Betoi

Raoul Zamponi

2003
LINCOM EUROPA

Contents

List of abbreviations and symbols

ABL	ablative
ACC, acc.	accusative
COM	comitative
COND	conditional
dat.	dative
DEM	demonstrative
DIR	directional
DIS	distal
F., f.	feminine
FUT	future
IMP	imperative
IMPRF, imprf.	imperfective
IMPRS	impersonal
IND	indicative
INSTR	instrumental
INT, int.	interrogative
LOC	locative
M, m.	masculine
N, n.	neuter
NEG	negative
NP	noun phrase
O	direct object
OPT	optative
p.	person
PL, pl.	plural
PR	proximate
PROH	prohibitive
PURP	purposive
S	subject
sg.	singular
TOP	topic
VBLZR	verbalizer
VOC	vocative
Ø	zero, null realization
( )	added grapheme
[ ]	superfluous grapheme
{ }	corrected grapheme
| |	underlying representation
?	uncertain
??	unknown

1 Introduction[1]

1.1 General background

Betoi was once spoken by a people of the same name who lived in an area of the extensive llanos of the Orinoco, bounded on the south by the Sarare River and on the north by the Uribante (Rivero 1883:344–45). The area was called Airico de Macaguane in old sources and is today included in the western extremity of the Apure State of Venezuela not far from the border of that country with Colombia.[2] Betoi is a dialect of an extinct language spoken at contact in the Airico de Macaguane and along the nearby Arauca River by numerous other tribes and groups (see §1.3). The designation proposed here for this language, reflecting the two major dialect communities, is Betoi-Jirara.

As with other languages of South America that died out after European settlement of the continent, the death of the Betoi language resulted from historical events and other extralinguistic factors. In 1703, some decades after the arrival of the first missionaries in the llanos of the Orinoco, the Betoi were removed from their original land to the "reduction" (settlement) of Tame, close to the river of the same name in northeastern Columbia by the Jesuit Father Juan Ovino in order to facilitate conversion (Rivero 1883:342–43). In Tame, which was already inhabited by Christianized Jirara, about half of the Betoi died from disease. Most of the survivors—who generally attributed the cause of the numerous deaths to misdeeds by the Jirara—fled from the "reduction"; however, about 40 of them were taken by the Jirara cacique Antonio Calaima to a site near the River Cravo Norte called Casiabo (Rivero 1883:343). In 1715, these Betoi were moved from Casiabo by Joseph (José) Gumilla, another member of the Society of Jesus, to the newly founded Mission of San Ignacio de Betoyes near the River Tame. Later, Gumilla also relocated the rest of the Betoi people (or most of them) to the mission, together with other small tribes speaking different dialects of Betoi-Jirara: the Lolaca, Anabali, Atabaca, Situfa, and Quilifay (Rivero 1883:345, 350, 358, 375–80).[3] Under the conditions of cultural destruction and acculturation in which the speakers of Betoi and co-dialects found themselves in the mission, few speakers survived beyond one or two generations.[4]

---

[2] The linguistic variety that is the object of this study is also known in the literature by the names Betoye and Betoya.

[3] More than 800 people in total were resettled at the Mission of San Ignacio de Betoyes. The frequent epidemics that struck this place very quickly diminished the number of inhabitants (Rivero 1883:380). By 1789, the Mission had a population of only 339 people: 73 Lolaca, 62 "Uribante" (Betoi?), 39 Anabali, 71 Atabaca, 34 Situfa, and 60 Quilifay (Medina n.d.:282r).

[4] Around 1760, according to the Italian Jesuit Filippo Salvatore (Salvadore) Gilij, the use of Spanish was particularly widespread among the Betoi at the Mission of San Ignacio de Betoyes: "[n]ella popolazione di *S. Ignazio*, la più recente di tutte, oltre a' *Betoj*, sonovi alquanti *Guanèri*, e *Sitùj* [Situfa]. E questo

In terms of genetic affiliation, Betoi-Jirara is best considered an isolate. Although some suggestions have been made relating Betoi to such South American language families as Tucanoan (Brinton 1891; hence the quite successful application of the name "Betoya" to these languages[5]), Choco (Brinton 1891:274–75), Chibchan (Beuchat and Rivet 1911:185–89), and Paezan (Greenberg 1987:106), none of them are strongly supported by the data.

Influences from neighbouring languages that can be found in the Betoi material at our disposal consist of a modest number of loanwords from Cariban, Saliba-Piaroan, and possibly Guahiboan (see the word list in §6).

1.2   Sources of information

The Betoi linguistic material that forms the basis of the present monograph dates from the second half of the eighteenth century. The data comes from works of the Spanish Jesuits Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro (1735–1809) and Joseph Gumilla (1688–1750), and from a small set of prayers in South American languages, collected by the Italian Cardinal Giuseppe Gaspare Mezzofanti (1774–1849). The five major sources, which I will refer to as B1, B2, B3, B4, and B5, are:

- B1: Hervás y Panduro (n.d. [1783]) is a 17-page manuscript sketch of Betoi grammar in 24 short sections, based on notes furnished in 1783 to the author by the elderly Manuel (Giuseppe) Padilla (1715–1785), another member of the Society of Jesus, who was a missionary among the Betoi for 23 years until 1767 (the year the Jesuits were expelled from all the lands of the Crown of Spain).[6] Written in Italian, it offers in particular a concise description of inflectional morphology in terms of Latin grammar (secs. 3–24), a framework that tends to exclude the "exotic" grammatical properties of Betoi and sometimes causes a certain degree of confusion.[7] There is no indication of sentence structures and no examples of sentences consisting of more of two words in this source.

---

mescolamento di nazioni, necessario per la loro piccolezza, era di ostacolo ad introdurvi la suddetta lingua [la lingua de' già convertiti]. Così pure *Macaguàne* [San Javier de Macaguane], contenente, come abbiamo detto di *Eli*, di *Airìci*, e di *Aràuchi*. . . . Contuttociò non solo nelle popolazioni di una sola lingua, quali sono quelle di Tame, del *Porto di Casanàre* [San Salvador de Casanare], ed altre, ma quivi ancora era sì tanto avvanzato [*sic*] il parlare Spagnuolo fra gl'Indiani, che in gente ancor rozza appena potea bramarsi di più" (Gilij 1784:489). (Italian and Spanish quotes will not be translated, in the interest of space.) The Guanero ("Guanèri") mentioned by Gilij were a Cariban-speaking group of the Airico de Macaguan.

Descendants of the Betoi (and, very likely, of linguistically related groups who, along with the Betoi, were resettled at San Ignacio de Betoyes) can now be found in four villages along the river Cravo Norte, in the Colombian department of Arauca (Montejo 1982:16–17). The name these people use to refer to themselves is Betoyes. In 1978, they were estimated to number 154 (Montejo 1982:32). Around 1990, according to a rather recent source (Bahuchet 1994), they numbered about 380. These people, who know very little of their own history, can recall nothing of the language of their forebears. The oldest among them report that once the Betoyes were great in number and that many died. They also say that the Betoyes spoke Spanish to the colonists who came to their land (Montejo 1982:6).

[5] See, for example, Brinton (1892) and Koch-Grünberg (1913–1916).

[6] A Spanish translation of this work appears in del Rey Fajardo (1971). Data from the same source were used by Buschmann (n.d.), Humboldt (n.d.) (see Dümmler 1994), Adelung and Vater (1812:640–47), Müller (1882:361–64) and, through Müller (1882), by Beuchat and Rivet (1911–1912:180–84).

We know that there was another manuscript grammar of Betoi, written by Joseph Gumilla, but all trace of it has been lost: "[i]l P. Gumilla nel consegnarmi la missione de' Betoi mi diede una breve grammatica della loro lingua, ma io nel trattarli la trovai si [*sic*] mancante la detta grammatica, che mi risolsi di abbandonare le regole grammaticali, e d'imparare la lingue [*sic*] discorrendo continuamente co' Betoi" (B1, sec. 1).

[7] For example, certain labels for verbal inflectional categories such as "conjunctive", "gerund", and "infinite" are inappropriate and misleading, as I note in §3.7.1.3.3.

- B2: Hervás y Panduro (1787b:109) contains the Lord's Prayer with a literal Italian translation.

- B3: Mezzofanti (n.d.) presents a rather different version of the Lord's Prayer without translation.

- B4: Gumilla ([1745] 1945) includes a few nouns and 21 fragments of conversations (more or less adequately translated), in most cases short sentences, heard or spoken by Gumilla himself during his long stay among the Betoi as a missionary.[8]

- B5: Hervás y Panduro (1787a) contains a 54-word list comprised almost exclusively of nouns.

There are also two other minor sources attesting Betoi.

- B6: Hervás y Panduro (1786:106) records the numerals from 'one' to 'three', which are also in B1 (sec. 24), plus 'four' and 'five'.

- B7: Rivero (1883:383) has an invocation composed of two words that are also attested in Hervás y Panduro (1787b).

Note that Padilla furnished Hervás y Panduro not only with the Betoi material in B1, but also that contained in his other three works mentioned above (B2, B5, and B6).

1.3   Co-dialects

It is impossible to even guess how many co-dialects of Betoi have disappeared without leaving a trace. An incomplete list of them, offered by Gumilla (B4, p. 298), names eleven varieties: Jirara, Situfa, Ayrico, Ele, Luculia, Jabúe, Arauca, Quilifay, Anabali, Lolaca, and Atabaca.[9] Most of these are completely unknown linguistically. Jirara and Situfa are the only ones documented with certainty. For Jirara, the entire corpus consists of three short sentences (two of them composed of a single verb) and four nouns contained in B4 (pp. 371, 378, and 409), another noun recorded by Rivero (B7, p. 135) as well as by Gumilla (p. 293; *memelú* 'devil'), and still another noun furnished by Gilij (1782:147) (*cavái* 'tobacco', a probable Cariban loan[10])—a total of thirteen words. Situfa is still more poorly attested: the data consist of only two sentences from B4 (p. 299) made up of seven words in all. Another two sentences of nine words altogether, recorded in B4 (p. 458), are relics of yet another co-dialect of Betoi: Lolaca or perhaps Atabaca.

Of the three attested co-dialects of Betoi, Situfa seems to be linguistically the remotest from Betoi (see §1.3.2). Among the varieties of Betoi-Jirara, we learn from a letter dated July 17th, 1783, from Padilla to Hervás y Panduro, partially published in Hervás y Panduro (1784), that Situfa was particularly similar to the unattested Ayrico,[11] a dialect probably only marginally intelligible with

---

[8] Most of this Betoi material can be found in Silgo Gauche (1995:107–8).

[9] ". . . de la lengua betoya y jirara, que aunque ésta gasta pocas *erres*, y aquélla demasiadas, ambas quieren ser matrices, se derivan las lenguas situfa, ayrica, ele, luculia, jabúe, arauca, quilifay, anabali, lolaca y atabaca, etc.". As Gilij indicates, Ayrico and Ele really are neither glottonyms nor ethnonyms, but simply the names of the places in which the groups known (in Spanish sources) as *Ayricos* and *Eles* (*Airìci* and *Eli* in Gilij 1784) were located: "[c]osì pure Macaguanè [*sic*], costante come abbiamo detto di Eli, di Airìci, e di Aràuchi, i quali due primi nomi sono nomi de' siti, onde furono tratti da' missionarj, non di nazioni, i nomi delle quali non so quali propriamente sieno" (Gilij 1784:489). Analogously, although not expressly indicated by Gilij, also Arauca is a toponym, being the name of a river alongside which some Jirara took shelter at the end of the seventeenth century (see §1.3.1).

[10] Cf. Mapoyo, Tamanaco, and Cumanagoto *kawai*, Panare *kowae*, and Paravilhana *kauwai*.

[11] "Nel Casanare c'e [*sic*] la nazione Betoi, che parla la detta lingua *Betoi*, ed ad essa sono affini la *Jarura* [Jirara], e *l'Ele*, le quali comparate colla Betoi hanno la differenza, ce si osserva fra l'Italiana, la Spagnuola, e la Francese, che sono dialetti di una stessa lingua matrice. Io non posso dirle, quale di queste tre lingue sia la matrice. Mi pare ancora, che sieno assai affini alla linga Betoi i linguaggi *Airica*, e *Situja* [Situfa], che tra se sono somigliantissimi" (Hervás y Panduro 1784:51–52).

Jirara, as stated in Gumilla (1739).[12] Jirara, on the other hand, is virtually identical to Betoi in the attestations we have. Its strong similarity with Betoi is well documented by Gumilla, Gilij, and Rivero, as we will see in the following subsection. Jirara was particularly similar also to Lolaca and the speech forms of the Quilifay and Mafilito (groups unmentioned by Gumilla) that Rivero identifies with Betoi.[13]

Based on this information, an extremely tentative and incomplete *Stammbaum* as shown in fig. 1 can be traced.
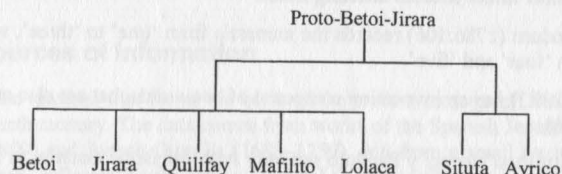

Figure 1. *Tentative classification of some Betoi-Jirara dialects*

1.3.1   Jirara

The Jirara, originally located in the Airico de Macaguane as were the Betoi, were removed in 1659 by the Missionary Domingo de Molina to the "reduction" of Tame in the neighbourhood of the river of the same name in the present day department of Arauca of northeastern Colombia (B7, p. 76).[14] At the end of the seventeenth century, after some of them had destroyed the nearby Spanish village of Espinosa de las Palmas and massacred its people, many Jirara abandoned the mission for fear of reprisal by the Spaniards and found refuge in the secluded forests of the area. There, as a result of intra-group conflicts, they split into several distinct, small communities, some of which subsequently relocated along the Rivers Ele, Cuiloto, and Arauca (B7, pp. 76 and 122–23). Through Gilij, we learn that around 1760 there was a community of about 1,800 Jirara at Tame that was nearly, if not fully bilingual in Spanish.[15]

---

[12] Gumilla, in the following passage from his biography of Father Rivero, considers Ayrico as being a language separate from Jirara, and requiring particular training to be learnt: ". . . se aplicó á estudiar (cosa rara) á un mismo tiempo dos lenguages diferentes; porque la mayor parte de aquella Mission [viz. Cravo] habla lengua *Ayrica* gutural, y por sus muchas consonantes difícil de pronunciar . . . lo restante de aquel gentío habla lengua *Jirara*; pero dividida en dos Dialectos, que la buelven bien desemejante á sí misma: tanto que en boca de la Capitanía de *Araucas* casi parece otra de la que habla la Capitanía de los *Eles*; pero ella es una, y derivada de la lengua *Betoyana* . . ." (Gumilla [1739] 1970:37).

[13] Rivero reports that Gumilla, when he first met the Lolaca, spoke to them in their language, but the only language that the missionary knew was Betoi: "[h]ablóles el Padre en su lengua, que es un hechizo para ellos, llamólos con agasajo, vinieron sin recelo alguno, se le agregaron y empezaron á conversar con él los niños con tanta familiaridad, como si toda la vida hubiesen sido amigos" (B7, p. 355). The missionary also states that Gumilla addressed a man called Seisere, an authority among the Quilifay and Mafilito, in his own language, that is, also in this case, in Betoi: "[e]l Padre le habló en su propia lingua, diciéndole que eran amigos, que sólo pretendía verlo . . ." (B7, p. 375).

[14] An alternative spelling for the name of this people appearing in the literature is *Girara*.

[15] "Verso ponente di questa popolazione [San Ignacio de Betoyes] in distanza di mezza giornata se ne trova un'altra di nome *Tame*, in cui risedeva allora il nominato superiore [Manuel Padilla]. E sì per le belle parti di questa, sì per tutt'altro, era una delle migliori. I suoi abitanti, cioè i *Giràri*, giungeano a 1800. La loro lingua, la quale è ita ormai in disuso nelle pubbliche funzioni, sembra essere un ramo della *Betoje*" (Gilij 1784:487).

Gumilla's affirmation in B4 that Jirara has few "r's" in comparison to Betoi, which has "too many" (note 9), is in all probability the only contemporary descriptive datum concerning this dialect, but not the only clue that we can find in the old sources. In reporting the existence of divergences in the speech forms of the Jirara of the Arauca and the Jirara of the Ele, Gumilla (note 12) also indicates that these groups spoke two variants of a same "language" derived from Betoi.[16] In Gilij (1784), we analogously find an indication that the speech of the Jirara is no more than a "branch" of Betoi (note 15), and we also have testimony from Rivero that Jirara was functionally intelligible with Betoi. In fact, Rivero states in B7 that the abovementioned cacique of Tame, Antonio Calaima, accidentally discovered he was able to understand a few Betoi who were speaking their language and to converse with them using his knowledge of Jirara.[17]

The close similarity between Jirara and Betoi is also evident in the scanty linguistic data in our possession. As shown in table 1, all the Jirara stems for which a Betoi equivalent is known are identical with the corresponding Betoi stem. (Forms in table 1, as well as those in the following tables 2-4, are cited in their original orthography.)

