(64) *hiñaƒati u-kasa* "a woman came"  
 mulher 3sgf-arrive

#### B. Gender agreement in head-argument constructions

Gender agreement with a distant demonstrative is frequent, e.g., *a-u-sa hiñaƒati* (DEM:FEM-woman) "that woman"; *asa-hã heñaƒi* (DEM:MASC man) "that man".

The masculine form of a demonstrative is often used, as an unmarked form, e.g. *asa hiñaƒati* "that woman". Feminine gender agreement with proximate demonstrative is optional, e.g. *ada*

*hiñafati* "this woman"; *a-u-da* (THIS-FEM) *bawahanaka* (other, one+FEM) "this other one(my daughter)". Gender agreement with the numeral "one" is discussed under §2.3. There is no gender agreement with "adjectives" (see §2.5 on the category of adjectives in Bare). Gender agreement sometimes appears in attributive and privative formations (see §2.5.), e.g.

- (65) *heñaji ma-kiate-ji* "a fearless man"  
 man NEG-fear-MASC
- (66) *hiñafati ma-kiate-w* "a fearless woman"  
 woman NEG-fear-FEM

In the following examples the masculine and the feminine form are equally acceptable:

- (67) *heñaji ka-witi-ni/ka-witi-w*  
 man ATR-eye-MASC/ATR-eye-FEM  
 "a man with good eyesight"
- (68) *hiñafati ka-witi-ni/ka-witi-w*  
 woman ATR-eye-MASC/ATR-eye-FEM  
 "a woman with good eyesight"
- (69) *heñaji/hiñafati ka-datini-ba-ji/ka-datini-wa* (ha)  
 man/woman ATR-ear-?-MASC/ATR-ear-FEM  
 "man/woman with big ears"

Frequently, the speaker used the etymologically feminine form as the unmarked option in head-modifier agreement, e.g.

- (70) *heñaji/hiñafati ma-witi-w* "blind man/woman"  
 man/woman NEG-eye-FEM

### C. Gender in nominalizations

The opposition of two genders is present in the following derivational affixes: masc. *-ji*, e.g. *yaka-ji* (parent-MASC) "father", *ka-witi-buñaji* (ATR-eye-hair-MASC) "the one (man) with (long) eyelashes";  $\emptyset$ , e.g. *nu-akane- $\emptyset$*  (1sg-grandchild-MASC) "my grandson", *nu-yaka-ji-miñe- $\emptyset$ -he* (1sg-parent-MASC-DECEASED-MASC-PAUS) "my deceased father"; fem. *-w / u*, e.g. *yaka-w* (parent-FEM) "mother", *ka-witi-buñaju* (ATR-eye-hair-FEM) "the one (woman) with long eyelashes", *wa*, e.g. *nu-akana-wa* (1sg-grandchild-FEM) "my granddaughter", *nu-yaka-w-miñya-wa* (1sg-parent-FEM-DECEASED-FEM) "my deceased mother". Probably, there are other fossilized gender-marking suffixes, e.g., fem. *-fati* in *hiñafati* "woman". Gender opposition masc *-tei*, fem *-teu* is present in deverbal adjectives (participles), e.g. *katehe-tei* "wise one(man)", *katehe-teu* "wise one (woman)". In some nominalizations gender is marked twice, as in *nu-yaka-w-miñya-wa* (1sg-parent-FEM-DECEASED-FEM) "my deceased mother".

#### 2.3.5. Derivational affixes

The following suffixes are used to derive verbs from nouns:



(1) Action, object, locative, instrumental nominalizations:

-waka: makhi-waka "end" (-makhi "to end"); phaid'a-waka "a scratch" (-phaid'a "to scratch"), nu-yanuma-waka "a place to sit" (-yanuma "to sit"), nu-kubisá-waka "a place where I tie my hammock" (-kubisa "to tie"); khumid'a-waka "flipper" (-khumid'a "to swim");

-Ø: nu-kaʃumada-ɬe "my spittle" (-kaʃumada "to spit"), -sika "faeces" (-sika "to excrete");

(2) Action/state, object and locative nominalizations:

-ɬi(hi): nikaɬihi "food" (-nika "eat"), siduda-ɬi "flood" (-sibuda "flood"), wa-ʃana-ɬi "a place where we live" (-ʃana "to stay"), kadunu-ɬi "island";

-haɬi: heruda-haɬi "dry season" (heruda "to dry"), siduda-haɬi "wet season" (sibuda "to flood");

-uɬi: taisa-uɬi "darkness" (tai "night, darkness", tai-sa "make dark")

-kaɬi: kubaha-kaɬi "illness" (-kubaha "to be ill")

(3) Agent nominalization:

-kabuɛ, e.g. kubaha-kabuɛ "ill person" (-kubaha "to be ill");

ka...-kaɛɛɛ, -kaɛɛni, e.g. ka-phuyu-kaɛɛni "curer" (-phuyu "to cure").

Singulative nouns can be formed on nouns with *-be-ti* (*be-* collective, see §2.2.3 +*ti* diminutive), e.g. *ada-be-ti* "a stick", *tiba-be-ti* "small stone". Suffix *-buku* is used to form collective nouns, e.g. *ada-buku* "bunch of sticks". Bare also has diminutive *-ti*, used with nouns and adjectives, e.g. *wabu* "river", *wabúti* "small river"; *kunaba* "lean", *kunabati* "small lean one". See §2.3.4 on feminine and masculine nominalizations.

Bare, unlike other North-Arawak languages (such as Tariana and Baniwa of Içana) has no classifiers or noun classification. However, a deep etymological analysis of lexical items in Bare reveals the presence of a number of derivational morphemes, no longer productive, which correspond to classifiers (used both as agreement markers and as derivational devices) in other North-Arawak languages, *-buku* "bunch, bundle, set", (cf. *-puku* "bundle" in Baniwa), e.g. *kaɬiyaha-buku* "lake; swampy land"; *dina-bu* "road" (cf. *-apu* "classifier: stretch, limited space" in Baniwa and Tariana).

Adjectives which mean "having something", are formed on inalienably possessed nouns with the prefix *ka-*, e.g. *ka-witi-w* "having good eyes; the one who has (good) eyes" (etymologically feminine, used for both genders: see §2.3.4.). The negative counterpart is *ma*: e.g. *mawitiu* "having bad eyes; a blind one".

Bare has nominal compounds formed on possessive NPs. The order of components is: possessor-possessed, e.g. *panti-numa* "lit. house-mouth: door", *ada-waku* "lit. tree-branch: branch", *pani-dukábi* "house-underneath: floor", rarer: possessed-possessor: *nu-si-numa* "my beard, lit. hair-mouth".

### 2.3. Numerals

Cardinal numerals are *baku-nakaɬi*, *bakũ* "one", *biku-nama*, *bikũ* "two" and *kiɬiku-nama* "three". The other are loans from Portuguese. Bare has no ordinal numbers.

Numerals function as modifiers in NPs, and can be recognized as a subclass of nominals. Numeral "one" distinguishes masculine and feminine, the latter being used rarely. Usually, the masculine is used as unmarked, e.g. *bakũ heñiaɬi* "one man", *bakũ*, or *bawahanaka hiñafati* "one woman".

Numerals "two" and "three" do not have special feminine gender forms. Numerals in Bare are used as modifiers in an attributive noun phrase. They generally precede the head noun. They can occasionally take the plural marker *-nu*, e.g.

(71) kwati baɣika biku-nu  
       jaguar dig two-PL  
       "The jaguars were digging, two (jaguars)"

## 2.4. Pronouns

### 2.4.1. Personal pronouns

First and second person pronouns in Bare are formed with the help of personal cross-referencing prefixes (given in Table 5) plus a deictic suffix *-ni* (possibly, the same suffix which is used in demonstratives *ihini* and *aɣihini*, see §2.4.2.). The suffix *ni* can undergo a reduction to nasalization of a preceding vowel under the condition described in §1.4.2. This is a fairly conventional way of forming independent personal pronouns in Arawak languages; different languages use different deictic suffixes, e.g. Baniwa *nu-ha* > *hnua*, Tariana *nu-ha*, Waurá *na-to*, Warekena *nu-ya* "I". Unlike Baniwa, Bare has no impersonal independent pronoun (which would correspond to the impersonal prefix *ba-* given in Table 5).

Third person pronouns have a distinct form from cross-referencing prefixes. Note that Lopes Sanz gives a totally different form for 3rd person plural pronoun, based on 3rd person cross-referencing prefix: *men-* and no 2nd pl pronoun at all!). There is a consistent distinction between feminine and non-feminine third person singular pronoun. Personal pronouns are given in Table 3. Independent personal pronouns are used more frequently than in other North-Arawak languages. They are used in the following functions: (a) subject function, e.g.; (b) O function; (c) in attributive sentences.

Table 3.

### Personal pronouns in Bare

	sg	pl
1	nu-ni, nũ	wa-ni, wã
2	bi-ni, bĩ	i-ni, ĩ
3f	kuhu	kuhuni
3nf	kuhũ	

### 2.4.2. Demonstrative pronouns

The system of demonstratives in Bare is not very clear. There is a three-term opposition of spatial proximate and distant demonstratives. Some demonstratives distinguish between feminine and masculine forms in singular and have plural forms. The system is given in Table 4.

Table 4. Demonstratives in Bare.

	near to speaker	nearer to hearer	away from both
sg m	tekhi	aɣi, ha	asa
sg f	tekhi?	aɣi	ausa
pl	?	ani	ensa

There is also a two-term opposition of anaphoric demonstratives which refer to items mentioned in the text: *aĉa*, *iĉa* "this one, just mentioned" (feminine *auda* attested once in the whole corpus), *aĵa* "that one, mentioned earlier". *Aĉa* has a rarely used plural *end'a*.

Two pronouns, *tesa* "that one" (also *teĵa*, attested in one example) and *teĉa* "this one", are used in a similar way as *aĉa* and *aĵa*, the only difference being that the former tend to be used as a kind of relative pronoun (see §3.7.2.2.).

In elicitation, headless demonstratives *ihini* "those ones" and *aĵhini* "these ones here" were obtained, when the speaker was asked to comment upon the dialectal division of Bare suggested in Loukotka 1968 (see §0.1.).

The following examples illustrate the demonstratives in Bare:

Spatial demonstratives: *tekhi heĵaĵi* "this man(right here)"; *aĵi heĵaĵi* "this man (here)"; *asa heĵaĵi* "that man" (there), *asa/ausa mawiĵa* "that girl", e.g.

(72) u-d'iĵa niku asa kuhĩ u-d'ekasa niku  
 3sgf-tell 1sg+for DEM he 3sgf-show 1sg+for  
 "She told me: he (the bird) is over there, she showed me"

(73) aĵi wa-kaĵaka-ni ibabukũ-ĵa kuhũni  
 DEM 1pl-hen-POSS many-INCH they  
 "Here is our hen, they(hens) are many"

*Ha* is used in a similar way to *tekhi*; it implies the pointing to a thing:

(74) ha-ĵiĵu hena mated'aka-waka  
 DEM-dog NEG stupid?-NEG  
 "This dog here (pointing at the dog), he is not stupid"

Spatial demonstratives can be used with reference to time, e.g. *aĵi yahane* "this day, today"; *aĵi khi* "this month (now)", as in:

(75) aĵi khi makikha nihĩwa-na beke  
 DEM month end 1sg+go-PAST FUT  
 "At the end of this month I shall be gone"

*Tekhi* is very often used anaphorically with a postposition: *tekhi habite* (this + over+DIR) "this is why", another example of an anaphoric use of *tekhi* is given below. *Tesa* is also used anaphorically in (76):

(76) bi-katehesã dusiẽhe biniĵaha bi-hĩyawa id'ũaĵi beke  
 2sg-know+PF head+NP medicine 2sg-take well FUT  
 bĩ i tesã kaimã ahai bi-wãhada bi-yepũku memetekunĩ(hi)  
 you and DEM crocodile tooth 2sg-tie 2sg-waist+LOC spoil  
tekhi a-dã-ka biku sa wisẽbene bihĩwa bi/ehẽwa kuhũ  
this here INDF-give-SEQ 2sg+for that fever 2sg+take 2sg+from he  
 "You know the medicine for headache, you will take it, you will be  
 fine, and this (tesa) crocodile tooth, you tie (it) on your waist,

(your pillow) is spoilt, this here (tekhi) is giving you that fever, take it from you"

Anaphoric demonstratives are illustrated below.