Table 1. *The recorded stems of Jirara compared with Betoi*

Jirara	Betoi	
day	*day*	'what'
babí	*babí*	'father'
memelú	*memelú*	'devil'[a]
aviofá	—	'k.o. snake (Boa constrictor)'
irruquí	*irruquí*	'ants'
sicotú	—	'chigoe'
alabuquí	—	'venom'
cavái	—	'tobacco'
-eba	*-eba*	'make'
-usa	*-usa*	'come'

[a] According to Rivero (B7, p. 135), among the Jirara, *memelú* was originally the name of the Lord of peccaries ("dueño de los puercos de monte").

---

[16] In another work of Gumilla, Arauca and Ele are considered to be dialects of Betoi itself: ". . . [Rivero] se aplicò à las lenguas *Ayrica*, y à la *Betoyana*, en sus dos dialectos de *Aràuca*, y *Ele* . . ." (Gumilla [1739] 1970:42).

Another known variant of Jirara was that of the "Burros", a small community located along the River Cuiloto. A distinctive feature of this dialect was the use of some type of bilabial, a bilabial trill perhaps: "[p]enetrando más la Montaña, a seis días de camino está el Río Cuiloto, que la divide casi por medio, a cuya márgenes, sin pararse, vivía una parcialidad de los mismos Giraras, llamados de los de su Nación, Burros; porque aunque tienen la misma lengua, la pronunciación es forzada, cerrando al pronunciar los labios; de suerte, que saliendo la articulacíon algo violenta, por la apretura de los labios, suenan en las dicciones las letras heridas, que semejan sonido, como dijeran bru, bru, y así los llaman Burros. Estos serían hasta cincuenta Almas . . ." (Tapia 1715:23).

[17] "Empezaba ya el año de 1701, cuando . . . D. Antonio Calaima, Girara de nación y cantor de su pueblo de Tame . . . después de haber rodado fortuna por el camino de Pamplona y Tunja hasta la ciudad de Pedraza, oyó conversar en este sitio á unos indios que razonaban entre sí, y aunque su lenguaje le era estraño, comprendió algunas razones por la cuales conoció que aquella lengua dimanaba de la de los Girara ó la suya misma, por ser girara la que estaba oyendo. Movido da esta curiosidad por una parte, ó por la semejanza del idioma por otra (que en tierras estranas es una especie de parentesco), se llegó á ellos y á pocos lances trabó una larga y franca conversación, en virtud de la cual (permitiendolo Dios) le dieron noticias de cómo eran Betoye, cuyos pueblos estan situados en el corazón y centro de aquellas lenjanas montañas, de onde casualmente habían salido, y mucho más se meravillaron de ver que D. Antonio Calaima, sin seer de su nación misma, hablase de maniera que le podían entender" (B7, p. 338–39).

In addition, all of the grammatical morphemes found in the extant Jirara material are identical to those of Betoi (see table 2).

Table 2. *The recorded grammatical morphemes of Jirara compared with Betoi*

Jirara	Betoi	
r-	r-	'1st person'
j-	j-	'2nd person'
-cá	-cá	'indicative'
-que	-qué	'interrogative (clitic)'

1.3.2   Situfa

Almost nothing is known of the Situfa (*Situjas* in B7, name also written by Rivero as *Citujas*) other than that they were originally located in the Airico de Macaguane a few days' journey from the Betoi (B7, pp. 340 and 345) and that they were transferred from their land by Joseph Gumilla to the Mission of San Ignacio de Betoyes near the River Tame along with the Betoi and other groups of the area (§1.1). We know equally little of the speech of the Situfa. From the even more meagre data on Situfa than Jirara found in B4, we may only observe that Situfa differs from Betoi in two ways. Where Situfa has the lateral [l], Betoi has [r], ∅ (zero), or [l] (Situfa -*lú* 'first person singular', *fala-* 'speak, say', -*óla* [sic] 'plural'; Betoi -*rrú* [-'ru], *faá-*, -*olá*).[18] Where Situfa has *madagena* 'what', Betoi has *majaduca*. The latter is an almost completely different form, although based on the morph *mad-* found in Betoi as the stem of the pronouns 'who' masculine (*madoi*) and feminine (*madó*). In no essential point, however, does Situfa appear to differ from Betoi in this material. A strong similarity between the two speech forms may be observed in vocabulary (see table 3) and, especially, in the realization of grammatical morphemes, with the exceptions of the number-gender marker of the pronoun 'what' and a suffix which has [l] instead of [r] (see table 4).

Table 3. *The recorded stems of Situfa compared with Betoi*

Situfa	Betoi	
day	*day*	'because'
gotu-	—	'drink'
ebamucá	*ebamucá*	'no'
nefec-	—	'parent'
fala-	*faá-*	'say, speak'
mad-	*mad-* ~ *ma-*	'what'

---

[18] Situfa does not have the [r] sound: "la [lengua] situfa no necesita la r" (B4, p. 299).

Table 4. *The recorded grammatical morphemes of Situfa compared with Betoi*

Situfa	Betoi	
-*lú*	-*rrú*	'1st person singular'
-*ju*	-*jú*	'2nd person'
-*bi*	-*bi*	'3rd person plural'
-*cá*	-*cá*	'indicative'
-*ida*	-*ida*	'imperfective'
-*ome*	-*omé*	'negative'
-*óla* [sic]	-*olá*	'plural'
-*agená*	-*jaduca*	'neuter singular'

1.3.3   Lolaca or Atabaca

As noted in §1.3, another co-dialect of Betoi besides Jirara and Situfa is fragmentarily attested. It is the speech form of two sentences in B4 collected by Father Gumilla when he was among the Lolaca and the Atabaca during an eclipse of the moon. The sentences, however, are identical to what would be expected for Betoi.

day-que	teo	cejo	ajó	rijubi-ca-n(u)to
how-INT	moon	??	??	die-IND-1pl

'The moon ?? dies on us (lit. to us), doesn't it?'   (Gumilla: 'Don't you see how the moon is dying on us?')

futuit	nanaa-bi-ca	rijubi-ri	afocá
fire	?cover.with.earth-3pl-IND	die-??	because

'They (the women) cover with earth (or guard) the fire, because it dies'

Because of the complete lack of information regarding who spoke them, it is obviously impossible to attribute the two sentences to any particular dialect.

We learn in B7 (p. 342) that, before being transferred to the Mission of San Ignacio de Betoyes, the Lolaca and Atabaca were located in the vicinity of the Sarare River, not far from the Betoi.

1.4   The present study

The present work is the product of my desire to present *all* the knowledge that I have been able to gather on the extinct Betoi language from *all* of the surviving material.[19] I have therefore included chapters on phonology, morphology, and syntax, the two available texts (with morphemic analysis), and a word list.

In the area of the phonology, as in the case of certain aspects of the morphology and syntax, however, the Betoi corpus is too restricted for definite conclusions to be reached. The brevity and the heterogeneous nature of the material that is available, as well as the inadequacy of the translations (when translations are provided), make it impossible to determine the correct analysis of certain constructions and to discern the meaning of several elements. In addition, misprints and copyist errors in the available sources further complicated the analysis. However, the significant

---

[19] Given the isomorphism of Betoi with its attested co-dialects in the data at our disposal, occasional reference will be made to Jirara (example [69]), Situfa (examples [30] and [54]), and Lolaca or Atabaca with a verb form in §3.7.1.2.2 and examples (35) and (90).

structural traits of Betoi are clear, or reasonably so, and I am sure that some of them will be of interest to linguists working on the languages of South America. I therefore hope that this brief monograph dedicated to Betoi may provide a useful, even if small, contribution to the knowledge of the wonders of the native languages of the Americas.

2   Notes on phonology

The chances of making secure judgements about the sounds and the underlying phonological system of a scantily documented variety of an extinct language like Betoi in the absence of better attested co-dialects and any known close relative are obviously rather poor. Not enough minimal pairs are available to ascertain all phonemic oppositions between the identifiable sounds which are sufficiently similar phonetically to be suspected of functioning as a single emic unit. Furthermore, the descriptive information on the sounds themselves that is available in the sources attesting Betoi (B1 and B4 in particular) is minimal,[20] consisting solely of one brief observation (see §2.1) and a few others of limited value including the following:

> In questa [lingua] mancano le lettere LL. Ñ. P. (B1, sec. 2).

> . . . la lengua betoya no ha menester la p (B4, p. 299).

> Otras [lenguas] son escabrosas, llenas de erres, como la betoya (B4, p. 299).

Given these shortcomings, the partial reconstruction of the phonological system of Betoi given in the following subsections can be considered only tentative.

2.1   Consonants

The phonemic inventory of consonants seems to include the segments given in table 5.

Table 5. *Consonant phonemes of Betoi*

	bilabial	labiodental	alveolar[a]	palatal	velar	glottal
voiceless stops			/t/		/k/	
voiced stops	/b/		/d/		/g/	
fricatives		/f/	/s/			/h/
nasals	/m/		/n/			
lateral			/l/			
trill			/r/			
glide				/j/		

[a] Presumably, like the geographically close Tunebo, Achagua, Saliba, Guahibo, and Cuíba, Betoi has no phonemic dental consonants.

---

[20] This lack of information may however be assumed to be an indication that the phonetic values of graphemes and digraphs used for transcribing Betoi are roughly the same as in Spanish.

In addition to these segments, there is a rare phoneme (apparently represented both by Padilla and Gumilla as <v>) the phonetic realization of which is vaguely described as follows: "c'è una lettera, che somiglia moltissimo la pronunzia dell' V consonante, ma che ne è affatto lettera differente" (B1, sec. 2).

In transcribing the consonants of Betoi by means of the principles of the Spanish orthography, only a few graphemes (besides <v>) and digraphs were used that diverge from their traditional IPA value, as shown in table 6.

Table 6. *Orthographic symbols that differ from the IPA symbols*

phoneme	graphemic shape
/k/	<c> (in front of *a*, *o*, and *u*, elsewhere)
	<q> (in front of *ua* in *quaja* 'forest' [B4] and *ue* in *-qué* 'interrogative'[a] [B1, B4])
	<qu> (in front of *i* in *irriquí* 'ant' [B4])
/h/	<g> (in front of *i* in *Cagiali* 'male name' [B4] and *e* in *bagenuma* 'all (sg.)' [B2])
	<j> (elsewhere except in B3)[b]
	<y> (only in B3)
/r/	<rr> (word-medially)
/j/	<y> (elsewhere)

[a] In this morpheme "l'u è liquida", B1 (sec. 8) indicates.
[b] Cf. Gumilla's use, in B4, of <j> for [h], for example, in the Achagua word *abacaj{e}* 'five' (['a:ba] 'one' + ['ka:hi] 'hand'; p. 464). The use of <g> and <j> as alternative spelling variants before front vowels is common in the representation of native American languages in the Spanish orthography of old sources.

The doubling of orthographic <d> to <dd>, e.g. in *ruidódda* 'if you were (sg.)' in B1 and *maidda* 'today' in B2 (but *maida* in B3), was probably intended, both by Gumilla and Padilla, to render a voiced, intervocalic alveolar stop, a consonant articulated more strongly than the Spanish intervocalic /d/ (viz. [ð]).

The grapheme <h>, employed in only two words and alternating with ∅ ("zero"), is clearly "pseudo-etymological". It is just a "silent" symbol used in the representation of the nouns *theo* (B3) 'sun' and *humasoi* (B1) 'man', possibly under the influence of the spellings of phonetically similar words of Old World languages such as Greek *theós*[21] and Latin *humanus* or Spanish *humano*.

The grapheme <x>, attested only in *oxoki* 'tooth' in B5 is likely an error for another symbol.

2.1.1   Some contrasts for consonants

Due to the limited data, most of the following contrasts are attested only in analogous (i.e. similar, but not identical) environments.

/t/ vs. /d/	—	*uita* 'but'; *uída* 's/he is (imperfective)'
/k/ vs. /g/	—	*-ducá* 'this'; *tugaday* 'true!'
<v> vs. /b/	—	*cuiviví* 'duck'; *maibaibi* '??'
<v> vs. /f/	—	*vita* 'yesterday'; *ufi* 'jaguar'
/h/ vs. /s/	—	*ojaca* (or *ajaca*) 'will (n.)'; *osacá* 'head'

[21] "Los betoyes decían antes de su conversión que el sol era Dios; y en su lengua, al sol y a Dios llaman Theos, voz griega, que también significa a Dios" (B4, p. 283).

/h/ vs. /s/	—	*ojaca* (or *ajaca*) 'will (n.)'; *osacá* 'head'
/h/ vs. /f/	—	*jajamú* 'another time'; *fafuala* 'wind'
/m/ vs. /n/	—	*mamá* 'mother'; *maná* 'road'
/l/ vs. /r/	—	*culasa* 'wise, prudent'; *durrabá* '?shameful'

2.2   Vowels

There seem to be five vowel phonemes in Betoi. Their articulatory properties are illustrated in table 7.

Table 7. *Vowel inventory of Betoi*

	front	central	back
high	/i/		/u/
mid	/e/		/o/
low		/a/	

In general, the orthographic representation of vowels is the same as the phonemic one in all the sources attesting Betoi. It should be noted, however, that /i/ at the end of diphthongs, in B4 as a rule and in B1 in some cases, is spelt <y> and not <i>, as elsewhere, and that /u/ in unstressed syllable, seemingly confused in a few words by Padilla with /o/, may appear as <o> in the material that he supplied to Hervás y Panduro, as indicated by the following divergent spellings: Padilla *ocasú* (B1 and B5) 'Pleiades, year', Gumilla *ucasú*; Padilla *umocoso* (B1) ~ *umucoso* (B6) 'hand', Gumilla *umucosó* (cf. *umucurrú* 'finger' [B2]); Padilla *cosiú* (B5) 'bird', Gumilla *cusi* [*sic*]).

2.2.1   Some contrasts for vowels

/e/ vs. /a/	—	*afubé* '(his/her) lip'; *afubá* '(his/her) forehead'
/a/ vs. /o/	—	*afubá* '(his/her) forehead'; *afubó* '(his/her) mouth'
/o/ vs. /u/	—	*afocá* 'because'; *afucá* '(his/her) face'

No perfectly minimal pair is available to demonstrate that the two front vowels are in contrast, but the following couple of words is illustrative.

/e/ vs. /i/	—	*ejebosi* '(his/her) body'; *ijé* 'this one (n.)'

2.3   Stress

It is unclear from the data in our possession whether stress (marked with an accent[22] over a vowel sign, although not systematically) is phonemically functional in Betoi. What is clear is that stress is limited to occurring on one of the last two syllables of the word, falling more frequently on the final one, and that in long, polymorphic words, other syllables probably take a weaker level of stress (consider the verb form *rááquirra-bi-ca-rrú* {steal-3pl-IND-1sg} 'they stole from me' in B4 with,

[22] Always acute in B4 and in this monograph, but grave in B2 and usually grave in B1 and B5.

apparently, a secondary stress on the stem[23]). We may also observe in the data we have that, since all the suffixes of the language seem to carry the main stress, the final or penultimate position of the primary word stress is frequently derived: *r-osacá + -janá > r-osaca-janá* {1-head-PL} 'my heads' (B1), *fa-ú + -bí > fa-u-bí* {FUT-be-3pl} 'they will be' (B1), *r-u + -ida > r-u-ída* {1-be-IMPERF} 'I am (imperf.)' (B1).[24]

2.4   Phonotactics

There are no word-final consonants or consonant clusters.[25] All consonants seem to be able to stand both in word-initial and word-medial positions.[26]

The five vowel segments can occur in any position in a word.

The five vowel segments can also occur in sequence, syllabically or nonsyllabically, and most of the possible sequences of two vowels are documented.

/ia/: *dia* 'where', *mami-aj-ó* 'she is good';
/iu/: *iú* 'this one (f.)', *cosiú* 'bird';
/ei/: *fofei* 'bad';
/ea/: *bijeasi* 'shortly beforehand', *faa-re-aje* 'one does not speak';
/eo/: *teo* 'sun', *re-ola* 'they are not';
/ai/: *ay* 'what, how, ?how much', *maida* 'today';
/ae/: *ma-ebá* 'he made';
/aa/: *faá-ca-que* 'does it say (int.)'
/ao/: *r-u-idaódda* 'if I were', *sa-ome* 'he does not make';
/au/: *rau* 'I', *fa-usuca-jú* 'he will pay you';
/oi/: *foirreojanudá* 'casually', *aj-oi-rrú* 'I am';
/oa/: *oanú* 'as, the same one';
/ui/: *futui* 'fire', *j-u-ida* 'you are (imperf.)';
/ue/: *-qué* 'interrogative' (see table 6);
/ua/: *fafuala* 'wind', *eba-mu-aje* 'one does not do';
/uo/: *j-u-omé* 'you are not'.[27]

No more than three vowels seem to occur in a sequence. Clusters of three vowels can apparently be observed across morpheme boundaries in *teo-umasoi* 'sun', *obai-omuca-aj-oi* 'he is obedient', *rau-afocá* 'from me', *ajabo-ia* 'to the country', and *tucu-ia* 'to the house'.