(77) *ídi hnumuduka da-kuđúa hiwíña*  
 then 1sg-shoot DEM-carará 3sgnf+fall  
 "Then I shot this bird, it fell"

(78) *waháwa wa-yúruda wa-kuđubá-waka i-wákhid'a ɟa madaka*  
 1pl+go 1sg-walk 1pl-return-PURP 3sgnf-pass DEM wind  
 "Let's go, for us to return, that wave (previously mentioned) finished"

In texts, *ada* frequently refers to the topic of the text, e.g.

(79) *nu-khiñahã da paɟat'a nu-nuka wakadahawaka*  
 1sg-think DEM money 1sg-throw-DECL long ago  
 "I am thinking of the money I threw away long ago"

In actual texts, the system of anaphoric demonstratives *ada-ɟa* is substituted by *ada - asa*. Thus, in the text about a dog which bit the speaker when he was eight, it is referred to with *ada* when it has just been mentioned (80), and with *asa* when a longer stretch of a text had passed after it had been mentioned (81):

(80) *ɟíñu yawi mehésa me-wát'uka da ɟíñu i-báraka*  
 dog angry 3pl+want 3pl-beat DEM dog 3sgnf-run  
 "The dog was angry, they wanted to beat the dog, it ran away"

(81) *nu-yadã nu-ɟána-ka asa ɟíñu*  
 1sg-see 1sg-stay-DECL DEM dog  
 "I am still seeing that dog"

*Ada* and *teda* can be interchanged, e.g.

(82) *i-yada hwíbudi kumarehe*  
 3sgnf-see electric eel big  
*ídi i-waha (hi)muđúka (te)da hwíbudi*  
 then 3sgnf-brother (3sgnf)kill DEM eel  
 "He saw a big electric eel, then the brother killed this eel"

If an NP contains more than one pronominal determiner (which is rare), the demonstrative is placed closer to the head, e.g. *waja ada habiya* "all the pigs". Bare has the following demonstrative adverbs (see §2.7.): *dawahana* "here, to here", *asate* "there, to there", *ite* "there, to there", *itei* "from there", *aweheñi* "here", *adi* "here, then", *hati* "here". Pausal forms of demonstrative adjectives can also be used as adverbs: *ɟíhi* "just here", *asãha* "there".

### 2.4.3. Interrogative pronouns

Bare has the following interrogative pronouns: *ne* "who, what", *abadi* "who, which one", *abehekwa* "which one (of two)", *ika* "how", *ika-buɕe* "when", *na-phena* "why, what for", *awati* "where", *awatate* "to where", *awatatei* "from where", *ikabe* "how many, how much". See §3.6 for the structure of interrogative sentences.

### 2.4.4. Other pronouns

Bare has an indefinite pronoun *waja* "all, every". Numeral one *baku* and its derivations, e.g. *bakunaka*, *bakunakaɟi*, *basikanaka*, *bakumeni* are used in the function of an indefinite pronoun "another, one, other, some". As shown in §3.5., demonstrative pronouns *tesa* and *teda* can be used as relative pronouns. There are two negative pronouns: *bed'awaka* and *ind'awaka* "nothing", both also used as a negative copula (§3.3.).

### 2.5. Adjectives

Adjectives in Bare share the following properties with verbs: (a) they take verbal derivational affixes *-sa* "causative", *-ña* "inchoative", *-da* "factive"; (b) they can be used predicatively, as stative verbs. They share the following properties with nouns: when used in the end of a phonological phrase, they take peripheral case-markers; they have residual gender marking (see §2.2.2). When adjectives are used as modifiers in NPs, they follow the head noun, e.g. *heñaɟi id'uaɟi* "a good man". When they are used predicatively, they precede the noun, e.g. *id'uaɟi heñaɟi* "a man is good". Few adjectives can both precede and follow the head noun, and it involves a change in meaning, e.g. *yahane haɟabi* "a long day", *haɟabi yahane* "every day". Almost any adjective can be used as a verbal modifier, i.e. in the adverbial function, e.g.

(83) *bi bi-ɬeɬeka-ni id'uaɟi baɟe*  
 you 2sg-speak-IMPF good Bare  
 "You speak Bare well"

Adjectives can contain the following affixes: *-ni*: *t'ai-ni* "black", *baɟi-ni* "white", *ibabukuni* "much; considerable"; *-ɟi*: *id'ua-ɟi* "good". The difference between verbal imperfective *-ni* and adjectivizer *-ni* is that the former is accented, and the latter is extraprosodic.

Affix *-ɟi* "someone who has the quality of" is used to derive adjectives from nouns, e.g. *katiñaha-wakaɟi* "miserable" (*katiñaha-waka* "misery", *katiñaha* "to be poor"); *takha-waka-ɟi* "painted one", *katehesa-waka-ɟi* "wise one". Circumfix *ka-...-baɟi* is used to form adjectives on nouns, e.g., *ka-datini-baɟi* (ATR-ear-AFF) "the one with big ears". Deverbal adjectives are formed with the help of the following affixes: *-tei*, e.g. *katehetei* "knowledgeable" (*-katehesa* "to know"); *-kabuɟi*, e.g. *kubaha-kabuɟi* "sickish" (*kubaha* "to be ill"). Adjectives have a diminutive formation (it is difficult to say how productive it is): *panti* "small", *panti-ɬa* "very small", *id'uaɟi* "good", *id'uaɟi-ɬa* "goodish".

### 2.6. Adpositions

Like the majority of Arawak languages, Bare has mostly postpositions. The few prepositions are loan words from Spanish/Portuguese, e.g. *ate* "until". Postpositions are used to mark core and peripheral grammatical relations. They fall into (a) postpositions proper; and (b) relational nouns, i.e. possessed nouns in postpositional functions. All postpositions take cross-referencing prefixes listed in Table 5 with a pronominal argument. Otherwise, they take no prefix. Core grammatical relation marked

by postpositions is dative marked by *-iku*. Dative can be the third valency of a ditransitive verb, e.g. (84), or dative subject of a stative predicate, e.g. (85), or beneficiary, e.g. (86).

(84) me-d'a niku bakũ nu-karaká-waka  
 3pl-give 1sg+for other 1sg-put on-PURP  
 "They gave me another (garment) to put on"

(85) niku-na sabua  
 1sg+for-PF sleep  
 "I am sleepy"

(86) nihiwa nu-yada-waka tesa i-khaka-naha niku  
 1sg+go 1sg-see-PURP this 3sgnf-burn-SEQ-PAST 1sg+for  
 "I went to see if it burned for me"

Postpositions proper are a closed class and are used to mark peripheral roles. Postpositions proper are: *-ima* "with (comitative)", *-abi* "to, by, with (comitative, instrumental)", *-ahaw* "with (comitative)", *ite* "into", *itei* "from" (possibly related to directional affixes), *ehewa* "from, than", *eheuna* "by". In the material recorded, there is some interchanging between *abi* and *ima*; this may be due to the language death situation. Possessed nouns in postpositional functions are used to mark location. They are a closed class, in the sense that no new members are accepted. They can form directional and elative cases. They are: *habi* "on" (*habite* "to", *habitei* "from"), *babi* "near, by", *dukhabi* "under", *nabi* "behind, in the back of", *buhu* "behind", *hasi* "over", *hauku* "over", *tibuku* "up, over", *wati* "inside".

## 2.7. Adverbs, particles and conjunctions

Adverbs are a separate class of words in Bare. Any adjective can also be used as a verbal modifier, e.g. in an adverbial function. There is a number of underived non-inflecting adverbs which can not be used as adjectives, e.g. *kibaqi* "also", *idi*, *adi* "then", *ñeña* "too much", *hati* "here", *biyaqi* "always", *hena* "negation". Some adverbs contain a fossilized derivational affix *-ka*, e.g. *yahaqi* "now", or *-waka*, e.g. *wakadahawaka* "long ago". A special derivational affix: *-ima* is used to derive adverbs with temporal meaning from nouns, e.g. *yahane* "day", *yahaneima* "early in the day", *t'ai* "night", *t'aikaima* "in the night". Some adverbs are derived with peripheral case markers, e.g. *teki habite* "this is why". The following non-productive derivational affixes are used to derive demonstrative adverbs: *-eni*, e.g. *aweheeni* "here", *-te:* *awate* "where", *asate* "there", *aweheente* "from here"; *-di:* *asadi* "there", *adi* "here"; *-buqe:* *ika-buqe* "when" (cf. *ika* "how"). Bare has a number of enclitic particles which go on the predicate, e.g. *--ki* "emphatic, indeed", *-phe* "yet, still", e.g., (12), (20), (21).

(87) aweheni--ki kuhũ  
 here-EMPH he  
 "He is really here, he is just here"

(88) isíma a-wakhanaind'a-phe i-ŋana-ka  
 rope INDF-work-yet 3sgnf-stay-DECL  
 "The rope(of the watch) was still working"

Bare also has a number of subordinate and coordinate conjunctions. Coordinate conjunctions are loans from Spanish, e.g. *i* "and", *u* "or", *pero* "but". The following subordinate conjunctions are loans: *purke* "because" (Sp. *porque*), *sinu* "if no, otherwise" (Sp. *si no*), *si* "if, whether" (Sp. *si*), *ke* "that" (Sp. *que*), *mientreke* "while" (Sp. *mientras que*). Adverbs *abeuku*, *ibeuku* "when, if", demonstrative *tesa* "if" are used as subordinate conjunctions (see §3):

## 2.8. Verbal morphology

Bare is a highly verbal language. More than 75% of words in texts are verbs.

### 2.8.1. Classification of verbs and cross-referencing prefixes

Verbs in Bare fall into two classes, in agreement with the semantics and person-number markers they take: A/S<sub>A</sub>, or active, and O/S<sub>O</sub>, or stative (cf. Dixon 1994). Most Arawak languages display the following pattern of split-ergative marking of grammatical relations via cross-referencing on the verb; this pattern can also be reconstructed for Proto-Arawak (see Aikhenvald forthcoming a):

A = S<sub>A</sub> - cross-referencing prefixes; O = S<sub>O</sub> - cross-referencing suffixes, or enclitics

Unlike other Arawak languages of the region (e.g. Warekena of Xié and Baniwa of Içana), Bare has no special markers for O/S<sub>O</sub>. Pronominal prefixes used for A/S<sub>A</sub> marking are the same as the ones used with nouns, to mark possessor and the argument of adpositions (see Table 5). The same prefixes are used with verbs and nouns, with the exception of indefinite person marker *a-* which is used only with verbs.

All verbs in Bare are strictly marked as either A, or S<sub>A</sub>, or O=S<sub>O</sub>. The only instances of S=O polysemy are attested in *-sa* and *-da* derivations (see §2.8.3). Examples of A/S<sub>A</sub> verbs are: transitive: *-karuka* "bite", *-watyuka* "hit"; *-ǰereke* "speak", *-yada* "see", *-phada* "push", *-tiba* "wash"; *-de-* "have"; intransitive: *-mahasa* "disappear", *-baraka* "run", *d'awika* "die", *-ǰana* "live, dwell", *-khumid'a* "swim". Examples of stative verbs are: *baḷini* "be white", *wirani* "be humid", *kunaba* "be skinny". There are few examples of A=S ambitransitives among underived verbs: *-hawa* "go, take". There are a few impersonal verbs derived from nouns and adjectives by *-ka*, e.g. *yahane* "day", *yahane-ka* "to dawn".

Table 5. Cross-referencing prefixes in Baré

	sg	pl
1	nu-	wa-
2	bi-	in, ini-
3nf	i-	na-
3f	w/u-	na-
impersonal		ba-
indefinite(only verbal)		a-

The two allomorphs of the 3sg feminine are distributed according to the following rule: w/\_V, u/\_C. The following examples illustrate the use of the personal cross-referencing prefixes. The use of personal cross-referencing prefixes with a possessed noun with a pronominal possessor is illustrated in §2.2.1, and the use of a personal cross-referencing prefix with an adposition is illustrated in §2.6. (89) illustrates the use of cross-referencing prefixes with a verb.

- (89) me-mada kuhuni me-d'anika-waka ada bifehe  
 3pl-leave they 3pl-take care-PURP that village

"They (revolutionaries) left them (the villagers) to take care of the dwellers"

The impersonal *ba-* indicates a generalized referent, e.g.

(90) kamuhu yahaꞑi ba-d'ekada miyuꞑi ba-paraka  
 sun time IMP-make garden IMP-weed  
 phaꞑuka phamada heru-da ba-kha ba-bana  
 IMP+fall tree IMP+leave dry-FCT IMP-burn IMP-plant  
 "In summer time, one makes gardens, one weeds, one falls trees, one  
 leaves (the place) to dry, one burns (it), one plants"

*ba-* can also be used in the sense of the first person plural (inclusive). (112) was a final farewell from Candelário:

(91) ate ba-yada-ka  
 up to IMP-see-SEQ  
 "Good-bye" (lit. until one sees, i.e. until we see each other)

Bare has traces of morphological ergativity:  $A/S_A$  are cross-referenced with prefixes on the verb, and there are no cross-referencing markers for  $O/S_O$ . Other ergative properties in Bare will be considered in §3.3.

### 2.8.2. Thematic marker

$A/S_A$  verbs in Bare fall into thematic and athematic classes. Athematic verbs include a smallish number of basic verbs, which correspond to the notion of nuclear verbs in Dixon 1982:117ff, e.g. *-hiwa* "go; take", *-hisa* "want, look for", *-da* "give", *-dia* "drink", *-(h)yanuma* "sit down", *-kaꞑuma* "stand", *-kasa* "arrive", *-yada* "see", *-maha* "say, speak". Thematic verbs can take the following thematic suffixes:

- thematic *-ka* used on transitive and intransitive verbs, e.g. *-bara-ka* "run", *-d'awi-ka* "die", *ꞑuma-ka* "cry", *-wat'u-ka* "hit", *-ꞑeꞑeka* "speak" (probably cognate to derivational suffix *-ka* which is sometimes used to derive verbs (see §2.8.6.);
- thematic *-sa* (cognate to causative *sa*) can be used as a transitive verb marker, e.g. *-katehe-sa* "to know", *-kuꞑa-sa* "to catch", *-yakaha-sa* "to ask";
- thematic *-da* (cognate to factitive *-da*) appears on  $S_A$  verbs; e.g. *-khumid'a* "swim",
- thematic *-ña* (cognate to inchoative *-ña*) appears on  $S_A$  verbs, e.g. *hiwi-na* "fall".

### 2.8.3. Cross-referencing and discourse structure

Cross-referencing of the  $A/S_A$  constituent on the verb in Bare depends on the discourse-pragmatic properties of the constituent. This is a fairly frequent phenomenon in Arawak languages (see Aikhenvald mss, for a detailed account of similar phenomena in Baniwa and Warekena). Two instances of a link between discourse-pragmatic properties of the constituent, syntactic structure of the clause and cross-referencing will be considered here: the use of the indefinite prerson marker *a-* and the suppression of cross-referencing prefixes. The indefinite person marker *a-* is used to cross-reference the  $A/S_A$  constituent under the following conditions:

- (i) in cleft constructions, e.g. (92) (the cleft constituent is underlined):



(92) teki a-dá-ka (a-d'ékada) biku sa wisébene  
this INDF-give-DECL(INDF-make) 2sg+for DEM fever  
 "It is this (e.g. a poisoned pillow) that is giving you fever"

(ii) in interrogative sentences, with a question word as the subject:

(93) abadi a-diña nu-yaka-w iku "Who spoke to your mother?"  
 who INDF-speak 1sg-parent-FEM with

(iii) in complement clauses:

• in coreferential clauses, e.g.

(94) idi i-bájika i-bíhite relós a-makhí-ña  
 then 3sgnf-dig 3sgnf-meet watch INDF-end-INCH  
 "Then he dag, he found the watch which was finishing"

• in headless relative clauses and complement clauses, e.g.

(95) hena nu-kathesá-waka a-d'ekada kahawibei  
 NEG 1sg-know-NEG INDF-make pain  
 "I don't know what is giving pain (to me)"

(96) duwã me-khiñahã mawáya a-kháruka i-d'áwika  
 body 3pl-think snake INDF-bite 3sgnf-die  
 "His body, they think the snake bit him and he died"

• in sequential clauses, e.g.

(97) nihíwa diñábua a-hása dusiéhe biniñaha  
 1sg+go road+PERL INDF+look for head+NP medicine  
 "I went to the road, looking for the medicine for headache"

(iv) in serial verb constructions of aspectual type with motion verbs, e.g.

(98) samorú-nu a-nika me-ñana-ka kuhũ da kwati  
 vulture-PL INDF-eat 3pl-stay-DECL he DEM jaguar  
 "The vultures were eating him, the jaguar"

Serial verb constructions of aspectual type with motion verbs allow two possibilities of person-cross-referencing. All the components have the same subject marker in careful, paused speech, if each component of the serial verb construction has to be stressed and a serial construction combines a sequential and an aspectual meaning (see §3.2.1.), as in (99). The serial verb construction in (99) involves actual "going":

(99) yahájika nihíwa nu-dúmaka  
 now 1sg+go 1sg-sleep  
 "Now I shall go to sleep"

If a serial verb construction is pronounced as a single phonological phrase and it is used just in its aspectual sense, the main verb acquires the *a*- marker, e.g. (119), (120). The auxiliary-like verbs *-hiwa* "go", *-ɸana* "stay" never take the *a*-marking; the order of components of a serial construction is free, as shown in (98), though the order verb of motion-main verb is the unmarked one. (see §3.8. on discourse structure), e.g., (100):

- (100) nu-dɨɸaɣe i-kása-ka i-sía-ka  
 1sg-son 3sgnf-come-SEQ 3sgnf-return-SEQ  
 a-kása garimpu i-kabí-ni kumárehe parat'a  
 INDF-come gold digging 3sgnf-get-IMPF big money  
 "When my son comes, he comes from gold digging, he brings big money"

Other serial constructions, e.g. modal and phase ones, do not allow the *a*- marking.

Cross-referencing prefixes can be suppressed, when the *A/S<sub>a</sub>* constituent is a focus of contrast, as in (101), or speaker's attention has to be drawn to it (102). The *A/S<sub>a</sub>* constituent then undergoes left dislocation. Unlike the cleft construction, there is no pause between the fronted constituent and the predicate. The constituent *nu-yakaji-minihi* "my deceased father" is in focus of contrast in (101), which comes from a story about a dog who bit Candelário when he was eight years old. After that the dog disappeared. (102) come from the story about a courageous aunt who fought some jaguars. The constituent *kwati-ñu* "jaguars" undergoes left-dislocation, since the hearer's attention has to be drawn to the jaguars.

- (101) me-hesa me-wat'u-ka ada ɸinu i-bara-ka  
 3pl-want 3pl-beat-DECL that dog 3sgnf-run-DECL  
 damakarute diɸabu-kua ite i-mahasa-ka  
 jungle+DIR road-ALONG there 3sgnf-disappear-DECL  
 wa-kiɸaha nu-yakaji-minihi muduká kuhú  
 1pl-think 1sg-father-DEFUNCT kill+PAST he  
 "They wanted to beat the dog, (it) ran away to the jungle by the road, there it disappeared. We thought my late father killed him".

- (102) u-dumá-ka-ni u-ɸana-ka kwati bajika  
 3sgf-sleep-TH-IMPF 3sgf-stay-DECL jaguar dig  
 idi kwati-ñu kása-ka wehebíte  
 then jaguar-Pl come-DECL 3sgf+over+DIR  
 "She(the aunt) was asleep, the jaguars dug, then the jaguars came over to her"

#### 2.8.4. Tense-aspect marking

Tense-aspect marking in Bare is not obligatory, similar to the majority of Arawk languages. Very often, the tense of the narrative is stated in the beginning (with the help of adverb *wakadahawaka* "long ago"), and the unmarked verbal forms are used throughout the narrative.

Two tense-aspect suffixes can optionally be used: *-na* "perfect aspect; accomplished action, past tense" (extraprosodic) and *-ni* "non-accomplished action; present tense" (accented). Consider the following opposition:

- (103) yahaɣika nu-tikuwá-ni "I am lying down now"  
 now 1sg-lie-IMPF

- (104) i-tíkua-na "He has lain down already"  
3sgnf-lie down-PF

Serial verb constructions with the verb *-fʼana* "to stay, to dwell" are used to express progressive aspect and prolonged action (see §3.2.1).

Bare has two ways of expressing future. To express near future and intention, serial verb constructions with the verb *-hiwa* "to go" are used; see §3.2.1. on serial verb constructions. To express general future meaning, the enclitic *beke* is used. *Beke* is usually placed after the predicate, and it forms a single phonological word with it in normal to rapid speech register, e.g.

- (105) bihíwa beyéhewa kuhũ id'úaji beke bini  
2sg+take 2sg+from he good FUT you  
"You take it (the headache) from yourself, you will be fine"

In slow speech, *beké* acquires independent stress, as in (106):

- (106) i-máha niku bi-témuda beké  
3sgnf-say 1sg+for 2sg-hear FUT  
"He said to me, you listen"

*Beke* follows other verbal markers. It can cooccur with sequential *-ka*, as in (107), and with perfective *-na*, as in (108). In the latter case, *beke* refers to an action which will have been completed in future.

- (107) bi-katehesa-ka beké badahánaka biku  
2sg-know-SEQ smth one day 2sg+for+IMPF  
ahaw bi-wakhid'a-ka hena-ka bi-katehesa  
with what 2sg-live-SEQ NEG-SEQ 2sg-know  
"If you know (how to do things) one day, one day you will  
have with what to live (my boss said to me)"
- (108) aji khi makikha nihíwa-na beke  
DEM month end 1sg+go-PERF FUT  
"In the end of this month I shall go away"

#### 2.8.4.1. Repetitive aspect

Repetitive and/or prolonged action in Bare is marked by the reduplication of a final syllable of a verbal stem (which precedes the thematic syllable), e.g. *-fʼuma-ka* (cry-TH) "cry, bark (a dog)"; *-fʼuma-ma-ka* (cry-RED-TH) "cry (much), call" or the whole verbal stem, e.g. *-wafʼu-ka* "to hit", *wafʼu-wafʼu-ka* "to beat, shake (feathers of a bird)". Bare shares this phenomenon with Warekena. Repetitive aspect can be formed on transitive and intransitive underived verbal stems. It is difficult to evaluate the productivity of reduplication in the situation of language obsolescence.

Another way of marking a repetition of an action is with the help of the enclitic *maka* "again". *Maka* forms one phonological word with the preceding verb in normal to rapid register, e.g.

- (109) nu-búkuda nu-sia a-duma-ka i-t'amiʼi-ka maka nú  
1sg-wake up 1sg-go back INDEF-sleep-TH 3sgnf-haunt-DECL again I

nu-sajima ŷuma-ka maka nuni  
 1sg-friend call-DECL again I  
 "I woke up and went back to sleep, it haunted again, my friend called me again"

(110) i-khua-máka me-ñu-ka iku  
 3sgnf-ask-again 3pl-throw-DECL for  
 "He (the turtle) asked again (for fruit), they (monkeys) threw (it) to him"

In slower speech, *maka* receives an independent stress:

(111) hiwakhanaind'a maka "He worked again"  
 3sgnf+work again

*Máka* can cooccur with perfective verb forms, e.g.

(112) yahajika i-kása-na maka "Now he (the dog) has come again"  
 now 3sgnf-come-PERF again

#### 2.8.4.2. Inchoative aspect

The *ña*-derivation is used to form verbs of "becoming" from nouns and adjectives, e.g. *mawina* "girl", *mawine-ña* "to become a girl"; *id'uaqi* "good", *id'uaqi-ña* "to become good", *ihiwí* "flower", *ihiwí-ña* "to start having flowers, flourish". The following examples illustrate its use with prefixless verbs derived from an adjective (113), a quantifier (114), an adposition (115), a prefixed verb (116), a modal verb "can" (117):

(113) hibísa kuhĩ id'uaqí-ña relós i-d'úmaka  
 3sgnf-clean he well-INCH watch 3sgnf-sleep  
 "He cleaned it (the watch), the watch became well, he slept"

(114) aqi wa-kaqáka-ni ibabukú-ña kuhúni  
 DEM 1pl-hen-POSS many-INCH they  
 "Here are our hens, they became many"

(115) i-témuda i-buhú-ña  
 3sgnf-hear 3sgnf-behind-INCH  
 "He heard (the noise of a bird) starting behind him"

(116) idi i-báqika i-bíhite relós a-makhí-ña  
 then 3sgnf-dig 3sgnf-meet watch INDF-end-INCH  
 "Then he dug, he found the watch which was starting to run down"

(117) ibeuku nu-yehé-ña-ka nú-nika  
 then 1sg-can-INCH-DECL 1sg-eat  
 "Then I could eat (lit. I began to be able to eat) (fish and meat)"

#### 2.8.4.3. Mood

Bare has three non-indicative moods: declarative, imperative/prohibitive and purposive.

Declarative mood is marked with suffix *-ka*. It is used to state an action, e.g.