---

[23] The doubled <a> of this verb form might represent a long [a], as, perhaps, in *robarriabarrorráacajú* in example (34).

[24] If two or more accented suffixes co-occur in a word, the main stress is on the suffix standing at the end of the string, e.g.: *r-osacá + -janá + -tú > r-osaca-jana-tú* 'my heads (acc.)' (B1); *tulu-ebá + -cá + -nutó > tulu-eba-ca-nutó* {??-make-IND-1pl} 'it illuminates us' (B4). Note also that one accented enclitic is attested in the corpus; cf. the following phonological words: *Dioso-qué* 'Is it God?' (B4), *fa[j]a-ca-qué* {say-IND-INT} 'does it say (int.)' (B4).

[25] *futuit* in B4 is nothing but an orthographic variant of *futui* 'fire' in B5. Note also that in B3 a word with a consonant cluster, *ubtia*, appears, but it is obviously miswritten and has to be corrected to *uboia* (see example [41]).

[26] /g/ in word-initial position can be found in *galofas*, the name of a species of fly recorded in B4 with the Spanish plural suffix -*s*. It is not, however, completely certain that *galofa* is a Betoi noun, although the presence of the voiceless labiodental fricative excludes the possibility that this word is from one of the other languages of the Orinoco basin region of which there are traces in B4 (i.e. Achagua, Carib, Warao, etc.). A word with initial /g/ is, in any case, Situfa *gotubicá* 'they drink' (B4).

[27] Another two-vowel cluster can perhaps be observed at the root-suffix boundary in *tucu-umicá* 'to the house (dat.)' (B1).

The statements above on the distribution of consonants and vowels imply that the syllabic canon of Betoi is (C)V(V). We may now observe that words vary significantly as to the number of constitutive syllables: compare for example the monomorphemic noun *ro* 'woman' with the morphologically complex verb form *r-obai-rr-omuca-aj-ola-nuto* 'we are obedient'.

2.5   Morphophonemics

Before we move on to morphology, we should observe that, although the inflection processes of Betoi often place vowels in close proximity, some of these sequences are not realized due to the effects of the following rules of vowel fusion.

(a)   /i/ + /i/ > /i/[28]

  j-u-jui + -ída {2-be-2pl + IMPERF} > jujuída 'they are (imperf.)'
  u-bi + -idaódda {be-3pl + COND} > ubidaódda 'if they were'

(b)   /i/ + /o/ > /o/

  r-u-mai + -omé {1-be-1pl + NEG} > rumaomé 'we are not'
  u-bi + -omé {be-3pl + NEG} > ubomé 'they are not'

(c)   /a/ + /o/ > /o/

  culasa + -ola {prudent + PL} > culasola 'prudent (pl.)'
  babasa- + -oi-rrú {be.one.who.gives.advice + SG:M-1sg} > babasoirrú 'I am one who gives advice'

(d)   /u/ + /o/ > /o/

  j-iju + -ometú {2-die + PROH} > jijome{tú} 'don't be'
  r-iju + -oi-rrú {1-be.dead + SG:M-1sg} > rijoirrú 'I am dead'

We should also note that rules (c) and (d) do not apply when /a/ belongs to the verb stem *sa-* 'make, do' (see *sa-ome* in [61]) or when /u/ is the verb stem 'be' (see *r-u-omé* in [50] and *j-u-ometú* in note 74).

2.6   Orthography adopted

The Spanish spelling used in the original documents for transcribing Betoi has been retained unchanged in the present monograph for the presentation of the examples except for the standardization of accents as acute (see note 22). To indicate obvious misprints or copyist errors, the following symbols are used: ( ) added grapheme; [ ] superfluous grapheme; { } corrected grapheme. Hyphens have also been included in Betoi words (where possible) to mark morpheme boundaries.

---

[28] Only in *toli-ia* {inside-DIR} 'inside' (B1), at least orthographically, this rule does not take place.

3   Morphology

Betoi fits the traditional definition of an agglutinative morphology rather well. It usually has, corresponding to each category, a separate affix encoding the appropriate value for that category. Betoi deviates from a rigid agglutinative structure only in the presence of a limited number of portmanteau morphs, which are observable in demonstrative and interrogative-relative pronouns, as well as in stative verbs as exponents of masculine singular, feminine singular, and neuter singular (see tables 9, 10, and 16), and in active verbs as exponents of person and number (see tables 11-14).

In this section, I present as much information on the morphology of Betoi as I have been able to discover from Hervás y Panduro's grammatical sketch and the other sources indicated in §1.2. The information is organized by word category.

3.1   Nouns

Nouns in Betoi inflect for number (see below §3.1.1), case (see §3.1.2) and, when used predicatively in affirmative clauses, for person of the subject (see §4.4.1.4). Some of them also have a possessive inflection (see §3.1.3). Nouns with a vocative form also seem to occur (see §3.1.5). Gender is not overtly marked, but is a covert, selectional category signalled by compatibility with pronouns and verbs with overt gender inflection (see §3.1.4).

3.1.1   Number

Nouns have two numbers: singular and plural. Singular, in most cases, has no inflectional ending. Plural is indicated by a variety of suffixes: *-janá*, the most common (B1, sec. 3); *-olá*; *-ducajaná*; and yet others unattested.[29] Nouns for which plural forms are recorded include *tucujaná* 'houses', *rosacajaná* 'my heads', *ojabolá* 'ancestors', and *roducajaná* 'women'. The suffix *-olá* has apparently *-oi* as corresponding singular marker: *humasoi* 'man', pl. *humasola*; *ubadoi* 'living being', pl. *ubadola*.[30] The two suffixes *-oi* and *-olá* are number markers used widely in Betoi.[31]

---

[29] "Sono altri nomi, i quali nel plurale prendono altre particole . . ." (B1, sec. 5).

[30] Cf. *ubadolan(u){t}o* 'we are rational beings' in (18). Note also that in B5 *ubadoi* is given as the equivalent of 'animal'. Probably, the singular marker *-oi* also occur in *sorroy* 'monkey' and even the ethnonym *Betoi*.

[31] Both also denote number with the two copular verbs (see §3.7.3). Portmanteau with gender (masculine) *-oi* also marks stative verbs (see table 16), as does the pluralizer *-olá* that also marks adjectives (see §3.4). Note also that masculine singulative *-oi* is found in our data in the interrogative-relative pronoun *madoi* (see table 10) and that pluralizers similar in shape to *-olá* (the suffixes *-rolá* and *-tolá* and the prefix *bola-*) can be observed in two personal pronouns (see table 8) and are used with, at least, three quantifiers (see §3.5).

As in the geographically close Guahiboan languages, it is possible that some animate nouns, in particular those whose denotata tend to occur in groups, are collective. One of these, *irruquí* 'ants', appears in example (31), where it occurs without any marker of pluralization in subject function followed by a verb showing plural agreement.

3.1.2   Case

Betoi employs case markers for the core grammatical relation of direct object and for expressing a number of peripheral roles.

The core case marker is the suffix *-tú* 'accusative'.[32]

(1)   r-osaca-tú
        1-head-ACC
        'my head'

Nothing more can be said on the use of *-tú*. Nominal direct objects are constantly left unmarked in the transitive clauses present in our corpus. (Example [1] comes from a paradigm in B1 having the precise aim of illustrating the case inflection of nouns.)

Peripheral case markers include the suffixes *-umicá* 'dative' (presumably also used for indirect object) (2), *-fú* 'comitative', *-ia* 'directional' (20, 28), *-afocá* 'ablative' (3), and *-nú* 'locative' (4, 25).

(2)   r-osaca-umicá
        1-head-DAT
        'to my head'

(3)   r-osaca-jana-afocá
        1-head-PL-ABL
        'from my heads'

(4)   telisa-nú
        shoulder-LOC
        'on ?his/her shoulder' (Padilla: 'on the back')

The comitative suffix, beside expressing comitativity, expresses instrumentality, as in (5) and (19).

(5)   Babi-ca   r-osaca   do-ja-[ca-]rrú[33] oculiba-fu
        father-VOC   1-head   bathe-2sg-1sg   water-INSTR
        'Father! Bathe (lit. bathe me) my head with water'

The directional suffix can probably be omitted when its function is clear from the context (compare [6] and [20]).

(6)   quaja   r-anu-may-cá   uju   ma   uju   ajabó   j-anu-jay-bi   afocá
        forest 1-go-1pl-IND   you   ??   you   country   2-go-2pl-??   because
        'We go to the forest because ?? you go to your country'

---

[32] ". . . per l'accusativo [si aggiunge] la particola <u>tù</u> . . ." (B1, sec. 3).

[33] The indicative marker *-cá*, inappropriate in this imperative, has to be replaced by *-∅* (zero) 'imperative' (see §3.7.1.3.3).

The ablative suffix, beside expressing source, expresses cause, as in (18). It also occurs as a free form as a marker of casually subordinate clauses, as indicated in §4.6.2.3.

3.1.3   Possession

Nouns divide into those which express a personal possessor by means of at least one affix (inalienably possessed—consisting of terms that refer to body parts and animate beings, such as man, beast, bird, and fish), and those which do not (alienably possessed).[34]

(7) a. r-umocoso
        1-hand
        'my hand'

     b. j-umocoso
        2-hand
        'your hand'

(8) a. raú[35] tucú
        I   house
        'my house'

     b. uju   tucú
        you   house
        'your house'

From B1 we learn that the affixes that express personal possessor are the same affixes employed with active verbs (without a bipartite theme) to cross-reference subject person.[36] They should therefore consist of a set of prefix person markers that are used, when necessary, in combination with a parallel set of plural markers with noun stems that begin with a vowel (see table 12 and examples [7a] and [7b] in partial demonstration), and in a further set of syncretic suffixes indexing person and number used with noun stems that begin with a consonant (see table 13). (Unfortunately, no example is available in the data showing a consonant-initial, inalienably possessed noun inflected for possessor.)

3.1.4   Gender

Betoi has a system of three genders: masculine, feminine, and neuter. No formal gender-markers occur on the nouns themselves, as stated above. Singular nouns, however, require gender agreement with three classes of words: demonstrative pronouns (§3.2.2), interrogative-relative pronouns (§3.2.3), and stative verbs (§3.7.2).

---

[34] It is highly probable that inalienably possessed nouns divide further into obligatorily possessed, including the body part terms, and non-obligatorily possessed, including the terms denoting animate beings (see examples [13] and [18] and table 17).

[35] Read *rau* ['rau].

[36] "I nomi sostantivi, che significano viventi, come uomo, bestia, uccello, pesce, e che significano membra dell'uomo si declinano uniti alle persone, o sieno pronomi primitivi, siccome si suole fare coi verbi" (B1, sec. 4).

Biological gender can be denoted by the nouns *humasoi* 'man' and *ro* 'woman', but this has nothing to do with morphology.[37]

(9) a. ufi   humasoi
        tiger man
        'male tiger'

     b. ufi   ro
        tiger woman
        'female tiger'

3.1.5   Vocative inflection

A kinship term (or a title), followed by the vocative suffix *-cá*, calls a person's attention to the referent (see [5] for example).[38]

3.1.6   Noun formation

The only process incontrovertibly documented by which nouns are formed is compounding. In all the attested compound nouns of which the meaning of the constituent words is known, the first-position item is a noun and the second either a noun or an adjective.

(10) a. *Noun – noun:*   teo-umasoi   'sun'
                          sun/moon-man

                          teo-ró   'moon, month'
                          sun/moon-woman

      b. *Noun – adjective:* memelú-fofei   'devil'
                          spirit-bad

As far as noun-noun compounds are concerned, we may also observe that the two items may both function as modified and modifier, as in (10a), and as possessor and possessed, as in (11) and (48).

(11) teo-tucu
     sun/moon-house
     'sky (lit. house of the sun/moon)'

3.2   Pronouns

3.2.1   Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns occur in first, second, and third person, in both singular and plural forms (see table 8).

---

[37] "Il genere de' nomi sostantivi distinguesi coll'aggiunta delle parole <u>humasoi</u> (maschio, ovvero uomo) e <u>ro</u> (femmina, o donna)" (B1, sec. 5).

[38] Other vocatives in the data are unmarked (see [49], [65], and [91]).

Table 8. *Personal pronouns*

	SG	PL
1	*rau*	*raufisucá*
2	*uju*	*ujurrolá*
3	*yairi*	*yarola*

They inflect for the same cases as nouns, using the same suffixes.[39]

(12) ujurrola-fú
      you-COM
      'with you (pl.)'

Note, however, that no accusative or dative personal pronoun is used in our material. Instead, suffixes integrated on the verb are always used (see §3.7.1.3.5). Note also that, since Betoi marks the person of the subject on both verbal and verbless predicates, and since verbal predicates are also marked for subject number, personal pronouns are normally not used as subjects. When they are, they are likely to have an emphatic character, as in (59) and (87) for example.

3.2.2   Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns operate for at least two grades of distance (near, distant), encoding distinctions of number (singular, plural) and, in the singular, of gender (masculine, feminine, neuter). Consider the forms from B1 in table 9.

Table 9. *The "near" demonstrative pronouns ('this one')*

	SG	PL
masculine	*irri*	⇑
feminine	*iú*	??
neuter	*ijé*	⇓

The referent of the neuter form *ijé* is not necessarily an (in)animate object. It may also be an, action for example (see [39]).

There is another word in the Betoi corpus that can probably be classified as a demonstrative pronoun: invariable *oanú* 'the same one'.[40]

3.2.3   Interrogative and relative pronouns

The same elements function as both interrogative and relative pronouns.[41] Like the demonstrative pronouns, these pronouns distinguish masculine, feminine, and neuter forms in the singular and include, in all probability, a single plural form (unattested; see table 10).

---

[39] "Le particole . . . distintive de' casi pospongosi sempre a' pronomi primitivi . . ." (B1, sec. 8).
[40] ". . . medesimo dicesi <u>oanú</u>, che è indeclinabile" (B1, sec. 8).

Table 10. *Interrogative-relative pronouns*

	SG	PL
masculine	*madoi*[a]	⇑
feminine	*madó*[a]	??
neuter	*majaduca*	⇓

[a] The suffixes -*oi* and -*ó* inflecting the stem *mad*- are the same suffixes that inflect stative verbs for singular number and, respectively, masculine and feminine gender, as we may observe in table 16.

Another form functioning as an interrogative pronoun is *day* 'what (sg.)' (13, 67). It also means 'how' (68) and, very likely, 'how much' (cf. *daitola* 'how many' in B1).

3.3   Demonstrative clitics?

Besides demonstrative pronouns, used when no overt noun is expressed, Betoi has demonstratives used as NP modifiers. One of them, indicating the "near" location of the intended referent of the NP, may be observed in the following example, where it occurs in close juncture with the head noun as if it is a suffix.[42]

(13) day   faá-ca-que   cusi-duca
      what   say-IND-INT   bird-DEM.PR
      'What does this bird say?' (i.e. what type of bird is this?[43])

3.4   Adjectives

Adjectives share with nouns the following features: they can be used headlessly in an NP (at least judging from *fofei*, for example, in [29] and *edolatu* in [42]); they receive (in an unspecified and unspecifiable context) the same case markers;[44] in predicative function they co-occur with an overt copula only if the clause is negated (see §4.4.1.4); used predicatively in an affirmative clause, they inflect for person of the subject (in the same manner as nouns) constituting per se a predicate (see table 17). Like nouns, adjectives also show the grammatical category of number. They mark (also in this case in an unspecified and unspecifiable context) their plural with the help of a suffix, e.g. the

---

[41] "In luogo del nome relativo servono le parole <u>madoi</u>, <u>madò</u>, <u>majaduca</u>: <u>madoi</u> vuol dire <u>chi è</u>? Parlandosi di mascolino: <u>madò</u> vuol dire <u>chi e</u>? [*sic*] parlandosi di femminino: <u>majaduca</u> vuol dire <u>che cosa</u> <u>é</u>?" (B1, sec. 8).

[42] The same demonstrative -*duca*, or better -*ducá*, also appears as a frozen morpheme in the noun pluralizer -*ducajaná* and in the neuter singular interrogative-relative pronoun *majaduca*.

In (79), it is possible that there is a demonstrative clitic with a distal meaning, which occurs attached to *aja* '?thing' (cf. *ajaducá* in [17], [64], and [69]).

[43] ". . . no dan el nombre a las aves por lo que ellas son, sino por lo que piensan que ellas dices; y así no se les pregunta cómo se llama aquella ave, sino . . . «¿Qué es lo que dice este pájaro?» Y les ponen el nombre de lo que les pareces que pronuncian las aves ; v. gr., al pato llaman *cuiviví*; a la gallina, *focará*; al gallo, *toteleló*, etcétera, quieriendo conocer a las aves por su eco, al modo que acá conocemos a los hombres por el metal de su voz" (B4, p. 297).