- (118) wa-waɣa-ka id'arebi idi wa-wakhid'a-sa-ka yahaniye  
 1pl-approach-DECL shore then 1pl-pass-CAUS-DECL day  
 "We did stop at the shore, we did spend the day (there)"

Second person forms are used in the function of a positive imperative; no third person imperatives are found in the corpus, e.g.

- (119) bihiwa phaní-ute "Go home!"  
 2sg+go house-DIR

Prohibitive mood is marked with the help of prefix *ba-* and suffix *-ka*, e.g.

- (120) ba-bi-kiyate-'da-ka bi-yuhada bi-ɣana-ka  
 NEG-2sg-fear-FC-NEG 2sg-walk 2sg-stay-SEQ  
 "Don't be afraid. You are going with me"

Purposive mood is formed on the verbal stem by suffix *-waka*. It is used in subordinate clauses. In the latter case, the subject of the purposive clause does not necessarily coincide with that of the main clause, e.g. (121) (where the two subject coincide) and (122) (where they do not).

- (121) nihiwa nu-ɣátika adáhati nu-ned'a-waka nu-kákuɟi  
 1sg+go 1sg-cut cipó-vine 1sg-weave-PURP 1sg-fishnet  
 "I went to cut cipó-vine to weave a fish-net"

- (122) waháwa wa-yúruda ate adi-(i)ɣana-ka  
 1pl+go 1sg-walk until where/here+3sgnf-stay-DECL  
 iwáha a-wana i-ɣuma-ka nu  
 3sgnf+brother INDEF-order 3sgnf-call-DECL I  
 nihiwa-waka ima manáu(te)  
 1sg+see-PURP 3sgnf+with Manaus(-DIR)  
 "Let's go to (the place) where his brother is who ordered (other people) to call me, for me to go with him to Manaus"

#### 2.8.4.4. Other functions of the suffix *-waka*

The suffix *-waka*, besides its use as a purposive mood marker, is used in three further functions:

- to mark negative forms (see §2.8.5.);
- to mark action nominalization (see §2.3.5.);
- to mark the predicate of a subordinate clause meaning "uncontrollable result", e.g.,

- (123) nu-d'íña i-ku hwáruni mádaka hena wa-yehé-waka wa-háwa-ka  
 1sg-tell 3sgnf+for strong wave NEG 1pl-can-NEG 1pl+go-SEQ  
 "I told him, the wave is strong, so that we will not be able to go"

#### 2.8.5. Negation

Predicative negation is marked by the particle *hena* which always immediately precedes the verb and suffix *-waka* on the predicate of the main clause (e.g. (123)). *Hena* has an independent stress

and it attracts clitical particles, e.g. *phe* "yet, still" can be joined to it, and it can never be inserted into the negated verbal form, e.g. (124):

- (124) *tesa paqatya ate yahaqi-ka hena-phe nu-bihité-waka*  
 this money until now NEG-yet 1sg-meet-NEG  
 "This money, up to now I did not find (it)"

*Hena* + *-na* + predicate + sequential *-ka* means "no more", e.g.

- (125) *pero nu-witi hena-na yada-ka-nā*  
 but 1sg-eye NEG-more see-DECL-PAST?  
 "But my eyes do not see any more"

*Hena* in subordinate clauses combines with a predicate marked by a sequential *-ka*, e.g.

- (126) *yahaqi-ka abeuku hena-ka niku*  
 now-SEQ when NEG-SEQ 1sg+for  
*henahaw nu-wend'a-ka nu-ʃana kwiyuqi*  
 NEG+with 1sg-buy-DECL 1sg-stay sad  
 "Now when I do not have(money) to buy (things) with, I become sad"

In purposive subordinate clauses, *hena* takes the purposive *-waka* (which may be an indication that *-waka* is a clitic), e.g.

- (127) *nu-ka-d'ekada kuhuni hena-ha-waka me-wet'a nu-sinka*  
 1sg-CAUS-make they NEG-PAUS-PURP 3pl-grow 1sg-as  
 "I am teaching these children for them not to grow up like me"

In 'if'-clauses, *hena* takes the sequential *-ka*, e.g. (128):

- (128) *hena-ka i-katehesā binehe i-d'awi-ka-naha*  
 NEG-SEQ 3sgnf-know+PAST medicine 3sgnf-die-TH-PAST  
 "If he had not known the medicine he would have died"

However, the "attraction" of *-ka* to *hena* does not seem obligatory in spontaneous speech, e.g.

- (129) *yamadu bakute kniñeni hena khiñeni-ka ka-kiate-waka-qi*  
 Evil spirit one+ADJ man NEG man-SEQ ATR-fear-NOM-ADJ  
 "The evil spirit is similar to a person, since he is not a person,  
 he is frightening"

*Hena* is also used as a negative response "no", e.g.

- (130) *hena i-maha-niku*  
 NEG 3sgnf-say-1sg+for  
 "No, he said to me"

*Hena* can also refer to a non-predicate constituent, e.g. (130) and cases like *hena waqa abeuku* "not all the time", *hena abeuku* "never", *hena-ate* "nowhere" e.g.

- (131) hena id'uaqi nu-yada-ka  
 NEG good 1sg-see-DECL  
 "I can not see well"

Negative pronoun *bed'a-waka* "nothing" can cooccur with *hena*, or used as the only negation:

- (132) nima nima hena bed'awaka me-d'ékada bíku  
 1sg+with 1sg+with NEG nothing 3pl-do 2sg+for  
 "With me they will not do anything to you"

- (133) abeuku bedyawaka me-nika maḥuka  
 when nothing 3pl-eat flour  
 "When there is nothing, they (dogs) eat (manioc) flour"

Bare has privative forms derived from inalienably possessed nouns by *ma-*; its non-negative counterpart being *ka-* (see §2.5.), cf.:

- (134) ma-sabehew pani  
 NEG-closed house  
 "The house was not closed"
- (135) idi kwati híwa-na ma-khabí-u-na  
 then jaguar go-PERF NEG-paw-FEM-PERF  
 "Then the jaguar went away, he was without a paw".

Negative prefix *ma-* is used to derive negative verbs, e.g. *-kuda* "light", *-kuda-sa* "turn on the light", *-makuda* "go out (light), eclipse", *-makuda-sa* "turn off (light)"; *-khiña* "think", *-ma-khiña* "forget".

## 2.8.6. Valency changing derivations

Bare has one valency-increasing operation - morphological causative (§2.8.6.1). Syntactic causatives will be discussed in §2.8.6.2. Valency-reducing operation, reflexive/reciprocal, will be discussed in §2.8.6.3.

### 2.8.6.1. Morphological causative

Suffix *-sa* is productively used to derive causatives from intransitive verbs, e.g. causatives of  $S_A$  verbs: *-kuda* "light", *-kuda-sa* "light" (tr); *-hetuka* "to be afraid", *-hetuka-sa* "frighten", *-baraka* "run", *-baraka-sa* "make run, hunt", *-wakada* "cure(intr)", *-wakada-sa* "cure (tr)", *-makhi* "finish", *-makhi-sa* "finish".  $S_0$  verbs do not take prefixes, but their causatives are prefixed: *kiya* "be red", *kiya-sa* "make red", *awibei* "be new", *awibei-sa* "renew".

- (136) hantiḡaje i-ḡakabuda uni-ute i-ramaka  
 child 3sgm-fall river-DIR 3sgm-wet  
 "The child fell into the river and got wet"
- (137) hiya i-ramaka-sa khadi  
 rain 3sgm-wet( $S_A$ )-CAUS ground  
 "The rain wetted the ground"

- (138) hena-ha hwaru-ka me-baráka-ka  
 NEG-already strength-SEQ 3pl-run(S<sub>a</sub>)-SEQ  
 "They (pigs) had no force to run any more"
- (139) idi nu-baraka-sa habíya desde las o'fjo  
 then 1sg-run-CAUS pig from 8 o'clock  
 "Then I made them (pigs) run from 8 o'clock"
- (140) nu-wakhid'a hwibudi nábidi i-tféréka nuni  
 1sg-pass(S<sub>a</sub>) eel back 3sgnf-shock I  
 "I passed behind the eel, and he gave me a shock"
- (141) nu-diŋa-ŋe hena i-hiwa-waka a-wakhid'a-sa i-hieta-ni  
 1sg-son-POSS NEG 3sgm-go-NEG IND-pass-CAUS 3sgm-holiday-POSS  
 "My son did not go away to spend his holiday"

The suffix *-sa* can be used with few transitive verbs to mark oblique advancement, i.e. an oblique constituent becomes a core one, e.g.

- (142) nu-d'ekada-ni isa "I am making a canoe"  
 1sg-do-IMPF canoe
- (143) ba-bi-d'ekada-sa-ka ŋinu hena-ha-waka yawi kuhũ  
 NEG-2sg-do-CAUS-NEG dog NEG-yet-NEG angry he  
 "Do not do this to a dog, for it not to be angry"

The suffix *-sa* is used with the verb *-dia* "to drink" to form a causative "to make get drunk", e.g.

- (144) idi me-máha-ka ke hena me-yehé-waka me-dia-sa-ka nũ  
 then 3pl-say-DECL that NEG 3pl-can-NEG 3pl-drink-CAUS I  
 "Then they said that they did not manage to make me drunk"

*-sa* derivations are S=O ambitransitives, e.g.,

- (145) nu-diŋa-ŋe i-yawi-d'a-sa nũ  
 1sg-son-POSS 3sgm-angry-INC-CAUS I  
 "My son makes me angry"
- (146) abeuku nu-yawi-d'a-sa-ka nũ kibaŋi maphau  
 when 3sgm-angry-INC-CAUS I also bad  
 "When I am made angry, I am also bad"
- (147) hwibudi i-d'umaka-sa nu-dana  
 electric eel 3sgnf-sleep-CAUS 1sg-arm  
 "The electric eel paralyzed (lit. made sleep) my arm"
- (148) i-d'umaka-sa nu-dana  
 3sgnf-sleep-CAUS 1sg-arm  
 "My arm is paralyzed (lit. made sleep) "



Derivations with *-sa* can also be used as A=S ambitransitives. *-baraka-sa* means to make run in (139). It is used in the sense "to hunt" in (149) (from a story about dogs owned by the speaker):

- (139) niku khiḡikúnama bakũ kumarehé-ña  
 1sg+for three one big-INCH  
 i-baraka-sa-na bikunama pánti-phe  
 3sgnf-run-CAUS-PERF two small-yet  
 "I have three (dogs), one is big, he hunts already, two are still small"

Possibly, another fossilized marker of a morphological causative is *ka-*, attested in one example (which is also an S=O ambitransitive): *-d'ekada* "make, do"; *ka-d'ekada* "teach", e.g.

- (140) nu-ka-d'ekadā nu-khumíd'a-ka nahau-na  
 1sg-CAUS?-make 1sg-swim-SEQ 1sg+with-PERF  
 bed'a-waka i-ka-d'ekada nuni  
 nobody-NOM 3sgnf-CAUS-make I  
 "I learnt to swim by myself. Nobody taught me"

### 2.8.6.2. Syntactic causatives

Syntactic causatives in Bare are formed with the help of A/Sa verbs *-d'ekada* "make", *-hmada* "let, leave", *-wana* "order". Syntactic causatives can be formed mainly on intransitive verbs, and serial verb constructions. The semantic difference between a syntactic and a morphological causative is that the former implies indirect action of the causer over the causée. The difference between serial verb constructions and syntactic causatives is that in the latter the Same Subject constraint does not operate (cf. §3.2.1).

- (141) kubana i-haḡaki-sa ba-miñaḡi-ña-ha  
 guaraná 3sgnf-make 4p-body-POSS-PAUS  
 "Guaraná strengthens one's body"
- (142) i-d'ekadā teñe-d'a  
 3sgnf-make sweat-INCH  
 "He(my father) made (others) sweat"
- (143) i-d'ekada nu-ḡuma-ma-ka  
 sgnf-make 1sg-cry-RED-DECL  
 "He(the electric eel who bit me) made me cry"
- (144) i-wáha waná i-hiwa i-ḡabiña  
 3sgnf-brother order 3sgnf+go 3sgnf-dive  
 "His(Marianos's) brother ordered him(Mariano) to go and dive"

It is possible that syntactic causatives, which were especially frequent in spontaneous speech, are the result of the influence of Portuguese.