[44] "Le particole . . . distintive de' casì . . . pospongono sempre agli aggettivi si [*sic*] nel singolare, che nel plurale" (B1, sec. 7).

ubiquitous *-olá* mentioned in §3.1.1 and note 31: *culasa* 'wise, prudent', pl. *culasola* (read *culasolá*).[45]

There is no clear-cut comparison of adjectives. Something like the concept of "comparative" and "superlative" is expressed by using the degree adverb *nasiú* 'very'.[46]

3.5   Numerals and other quantifiers

There are very few numeral words in Betoi: *edojojoi* 'one', *edoi* 'two' (= 'other'), *ibutú* 'three' (= 'and'). Beyond that, *maitolá* indicates 'many, a large number' and, when a number exceeded three, the Betoi said *maitolá* and showed fingers, each of which signified one, and/or hands, each of which signified five, adding *ibutú* whenever they completed a group of ten and continued further.[47] Alternatively, 'four' was expressed *ibutú edojojoi* and 'five' *rumucosó*, i.e. 'my hand' (B5).

The indefinite quantifier 'all', requiring number agreement with the head noun, is *bagenuma* in the singular (see [47]) and *bolanuma* in the plural (B1, sec. 6). It can be used headlessly, as shown by (84) and (85). The interrogative quantifier, also with a singular and a plural form, is recorded only in the plural as *daitolá* (B1, sec. 24).

3.6   Adpositions

See §4.2.

3.7   Verbs

At the morphological level, verbs constitute the most complex (and the most interesting) of all lexical categories in Betoi. Minimally, such forms have a stem, which may either consist of a bare root or of a root with at least one derivational morpheme (see §3.7.5), and an (overt) affix as, for example, *u-cá* 's/he is' and *j-u* 'be (sg. imperative)'. Commonly, the forms in the data can be segmented into several successive components which turn out to be members of a quite large number of positional classes as, for example, *cula-j-atu-ja-cá* 'you look for (sg.)' and *j-obai-j-omu(c)aaj-oi-jú* 'you are obedient (sg. m.)'. Much of the complexity of Betoi verb morphology derives, however, not from its composite nature, but from the presence of various, sometimes redundant, processes of agreement of verb forms with subject person (cf. *rucá* 'I am', *berraca* 'I look for', *orrebacá* 'I advise', *cula[r](r)aturracá* 'I look for', *ajoirrú* 'I am (copula)', *rijoirrú* 'I am dead (m.)', *rijucarrumoi* 'I am dismayed (or astonished) (m.)', *robairomu(c)aajoirrú* 'I am obedient (m.)') and from the fact that there are certain inflectional elements that undergo alternations in their form according to their grammatical environment (cf. *rudianú* 'to be me', *rudianutó ~ rudiamaianú* 'to be us', *jujuianú ~ jujuiadianú* 'to be you (pl.)').[48]

---

[45] "La terminazione del plurale degli aggettivi è assai varia" (B1, sec. 6).

[46] "No [*sic*] sono nomi comparativi, né superlativi; ma gli aggettivi hanno significazione di comparativi, o superlativi ove preponendosi loro l'avverbio <u>naisù</u> molto" (B1, sec. 7).

[47] "... i Betoi al dire <u>maitolà</u> comunemente mostrano i diti necessarj per significare il numero ... I Betoi per dire cinque mostrano una mano: per dire <u>dieci</u> mostrano due mani: per dire quindici mostrano due mani, e poi mostrano una mano sola: per dire venti, mostrano due mani, dicono <u>ibutù</u>, e poi un'altra volta mostrano le due mani" (B1, sec. 24).

[48] In a letter dated September 13th, 1783, addressed to Hervás y Panduro and transcribed in B1 (sec. 1), Padilla states that the verb system of Betoi, besides being characterized by various inflection patterns, suffers from so many irregularities that it is impossible for him to adduce in only a few pages a formal set of rules and their numerous exceptions: "... sono varie le declinazioni, e conjugazioni, che sono verbi negativi, verbi

There are four types or classes of verbs in Betoi: active, stative, copular, and impersonal. The class membership of a verb is indicated primarily through its distinctive behaviour in affix selection. An active verb has the potential to be inflected for tense/mood/aspect of the clause, negation, person and number of the subject, and person of the direct or dative object. A stative verb is obligatorily marked, by means of distinct affixes, for person and number of the subject. For singular, gender is also relevant but not indexed separately from number. There is a distinction between masculine, feminine, and neuter. A copular verb is also inflected with two distinct elements: a subject person marker and a number marker. However, unlike a stative verb, it is never inflected for gender. Finally, an impersonal verb is indicated by the presence of the suffix *-aje* and, if present, by its special negative marker.

3.7.1   Active verbs

In addition to the inflectional affixes that indicate tense, mood, aspect, negation, subject person and number, and direct/dative object person, and (obviously) a stem, active verbs can also contain, in a noncontiguous position with the stem, a further element having lexical meaning: a lexical affix or perhaps another stem. (The data we possess do not allow greater precision.) Any non-inflectional affix or supplementary stem that may occur, together with the stem, can be defined as the theme of the verb, although discontinuous. A theme expresses a fundamental verbal idea as do, for example, *anu- -ebá* 'fill' and *cula- -atu* 'look for'.

To demonstrate the intricate structure of Betoi active verbs, I present data in tables 11–14 in §3.7.1.1, followed by examples and commentary in §3.7.1.2 and §3.7.1.3 and subsections.

3.7.1.1   Overall structure

Table 11. *Tentative active verb matrix*

Tense	KERNEL VERB	Negation	Mood or Aspect	Person of direct or dative object
ma- 'past'		*-omé* 'negative'	*-cá* 'indicative'	*-rrú* '1sg'
fa- 'future'			*-idaódda ~ -idódda* 'conditional'	*-nutó* '1pl'
			-dianú 'purposive/optative'[a]	*-jú* '2'
			-ometú 'prohibitive'	Ø '3'
			Ø 'imperative'	
			-ida 'imperfective'	

[a] This suffix displays considerable allomorphy; see §3.7.1.3.3 in text.

---

passivi &c. Questo il [*sic*] so; ma non però posso addurre regole generali, indicare l'eccezioni (che sono moltissime nella lingua Betoyana) ne [*sic*] fissare i termini delle molte, e varie maniere di esprimersi, che i Betoi hanno. ... Se io avessi a mettere distesamente le conjugazioni de' verbi affermativi, e negativi, non basterebbe scrivere mezzo tomo de' suoi".

Table 12. *First kernel verb of active verbs without bipartite theme*

Person of subject	Vowel-initial STEM	Plural subject person and number
r- '1'		-mai ~ -nutó '1pl'
j- '2'		-jui ~ -jai '2pl'
Ø '3'		-bi '3pl'

Table 13. *Second kernel verb of active verbs without bipartite theme*

Consonant-initial STEM	Subject
	-rra '1sg'
	-ja '2sg'
	Ø '3sg'
	⇑ ?? ⇓
	-bi '3pl'

Table 14. *Kernel verb of active verbs with bipartite theme*

First part of THEME	Subject	Second part of THEME	Subject
	rr- '1sg'		-rra '1sg'
	j- '2sg'		-ja '2sg'
	⇑ ?? ⇓		⇑ ?? ⇓

Tables 11–14 show the positional classes for affixes and their identified members; they are not, however, entirely exhaustive, due to the rather limited number of forms occurring in the corpus (about 120 of about 20 different verbs)

Most of the inflectional affixes on table 11 are mutually exclusive. There is no co-occurrence within a positional class. None of the suffixes that indicate mood or aspect can co-occur with a tense prefix, and none of these affixes can occur with the negative marker. On the other hand, there are a number of verbal constituents that require the selection of other constituents. The suffixes that mark plural subject person and number, shown in table 12, occur only in combination with a prefix indicating subject person. If there is a theme consisting of two separate elements, the first beginning with a consonant, then the verb will contain an additional subject person and number marker suffixed directly to the second element of the theme, in addition to the subject person and number marker which is always inserted between the two components of bipartite themes.

The similarity of the first person markers r-/rr- '1', -rrú '1sg', and -rra '1sg' and the second singular person ones j-, -jú, and -ja with, respectively, the personal pronouns rau 'I' and uju 'you (sg.)' is clear.

Paradigms of two active verbs, -u 'be' and -iju 'die', are given in appendix A.

3.7.1.2   Kernel verb

As tables 12, 13, and 14 show, the kernel verb consists of the stem or theme of the verb plus the affix(es) cross-referencing the subject of the clause.

3.7.1.2.1   Verb theme

The two elements which are part of a verb theme occur separated by a subject marker, as noted above. Of these, the one to the right of the subject marker is, or may be, an (inflected) independent verb stem (like -ebá 'make, do' for example). Nothing certain can be said about the part of the theme that occurs first nor, unfortunately, can any particular meaning be ascribed to the handful of the first-position constituents of themes that can be isolated in our corpus. We may only note that o-, which recurs in the verbs 'advise' and 'think', might refer to the mind or to some mental function, and that anu-, found in the verb 'fill', has the same shape as a verb stem meaning 'go'.[49] Examples of themes are given in table 15.

Table 15. *A few bipartite verb themes*

First element of THEME		Second element of THEME		Combined meaning
anu-	'??'	-ebá	'make'	'fill'
tulu-	'??'	-ebá	'make'	'illuminate'[a]
o-	'??'	-ebá	'make'	'advise'
o-	'??'	-acaa	'??'	'think'
cula-	'??'	-atu	'??'	'look for'

[a] In fact, we cannot be completely sure that tulu- and -ebá, attested together only by a verb with a 3sg subject zero marker (see example [79]), are really discontinually associated and do not form, rather, an uninterruptable unit.

[49] Even if one admits that the meaning of a theme is not necessarily merely the sum of the meanings of its elements, it is difficult to believe that the stem 'go' plus the stem 'make' creates the theme 'fill'.

3.7.1.2.2   Subject agreement

Active verbs belong to four different conjugational patterns, depending on agreement with the subject.

Verbs without a bipartite theme, whose stem begins with a vowel, cross-reference the subject of their clause by means of prefixes that directly precede the stem. Plural forms are also marked with suffixes that combine expression of the person and number of the subject and occur immediately after the stem. (See table 12. Ø means that there is not an overt morph for that person.)

r-u-cá 'I am', *j-u-cá* 'you are', *Ø-u-cá* 's/he is', *r-u-mai-cá* 'we are', *j-u-jai-cá* 'you are', *Ø-u-bi-cá* 'they are' (B1)

r-iju-ca 'I die', *j-iju-ca* 'you die', *Ø-iju-ca* 's/he dies', *r-iju-mai-cá* 'we die', *(j)-iju-jai-cá[i]* 'you die', *Ø-iju-bi-ca* 'they die' (B1)

r-anu-cá 'I go' (B1), *r-anu-may-cá* 'we go' (B4)

The first person plural marker *-nutó* (also used as first-person plural direct/dative object marker; see table 11) appears in *r-u-dia-nutó* 'to be us', which is an irregular verb form; other irregularities in this verb form are the inverted order of the subject person and number marker and the unusual allomorph *-dia* of the purposive/optative mood suffix.[50] The second person plural marker *-jui* is replaced by *-jai* when followed by the indicative mood suffix *-cá*.

(14)   ma-j-u-jui
PAST-2-be-2pl
'you were'

(15)   j-u-jai-cá
2-be-2pl-IND
'you are'

Verbs with a bipartite theme, the first part of which is vowel-initial, cross-reference the person and number of the subject by means of single markers inserted between the two components of their theme (see table 14).[51] Consider the following forms from B1 (sec. 22): *o-rr-eba-cá* 'I advise', *o-j-eba-cá* 'you advise'; *o-rr-acaa-ca* 'I think', *o-j-acaa-ca* 'you think'; *anu-r(r)-eba-cá* 'I fill', *anu-j-eba-cá* 'you fill'.

The same cross-referencing prefixes are also added between the two parts of bipartite themes when the first is consonant-initial and the second vowel-initial; but in this case, the subject of the verb is also cross-referenced with a suffix immediately contiguous to the second-position element of the theme (see again table 14).[52] Note these forms from B1 (sec. 22): *cula-{r}(r)-atu-rra-cá* 'I look for', *cula-j-atu-ja-cá* 'you look for'.

A suffix as the only element that cross-references to the subject can be found in verbs without a bipartite theme that have a consonant-initial stem (see table 13), such as the following: *be-rra-ca* 'I look for',[53] *b{e}-ja{a}-ca* 'you look for' (B1); *cofa-ja-nuto* 'call us' (B2); *sadianú* |sa-Ø-dianú|

---

[50] Also, in the alternate form *r-u-dia-mai-anú*, the first-person plural marker and the mood marker (here discontinuous) do not follow their usual order.

[51] "Oltre la conjugazione posta, che fa variare le persone nella prima sillaba, . . . sono altre conjugazioni, che chiamerò accidentalmente diverse; perché esse si distinguono dalla esposta nel variarsi le persone nella seconda, o terza sillaba" (B1, sec. 22).

[52] "Altre conjugazioni hanno due variazioni in ogni persona" (B1, sec. 22).

[53] "I verbi, che si conjugano pel verbo <u>berraca</u> cerco . . . si differenzano [*sic*] notabilmente dalle altre conjugazioni" (B1, sec. 22).

'may s/he do' (B2); *roleabidaju* |rolea-bi-ida-ju| 'may they assail you' (B4) (cf. also Lolaca or Atabaca *nanaa-bi-ca* 'they cover with earth (or guard)' [B4]).

3.7.1.3   Non-kernel affixes

3.7.1.3.1   Tense

Tense markers are the leftmost prefixes that occur in the active verb. They distinguish between 'past' and 'future'.

ma- 'past'

(16)   ai asidí   ma-rrijubi   ai asidi
excl. of grief   PAST-die   excl. of grief
'Alas! S/he died. Alas!'[54]

(17)   day   dianu   obay   refolajuy   theo-dá   futuit   aja-duca   may
what   ??   ??   ??   sun-TOP   fire   ?thing-DEM.PR   so

ma-fa(a)-rra
PAST-say-1sg
'When will you believe me? The sun, this ?thing is fire. So I said'

fa- 'future'

(18)   Diosó fa-usuca-jú Babi-cá   uju ma-afoca   ubad-ola-n(u){t}ó   maydaitú
God   FUT-pay-2   father-VOC   you ??-ABL   rational.being-PL-1pl   already
'God will pay you, Father! Through your ??, we are already rational beings'

(19)   {B}abi-cá   fa-j-ijú   futuit-fu   rufay   fafole-jú
father-VOC   FUT-2-die   fire-INSTR   ?inflammation   burn-2
'Father! You will die. Burn the ?inflammation with the fire!'

3.7.1.3.2   Negation

See §4.3.1.1.

3.7.1.3.3   Mood

There are at least four overt suffixes referring to mood among the inflectional elements of the active verb.

-cá 'indicative'

(20)   r-anu-ca   tucu-ia
1-go-IND   house-DIR
'I go to the house'

---

[54] A funeral lamentation.

(21) tugaday tugaday San Ignacio ausu-ca-{n}utó day   día-qué
     true   true   Saint Ignatius help-IND-1pl   what/how ??-INT
     'True! True! Saint Ignatius helped us. How did this happen?'

A verb in the indicative makes a statement without any particular overtones.

-idaódda (co-allomorph *-idódda* after *-mai* '1pl') 'conditional'[55]

(22) r-u-idaódda
     1-be-COND
     'if I were'

(23) rumaidódda |r-u-mai-idódda|
     1-be-1pl-COND
     'if we were'

-dianú (and various grammatically determined co-allomorphs) 'purposive/optative'[56]

(24) r-u-dianú
     1-be-PURP
     'to be me'

(25) uju ojaca oa{nu} mai umena-{nu} uju aja(b)o-nu farrocafada
     you will   as   so   earth-LOC   you country-LOC moreover

     sa-dianú
     make-OPT
     'Your will, as on earth, in your country may moreover be done (lit. s/he do)'

Within the lexical verb 'be', note that in B1 (and also in appendix A), *-dia* and the discontinuous allomorph *-dia -anú* occur in first person plural (*r-u-dia-nutó ~ r-u-dia-mai-anú*), *-ianú* and *-iadianú* in second person plural (*jujuianú* |j-u-jui-ianú| ~ *jujuiadianú* |j-u-jui-iadianú|), while *-dianú* can be found in all other persons. Within the auxiliary 'be' (see §4.3.1.1), the optative/purposive marker is *-nuda* in first-person plural (*r-u-mai-nuda*), *-nuian* (*-nuianú* presumably, since syllable structure in Betoi is (C)V(V) [§2.4] and all the other co-allomorphs end in ['nu]) in second person plural (*j-u-jui-nuian(ú)*), and *-ianú* elsewhere.

-ometú 'prohibitive' (cf. *-omé* 'negative')

(26) jujuometú |j-u-jui-ometú|
     2-die-2pl-PROH
     'don't be (pl.)'

(27) j-itebometú   memelu Ø-olea-nuto
     2-permit:PROH devil   3-deceive-1pl
     'Don't permit the devil to deceive us'

Regarding the verb forms inflected with *-idaódda ~ -idódda*, B1 (sec. 12) contains this short comment: "[i]n tutte le persone s'intendono queste condizionali se, conciossiaché, se Dio volesse . . .".

"Gerundio, che serve in luogo dell'infinito, del supino, e de' gerundj attivi della lingua Latina" according to Padilla (B1, sec. 12).

The imperative mood suffix is "zero".

(28) uju ajabo-ia   cofa-ja-Ø-nuto
     you country-DIR   call-2sg-IMP-1pl
     'Call us to your country'

(29) raufis{u}ca fofei j-usuca-Ø-nuto
     we   bad   2-forgive-IMP-1pl
     'Forgive us our bad (things)'

Both positive and negative imperatives occur only in the second person, singular and plural (see appendix A).

3.7.1.3.4 Aspect

Only one suffix seems to function aspectually to indicate action in process (30, 49). It is *-ida* and can tentatively be glossed 'imperfective'.[57]

(30) *Situfa*
     madagená nefec-óla[58] fala{b}idáju[59] |fala-bi-ida-jú|
     what   parent-PL   say-3pl-IMPRF-2
     'What are the parents saying to you?'

It is possible that a suffix of identical shape was used for wishes (in place of *-dianú* and co-allomorphs and, apparently, in agreement with what is expressed in B1 and quoted here in note 57). There is, however, inadequate evidence (only the following sentence[60]) to confirm this supposition.

(31) maydaytú irruquí roleabidaju |rolea-bi-ida-ju|
     soon   ants   assail-3pl-??-2
     'May the ants assail you soon'

3.7.1.3.5 Direct or dative object person markers

The person of the direct or dative object is coded in the active verb by means of the appropriate suffix, as shown in table 11.

(32) edasu ucasu fa-rr-usuca-ju
     next   year   FUT-1-pay-2
     'Next year, I will pay you' (*ucasu* [read *ucasú*] = 'Pleiades, year')

(33) fa-j-inefá-Ø   du
     FUT-2-take.care.of-3   ??
     'Will you take care of her (your wife)?'[61]

According to Padilla, verbs with *-ida* are marked for "[m]odo congiontivo, o piuttosto Gerundio, che serve da modo congiontivo" (B1, sec. 12).

Read *nefecolá*.

Read *falabidajú*, with the stress on the final suffix.

An imprecation reflecting the Betoi belief that ants eat a human corpse once it is buried.

If the direct or dative object is a first person, a distinction of number (singular, plural) is always made.

(34) day   rááquirra-bi-ca-rrú   romú   robarriabarro-rráá-ca-jú
      because   steal-3pl-IND-1sg   maize ??-1sg-IND-2
      'Because they steal the maize from me (lit. to me), I must beat you'[62]

(35) *Lolaca or Atabaca*
      day-que   teo   cejo   ajó   rijubi-ca-n(u)to
      how-INT   moon   ??   ??   die-IND-1pl
      'The moon ?? dies on us (lit. to us), doesn't it?'   (Gumilla: 'Don't you see how the moon is dying on us?')

3.7.1.3.6 Subordinate forms in complement clauses?

When affirmative active verbs are used as the predicate of a complement clause in the object function, they seem to have reduced affixation possibilities compared with the finite forms, their inflectional elements appearing only as markers cross-referencing the subject and markers expressing direct/dative object person (see [27] and the analogous construction in [88]).

3.7.2   Stative verbs

As mentioned earlier, the class of semantically stative verbs can as a rule be formally identified by the inflectional affixes they take, specifically, markers of subject person and markers of subject number. Usually, in fact, a stem that can express either an event or an action can also be used to describe a state or condition without the addition of any affix (see *-iju* and *babasa-* in the examples which follow).[63]

(36) a. r-iju-ca
          1-die-IND
          'I die'

      b. rijoirrú |r-iju-oi-rrú|
          1-be.dead-SG:M-1sg
          'I am dead (m.)'

(37) a. babasa-ca
          advise-IND
          's/he advises'

---

[61] A wedding formula pronounced by the father of the bride to his new son-in-law. (81) is its conventional answer.

[62] Notice that *day rááquirra-bi-ca-rrú romú* is translated by Gumilla 'because you (pl.) steal the maize from me' (see appendix B). For the second verb form in the sentence, *roba-rr-iabarra-ráá-ca-jú* {??-1-??-1sg-IND-2} is a plausible, complete morphemic analysis (see §3.7.1.2.2).

[63] ". . . comunemente da tutti i verbi provengono nomi aggettivi che s'inflettono uniti a pronomi primitivi" (B1, sec. 19). (Statives are placed in the category of "noun adjectives" in Hervás y Panduro's grammatical sketch.)

(37) b. babasoirrú |babasa-oi-rrú|
          be.one.who.gives.advice-SG:M-1sg
          'I am one who gives advice (m.)'

Occasionally, however, the class membership of a stative verb is also shown by the occurrence of *-aj* (apparently a verbalizing suffix; see §3.7.5) at the end of the stem, as in *mamiaj-ó* 'she is good' ('buona' in B1, sec. 6) and *dusucaaj-oi* 'he is pitiful' ('pietoso' in B1, sec. 7).

In some of the statives (probably most), a stem alone defines the principal meaning: *rijoirrú* |r-iju-oi-rrú| 'I am dead (m.)', *jijoijú* |j-iju-oi-jú| 'you are dead (m.)', etc. In other cases, as in active verbs, two distinct constituents are likely to convey the principal meaning: *robairromu(c)aajoirrú* |r-obai-rr-omucaaj-oi-rrú|[64] 'I am obedient (m.)', *jobaijomu(c)aajoijú* |j-obai-j-omucaaj-oi-jú| 'you are obedient (m.)', etc. Just as in active verbs, these two elements do not occur contiguously, but are separated by a subject person marker. (The element to the right of the inflectional morpheme consists or may consist of a verb stem, as the presence of *-aj* in *robairromu(c)aajoirrú* and *jobaijomu(c)aajoijú* suggests).

Table 16 is a "template" of the structure of statives with a (perhaps) complete inventory of the inflectional components.

Table 16. *Stative verb matrix*

Person of subject	First part of THEME	Person of subject	STEM or Second part of THEME	Number of subject	Person of subject
r- '1'	r-/rr- '1'			-oi 'SG:M'	-rrú '1sg'
j- '2'	j- '2'			-ó 'SG:F'	-nutó '1pl'
Ø '3'	Ø '3'			-ajoi ~ -aje 'SG:N'	-jú '2'
				-olá ~ -oladá 'PL'	Ø '3'

The subject person suffixes are the same forms which mark direct/dative object person in active verbs. Singular number suffixes are portmanteau morphs indexing subject gender. Due to the paucity of data, the linguistic contexts of the variation *-ajoi ~ -aje* 'SG:N' and *-olá ~ -oladá* 'PL' cannot be recovered.

The following co-occurrences between members of the six positional classes of statives (shown in table 16) have been noted: (i) consonant-initial stem, number of subject, person of subject; (ii) person of subject, vowel-initial stem, number of subject, person of subject; (iii) person of subject, first-position element of the theme, person of subject, second-position element of the theme, number of subject; (iv) person of subject, first-position element of the theme, person of subject, second-position element of the theme (in *-aj*), number of subject, person of subject. Given below are forms from B1 (secs. 6, 10, and 19) for *-iju* 'be dead', *mamiaj-* 'be good', *ijuca- -uma* 'be dismayed' (or, perhaps, 'be astonished'; Italian 'essere sbigottito'), and *obai- -omucaaj-* 'be obedient', exemplifying the four types of combinations observed within verbs of this type.

---

[64] Separated orthographically, a morph *obay* can be observed in two practically intractable constructions from B4: the interrogative sentences in examples (17) and (89).

(i) *mamiaj-oí-∅* [*sic*] 'he is good', *mamiaj-ó-∅* 'she is good', *mamiaj-aje-∅* 'it is good', *mamiaj-olada-∅* 'they are good'.

(ii) *rijoirrú* |r-iju-oi-rrú| 'I am dead (m.)', *jijoijú* |j-iju-oi-jú| 'you are dead (m.)', *ijoi* |∅-iju-oi-∅| 'he is dead', *rijolanuto* |r-iju-ola-nuto| 'we are dead', *jij[u]olajú* |j-iju-ola-jú| 'you are dead', *ij[u]ola* |∅-iju-ola-∅| 'they are dead'.

(iii) *rijucarrumoi* |r-ijuca-rr-uma-oi| 'I am dismayed (m.)', *rijucarrumó* |r-ijuca-rr-uma-ó| 'I am dismayed (f.)', *r-ijuca-rr-uma-ajoi* 'I am dismayed (n.)', *jijucajumoi* [*sic*] |j-ijuca-j-uma-oi| 'you are dismayed (m.)', *ijucaumoi* |∅-ijuca-∅-uma-oi| 'he is dismayed', *rijucarrumoladá* |r-ijuca-rr-uma-oladá| 'we are dismayed', *jijuca(j)umola* |j-ijuca-j-uma-ola| 'you are dismayed'.

(iv) *r-obai-rr-omu(c)aaj-oi-rrú* 'I am obedient (m.)', *r-obai-rr-omucaaj-o-{r}(r)u* 'I am obedient (f.)', *j-obai-j-omu(c)aaj-oi-jú* 'you are obedient (m.)', *∅-obai-∅-omucaaj-oi-∅* 'he is obedient', *∅-obai-∅-omucaaj-(aj)oi-∅* 'it is obedient', *r-obai-rr-omucaaj-ola-nuto* 'we are obedient', *j-obai-j-omu(ca)aj-ola-jú* 'you are obedient', *∅-obai-∅-omucaaj-ola-∅* 'they are obedient'.

3.7.3   Copular verbs

Subsumed under this category are *aj-* 'be', employed in clauses denoting location (see §4.4.1.4), and *ref- ~ re-* 'be not', also used as auxiliary of negation with statives (see [38]).

(38) rijoi(rrú) |r-iju-oi-rrú| ref-oi-rru
      1-be.dead-SG:M-1sg   be.not-SG-1sg
      'I am not dead'

These two verbs are conjugated by means of the suffixation of a marker of subject number, *-oi* 'SG' or *-olá* 'PL', and a marker of subject person (selected from the same set of elements used for the agreement with subject person in stative verbs), occurring in this order.[65]

aj-oi-rrú 'I am', *aj-oi-jú* 'you are', *aj-oi-∅* 's/he is', *aj-ola-nutó* 'we are', *aj-ola-ju* 'you are', *aj-{o}la-∅* 'they are'

ref-oi-rrú 'I am not', *ref-oi-jú* 'you are not', *ref-oi-∅* 's/he is not', *re-ola-nuto* 'we are not', *re-ola-ju* 'you are not', *re-ola-∅* 'they are not'

Stem suppletion *ref- ~ re-* is a supplementary exponent of number, as these examples show.

3.7.4   Impersonal verbs

In all probability, Betoi also has impersonal verbs referring to a generalized subject. Two of them (viz. the attested ones) are found in the examples that follow.[66]

(39) ijé   eba-mu-aje
      this.n   make-NEG-IMPRS
      'One does not do this'

(40) faa-re-aje
      speak-NEG-IMPRS
      'One does not speak'

These verbs differ from the other types of verb by having the suffix *-aje* after a special negative marker: *-mu* (cf. the negator *-omé* of active verbs) or *-re* (cf. the copular verb stem *ref- ~ re-* 'not be').[67]

3.7.5   Stem derivation

A suffix of the shape *-a* was probably used to derive verb stems from nominal roots: *umucosó* 'hand', *umucurrú* 'finger', *-umua* 'give'. The suffix *-aj* (reminiscent of the copular verb stem 'be') is a verbalizer (at least of adverbs) found with statives: *mamí* 'well', *mamiaj-* 'be good'.

3.8   Adverbs

Adverbs modify adjectives (see §3.4), verbs (as in [81]) or entire clauses (as in [18]). They indicate intensity (as in [80]), manner (as in [17] and [81]), time (as in [82]), location (as in [84]), and presumably other notions. Most of them appear with no morphology at all in the extant data. A few forms, however, exist in our material that derive or might derive from another adverb by suffixation: *mayda-itú* 'soon, already' and *maida-casí* 'now', apparently obtained from *maida* 'today', and *dia-tú* 'from where', formed by adding a special ablative marker *-tú* to *dia* 'where'.[68]

3.9   Conjunctions

ibutú 'and' conjoins clauses (see §4.6.1) and their constituents.[69]

(41) oyula-nuto ub{o}-ia   ibutu umena-nu
      ??-1pl   above-DIR   and   earth-LOC
      '?? us upwards and on earth'

uita 'but' is employed exclusively for clause coordination in our corpus (see §4.6.1). *day* 'because' (homonymous with *day* 'what, how, ?how much') , *afocá* 'because' (§3.1.2), and *oanú* 'as' are subordinating (see §4.6.2.3). The latter, in combination with the demonstrative adverb *mai* 'so', is used for linking NPs as well (see example [43]).

---

[65] "Questi verbi non hanno altri esempi . . . Non si sono espresse le persone nel presente di ajoirru e di refoirru, perché vi si esprime la loro distinzione: tuttavia le persone si mettono qualche volta; e così dicesi per esempio ujurroù [ujurrola] ajolaju voi siete: yarola reola quelli non sono" (B1, sec. 15).
[66] "Per esempio io so, che si dicono le seguenti espressioni: non si fa questo, ijè ebamuaje: . . . non si parla: faareaje . . . e così potrò mettere espressioni di verbi passivi affermativi, e negativi; ma non potrò

[col2]

darne le regole precise. Spiego gli esempj, che ho addotto: ijè questo. ebamuaje non è: . . . faareaje parlare non c'è" (B1, sec. 1).
[67] Actually, as we have seen in the preceding subsection, a suffix *-aje*, an uncommon allomorph of the indicator 'SG:N', also occurs in one of the stative verbs in the data.
[68] The suffix *-tú* (homophonous with the accusative case marker which we met with nouns and personal pronouns) can also be observed in *tolitú* 'from inside' (probably a postposition) in our data.
[69] "La parola ibutù serve ancora di conjunzione copulativa [*sic*] di due nomi, verbi &c." (B1, sec. 24).

3.10   Particles

Particles are divided into two classes on the basis of whether they constitute meaningful utterances on their own or not. Those that do not, serving as one of the immediate constituents of clauses, include an interrogative marker and an element functioning at the discourse level (see below §3.10.1–2). Those particles that stand on their own comprise a range of exclamatory words, some of which are listed in §4.4.4.

3.10.1   Interrogative particle

The optional (so it seems) question-clitic *-qué*, which cliticizes to the predicate both in WH- and neutral yes/no-questions, marks interrogativity (see §4.4.2.1 and §4.4.2.2.1).

3.10.2   Discourse connective

The particle *farrocafeda* or *farrocafada* 'moreover' links sentences in texts to form a coherent whole.

(42)   {u}ju   ayab{o-nu}   y-anea-ca-nuto uyu ajaca farrocofeda ufisuca[70] sa-dianu
        you   country-LOC   2-??-IND-1pl   you will moreover   ??   do-OPT

        oyula-nuto ub{o}-ia   ibutu umena-nu maida dalusianu babi   farrocofeda
        ??-1pl   above-DIR and   earth-LOC today ??   father moreover

        y-umua-nuto ibutu y-usuca-nuto raufisuca fofey raufisuca farrocofeda
        2-give-1pl   and   2-forgive-1pl we   bad   we   moreover

        ed-olatu   maibaibi r-usuca-mai-ca
        other-PL   ??   1-forgive-1pl-IND
        '?? us in your land. Your will moreover may ?? do. ?? us above and on earth. Today,
        Father, moreover give us the ?? and forgive us our bad (things). We moreover forgive
        the ?? of others'

(43)   uju   ajabo-ia   cofa-ja-nuto uju ojaca[71] oa{nu} mai umena-{nu} uju
        you   country-DIR call-2sg-1pl you will   as   so earth-LOC   you

        aja(b)o-nu   farrocafada sa-dianú
        country-LOC   moreover   make-OPT
        'Call us at your land. Your will, as on earth, in your country may moreover be done
        (lit. s/he do)'

---

[70] In appearance an error for *raufisuca* 'we', but the fact that the adjacent verb *sadianu* is not inflected in the first person plural contradicts *ufisuca* in this interpretation.
[71] The same word appears written *ajaca* in B3 (see example [42]). There is no way of knowing whether *ojaca* or *ajaca* is its precise form.

4   Syntax

Only elementary observations can be made about Betoi syntax from the few sentences and isolated phrases that are available.

4.1   Noun phrases

Noun phrases function as subjects, direct objects, predicates, copular complements, arguments of adpositions, and adjuncts. They can be descriptive, demonstrative, quantifying, and possessive, as illustrated by the following examples, or simply subsume bare nouns and pronouns.