### 2.8.6.3. Valency reducing derivation: reflexive/reciprocal

As do many other Arawak languages, Bare uses the same morphological marker for reflexives and reciprocals: suffix *-tini* (realized as *-ti* in rapid speech register, cf. §1.4.2). Examples (145), (146) illustrate the reciprocal meaning of *-tini*, and (147), (148) its reflexive meaning:

(145) kuɟimáú-nu me-wabukudá-ti<sup>✓</sup> me-nika-waka kwati  
 turtle-PL 3pl-come together-RECIP 3pl-eat-PURP jaguar  
 "Turtles joined each other to eat the jaguar"

(146) hwetuka-tini-ka wa-bahada-tini  
 1pl+turn-RECIP-DECL 1pl-share-RECIP  
 "We will turn to each other and divide (the found money) with each other"

(147) nu-kuɟusa-da-tini nu-resa idi nu-dumá-ka-ni  
 1sg-cross-FC-RECIP 1sg-pray then 1sg-sleep-TH-IMPF  
 "I crossed myself and prayed then I slept"

(148) nu-baɟe-d'a-tini  
 1sg-cover-INC-RECIP  
 "I covered myself"

Declarative *-ka* follows *-tini*, e.g.

(149) i-yakara-kã i-ɟana-ka ada idi yakara-ka-tínyaka  
 3sgnf-cut-TH+PF 3sgnf-stay-DECL tree then cut-TH-RECIP+DECL  
 "He was cutting trees, then he cut himself"

The *-tini* derivation in reciprocal meaning is usually formed on transitive verbs, or on causatives of intransitives, e.g. *me-bukúda-na* (3pl-wake up-PF) "they woke up" (Intr); *me-bukudá-sa-na* (3pl-wake up-CAUS-PF) "they woke (somebody) up"; *me-bukuda-sá-tini* (3pl-wake up-CAUS-RECIP) "they woke up each other".

*Tini*-derivation can be formed on intransitive verbs, to express coreferentiality of the subject of a subordinate predicate to the main predicate, e.g.

(149) ihiwa i-piɟi-ɟi-ka heɟu-da-tini-waka  
 3sgnf+go 3sgnf-roll-RED-TH dry-FC-RECIP-PURP  
 "He (the dog) went to roll (in the sand) for him to become dry"

*Tini*-derivations from some intransitive verbs have reflexive-like meaning, e.g.

(150) nu-kahawi-d'a-tini  
 1sg-pain-FC-RECIP  
 "I feel pain on myself, I am complaining about pain"

(151) nu-karakasá-tini  
 1sg-stumbled-RECIP  
 "I stumbled by hitting myself"

Sometimes it is difficult to decide whether the use of *-tini* is not the result of an influence of Portuguese, e.g. *nu-takasa-tini* "I was deceived" (Port. *eu me enganei*), and (152).

- (152) tantu nu-kiate-d'á-ka kási nu-khuna-tínyaka  
 so lsg-fear-FC-DECL almost lsg-excrete-RECIP+DECL  
 "I was so much scared, that I almost excreted on myself" (Port. *quase me caguei*)

*Tini* is also sometimes used when the subject is undetermined. This usage can also be due to Portuguese or Spanish influence, e.g.

- (153) lansa id'uaʒi hamuduka-tini-waka  
 spear good INDF+kill-RECIP-PURP  
 "Spear is good for fighting"

Unlike some other Arawak languages, *-tini* is not used in emphatic meaning, i.e. to underline the identity of the agent. For this, Bare uses either the emphatic particle *--ki*, or adposition *-hawna*, e.g. (153), (29), (28).

- (153) nuni-ki nu-d'ekada nisa-ni  
 I-EMPH lsg-make lsg+canoe-POSS  
 "I make canoe myself"

### 2.8.7. Sequential forms.

Like other North-Arawak languages, Bare has special sequential verbal forms, marked with the enclitic *-ka*. (see §3.7.2.1.). The sequential *-ka* precedes the tense-aspect morphemes. In the case of a negative predicate, it goes on the negation, e.g. (107). A sequential affix is used on the predicate of every subordinate clause (underlined in (154)).

- (154) nu-khuʒuna hnumiye ibeuku nu-yada-ka sepultura tibuku  
 lsg-roll lsg+hammock when lsg-see-SEQ tomb over  
nu-duma-ka-ka tekhi habite i-tamiʒika nù  
lsg-sleep-TH-SEQ this because 3sgnf-menace I  
 "I rolled the hammock when I saw that I had slept over a tomb, this is why it was haunted"

### 2.8.8. Verbal derivation

The following affixes are used to derive verbs from other word classes: (i) *-ka* is used to derive prefixless impersonal verbs from nouns and adjectives, e.g. *yahane* "day", *yahane-ka* "to dawn", *tai* "black", *tai-ka* "to be night"; (ii) *-da* is used to form inchoative verbs on adjectives, stative verbs and nouns, e.g., *kunaba* "thin", *-kunaba-d'a* "to lose weight";

- (155) ʒinu hani waye  
 dog child merry+IMPF  
 "The puppy is merry"
- (156) ʒinu hani waye-d'a  
 dog child merry-INC

"The puppy became merry"

Inchoative *-da* and causative *-sa* can cooccur, e.g. *heru* "dry", *heru-da* "become dry", *-heru-da-sa* "to make dry". Some *-da* derivations are S=O verbs, cf. (198) and (199):

(157) *ʃinu hani waye-d'a nũ* "The puppy makes me merry"  
 dog child merry-INC I

(158) *nuni hena nu-kiate-d'á-waka nu-yuwahada-ka*  
 I NEG 1sg-fear-INCH-NEG 1sg-walk-SEQ  
 I am not afraid of walking"

To derive verbs from nouns, Ø affixation can be used, e.g. *-khabi* "hand"; *nu-khabi* "I take, I grasp, I bring".

### 3. Syntax

#### 3.1. The structure of noun phrases

Noun phrases function as subjects, objects and peripheral arguments in verbal clauses, and as subjects and predicates in verbless clauses. The subtypes are:

(a) an attributive NP which consists of a determiner and a noun; then a determiner which is an adjective follows the noun, e.g.(159); a determiner which is a pronoun, or a numeral, precedes the noun, e.g. (160).

(159) *niʃa haʃabi* "my long hair"  
 1sg+hair long

(160) *waʃa yahane* "the whole day"  
 all day

(b) a possessive NP, in which the possessor precedes the possessed, e.g.

(161) *nu-yaka-w bana* "my mother's house"  
 1sg-parent-FEM house

(c) a single noun, optionally modified with a possessive prefix or a single pronoun.

All determiners in Bare can be used without the head-noun. The agreement in gender and number and its variability in attributive NPs was discussed in §2.2. Postpositional phrases are identical with possessive NPs (see §2.6.).

#### 3.2. The structure of verb phrases

A verb phrase can consist of one verb, of a serial verb construction (see §3.2.1), or of a complex verbal nucleus (§3.2.2.).

##### 3.2.1. Serial verb constructions

Serial verb constructions are widespread in North-Arawak languages. Serial verb constructions in Bare form one predicate (and not two separate predicates; cf. criteria for serial verb constructions suggested in Foley and Olson 1985), for the following reasons: (a) the scope of negation: one negative

marker is used to negate the whole serial verb construction; **(b)** no other constituent can intervene between the two components of a serial verb construction; the order of the two components is free; **(c)** the components of a serial verb construction can not receive independent marking for tense/mood, or sequential (e.g., the two underlined verbs in (100) do not form a serial verb construction, because each of them have a sequential marker *-ka*); **(d)** the components of a serial verb construction receive a single valency-changing marker; **(e)** the Same Subject constraint, i.e. the two verbs which form a serial verb construction have to have the same subject. Bare has the following types of serial verb constructions: **(i)** aspectual serial verb constructions; **(ii)** phase serial verb constructions; **(iii)** modal serial verb constructions.

Aspectual serial verb constructions are formed with motion verbs *-hiwa* "to go"; *-sia* "to return, to do again", *-muda* "to come down" etc, and the stance verb *-fana* "to stay, to dwell" (e.g. (165), (166), (167) and (98)). The serial verb constructions with *-hiwa* have a future, and/or intentional meaning, e.g. (162); aspectual serial verb constructions formed with a stance verb have a progressive, habitual meaning with action verbs and verbs of state, e.g. (163). Both *-hiwa* and *-fana* come close to auxiliaries. The difference between the aspectual serial verb constructions and phase and modal serial verb constructions is that only the aspectual ones allow indefinite person marking *a* on the main verb (i.e. not motion or stance verb), under the conditions outlined in §2.8.3.

Phase serial verb construction are formed with the help of the verbs *-dabana* "begin" and *-wajaka* "stop" (168). Modal serial verb constructions are formed with the help of *-hisa* "want, look for", *-yehe* "be able to, manage", *-takasa* "pretend", *-kuduba* "wait", *-da* "give, let" etc. (169), (170), (171).

The scope of negation in serial verb constructions is illustrated by (205):

(162) hena nihiwa-waka nu-ƒereka nu-yaka-u abi  
 NEG 1sg+go-NEG 1sg-speak 1sg-parent-FEM with  
 "I am not going to talk to my mother"

(163) illustrates the fact that the two components of a serial verb construction receive a single valency changing marker, and (164) shows that the two components receive a single mood marker. The markers go on the first component.

(163) kuhuni-ki hamuduka-tini-~ me-ƒana-ka  
 they-EMPH INDEF+kill-REFL-IMPF 3pl-stay-DECL  
 "They are really killing each other"

(164) nu-wána nu-sájima ihiwá-waka a-diña lancha miñáji  
 1sg-call 1sg-friend 3sgnf+go-PURP INDF-tell boat master  
 "I called my friend to go and say (this) to the master of the boat"

(165) nu-sia a-duma-ka "I went back to sleep"  
 1sg-go back INDEF-sleep-TH

(166) wa-ƒana wa-wahada wa-ƒawaƒi "We were tying the hook"  
 1pl-stay 1pl-tie 1pl-hook

(167) me-muda a-mutúa-sa nú̃ "They came down to meet me"  
 3pl-come down INDF-meet-CAUS I

- (168) me-d'ába-na me-kanta "They started singing"  
3pl-begin-INCH 3pl-sing
- (169) nu-takasã nu-dúmaka "I pretended I was asleep"  
1sg-deceived+IMPF 1sg-sleep
- (170) nihišã nu-tikuwa "I want to lie down"  
1sg+want 1sg-lie down
- (171) nu-yehe numudukã "I managed to shoot him"  
1sg-manage 1sg+shoot

### 3.2.2. Complex verbal nucleus

Complex verbal nucleus consists of the following modal verbs + main verb, marked with sequential *-ka*: *-katehesa* "know", *-yehe* "finish" (homonymous with *yehe* "can, manage" used in modal serial constructions), *iku* "be up to", *-ɛhedɛ* "like", e.g. The complex verb nucleus differs by the presence of the sequential *-ka* on the main verb from a serial verb construction. Like in serial verb constructions, one negation is used to negate the whole construction; no other constituent can intervene between the auxiliary and the main verb.

- (172) nu-ɛhedɛ nu-yuwahada-ka "I like to walk"  
1sg-like 1sg-walk-SEQ
- (173) hnisu me-ɟawadã me-kathesã me-ɟawada-ka  
1sg-daughter 3pl-fish 3pl-know 3pl-fish-SEQ  
"My daughters fish, they know how to fish"
- (174) niku--ki nu-ɟana-ka me-babi  
1sg+for-EMPH 1sg-stay-DECL 3pl-with  
"It is up to me to stay with them"
- (175) nu-yéhe-ka nu-ɟésa-ka  
1sg-finish-DECL 1sg-pray-SEQ  
"I finished praying"

Some verbs show variation between serial verb construction and a complex verbal nucleus, e.g. the verb *-kad'ekada* "to learn" in (176) (a serial verb construction) and (177) (a complex verbal nucleus), *-katehesa* "to know" in (173) above and (178). This variation can be one of the symptoms of language obsolescence.

- (176) nu-ka-d'ekadã nu-khumíd'a-ka nahau-na  
1sg-CAUS?-make 1sg-swim-SEQ 1sg+with-PERF  
"I learnt to swim by myself."
- (177) kuhu u-kadad'ekada humuduka weheuna  
she 3sgf-learn 3sgf+shoot 3sgf+alone  
"She learned how to shoot alone"
- (178) nu-katehesá-ni nu-d'ekada isa "I know how to make a canoe"  
1sg-know-IMPF 1sg-make canoe

Some of these verbs also take a sentential complement, e.g. (179):

- (179) hena ba-katehesa-waka ika me-wakhid'a-ka  
 NEG 4p-know-NEG what/how 3pl-work-SEQ  
 "One does not know how they are doing"

### 3.3. Structure of clauses

Bare has two types of clauses: verbal and verbless. Verbless clauses correspond to copula clauses in some languages, and they are used to denote (i) existence and location, in which case they have a locative adverb, or a noun, e.g. (180), (181), or a demonstrative, e.g. (182), in the predicate slot; (ii) identity, in which case they have a third person pronoun in the predicate slot in a copula-like function, e.g. (183), and (iii) attribution, in which case a noun occupies the predicate slot, e.g. (184). There are also impersonal sentences, with a noun or an adverb in the predicate slot, e.g. (185).