Descriptive (adjective – noun)
(44)   edasu   ucasu
        next   year
        'next year' (*ucasu* [read *ucasú*] = 'Pleiades, year')

Descriptive (noun – adjective)
(45)   duiji   ijenuma[72]
        needs   daily
        'daily needs (requirements)'

Demonstrative
(46)   cusi-duca
        bird-DEM.PR
        'this bird'

Quantifying
(47)   bage-numa   fofei
        SG-all   bad
        'every bad (thing)'

Possessive
(48)   sorroy   umucosó
        monkey   hand
        'hand of monkey' (i.e. 'polypody', a k.o. fern)

---

[72] The final sequence *numa* may be the stem 'all' (see §3.5).

4.2   Postpositional phrases

In addition to case suffixes, Betoi has postpositions (or words in a postpositional function) used or usable in one of the local cases.

(49)   raufisucá   Babi   teo   ubo-nu   j-u-ida
        we   father sun   above-LOC[73] 2-be-IMPERF
        'Our Father! You are above the sun'

4.3   Verb phrases

Verb phrases in our material are made up of a single verb or of a main verb followed by an inflected auxiliary.

4.3.1   Auxiliary verb phrases

There are two subtypes of auxiliary verb phrases. One subtype, involving only active verbs, has a negated verb and -u ('be' as lexical verb) as its second member. The other subtype consists of a stative verb and the copula ref- ~ re- 'not be' in second position.

4.3.1.1   Selection of the auxiliary -u

Active verbs with the negator -omé, as we noted in §3.7.1.1, do not accept affixes that mark tense, mood, or aspect. The only way to express the values indicated by these formatives is with the verb -u, in the affirmative, with the appropriate inflection.[74]

(50)   r-u-omé   ma-rr-ú
        1-be-NEG   PAST-1-be
        'I was not'

(51)   rijomé |r-iju-omé| r-u-cá
        1-die-NEG   1-be-IND
        'I do not die'

(52)   rijomé |r-iju-omé| r-u-idaódda
        1-die-NEG   1-be-COND
        'if I did not die'

Note, however, that -u in the declarative never occurs after -u as main verb (compare [53] and [50]) and that the same auxiliary is probably not obligatory with other verbs (see [54] below).

---

[73] Note that *ubo* can also be used without an argument in the locative as an adverb referring to a high location (as such it is glossed "su" in B1) and in the directional as an adverb referring to movement upwards, as indicated by (41).

[74] Negated active verbs never occur with a following auxiliary in the imperative because the imperative has its own negative form expressed morphologically, the prohibitive, as we saw in §3.7.1.3.3: *j-u-Ø* {2-be-IMP} 'be (sg.)', *j-u-ometú* {2-be-PROH} 'do not be (sg.)' (B1, secs. 12 and 13).

(53)   r-u-omé
        1-be-NEG
        'I am not'

(54)   *Situfa*
        ebamucá   day   falabómelú |fala-bi-ome-lú| gotu-bi-cá
        no   because say-3pl-NEG-1sg   drink-3pl-IND
        'Nothing, because they are not speaking to me. They drink' (said as reply to [30])

Finally, it should be observed that the verb -u followed by the auxiliary -u is never marked for number in first person (55), and that number in these circumstances, at least in the extant data, is also not expressed in the third person if the auxiliary is in the purposive/optative (56) nor in second or third person if the auxiliary is in the conditional (57, 58).

(55)   r-u-omé   ma-rr-u-mai
        1-be-NEG   PAST-1-be-1pl
        'we were not'

(56)   u-omé   ubianu |Ø-u-bi-ianu|
        be-NEG   3-be-3pl-PURP
        'not to be they'

(57)   j-u-omé   jujuidaódda |j-u-jui-idaódda|
        2-be-NEG   2-be-2pl-COND
        'if you were not'

(58)   u-omé   ubidaódda |Ø-u-bi-idaódda|
        be-NEG   3-be-3pl-COND
        'if they were not'

4.3.1.2   Selection of auxiliary ref- ~ re-

As already indicated in §3.7.3, the copula ref- ~ re- 'not be' is used with stative verbs as an auxiliary of negation (see also below §4.4.1.3).

4.4   Types of clauses

Independent clauses, which are the subject of the following subsections, may be declarative, imperative, interrogative, or of other, minor types. A few dependent (subordinate) clause types are treated in §4.6.2.

4.4.1   Declarative clauses

These may be active, stative, copular, or impersonal.

4.4.1.1   Active

Active clauses have an active verb that may be accompanied by a tense/mood/aspect-bearing auxiliary as an exponent of predicate. The order of basic constituents in transitive constructions, where subject and object NPs both occur, is subject–object–predicate.

(59)   raufisuca   farrocofeda   ed-olatu   maibaibi   r-usuca-mai-ca
       we   moreover   other-PL   ??   1-forgive-1pl-IND
       'We moreover forgive the ?? of others'

The only departures from the normal object–predicate ordering can be observed in (34) and (60), but these are likely to be by syntactic calques from Spanish. (Observe the two versions of the same passage of the Lord's Prayer in (29), from B2, and (60), from B3.)

(60)   y-usuca-nuto   raufisuca   fofey
       2-forgive-1pl we   bad
       'Forgive us our bad (things)'

Negation of declarative active clauses is marked by means of the verbal suffix -omé 'negative' (table 11).

4.4.1.2   Impersonal

Impersonal clauses contain an impersonal ("generalized-personal") verb (§3.7.4). From the couple of examples at our disposal, the only possible observation concerning the constituent order of these clauses is that, if they contain a (free) direct object, the direct object comes before the predicate (39), as in transitive active clauses.

It has to be noted that the use of an impersonal verb is not the only way of expressing impersonal-generic subject reference. Clauses with an active verb predicate inflected for third person singular lacking an overt subject constituent may in fact also have an impersonal reading in Betoi (43, 61).

(61)   sa-ome   ma-ú
       make-NEG   PAST-be
       'One did not made'

4.4.1.3   Stative

Stative clauses employ a stative verb (§3.7.2).

(62)   mami-aj-ó
       well-VBLZR-SG:F
       'She is good'

The negation of stative clauses is accomplished by means of the copula (or auxiliary) ref- ~ re- 'be not' postposed to the stative verb (38) and the subject constituent if it occurs.[75]

---

[75] B1 states that personal pronouns in subject function precede the copula when used: ". . . le persone si mettono qualche volta; e così dicesi per esempio <u>ujurroù</u> [sic] <u>ajolaju</u> voi siete: <u>yarola</u> <u>reola</u> quelli non sono" (B1, sec. 15).

4.4.1.4   Copular

Copular clauses are used to denote, at least, (A) identity, (B) equation, (C) attribution, and (D) location. Clauses of types A and B, with a nominal complement, and those of type C, with an adjectival complement, do not have an overt copula in the affirmative. They may simply consist of a predicate noun or adjective inflected for subject person by means of one of the suffixes which also function as indicators of direct/dative object person with active verbs and subject person with stative and copular verbs (see tables 17 and 18).

Table 17. *Subject person inflection on a predicate noun*

1sg	*humas-oi-rrú*	'I am a man'
2sg	*humas-oi-jú*	'you are a man'
3sg	*humas-oi-∅*	'he is a man'
1pl	*humas-ola-nuto*	'we are men'
2pl	*humas-ola-jú*	'you are men'
3pl	*humas-ola-∅*	'they are men'

Table 18. *Subject person inflection on a predicate adjective*

1sg	*fofei-rrú*	'I am bad'
2sg	*fofei-jú*	'you are bad'
3sg	*fofei-∅*	's/he is bad'[a]

[a] ". . . e così seguitasi come si è detto di <u>humasoirrù</u>" (B1, sec. 9).

If an overt subject does occur in such verbless clauses, its position is after the predicate.

(63)   tugaday   tugaday   futuit   aja-[cu]d{u}cá
       true   true   fire   ?thing-DEM.PR
       'True! True! This ?thing (the sun) is fire.

(64)   durrabá   aja-ducá
       ?shameful   ?thing-DEM.PR
       'This ?thing is ?shameful'

On the other hand, affirmative copular clauses of location with a locative complement have the copula aj- 'be' after the complement.[76]

(65)   rau   babi   teo   ubo-nu   ay-oi-yu[77]
       I   father   sun   above-LOC   be-SG-2sg
       'My father! You are above the sun'

Negative copular clauses apparently leave the complement unmarked for subject person followed by the negative copula ref- ~ re- 'be not'.

---

[76] Apparently, the active verb -u 'be' can also take a locative complement (see example [49]).
[77] In the source attesting this example, B4, the grapheme <j> is replaced by <y> (table 6).

(66) culasa   ref-oí-rru[78]
      wise   be.not-SG-1sg
      'I am not wise' (i.e. I do not know)

From the passage from B1 quoted in note 75, we deduce that the two copulas *aj-* 'be' and *ref- ~ re-* 'be not' are also put after the subject when it is overtly present.

4.4.2   Interrogative clauses

4.4.2.1   WH-questions

WH-questions are formed by a clause-initial WH-word and the optional (so it seems) addition of the enclitic *-qué* 'interrogative' to the predicate.

(67) day   faa-ca-qué
      what   say-IND-INT
      'What does it (the bird) say?'

(68) day   ma-ebá   Diosó
      how   PAST-make God
      'How did God make?'

(69) *Jirara*
      day   j-eba-cá   Babí   alabuquí   aja-ducá
      what   2-do-IND   Father venom   ?thing-DEM.PR
      'What do you doing? Father! This ?thing is venom'

WH-words occur as elements filling a range of functions including those of direct object (see *day* in [67]), manner adjunct (68), locative adjunct (see *dia* 'where'), and quantifier (see *daitola* 'how many').

It is not clear from Gumilla's material if the placement of a WH-word that is not the subject of the question in front position is accompanied by subject-verb inversion, as in (13) and (68), or if subject and verb remain in their position, as in the Situfa example (30). It is possible, however, that the supplementary word order change of (13) and (68) is due to influence from Spanish—a lack of mastery of Betoi on the part of the missionary, in other words.

4.4.2.2   Yes/no-questions

Both neutral yes/no-questions, not expecting a particular answer, and leading yes/no-questions expecting an affirmative answer are attested.

4.4.2.2.1   Neutral yes/no-questions

Of the three neutral yes/no-questions that occur in the material at our disposal, two have the interrogative enclitic *-qué* attached to the predicate (70b, 92) and one has the same grammatical form as a statement (33).

---

[78] Read *refoirrú*.

(70) a. ma-j-usa
          PAST-2-come
          'You came'

      b. ma-j-usa-que
          PAST-2-come-INT
          'Did you come?'

4.4.2.2.2   Leading yes/no-questions

The two examples of leading yes/no-questions seeking confirmation that we have, one of which is really from the speech of the Lolaca or the Atabaca, are both expressed by placing before an affirmative statement the tag-question marker *dayqué*, composed, it seems, of the WH-word *day* 'what, how, ?how much' and the interrogative enclitic *-qué* (35, 89).

4.4.3   Imperative clauses

Active clauses are marked as imperative by special affixation in the verb: a zero morph for commands and *-ometú* for prohibitions (§3.7.1.3.3). Imperatives occur in all probability only in the second person, singular and plural (cf. the verb paradigms in appendix A).

4.4.4   Minor clause-types

Minor clauses-types include vocatives (§3.1.5) and exclamations (e.g. [71-78]).

(71)	ebamucá	'No'[79]
(72)	tugaday	'True!'
(73)	day día-qué {what/how where-INT}	'How did this happen?'[80]
(74)	ayaddi	'expression of wonder'
(75)	ódique[81]	'expression of admiration'
(76)	odijá	'expression of desire, uncertainty'
(77)	odifarracá	'expression of fear'
(78)	ai asidí	'expression of grief'

The response word *ebamucá* 'no' has a double function, judging also from one of the two Situfa sentences in our possession (example [54]). It is used elliptically (just like the English 'no') to negate a proposition, as in (79) in answer to the question in (92), and also (contrary to the English 'no') to negate a presupposition carried by a question, as in (54). (The speaker asking the question—that we can find in (30)—presupposes that the parents are saying something. *ebamucá* negates this presupposition.)

---

[79] Apparently consisting of the verb stem *-ebá* 'make, do', negator *-mu* of impersonal verbs (§3.7.4), and indicative marker *-cá* of active verbs (§3.7.1.3.3).

[80] Cf. the tag-question marker *dayqué* (§4.4.2.2.2).

[81] Probably read as *odiqué*; the final *que* may be the enclitic *-qué* 'interrogative'.

(79) ebamucá futuit ajajé Dioso abulú eba-dú
no fire ?thing:DEM.DIST God ?? make-??

tulu-eba-ca-nutó
??-make-IND-1pl
'No. ?That ?thing is fire. God ?? made ?it. It illuminates us' (said as reply to
[92]; Gumilla: 'No, because it is fire that God created to illuminate us')

4.5 Peripheral clause constituents

Peripheral clause constituents consist of NPs, postpositional phrases, and adverbs which refer to
time, location, direction, instrument, and other classes of information. The evidence for the order in
which these marginal elements occur is minimal. Apparently, peripheral constituents that have only
the predicate as their scope (adverbs of manner and degree in particular) are placed in pre-predicate
position (17, 80, 81), while constituents that are clausal in their scope (e.g. temporal, locative,
directional, and instrumental) seem not to have a fixed position. They can occupy initial position
(19, 28, 31, 32, 82, 84) or be placed clause-finally (5, 18, 20, 83).

(80) naisú dusucaaj-oi
very be.pitiful-SG:M
'He is very pitiful'

(81) mamí fa-rr-inefá du
well FUT-1-take.care.of ??
'I will well take care of her (my wife)'

(82) maida dalusianu babi farrocafada y-umua-nuto
today ?? father moreover 2-give-1pl
'Today, Father, moreover give us the ??'

(83) duiji ijenuma j-umua-nuto maidda
needs daily 2-give-1pl today
'Give us today the daily needs'

Locative constituents, at least, cannot also occur at the periphery of the clause, as suggested by (85).

(84) odija ubujenuma[82] bola-numa omea-bi-ca-ju
EXCL everywhere PL-all revere-3pl-IND-2
'Oh! Everywhere, all revere you'

(85) bola-numa ubujenuma omea-bi-ca-ju
PL-all everywhere revere-3pl-IND-2
'All everywhere revere you'

---

[82] See note 72.

4.6 Complex sentences

A complex sentence is regarded here as a construction that contains more than one clause. In Betoi,
there are systems of linkage between clauses (see §4.6.1.) or dependence (of different types:
nominal, adjectival, adverbial; see §4.6.2).

4.6.1 Co-ordinate clauses

Co-ordinate clauses are separated by the conjunction *ibutú* 'and' or *uita* 'but'.

(86) maida dalusianu babi farrocafada y-umua-nuto ibutu y-usuca-nuto
today ?? father moreover 2-give-1pl and 2-forgive-1pl

raufisuca fofei
we bad
'Today, Father, moreover give us the ?? and forgive us our bad (things)'

(87) ... ibutu raufis{u}ca fofei j-usuca-nuto raufis{u}ca oanú iarola
and we bad 2-forgive-1pl we as they

fofej r-usu(ca)-mai-ca ib{u}tu j-itebometú memelu olea-nuto
bad 1-forgive-1pl-IND and 2-permit:PROH devil deceive-1pl

uita bage-numa fofei cumi-ja-nuto
but SG-all evil take.away-2sg-1pl
'... and forgive our bad (things), as we forgive their bad (things), and don't permit
the devil to deceive us, but take away every bad (thing) from us'

4.6.2 Subordinate clauses

4.6.2.1 Complement clauses (nominal clauses)

Betoi allows object complement clauses, as we may observe in (27) and in the following, analogous
example from B3.

(88) tu-ya-∅ memelu ∅-oloa-nuto[83]
prevent-2-IMP devil 3-deceive-1pl
'Keep the devil from deceiving us'

If these clauses occur with an affirmative active verb, the verb seems to be reduced to its lexical and
pronominal components (§3.7.1.3.6). Their position is apparently after their superordinate clause.
    No examples of subject complement clauses are attested in our data.

---

[83] The verb stem 'deceive' in (27), from B2, is *-olea*. It is unclear which of the two forms is the correct
one.

4.6.2.2   Relative clauses (adjectival clauses)

All we know about relative clauses is that they were formed with relative pronouns that also functioned as interrogative pronouns (see note 41).

4.6.2.3   Adverbial clauses

Data are available for four kinds of adverbial clauses: causal clauses, protases of conditionals, purposive clauses, and simile clauses.

(i) Causal clauses are expressed in two ways. They are marked with *day* in initial position (34) (cf. also the Situfa example in [54]) or with *afocá* in final position (6, 89) (cf. also the Lolaca or Atabaca example in [90]).