- (180) idi hati damakaꞑuku iꞑaꞑi d'aꞑebi  
 there DEM grass river bank  
 "There is grass there"
- (181) khaꞑꞑu nu-dana habi  
 itching 1sg-arm on  
 "There is itching on my arm; my arm is itching"
- (182) asã kuhũ "here he is!"  
 DEM he
- (183) ada miꞑi kamarehe kuhu "This cat was a thief"  
 DEM cat thief he
- (184) wiñaha Arleni "Her name is Arlene".  
 3sgf+name Arlene
- (185) sébua-phe "it is still early"  
 early-YET

The "double subject" construction is used for possessive sentences which involve inalienably possessed items, e.g.

- (186) ada heñꞑi aweheti iti  
 DEM man small nose  
 "This man has a small nose(lit. This man, small nose)"

In other cases, the postposition *-iku* "for" with a cross-referencing prefix is used in possessive sentences:

- (187) niku khiꞑikúnama "I have three (dogs)"  
 1sg+for three

To negate existence/location, negative predicate *ind'awaka*, or *bed'awaka* "nothing" is used:

(188) awehe ind'awaka miŋi "There is no cat (here)"  
 here NEG EXIST cat

(189) id'uaŋi nu-duma-ka-ka bed'awaka haniyu  
 good 1sg-sleep-TH-DECL nothing mosquito  
 "I sleep well, there are no mosquitoes"

In other cases, *hena...-waka*, or *hena...-ka* (see §2.8.5.) is used to negate the predicate, e.g.,

(190) hena iku-waka ebi "It (the fish) has no bones"  
 NEG for-NEG 3sgnf+bone

Verbless clauses with a noun or an adjective which denotes a physical or emotional state have a dative subject, e.g. (25). Dative subjects are treated as coreferential to other subjects, cf. a serial verb construction:

(191) niku id'uaŋi nu-ŋana-ka "I am fine, I became fine"  
 1sg+for good 1sg-stay-DECL

#### 3.4. Pivot restrictions and ergativity

Traces of morphological ergativity in verbal cross-referencing in Bare were discussed in §2.1. above. Bare displays two further ergative properties. constituent order and syntactic pivot. Bare has the following constituent orders: AVO, S<sub>a</sub>V and VS<sub>0</sub>. Thus, So and O are treated similarly as to the constituent order. Consider the following examples:

AVO:

(192) idi hwibudi ŋereká-sa-ka kuhũ  
 then electric eel shock-CAUS-DECL he  
 "Then the electric eel shocked him"

S<sub>a</sub>V:

(193) kuíd'iyu a-yuhadã pari habi Yara u-ŋana i-d'úkabi  
 lizard INDEF-walk wall over Yara 3sgf-stay 3sgnf-under  
 "A lizard is walking on the wall, Yara was under it"

VS<sub>0</sub>:

(194) yawi-nu bebi "I am angry with you"  
 angry-I 2sg+with

S<sub>0</sub>V and OV constituent orders are possible when the corresponding constituents are topicalized and undergo left dislocation. The dislocated constituent is then separated by a pause from the rest of a clause. (195) comes from a story about the speaker's parents.

(195) nu-yakaŋi, maphau nabi "My father, he was bad with me"  
 1sg-parent-MASC bad 1sg+with



Bare is also syntactically ergative, i.e. it has a strong O/S pivot for coreferential NP deletion in clause linking. This phenomenon can be illustrated with the following examples, where the S of the second clause is coreferential with O of the first, and undergoes deletion:

(196) kwati i-karuka j̄inu i-b̄araka  
 jaguar 3sgnf-bite dog 3sgnf-run  
 "Jaguar<sub>i</sub> bit the dog<sub>j</sub> and it<sub>j</sub>(the dog) ran"

(197) ite ih̄iwa-na hiwakanaind'a maka i-ma-khiñáhada tibayuḡe  
 then 3sgnf+go-PF 3sgnf+work again 3sgnf-NEG- think mutum  
 tiniku i-ma-khiñáhada i-ḡána i-pat'yúá-ni-uku sei mese  
 egg 3sgnf-NEG-think 3sgnf-stay 3sgnf-bag-POSS-LOC six months  
 "Then he (the man) went away to work, he forgot about the egg of  
 mutum, he forgot, it (the egg) stayed in the bag for six months"

In (198), the S of the first clause is coreferential with the O of the second one, which is deleted:

(198) da kwati i-d'áwika mawaya a-kharuka  
 DEM jaguar 3sgnf-die snake INDEF-bite  
 "The jaguar died, (because) a snake bit (him)"

In a sentence where the S of the second clause is coreferential with A of the first, no deletion is possible, and either a full NP or a personal pronoun has to be used. This is illustrated with (199) below:

(199) u-temuda kuhu u-baḡikuda wihiwa  
 3sgf-hear she 3sgf-stand up 3sgf+go  
 u-yada kwati i-baḡika-ni i-ḡána-ka  
 3sgf-see jaguar 3sgnf-dig-IMPF 3sgnf-stay-DECL  
 "She heard (the noise), stood up and went to see the jaguars digging  
 (underneath her house)"

### 3.5. Comparative constructions

Bare has two ways of forming comparative constructions:

(i) the postposition *yehewa* "from", e.g.

(200) kwati ahai kumarehe abiya yehéwa  
 jaguar tooth big pig from  
 "Jaguar's tooth is bigger than pig's"

(ii) the adverb *bid'a* "more" and the postposition *yehewa*, e.g.

(201) kokakola id'uaḡi bid'a uni yehewa  
 coca-cola good more water from  
 "Coca-Cola is better than water"

### 3.6. Interrogative sentences

The interrogative pronoun occupies the first position in the interrogative sentences, e.g.

- (202) na-phena hena bihiwa-(wa)ka a-yuwahada kudehẽ  
 what-for NEG 2sg+go-NEG INDF-walk far  
 "Why did not you go far?"

Yes/no questions are marked by a slight rise of the intonation of the last constituent:

- (203) bi-ka-'d'ekada beheuna  
 2sg-CAUS-learn 2sg+with  
 "Did you learn (to swim) by yourself?"

The questioned constituent often undergoes left dislocation, e.g.

- (204) phisu hmi ne i-d'ekada-ka  
 2sg+daughter husband what 3sgnf-do-DECL  
 "Your daughter's husband, what does he do?"

### 3.7. Complex sentence structure

#### 3.7.1. Coordinate clauses

Juxtaposition is used for clause coordination; sometimes loan coordinate conjunctions are used.

- (205) nihišã nihiwa damakarute peru nu-kiate-d'ã  
 1sg+want+IMPF 1sg+go jungle+DIR but 1sg-fear-FCT+IMPF  
 "I wanted to go to the jungle, but got scared"

#### 3.7.2. Subordinate clauses

##### 3.7.2.1. The strategies of clause linking

Bare has four strategies of clause linking: (i) indefinite person marking on the verb (see §2.8.3.); (ii) sequential *-ka*, (iii) *-waka* suffix on the verb ("so that", see §2.8.4.4.), (iv) a subordinate conjunction (usually accompanied by sequential *-ka* on the verb). A great degree of variation in the marking of various types of subordinate clauses may be due to language obsolescence. The first three strategies of clause linking are found in other Arawak languages, and the fourth one apparently emerged under the influence of Spanish. The majority of subordinate conjunctions are loans from Spanish. The following types of clauses can be distinguished in Bare, according to what strategies of clause linking and other devices are used: relative clauses (§3.7.2.2.), complement clauses (§3.7.2.3.) and adverbial clauses (§3.7.2.4.).

##### 3.7.2.2. Relative clauses

Relative clauses are marked by the indefinite person prefix *a-* (as in (206), (207)), or sequential *-ka* (as in (208) or (209)). A relative clause can function as O (206), S (122),  $S_0$  (207) or as a peripheral argument (208) of the main clause:

- (206) me-bíhite- bakú-naka kwáti duwã a-d'awí-ka-na  
 3pl-encounter one jaguar body INDF-die-TH-PERF  
 "They encountered a body of one jaguar which was dead"

- (207) teki habite wiku yáka-qi mehesawa-ka hmeyuqi  
 this over 3sgf+for parent-MASC 3pl+hunt-SEQ 3pl+game  
 u-nika-waka  
 3sgf-eat-PURP

"That's why she has parents who look for game for her to eat"

- (208) hena-ka nu-bíhite abi nu-ŋejeke-ka Bare  
 NEG-DECL 1sg-meet with 1sg-speak-SEQ Bare  
 "I have not found anybody to speak Bare with"

Bare has no special relative pronoun. Demonstratives *tesa* and *teda* can be used in a restrictive relative clause, to mark the head, e.g.

- (209) hnisu tesa wiku humi u-katehesā  
 1sg+daughter DEM 3sgf+for 3sgf+husband 3sgf-know+IMPF  
 muduka-ka  
 shoot-SEQ  
 "My daughter, the one who has a husband, can shoot"

- (210) idi wa-nika ted'a wamisi i-kha-na wa-nika wa-yéhe  
 then 1pl-eat that 1pl+smoked 3sgnf+burn-PF 1pl-eat 1pl-can  
 "Then we ate that very smoked food which was burnt".

*Tesa* and *teda* can also be used as heads of relative clauses:

- (211) yahaŋika nu-yakahasa bi' bi-diña-waka niku  
 now 1sg-ask you 2sg-tell-PURP 1sg+for  
 tesa nihišā nu-katehesa  
 that 1sg+want 1sg-know  
 "Now I shall ask you to tell me (things) that I want to know"
- (212) nu-ŋehedi nu-temuda-ka teda me-kanta me-ŋana-ka  
 1sg-like 1sg-hear-SEQ that 3pl-sing 3pl-stay-SEQ  
 "I like to listen to what they are singing"

Demonstrative adverbs, e.g. *adi* "there", *idi* "then" can be used as relative pronouns, when a peripheral constituent is relativized, e.g. (122) above. *Neka* (see §3.5.2.3) can be used in headless relative clauses, which are difficult to distinguish from complement clauses, e.g.

- (213) waŋa neka me-wána-ha i-d'ékada  
 all what 3pl-order-PAUS 3sgnf-do  
 "All that/what they ask him, he does"

### 3.7.2.3. Complement clauses

A complement clause is a clause which fills a core role of the predicate. It is marked with the help of the sequential *-ka* on the predicate, if the action of the predicate of the subordinate clause is simultaneous to that of the main clause, e.g. (214). If the action of the predicate of the subordinate clause precedes the one of the main clause, *-ka* is not used, e.g.(215). The indefinite person marking can be used on the predicate, as in (215) and (216). The personal cross-referencing is suppressed if the A/Sa constituent is contrastive, as in (214).

- (214) yahaney-ka-úte i-témuda galu hukáda-ka  
 day-DECL-DIR 3sgnf-hear rooster sing-SEQ

"At dawn he heard a rooster sing"

(215) bikunama nu-sajima mehewa a-diña nu-yawahá-na  
two 1sg-friend 3pl+go INDF-tell 1sg-find-PERF  
"My two friends went to tell that I found it"

(216) me-khiñahā mawáya a-kháruka i-d'áwika  
3pl-think snake INDF-bite 3sgnf-die  
"They think that the snake bit him and he died"

(217) i-maha niku wahawa wa-yada wa-ted'a  
3sgnf-say 1sg+for 1pl+go 1pl-see 1pl-try  
hena-ka wa-yéhe~ wa-yúruda dawáhana wa-péruka  
NEG-SEQ 1pl-can 1pl-go under 1pl-return  
"he said to me, let's go and see and try, whether we can not go here  
and return"

The Spanish loan *ke* (e.g., (218)) and *ika* (e.g., (179)) are sometimes used to introduce complement clauses, e.g.,

(218) me-yaka-w u-murúkã kaníti u-díña-ka  
3pl-parent-FEM 3sgf-pick+IMPF manioc 3sgf-tell-SEQ  
ke makajera ña-kániti  
that sweet manioc DEM-manioc  
"Their mother was picking the manioc, she told that that manioc was  
sweet manioc"

In complement clauses with an interrogative complement interrogative pronouns, e.g. *abadi* "who", *ika* "how", *naphena* "why", *ikabuçe* "when", *awatate* "where" etc are used in oblique questions, e.g., (219) - (223). *Neka* (*ne* "what" + *ka* "sequential" ) is used for "what". On the use of indefinite person marker with the subject *abadi* "who" see §2.8.3., e.g., (219) below. The question word can attract a tense/aspect marker, as in (222). The question word occupies the first position in a clause, and the sequential *-ka* can be used on the predicate, as in (221).