(89)   ayaddi   Babi-cá   day   ma-ebá   Diosó   day-qué   ojabolá
      EXCL   Father-VOC   how   PAST-make   God   how-INT   ancestor:PL

      obay   reaje   afocá   arreacabi   dusuque   arri-bi-ca
      ??   ??   because   ??   ??   ??-3pl-IND
      'Oh! Father! How did God make? Because (my) ancestors ?? they ??, ?? ?don't they'[84] (said by a Betoi having realized that, according to Christian doctrine, his unconverted ancestors will eternally burn in the fires of Hell)

(90)   *Lolaca or Atabaca*
      futuit   nanaa-bi-ca   rijubi-ri   afocá
      fire   ?cover.with.earth-3pl-IND   die-??   because
      'They (the women) cover with earth (or guard) the fire, because it dies'

In both cases, they may be juxtaposed with the superordinate clause in an interchangeable sequence (compare examples [34] and [54] and examples [6] and [89]).

(ii) Protases of conditionals and purposive clauses with an active predicate are marked, respectively, by the conditional and purposive/optative suffix in the predicate (see §3.7.1.3.3).

(iii) Simile clauses are characterized by the presence of the conjunction *oanu* 'as' and follow, or may follow, their superordinate clause (87).

4.7   Discourse phenomena

The absence of spontaneous narrative texts obviously precludes the possibility of making systematic observations about discourse phenomena in Betoi. However, in the fragments of conversation contained in B4 and the two versions of the Lord's Prayer that are available, certain observations can be made, as described briefly in the three subsections that follow.

---

[84]   Gumilla: 'Oh my Father! How did God make this? Therefore did my ancestors get lost and are they burning because God did not send them Fathers who instruct them?'. Needless to say, there is little relationship between the Betoi sentence and the translation the missionary gives.

4.7.1   Anaphora

One of the devices for expressing anaphora in discourse is deletion. There is at least subject deletion, apparently rampant since subject person is marked on the predicate, be it verbal (together with subject number) or not. Once the subject had been introduced, in all probability it was referred to anaphorically by deletion (see [79] and the Situfa examples [30] and [54]).

Anaphora is also expressed by *ajaducá*, 'this thing' *ad sensum*, and probably by the still more semantically uncertain *ajajé*, as we may observe in (93) and (79), respectively.

4.7.2   Ellipsis

In more general terms, it is possible to affirm that, in Betoi, both subject and predicate can be omitted whenever they are clear from the context (see for example [16], [67], and [91]).

(91)   ocu   babí
      water   Father
      'Water! Father!' (said *in articulo mortis* by a woman wishing to be baptized)

4.7.3   Emphasis

A statement may be emphasized by a vocative (§3.1.5), an exclamation (which can also be iterated; see [16], [21], [63], and [84]), and/or the tag-question marker *dayqué* (see [35] and [89]).

4.7.4   Topic

Although the unmarked situation with affirmative copular clauses expressing equation is for the subject to occur after the predicate as we saw in §4.4.1.4, the subject can also be topicalized and moved into initial position. The fronted subject is also marked by the suffix *-dá* and separated from the rest of the clause by a pause if the interpretation of the comma in (92) (conserved from the original source from which the example was taken) as an indication of an intonational break is correct.

(92)   theo-dá,   Dioso-qué
      sun-TOP   God-INT
      'The sun, is it God?'

The above mentioned element *ajaducá* may occur in normal subject position.

(93)   theo-dá   futuit   aja-duca
      sun-TOP   fire   ?thing-DEM
      'The sun, this ?thing is fire'

5 Texts

The two versions of the Lord's Prayer in Betoi mentioned in §1.2 are presented in this section as follows. Exact replicas of the text of the Lord's Prayer in B2 and B3 are presented, with the original Italian translation provided for the text from B2; next, the same texts are presented with morpheme boundaries marked, interlinear morpheme glosses, and an English translation (with a few gaps in the case of the Lord's Prayer from B3) under the morphemic analysis.

5.1 Text 1

Raufisucá Babi teo ubonu juida. Odija ubujenuma bolanuma omeabicaju. Uju ajaboia cofajanuto. Uju ojaca oami[85] mai umenami[86] uju ajaonu[87] farrocafada sadianú. Duiji ijenuma jumuanuto maidda. Ibutu raufisuca fofei jusucanuto raufisaca oanú iarola fofej rusumaica[88] ibitu[89] jitebometú memelu oleanuto. Uita bagenuma fofei cumijanuto. Mamiaje.[90]

Nostro Padre, del-sole più essendo: o!-se-per-ventùra in-ogni-luogo tutti riveriamo-nome: a-tua-patria chiamaci: tuo vuoi [*sic*] come, così terra-in, tua patria-in così-ancora facciasi. il-bisognevole quotidiano dà-a-noi oggi: e nostre malvaggità [*sic*] perdonaci, noi come di-altri malvaggità [*sic*] perdoniamo: e non-permetti diavolo inganni-noi: ma da-tutta disgrazia libera-ci così-sia.

(1) raufisucá   babi   teo   ubo-nu   j-u-ida   odija   ubujenuma
    we   father   sun   above-LOC   2-be-IMPERF EXCL   everywhere
    'Our father! You are above the sun. Oh! Everywhere'

(2) bola-numa   omea-bi-ca-ju   uju   ajabo-ia   cofa-ja-nuto
    PL-all   revere-3pl-IND-2   you   country-DIR   call-2sg-1pl
    'all revere you. Call us to your country'

(3) uju   ojaca   oa{nu} mai   umena-{nu}   uju   aja(b)o-nu   farrocafada   sa-dianú
    you   will   as   so   earth-LOC   you   country-LOC   moreover   make-OPT
    'Your will, as on earth, in your country moreover may be done (lit. may s/he do)'

---

[85] An error for *oanu* (or better *oanú*).
[86] An error for *umenanu* (or better *umenanú*).
[87] An error for *ajabonu* (or better *ajabonú*).
[88] An error for *rusucamaica* (or better *rusucamaicá*).
[89] An error for *ibutu* (or better *ibutú*).
[90] Presumably, a haplographic error for *mamiajaje*.

(4) duiji   ijenuma   j-umua-nuto   maidda   ibutu   raufis{u}ca   fofei   j-usuca-nuto
    needs   daily   2-give-1pl   today   and   we   bad   2-forgive-1pl
    'Give us today the daily needs and forgive our bad (things)'

(5) raufis{u}ca   oanú   iarola   fofej   r-usu(ca)-mai-ca   ib{u}tu   j-itebometú
    we   as   they   bad   1-forgive-1pl-IND   and   2-permit:PROH
    'as we forgive their bad (things) and do not permit'

(6) memelu   olea-nuto   uita   bage-numa   fofei   cumi-ja-nuto
    devil   deceive-1pl   but   SG-all   bad   take.away-2sg-1pl
    'the devil to deceive us, but take away all every bad thing from us (lit. to us)'

(6) mami-aj-(aj)e
    well-VBLZR-SG:N
    'It is good'

5.2 Text 2

Rau babi teo ubonu ayoiyu, bolanuma ubuyenuma omeabicayu: oyu[91] ayabein[92] yaneacanuto: uyu ayaca farrocofeda ufisuca sadianu oyulanuto ubtia[93] ibutu umenanu. Maida dalusianu babi farrocofeda yumuanuto: ibutu yusucanuto raufisuca fofey, raufisuca farrocofeda edolatu maibaibi rusucamaica: tuya memelu oloanuto:[94] iusucanuto[95] fofey usoanuto.[96] Amen.

(1) rau   babi   teo   ubo-nu   ay-oi-yu
    I   father   sun   above-LOC   be-SG:M-2sg
    'My father! You are above the sun'

(2) bola-numa   ubuyenuma   omea-bi-ca-yu   {u}yu   ayab{o-ia}   y-anea-ca-nuto
    PL-all   everywhere   revere-3pl-IND-2   you   country-DIR   2-??-IND-1pl
    'All, everywhere, revere you. You ?? us to your country'

(3) uyu   ayaca   farrocofeda   ufisuca[97]   sa-dianu   oyula-nuto   ub{o}-ia
    you   will   moreover   ??   make-OPT   ??-1pl   above-DIR
    'Your will moreover may ?? do. ?? us above'

(4) ibutu   umena-nu   maida   dalusianu   babi   farrocofeda   y-umua-nuto
    and   earth-LOC   today   ??   Father   moreover   2-give-1pl
    'and on earth. Today, Father, moreover give us the ??'

(5) ibutu   y-usuca-nuto   raufisuca   fofey   raufisuca   farrocofeda   ed-olatu
    and   2-forgive-1pl   we   bad   we   moreover   other-PL
    'and forgive us our bad (things). We moreover forgive'

---

[91] An error for *uyu*.
[92] An error for *ayaboia*.
[93] An error for *uboia*.
[94] See note 83.
[95] Here <i> stands for <y>, viz. [h] (see table 6).
[96] Apparently, an imperative verb form lacking cross-referencing marking.
[97] See note 70.

(6) maibaibi r-usuca-mai-ca   tu-ya   memelu oloa-nuto   {y}-usuca-nuto
     ??   1-forgive-1pl-IND prevent-2 devil   deceive-1pl 2-forgive-1pl
     'the ?? of others. Keep the devil from deceiving us. Forgive us'

(7) fofey (y)-usoa-nuto amen
     bad   2-??-1pl   amen
     '?? us the bad (things). Amen'

6   Word list

The vast majority of the words found in the surviving Betoi material have been included in the following list, the exceptions being forms of uncertain or obscure meaning.

Orthographic variants are included when an item is attested with more than a single spelling. Inflected words are listed in their bare-stem form, where possible. The abbreviations indicating the sources of the items are those given in §1.2.

6.2   Nouns

6.2.1   Nature

1.	earth (soil)	• *dafibú* B5
		• *umena* B2
2.	country	*ajabó* B2, B3, B4, B5
3.	sky	*teo-tucu* B5 (lit. 'house of the sun') cf. # 4, 57
4.	sun	• *teo* B2, B3, *theo* B4
		• *teo-umasoi* B5 (lit. 'sun-man') cf. # 4, 19
5.	moon	*teó-ro* [sic] B5 (lit. 'sun-woman') cf. # 4, 20
6.	star	*silicó* B5 (cf. Carib *siri:ko*)
7.	Pleiades	*ucasú* B4, *ocasú* B1, B5
8.	wind	*fafuala* B5
9.	lightning	*buní* B5
10.	rain	*ofacú* B5
11.	water	• *ocú* B7
		• *ocudú* B5
		• *oculiba* B4
12.	lake	*ocú* B5 (= 'water') cf. # 11
13.	stone	*inakí* B5
14.	fire	*futui* B5, *futuit* B4
15.	day	*munitá* B5
16.	month	*teo-ró* B5 (= 'moon') cf. # 5
17.	year	*ucasú* B4, *ocasú* B1 (= 'Pleiades') cf. # 7

6.2.2   Living beings

| 18. | living being (animal, rational being) | *ubad-* B4, B5 (sg. *ubadoi*, pl. *ubadola*) |
| 19. | man | *humas-* B1, *umas-* B5 (sg. *humasoi*, pl. *humasola*) |

20.	woman	*ro* B1, B5 (pl. *roducajaná*)
21.	monkey	*sorroy* B4
22.	jaguar	*ufì* B1
23.	bird	*cosiú* B5, *cusi* [sic] B4
24.	duck	*cuiviví* B4
25.	hen	*focará* B4 (cf. Guahibo *wakára:*, Playero (Guahiboan) *wakará*, Cuiba (Guahiboan) *wákara*, Saliba *akala*, and Piaroa *ahkɛʔraʔ*)
26.	k.o. mosquito	*sumi* B4 ("... animalitos, imperceptibles a la vista . . . los quales, después de llenar el cuerpo de ronchas con sus mordeduras, cuando ya están llenos de sangre, se perciben con la vista, pero no se pueden arrancar, porque no alcanzan las uñas a poderlos prender; tan menudos son como esto" [B4, p. 408])
27.	fish	*dujiduca* B5 (*duca* may be the demonstrative enclitic 'this') cf. # 79
28.	ants (collective)	*irruquí* B4
29.	cock	*toteleló* B4
30.	honey	*alalaba* B5

6.2.3   Plants

31.	forest	• *quaja* B4 • *ucaca-ajabo* B5 (*ajabo* = 'country') cf. # 2
32.	polypody (k.o. fern)	*sorroy umucosó* B4 (lit. 'hand of monkey') cf. # 47, 21
33.	maize	*romú* B4 (cf. Saliba ʒ*omo* and Piaroa *ɲaʔmuih*)

6.2.4   Body

34.	body	*ejebosi* B5
35.	head	*osacá* B1, B4, B5
36.	hair	*ubuca* B5
37.	forehead	*afubá* B5
38.	face	*afucá* B5
39.	eye	*ufonibá* B5
40.	nose	*iusaca* B5
41.	mouth	*afubó* B5
42.	lip	*afubé* B5
43.	tooth	*oxoki* B5
44.	tongue	*inecá* B5
45.	throat	*emalafadá* B5
46.	arm	*dafucá* B5
47.	hand	*umucosó* B4, B6, *umocoso* B1, B5
48.	finger	*umucurrú* B5
49.	leg, foot	*emocá* B1, B5
50.	thigh	*uduba* B5

51.	heart	*ijiba* B1, B5
52.	belly	*utucú* B5
53.	shoulder	*telisá* B1, B5

6.2.5   Human sphere

54.	father	*babi* B2, B3, B4, *babbí* (Gilij 1782:147)
55.	mother	*mamá* B5
56.	ancestor	pl. *ojabolá* B4
57.	house	*tucú* B1, B5 (pl. *tucujaná*)
58.	road	*maná* B5 (cf. Saliba *maana* 'path' and Piaroa *mɛʔnaʔ* 'path')
59.	needs (requirements)	*duiji* B5 (= 'fish'?) cf. # 27
60.	spirit, devil	*memelú* B2, B3, B4, B5 (B5 gives *memelú* as the equivalent of "Dio" ['God'] and "anima" ['soul'])
61.	God	*Diosó* B4 (< Sp. *Dios*)
62.	Father, missionary	*Babí* B4 (= 'father') cf. # 54
63.	devil	*memelú-fofei* B5 (lit. 'bad spirit') cf. # 60, 82
64.	will	*ojaca* B5, *ajaca* B3

6.2   Pronouns

65.	I	*rau* B1, B3
66.	you (sg.)	*uju* B1, B2, B3, B4
67.	he, she, it	*yairi* B1
68.	we	*raufisucá* B1, B2, B3
69.	you (pl.)	*ujurrola* B1
70.	they	*yarola* B1, B2
71.	this one (m.)	*irrí* B1
72.	this one (f.)	*iú* B1
73.	this one (n.)	*ijé* B1
74.	the same one	*oanú* B1 (= 'as') cf. # 152
75.	who (sg. m.) (interrogative and relative)	*madoi* B1
76.	who (sg. f.) (interrogative and relative)	*mado* B1
77.	what, which, that (sg. n.) (interrogative and relative)	*majaduca* B1
78.	what	*day* B4 (= 'how, ?how much') cf. # 93, 147

6.3   Demonstrative clitics? (see §3.3)

| 79. | this | *-ducá* B4 |

6.4   Adjectives

80.	white	*cocosiajo* B5
81.	sweet	*olisa* B5
82.	bad	*fofei* B1, B2, *fofej* B1, *fofey* B3
83.	wise, prudent	*culasa* B1
84.	other	*ed-* B1, B6 (sg. *edoi*, pl. *edolatu*)
85.	next, coming	*edasu* B4 cf. # 84

6.5   Numerals and other quantifiers

86.	one	*edojojoi* B1, B6
87.	two	*edoi* B1 (= 'other') cf. # 84
88.	three	*ibutú* B1, B6 (= 'and') cf. # 149
89.	four	*ibutú-edojojoi* B6 (lit. 'and/three one') cf. # 86, 88
90.	five	*rumucoso* B6 (lit. 'my hand') cf. # 47
91.	many	*maitolá* B1
92.	all	*-numa* B1, B2, B3 (sg. *bagenuma*, pl. *bolanuma*)
93.	how much	pl. *daitolá* B4 cf. # 78, 147

6.6   Postpositions?   (see §4.2)

| 94. | above | *ubo* B2, B3, B5 |
| 95. | inside | *toli* B1 |

6.7   Verbs

96.	advise	• *babasa-* B1
		• *o- -eba* B1 (*-eba* = 'make, do') cf. # 118
97.	assail	*rolea-* B4
98.	bathe	*do-* B4
99.	be (location verb (?) and auxiliary)	*-u* B1, B2 (see §4.3.1.1)
100.	be (copula)	*aj-* B1, B3
101.	be dismayed (or astonished)	*ijuca- -uma* B1 (Italian: 'essere sbigottito')
102.	be good	*mamiaj-* B1, B2 (*mamí* = 'well') cf. # 141
103.	be not (copula and auxiliary)	*re-* (sg.) ~ *ref-* (pl.) B1 (see §4.3.1.2)
104.	be obedient	*obai- -omucaaj-* B1
105.	be pitiful	*dusucaaj-* B1 ?cf. # 112
106.	burn	*fafole-* B4
107.	call	*cofa-* B2
108.	come	*-usa* B1, B4
109.	deceive	*-olea* B2, *-oloa* B3
110.	die	• *-iju* B1, B4
		• *rijubi-* B4
111.	fill	*anu- -eba* B1 (*-eba* = 'make, do') cf. # 118
112.	forgive	*-usuca* B2, B3 (= 'pay') cf. # 120
113.	give	*-umua* B2 cf. # 47, 48