(219) pana*í*--ki nu-katehesã-ki abadya-diña biku  
true-EMPH 1sg-know-EMPH who+INDF-tell 2sg+for  
"It is true, I know who told you"

(220) hena-ha nu-kathesa-ka neka nu-diña biku  
NEG-more 1sg-know-DECL what 1sg-tell 2sg+for  
"I do not know what more to tell you"

(221) hena ba-kathesa-waka ika me-wakhid'a-ka  
NEG 4p-know-NEG what/how 3pl-work-SEQ  
"One does not know how they are doing"

(222) hnuyákahasa i-ku awatáte-ña kuhúnie  
1sg+ask 3sgnf+for where-INCH they+PAUS  
"I asked him where they are"

- (223) nu-but'yu-ka i-d'uqa nu-yada-waka neka  
 1sg-open-DECL 3sgnf-belly 1sg-see-PURP what  
 iku i-d'uqa-ute  
 3sgnf+for 3sgnf-belly-DIR  
 "I opened his (snake's) belly to see what was inside his belly"

The Spanish loan *se* and sequential *-ka* are used to mark an indirect yes/no question, e.g.

- (224) i-yakáhasa núni se wa-yehé waháwa-ka  
 3sgnf-ask I if 1pl-can 1pl+go-SEQ  
 "In the morning he called me and asked if we can go"

### 3.7.2.5. Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clause is a clause which fills a peripheral roles of the predicate. It is generally marked by a conjunction and sequential *-ka* on the verb, e.g.

- (225) ate abeuku nu-kása-ka nu-khawendya beke kuhú  
 until when 1sg-come-SEQ 1sg-pay FUT she  
 "As soon as I come, I shall pay her"
- (226) hantiŋaŋi-ka-(a)beuku nu-kad'ekada-ka nihisa hnuyúŋi  
 child-SEQ-when 1sg-learn-DECL 1sg+look 1sg+game  
 "I have learnt to hunt since I was a child"
- (227) mientre-ke nu-nakúda-ka i-mare-d'a kubati  
 while-SEQ 1sg-go-SEQ 3sgnf-steal-INCH fish  
 "While I was coming in, he stole the fish"
- (228) iti nu-yadakawa-kā purke nu-kathesā  
 here 1sg-acustom-DECL+PERF because 1sg-know+PERF  
 nu-ŋereka-ka mehéruku  
 1sg-speak-SEQ 3pl+language  
 "I have got used(to staying here), because I can to speak their language"

The Portuguese/Spanish loan *si/se* is used to mark conditional clauses, especially in spontaneous speech:

- (229) si hiya i-wakhid'a-ka ate las doce phaní-ute nihiwā  
 if rain 3sgnf-pass-SEQ until twelve house-DIR 1sg+go  
 "If the rain finished until twelve o'clock, I shall go home".

Purposive clauses are marked with purposive *-waka* on the predicate; see examples in §2.8.4.3.

Sequential clauses are a special subtype of clauses in Bare. They are characterized by sequential *-ka* on the predicate, and may have temporal (230), or causal (231), or conditional meaning (232), (233).

- (230) idi nu-diŋaŋe temúda-ka hiyúka nu-búhu-ni  
 then 1sg-son hear-DECL 3sgnf+paddle 1sg+behind-POSS

"Then after my son heard (the evil spirit), he paddled behind me"

(231) isíma a-wakhanaind'a-phe i-ɸana-ka i-hiwa relós  
 rope INDF-work-yet 3sgnf-stay-SEQ 3sgnf-take watch  
 "(Because) the rope was still working, he took the watch"

(232) id'uaɸi nu-ɸana-ka nihiwa khawanaind'a  
 well 1sg-stay-SEQ 1sg+go work  
 "If I am well, I shall go to work"

(233) bi-katehesa-ka beké badahánaka biku  
 2sg-know-SEQ FUT one day 2sg+for  
 ahaw bi-wakhid'a-ka hena-ka bi-katehesa  
 with what 2sg-live-SEQ NEG-SEQ 2sg-know  
 phiñuká bi-pajata-ni panaji--ki da-i-maha-niku  
 2sg-throw-DECL 2sg-money-POSS right-EMPH DEM-3sgnf-say-1sg-for  
 "If you know something, one day you will have with what to live, if  
 you do not know, you will throw away your money".

Clauses with the meaning "so that" can be introduced by Spanish *ke*, e.g.

(234) bihíwa bi/ehéwa kuhũ ke id'úɸi beke bí  
 2sg+take 2sg+from he that well FUT you  
 "Take it (poisoned pillow) from you, so that you will be well"

### 3.8. Discourse structure

An unmarked constituent order was discussed above. Clauses which contain new information contain an introductory *idi* "then".  $S_0$  and O constituents can undergo left dislocation, to mark contrastive focus, e.g. (235); then a pause separates a dislocated constituent from the rest:

(235) ate yahaɸika ba-yada-phe awatadi ɸinu ahai ɸinu, yawi  
 until now IMP-see-STILL where dog tooth dog angry  
 "Until now one still can see where the dog's teeth are (i.e. where  
 the dog bit the boy). This dog, (it) was angry"

The predicate of a verbless clause can be in the contrastive focus, and then it undergoes a left-dislocation. This is illustrated by (24), from a text about a courageous aunt. The underlined constituent *nu-tia-ni* "my aunt", which is the argument of an adposition, is topicalized. The adposition takes person/gender/number prefix. Afterthought is marked with right dislocation, and the dislocated constituent is separated with a pause from the rest, e.g. (50), (96). Bare discourse is highly elliptical. Any core argument can be omitted, if clear from the context.

### 4. Texts

The following narrative tells about the circumstances under which the speaker's family fled from Venezuela to Brazil in 1912, because of uprisings ("revolution").

(1) nu-yaka-ɸe-miñe-hẽ hibiyada batiwitey babuaharute  
 1sg parent-MASC-DEC-PAUS 3sgnf+run upstream+EL downstream+DIR  
 "My deceased father arrived upstream"

- (2) i-kasã                    kukuite    brasilo  
       3sgnf-arrive+PF CUCUI+DIR Brazil  
 "He arrived to Brazil, to Cucui"
- (3) kumandante    brasileru    i-ma-ha                    iku                    manani-phe  
       commandant    Brazilian 3sgmfm-say-PAUS    3sgnf+to    alive-yet  
 "Brazilian commandant said to him, yet alive"
- (4) bĩ    Joakin    Joakin    i-na-ha                    nu-khniñani  
       you    Joaquim    Joakuim    3sgnf-name-PAUS    1pl-people  
 "You Jowaquim, Joaquim was his name, my people"
- (5) hmemuduka-na-ka    bĩ    babuku    Varela    abi  
       3pl-kill-PF-SEQ    you    around    Varela    with  
 "shot at you because of Varela (Venezuelan commandant)"
- (6) idi    me-ɟana-ka            binehe-uku            warela    ima  
       then 3pl-stay-DECL    village-LOC    Varela    3sgnf+with
- (7) baku-hebiña-ma    yahañei-ma    revolución    kasa  
       one-night-ADV    dawn-ADV    revolution    arrive  
 "So they stayed with Varela one night in the village, at dawn the revolution came"
- (8) kasa-ka            me-hebite    me-kasa            hamuduka  
       arrive-SEQ 3pl-on+DIR 3pl-arrive    INDEF-kill  
 "It arrived upon them, they came to kill him(Varela)"
- (9) hme-muduka    kuhĩ    bikunama    ehente-be  
       3pl-kill    he    two            child-PL  
 "They killed him with two children"
- (10) ida    khiñanu    a-ɟana            ibabi                    idi    hena  
       DEM    people    INDEF-stay    3sgnf-around    then    NEG
- (11) me-muduka-waka    me-mada            kuhuni    me-d'anika-waka  
       3pl-kill-NEG    3pl-leave    they    3pl-take care-PURP
- (12) (a)da    biñehe            mientras-ke    me-hewa-ka            Sankarute  
       DEM    village    while-DECL    3pl-go-DECL    San Carlo+DIR  
 "The people who lived around, they did not kill them, they left them to take care of the village, while they (revolutionaries) went to San Carlos"
- (13) kiqikunama    yahane-hĩ    abi    me-sia-waka            (a)-kasa  
       three            day-PAUS    with    3pl-return-PURP    INDEF-arrive  
 "so that they arrived three days later"
- (14) idi    me-yada-ka            ika    me-d'ekada-ka            kuhuni  
       then 3pl-see-DECL    how 3pl-do-DECL    they  
 "Then they saw what they have done"
- (15) mientras-ke    mehewa-ka            bativite  
       while-DECL    3pl+go-DECL    upstream

"While they went upstream"

- (16) end'a khifianu me-bid'ada Brasil-ute  
 PL:DEM people 3pl-escape Brazil-DIR  
 "these people escaped to Brazil"
- (17) me-kasa Kukuite me-ʔereka me-siburese abi  
 3pl-arrive Cucui+DIR 3pl-speak 3pl-soldier with  
 "They arrived and talked to the commandant"
- (18) i-ma-ha me-ku iñeheni in-ʔana-ka aweheni  
 3sgnf-say-PAUS 3pl-to 2pl+CAN? 2pl-stay-DECL here  
 "He said to them, you can stay here"
- (19) ke ini in-ʔanā id'ukabi ʔa bandeira  
 so that you 2pl-stay under DEM flag  
 "So that you may stay under this (i.e. Brazilian flag)"
- (20) awehenteŷ hena bed'awaka a-yehe me-khabi-ka ini  
 here+EL NEG nobody INDEF-can 3pl-take-DECL you  
 "From here nobody can take you away"
- (21) awehenti awehe a-wana nuni  
 here who INDEF-order I  
 "I am the boss here" (lit. here it is me who orders)
- (22) ini-hiwa batiwite si ini-hisa-ka  
 2pl+go upstream+DIR if 2pl-want-DECL  
 "Go upstream if you want"
- (23) hena-ka ini-hisa hena in-hiwa-waka  
 NEG-DECL 2pl-want NEG 2pl-go-NEG  
 "If you do not want, do not go"
- (24) ibeuku nu-yaka-ʔi-miŷe-hē i-ʔana aweheni-wa  
 then 1sg-parent-MASC-DEC-PAUS 3sgnf-stay here-PERL  
 "Then my deceased father stayed here"
- (25) aweheni-wa i-d'awika-ka  
 here-ALONG 3sgnf-die-DECL  
 "Here he died".

## Text 2.

The following text tells about the male initiation ceremony the speaker underwent as a teenager. He remembered the details of it with great difficulty.

- (1) wakadahawaka nu-yakaŷe-miŷe-hē i-seku-da-sa-ka nuni  
 long ago 1sg-father-DEC-PAUS 3sgnf-suffer-INCH-CAUS-DECL I  
 "Long ago my father punished me"
- (2) nihiwa nu-bihite mawaŷi bikunama nu-saŷima mehewa  
 1sg+go 1sg-need spirit two 1sg-friend 3pl+go



- "I went and encountered a "spirit", my two friends went"
- (3) a-diña nu-yawahá-na me-yéhe me-diña-ka  
 INDF-tell 1sg-find?-PERF 3pl-can 3pl-tell-SEQ  
 "to tell that I found it. When they had told it,"
- (4) mehéwa-na hme-mada nu-ŋana nahaw-na  
 3pl+go-PERF 3pl-leave 1sg-stay 1sg+with-PERF  
 "they went, I remained alone"
- (5) nu-yaka-ŋe-miñehe katehesa i-yakahasa nuni  
 1sg-parent-MASC-DEC know 3sgnf-ask I  
 "My deceased father knew and asked me"
- (6) si panaŋi-ka si nu-yadā-ka máwaŋi nu-máha  
 if true-SEQ if 1sg-see-SEQ spirit 1sg-say  
 "if it was true, if I saw it. I said"
- (7) i-ku nu-yadá-ni i-khabi nuni nihiwa-waka  
 3sgnf-for 1sg-see-IMPF 3sgnf-grab I 1sg+go-PURP  
 "to him I saw it, he took me for me to go"
- (8) a-d'ekasa awatadi nu-yada-ka nihiwa  
 INDF-show+CAUS where 1sg-see-SEQ 1sg+go  
 "to show where I saw it. I went"
- (9) nu-d'eka-sa idi i-mateken-d'a-ka  
 1sg-show+CAUS then 3sgnf-silent-INCH-DECL  
 "to show, then he remained silent"
- (10) hena-sinka maha-ka niku  
 NEG-how say-DECL 1sg+for  
 "didn't say anything to me"
- (11) pakateba-sinka nu-yáda i-híwa meyuŋúte  
 tomorrow-AFF 1sg-see 3sgnf+go garden+DIR  
 "The next day I saw, he went to the garden"
- (12) i-ŋati-ka kana ibabúkuni i-pírika i-d'ekada warápa  
 3sgnf-cut-DECL cane much 3sgnf-mince 3sgnf-make juice  
 "He cut much cana, minced it, made juice"
- (13) i-ŋumaka i-wabúkuda i-sáŋima uŋu héñaŋi  
 3sgnf-call 3sgnf-invite 3sgnf-friend eight man  
 "He called his friends, eight men"
- (14) kiŋikunama yahane me-wabukuda mehewa damakarute  
 three day 3pl-unite 3pl+go jungle+DIR  
 "they were together for three days, they went to the jungle"
- (15) me-ŋataka adáhati me-d'ekada haŋabi  
 3pl-pick cipó vine 3pl-make long  
 "they picked the cipó-vine, they made long (canes)"

- (16) yahanei-d'a me-wabukuda-tini me-khabi nuni pujisawaḡi-ute  
 day-INCH 3pl-get together-REFL 3pl-grab I clearing-DIR  
 "Next day they got together, they grabbed me to the clearing"
- (17) me-khabi-ni nuni me-wána nu-yánama  
 3pl-take-IMPF I 3pl-order 1sg-sit  
 "Took me, ordered me to sit down"
- (18) me-wana nu-pháyuka nu-witi mehewa a-hawa me-biya  
 3pl-order 1sg-close 1sg-eye 3pl+go INDF+look 3pl-cane  
 "They ordered me to close my eyes, they went to look for their "cane"
- (19) me-yúruda nu-babi-yawa me-maha niku  
 3pl-walk 1sg-around-PERL 3pl-say 1sg+for  
 "They walked around me, they said to me"
- (20) ba-bi-kufḡia-ka-ka bi-witi bi-kufḡia-ka bi-witi  
 PROH-2sg-open-TH-PROH 2sg-eye 2sg-open-TH 2sg-eye  
 "Do not open your eyes. You will open your eyes".
- (21) abeuku nu-wána-ka idi me-phésana me-bíya  
 when 1sg-order-SEQ then 3pl-whistle 3pl-flute?  
 "when I call. Then they whistled in their flute"
- (22) me-phesana-ka me-biya nu-babi ibeuku  
 3pl-whistle-SEQ 3pl-flute 1sg-around then  
 "they whistled the flute around me, then"
- (23) i-wana-ka nu-kuḡa-ka nu-witi nu-yada-waka nu-mawaḡi-ne  
 3sgnf-order-SEQ 1sg-open-TH 1sg-eye 1sg-see-PURP 1sg-sprit-POSS  
 "ordered me to open my eyes to see my "mawali"
- (24) nu-yada i-diña niku yehe diña-ka  
 1sg-see 3sgnf-tell 1sg+for can tell-SEQ  
 "I saw, he spoke to me, when he finished"
- (25) me-waḡuta-ka nuni adabi yahaw waḡa kuhuni me-waḡuta-ka nuni  
 3pl-beat-DECL I cane with all they 3pl-beat-DECL I  
 "beat me with cane, they all beat me"
- (26) me-yéhe me-waḡuka-ka bakũ yahanei me-seku-dá-sa-ka nuni  
 3pl-can 3pl-beat-SEQ one day 3pl-suffer-INCH-CAUS-DECL I  
 "They finished beating me, one day they made me suffer"
- (27) damakarúku wawaḡi abi i-seku-dá-sa nũ  
 jungle+LOC hunger with 3sgnf-suffer-INCH-CAUS I  
 "in the jungle with hunger. He punished me"
- (28) baku khi yahánei ikáute kada yahaney  
 one month day dawn+DIR every day  
 "for a month, every day at dawn"

- (29) hiya hu kamuhu i-waná nu-kawa  
rain or sun 3sgnf-order lsg-bathe  
"rain or sun, he ordered me to bathe"
- (30) ihiwa nu-búhuni i-yadá-waka si nu-káwa-ka  
3sgnf+go lsg-after 3sgnf-see-PURP if lsg-bathe-SEQ  
"he went after me to see if I was bathing"
- (31) hena-ha-waka nu-taká-sã i-ku  
NEG-more-PURP lsg-cheat-CAUS 3sgnf-for  
"for me not to cheat him"
- (32) wamáji abi bakũ khi ibeuku nu-dúti  
hunger with one month after lsg-grandfather  
"with hunger. After a month my grandfather came"
- (33) i-kasá-ka i-kása idi kuhũ kathesá-ni  
3sgnf-arrive-DECL 3sgnf-come then he know-IMPF  
"He came, then he knew"
- (34) himáka-ka hátiña hamáka niku  
3sgnf+bless-SEQ then INDF?-bless lsg+for  
"He knew how to bless, he blessed me"
- (35) awíhi diti kubáti diti ibeuku nu-yehé-ña-ka nú-nika  
game meat fish meat then lsg-can-INCH-DECL lsg-eat  
"game and fish, then I could eat"
- (36) nu-yáhaku nu-yaka-ji-miñe-he i-diá-ka nu-kújada  
lsg-food lsg-parent-MASC-DEC-PAUS 3sgnf-give-DECL lsg-swallow  
"my food, my deceased father gave me to swallow"
- (37) kuçima hákã hiñaçi nu-wáta-waka bakúni  
turtle heart raw lsg-not feel-PURP hunger  
"a turtle's heart, raw, for me not to feel hunger"
- (38) teki habite yahaçika miyaçi-ña nuni hena nu-ted'á-waka  
this over now old-INCH I NEG lsg-feel-NEG  
"That's why now I am old, I do not feel"
- (39) bakúni nu-khawanaind'a bakũ yahanei hena nu-ted'á-waka  
hunger lsg-work one day NEG lsg-feel-NEG  
"hunger, I work the whole day, I don't feel hunger"
- (40) wamáji i-ka-d'ékada nũ nu-khawanaindya-ka  
hunger 3sgnf-CAUS-teach I lsg-work-SEQ  
He taught me how to work"

### Abbreviations and acknowledgments

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Abbreviations used throughout this grammar are: .ADJ - adjectivizer; AFF - affix; CAUS - causative; CL - classifier; DEC - deceased; DECL - declarative; DEIC - deictic; DEM - demonstrative; DER - derivational; DIR - directional; EL - elative; f, FEM - feminine, FCT - factitive; FUT - future; EMPH - emphatic; EXIST - existential; INCH - inchoative; IMP - impersonal; IMPF - imperfective; INDF - indefinite; LOC - locative; MASC - masculine; NEG - negative; nf - non-feminine; NOM - nominalization; NPOSS - non-possessed; p - person; PAUS - pausal; PERL - perlativ; PF - perfective; pl - plural; POSS - possessive; PROH - prohibitive; PURP - purposive; REC - reciprocal; RED - reduplication; REFL - reflexive; SEQ - sequential; sg - singular; TH - thematic.

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# Gramática muisca

ANGEL LÓPEZ-GARCÍA

Universidad de Valencia

[LSNAL 01]

La lengua muisca es un idioma del grupo chibcha que se hablaba en la sabana de Bogotá y que se extinguió en el siglo XVIII. Llegó a ser "lengua general" del Virreinato de Nuevo Granada: ello nos ha permitido conservar cuatro gramáticas manuscritas de la época. La importancia de la gramática muisca para reconstruir el phylum genético y tipológico de las lenguas amerindias es considerable: entre los idiomas chibchas, bien conocidos, de Costa Rica y Panamá, y las lenguas páez de Ecuador, hay un inmenso vacío lingüístico en los Andes y en la costa colombiana en el que el español ha ocupado totalmente los antiguos espacios indígenas. Tan sólo el tunebo, casi extinguido, parece pertenecer al mismo grupo que el muisca.

La presente gramática se ha realizado cotejando las cuatro versiones manuscritas existentes e intentando reconstruir lo que sería el sistema gramatical muisca tras hacer abstracción de las distorsiones que el modelo latino de las "Artes" misioneras ha introducido en el mismo. Para ello se ha adoptado un punto de vista cognitivo y pragmático susceptible de relacionar la lingüística con la etnología. En cada caso se trata de determinar la contribución de los distintos procedimientos gramaticales al establecimiento de las escenas verbales que cada secuencia refleja. La obra consta de seis partes: Introducción, Método, Verbo, Nombre, Especificadores y Oración. [LINCOS Studies in Native American Linguistics 01. ISBN 3 929075 53 9. Publ. date: July 1995].

## Language and Culture in Native North America

### Studies in Honor of Heinz-Jürgen Pinnow

ed. by MICHAEL DÜRR, EGON RENNER

& WOLFGANG OLESCHINSKI

[LSNAL 02]

The present volume is a collection of twenty-one articles on North American languages and cultures written by American and German scholars in honor of Heinz-Jürgen Pinnow. The articles are distributed according to their content in four sections: the Na-Dene controversy, linguistics studies, discourse studies, and anthropological studies. A fifth section includes an article as a personal homage to Pinnow and other information about his life and his work.

**PART 1: *The Na-Dene Controversy: M. Dürr & E. Renner***, The History of the Na-Dene Controversy: A Sketch. With an Addendum by Heinz-Jürgen Pinnow. - *E. Renner*, The Structure of the Na-Dene Controversy: A Meta-theoretical Explanation. - *M. Dürr & G. Whittaker*, The Methodological Background to the Na-Dene Controversy: Some Notes Bearing on Pinnow's Approach.

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## The Languages of the "First Nations"

Comparison of an Ethnolinguistic Perspective

STEFAN LIEDTKE

[LHL 01]

As yet there is no satisfactory solution for the attempt to study the immense diversity of the languages of the world systematically and to divide them into related groups. On the contrary, there is an embittered, fruitless controversy between, on the one hand, scholars who - unfortunately often with absolutely inadequate methodology - gather the languages into ever increasing "super groups", and on the other hand, scholars who are bogged down in the - justified - criticism towards this approach and have developed an anxious negative attitude especially towards genetic comparative linguistics (the "splitters"). What is now lacking is 1) fresh stock-taking of the meanwhile available descriptive facts, 2) a strict improvement of comparative methods, and 3) an unbiased attitude.

The book aims in this direction. With the example of the languages of the "First Nations", i.e., the Indian peoples of the American twin continent, it attempts a critical stock-taking of the method of language comparison (genetic, areal and typological).

The author lays great emphasis on the points of content between ethnologists and linguists, in order to encourage a cooperation of these disciplines. The book is thus suitable as introductory reading for people interested in these two related disciplines. Comparable works would be desirable for scholars who specialise in other areas (Africanists etc.). These topics have never before been treated in this summary form in the English-speaking world. [LINCOS Handbooks in Linguistics 01. ISBN 3 929075 25 3]

**Bare** is a nearly extinct language, previously spoken by several thousands of people in the Upper Rio Negro region (Brazil, Venezuela). The present grammar is based on the materials collected in 1991 from the last fluent speaker of Bare in Brazil - the late Candelário de Silva. Bare is remarkable for consonant aspiration and vowel nasalization as word and phrase prosodic parameters and the existence of special pausal forms used at the end of sentences. Stress placement and stress shifts depend on the accentual properties of morphemes. Open classes are: nouns, verbs, adjectives (which display a number of specific derivational affixes and traces of gender as a residual agreement category), adverbs. Closed classes are numerals, particles, pronouns. Nouns have the category of possession, with a distinction between alienable and inalienable possession, quite typical for **North-Arawak** languages. Gender as an agreement category is optional, which may be a language death phenomenon. Number is optional, as is the case in the majority of Arawak languages. Bare has a system of peripheral cases and double case marking. Verbs fall into transitive/active, which have cross-referencing prefixes, and intransitive stative, which do not have any cross-referencing. Personal cross-referencing prefixes are suppressed if the subject is in contrastive focus. The verb has a perfective and imperfective aspect; future tense; declarative, purposive, imperative and prohibitive moods; a causative and a reflexive/reciprocal as valency changing operations. Reduplication of the final syllable of a verbal root is used to form intensives. Bare has ergative characteristics in constituent order: AVO, VS<sub>0</sub>, S<sub>2</sub>V. It also has an S/O pivot (syntactic ergativity). Bare has a well-developed system of serial verb constructions.

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