114.	go	*-anu* B1, B4
115.	help	*-ausu* B4
116.	illuminate	*tulu- -eba* B4 (*-eba* = 'make, do') cf. # 118
117.	look for	• *be-* B1
		• *cula- -atu* B1
118.	make, do	*-ebá* B1, B4
		sa- B1, B2, B3
119.	must beat	I must beat you: *robarriabarrarráácajú* B4
120.	pay	*-usuca* B4 (= 'forgive') cf. # 112
121.	permit	don't permit: *jitebometú* B2 cf. # 118
122.	prevent	*tu-* B3
123.	revere	*-omea* B2, B3
124.	speak, say	*faá-* B1, B4
125.	steal	*ráaquirra-* B4
126.	take away	*cumi-* B2
127.	take care of	*-inefá* B4
128.	think	*o- -acaa* B1

6.8   Adverbs

129.	beforehand	*umarrá* B1
130.	now	*maidacasí* B1 (*maida* 'today') cf. # 134
131.	soon, already	*maydaytú* B4, *maydaitú* B4 (*maida* 'today') cf. # 134
132.	afterwards, later	*lojenuma* B1 (*numa* may be the root 'all') cf. # 92
133.	yesterday	*vita* B1
134.	today	*maidda* B2, *maida* B3
135.	another time	*jajamú* B1
136.	there	*fá* B1
137.	down	*umenanú* B5 (= 'on earth') cf. # 1
138.	everywhere	*ubujenuma* B2, B3 (*numa* may be the root 'all') cf. # 92
139.	where	*día* B1
140.	from where	*diatú* B1
141.	well	*mamí* B4
142.	little by little	*caibanú* B1
143.	casually	*foirreojanudá* B1
144.	so	*mai* B2, *may* B4
145.	little, a bit	*bijeasi* B1
146.	sufficiently	*fedanú* B1
147.	how	*day* B4 (= 'what, ?how much') cf. # 78, 93
148.	very	*naisú* B1

6.9   Conjunctions, particles, etc.

149.	and	*ibutú* B1, B2, B3
150.	but	*uita* B2
151.	because	*day* B4
152.	as	*oanu* B2 (= 'the same one') cf. # 74

153.	no	*ebamucá* B4
154.	true!	*tugaday* B4
155.	how did this happen?	*day día qué* B4 (*day* = 'what, how, ?how much'; *día* 'where', *-qué* = 'interrogative') cf. # 78, 93, 139, 147,161
156.	excl. of wonder	*ayaddi* B4
157.	excl. of admiration	*ódique* B1 (see note 81)
158.	excl. of desire and uncertainty	*odijá* B2, B4
159.	excl. of fear	*odifarracá* B1
160.	excl. of grief	*ai asidí* B4
161.	interrogative marker	*-qué*
162.	tag-question marker	*dayqué* B4 (*day* = 'what, how, ?how much'; *-qué* = 'interrogative') cf. # 78, 93, 147, 161
163.	moreover	*farrocafada* B2, *farrocafeda* B3

Appendix A: Sample verb paradigms from B1

The paradigms given in this appendix are of the active verbs 'be' and 'die'. The forms are presented exactly as they appear in the manuscript including the obvious errors made by Hervás y Panduro in copying them from the notes of the Betoi grammar supplied to him by Padilla. A form that exists but is not recorded in B1 is signalled by a dash. The labels of the categories of tense/mode/aspect and the glosses in Italian are the original ones.

Forms for *-u* 'be'.

	1	2	3
		"PRETERITO PERFETTO" (PAST)	
		Affirmative	
sg.	*marrú*	*majú*	*maú*
	io fu [*sic*]	tu fosti	quegli fu
pl.	*marrumaí* [*sic*]	*majujui*	*maubí*
	noi fummo	voi foste	quelli furono
		Negative	
sg.	*ruomé-marrú*	*juomé-majú*	*uomé-maú*
	io non fu [*sic*]	tu non fosti	quegli non fu
pl.	*ruomé-marrumai*	*jejuomé-majujui* [*sic*]	*ubomé-maubí*
	noi non &c.	voi non &c.	quelli non &c.
		"FUTURO" (FUTURE)	
		Affirmative	
sg.	*farrú*	*fajú*	*faú*
	io sarò	tu sarai	quegli sarà
pl.	*farrumai*	*fajujui*	*faubi*
	noi saremo	voi sarete	quelli saranno
		Negative	
sg.	*ruomé-farrú*	*juomé-fajú*	*uomé-fau*
	non sarò io	non sarai tu	non sarà quegli
pl.	*ruomé-farrumai*	*jujuomé-fajuijui* [*sic*] non	*ubomé-faubí*
	non saremo noi	sarete voi	non saranno quelli
		"PRESENTE DELL'INDICATIVO" (INDICATIVE)	
		Affirmative	
sg.	*rucá*	*jucá*	*ucá*
	io sono	tu sei	quegli è
pl.	*rumaicá*	*jujaicá*	*ubicá*
	noi siamo	voi siete	quelli sono

<div style="text-align:center">Negative</div>

sg.	*ruomé*	*juomé*	*uomé*
	non sono io	non sei tu	non è quegli
pl.	*rumaomé*	*jujuome*	*ubuomé* [sic]
	non siamo noi	non siete voi	non sono quelli

<div style="text-align:center">"OTTATIVO" (CONDITIONAL)
Affirmative</div>

sg.	*ruidaódda*	*juidaódda*	*uidaódda*
	io fossi	tu fossi	quegli fosse
pl.	*rumaidódda*	*jujuidaódda*	*ubidaodda*
	noi fossimo	voi foste	quelli fossero

<div style="text-align:center">Negative</div>

sg.	*ruomé-ruidaódda*	*juomé-juidaódda*	*uomé-uidaódda*
	non fossi io	non fossi tu	non fosse quegli
pl.	*ruomé-rumaidódda*	*juomé-jujuidaódda*	*uomé-ubidaódda* [sic]
	non fossimo noi	non foste voi	non fossero quelli

<div style="text-align:center">"GERUNDIO" (PURPOSIVE/OPTATIVE)
Affirmative</div>

sg.	*rudianú*	*judianú*	*udianú*
	per essere io	per essere tu	per essere quegli
pl.	*rudianutó ~ rudiamaianú*	*jujuianú ~ jujuiadianú*	*ubidianú*
	per essere noi	per essere voi	per essere quelli

<div style="text-align:center">Negative</div>

sg.	*ruomé-ruianú*	*juomé-juianú*	*uomé-uianu*
	per non essere io	per non essere tu	per non essere quegli
pl.	*ruomé-rumainuda*	*jujuomé-jujuinuian* [sic]	*uomé-ubianu*
	per non essere noi	per non essere voi	per non essere quelli

<div style="text-align:center">"IMPERATIVO" (IMPERATIVE AND PROHIBITIVE)
Imperative</div>

sg.	*ju*
	sii tu, o sia tu
pl.	*jujui*
	siate voi

<div style="text-align:center">Prohibitive</div>

sg.	*juometú*
	non sii tu
pl.	*jujuometú*
	non siate voi

<div style="text-align:center">"CONGIONTIVO" (IMPERFECTIVE)
Affirmative</div>

sg.	*ruída*	*juída*	*uída*
	essendo io	essendo tu	essendo quegli
pl.	*rumaída*	*jujuída*	*ubída*
	essendo noi	essendo voi	essendo quelli

<div style="text-align:center">Negative</div>

sg.	*ruomé-ruída*	*juomé-juída*	*uomé-uída*
	non essendo io	non essendo tu	non essendo quegli

pl.	*ruomé-rumaída*	*jujuomé-jujuída*	*ubomé-ibída* [sic]
	non essendo noi	non essendo voi	non essendo quelli

Forms for *-iju* 'die'.

	1	2	3

<div style="text-align:center">"PRETERITO PERFETTO" (PAST)
Affirmative</div>

sg.	*marriju*	——	——
	io morì [sic]		
pl.	——	——	——

<div style="text-align:center">Negative</div>

sg.	*rijomé marrú*	*jijomé majú*	*ijome maú*
	io non morì [sic]		
pl.	*rijumaomé marrumai*	*jijuomé* [sic] *majujuí*	*ijubomé maubí*

<div style="text-align:center">"FUTURO" (FUTURE)
Affirmative</div>

sg.	*farrifu* [sic]	——	——
	io moriro [sic]		
pl.	——	——	——

<div style="text-align:center">Negative</div>

sg.	*rijomé farrú*	*(jijomé) fajú*	*(ijomé) faú*
	non morirò		
pl.	——	——	——

<div style="text-align:center">"PRESENTE DELL'INDICATIVO" (INDICATIVE)
Affirmative</div>

sg.	*rijuca*	*jijuca*	*ijuca*
	io muojo	tu muori	quegli muore
pl.	*rijumaicá*	*ijujaicaí* [sic]	*ijubica*
	noi mojamo [sic]	voi morite	quelli muojono

<div style="text-align:center">Negative</div>

sg.	*rijomé rucá*	*jijomé juca*	*ijome uca*
	io non muojo		
pl.	*rijumaome rumaica*	*jijuomé* [sic] *jujaica*	*ijubomé ubica*

<div style="text-align:center">"OTTATIVO" (CONDITIONAL)
Affirmative</div>

sg.	——	——	——
pl.	——	——	——

<div style="text-align:center">Negative</div>

sg.	*rijomé ruidaódda*	——	——
	se io non morissi		
pl.	——	——	——

<div style="text-align:center">"GERUNDIO" (PURPOSIVE/OPTATIVE)
Affirmative</div>

sg.	——	——	——
pl.	——	——	——

Negative

sg.   *rijomé ruianú*
       per non morire io

pl.   ——   ——   ——

"IMPERATIVO" (IMPERATIVE AND PROHIBITIVE)
Imperative

sg.   ——
pl.   ——

Prohibitive

sg.   *jijomeni* [*sic*]
                             non muori tu

pl.   *jijuometé* [*sic*]
                             non morite voi

"CONGIONTIVO" (IMPERFECTIVE)
Affirmative

sg.   ——   ——   ——
pl.   ——   ——   ——

Negative

sg.   *rijomé ruida*   ——   ——
       non morendo io

pl.   ——   ——   ——

Appendix B: Sources and original translations for examples (1)—(93)

(1)	B1:sec. 4	Vocativo . . . mia testa			cio nos ha favorecido. ¿Cómo es esto?
(2)	B1:sec. 4	Dativo . . . a mia testa			
(3)	B1:sec. 4	Ablativo . . . da, in [*sic*] mia testa	(22)	B1:sec. 12	io fossi
			(23)	B1:sec. 13	noi fossimo
(4)	B1:sec. 23	a spalle	(24)	B1:sec. 12	per essere io
(5)	B4:288	Padre mío, échame el agua del bautismo sobre mi cabeza	(25)	B2	tuo vuoi come, così terra-in, tua patria-in così-ancora si faccia
(6)	B4:511	Nosotros nos vamos a los bosques porque tú te vas a tu tierra	(26)	B1:sec. 13	non siate voi
			(27)	B2	non permetti diavolo inganni-noi
(7a)	B1:sec. 10	mia mano	(28)	B2	a-tua-patria chiamaci
(7b)	B1:sec. 10	tua mano	(29)	B2	nostre malvaggità [*sic*] perdonaci
(8a)	B1:sec. 8	mia casa			
(8b)	B1:sec. 8	tua casa	(30)	B4:299	¿Qué cosa te estan diciendo de tus parientes?
(9a)	B1:sec. 5	il tigre			
(9b)	B1:sec. 5	la tigre	(31)	B4:170	¡Ojalá carguen contigo presto las hormigas!
(10a)	B5:210	Sole			
	B5:192	Luna	(32)	B4:463	En las Cabrillas venideras te pagaré, de aquí a un año te pagaré
(10b)	B5:178	Demonio			
(11)	B5:174	Cielo	(33)	B4:466	¿La cuidarás?
(12)	B1:sec. 23	con voi	(34)	B4:299	Porque me hurtáis el maíz, os he de apalear
(13)	B4:297	¿Qué es lo que dice esto pájaro?			
			(35)	B4:458	¿No ves . . . cómo se nos muere la luna?
(14)	B1:sec. 12	voi foste			
(15)	B1:sec. 12	voi siete	(36a)	B1:sec. 18	io muojo
(16)	B4:172	¡Ay de nosotros, que ya se nos murió! ¡Ay de nosotros!	(36b)	B1:sec. 19	io morto
			(37a)	B1:sec. 19	consigliare [*sic*]
(17)	B4:283-4	¿Cúando acaberéis de creerme? Ya os tengo dicho que el sol no es sino fuego	(37b)	B1:sec. 19	io consiglio [*sic*]
			(38)	B1:sec. 21	morto non sono
			(39)	B1:sec. 1	non si fa questo
			(40)	B1:sec. 1	non si parla
(18)	B4:285	Dio te lo pagará, Padre, pues por tu medio vivimos ya racionalmente	(41)	B3	(translation not available)
			(42)	B3	(translation not available)
(19)	B4:412	Padre mío, tu mueres sin falta; no hay más remedio que dejarte quemar [la inflamación?]	(43)	B2	a-tua-patria chiamaci tuo vuoi come, così terra-in, tua patria-in così-ancora faccia-si
(20)	B1:sec. 23	vado a casa	(44)	B4:463	en las Cabrillas venideras . . . de aquí a un año
(21)	B4:361	Verdad, verdad. San Igna-	(45)	B2	il-bisognevole quotidiano

(46)	B4:297	esto pájaro
(47)	B2	da-tutta disgrazia
(48)	B4:217	polipodio. Su tronco es delgado y peludo, por lo cual le llaman los betoyes . . . *brazo de mono*
(49)	B2	Nostro Padre, del-sole più-sopra essendo
(50)	B1:sec. 13	io non fù [*sic*]
(51)	B1:sec. 20	io non morì
(52)	B1:sec. 20	se io non morissi
(53)	B1:sec. 13	non sono io
(54)	B4:299	No me dicen cosa; ellos se estan bebiendo
(55)	B1:sec. 13	noi non [fummo]
(56)	B1:sec. 13	per non essere quelli
(57)	B1:sec. 13	non foste voi
(58)	B1:sec. 13	non fosse quegli
(59)	B3	(translation not available)
(60)	B3	(translation not available)
(61)	B1:sec. 1	non si farà
(62)	B1:sec. 6	buona [*sic*]
(63)	B4:284	es verdad, es verdad: fuego es el sol [*sic*]
(64)	B4:116	No nos tapamos, porque nos da vergüenza [*sic*]
(65)	B3	(translation not available)
(66)	B1:sec. 1	non so come
(67)	B4:297	¿Qué es lo que nos dices?
(68)	B4:284	¿Cómo ha hecho Dios es-to?
(69)	B4:372	¿Qué haces, Padre, que ésas están llenas de vene-no?
(70a)	B1:sec. 8	vennisti [*sic*]
(70b)	B1:sec. 8	vennisti? [*sic*]
(71)	B4:283	No es
(72)	B4:361	Verdad
(73)	B4:361	¿Cómo es esto?
(74)	B4:284	¡Ay!
(75)	B1:sec. 24	Interjezione di ammirazio-ne . . . quanto maraviglio-so

(76)	B2	!o-se-per-ventùra
	B4:214	¿Quién sabe?
(77)	B1:sec. 24	[Interjezione] di paura, e timore
(78)	B4:458	¿No ves como se nos mue-re la luna?
(79)	B4:283	No es, porque es fuego que Dios crió para alum-brarnos
(80)	B1:sec. 7	più, o molto pietoso [*sic*]
(81)	B4:466	Muy [*sic*] bien la cuidaré
(82)	B3	(translation not available)
(83)	B2	il-bisognevole quotidiano dà-a-noi oggi
(84)	B2	o!-se-per-ventùra in-ogni-luogo tutti riveriamo-nome [*sic*]
(85)	B3	(translation not available)
(86)	B3	(translation not available)
(87)	B2	. . . e nostre malvaggità [*sic*] perdonaci, noi come di-altri [*sic*] malvaggità [*sic*] perdoniamo; e non-permetti diavolo inganni-noi: ma da-tutta disgrazia libera-ci
(88)	B3	(translation not available)
(89)	B4:284	¡Ay, Padre mío! ¡Cómo ha hecho Dios esto? ¿Conque mis mayores se han perdi-do, y están ardiendo por-que Dios no les envió Pa-dre que les enseñasen?
(90)	B4:458	Van . . . a enterrar y guardar tizones de fuego, porque si la luna muere, todo el fuego muere con ella menos el que se es-conde de su vista [*sic*]
(91)	B7:383	agua Padre
(92)	B4:283	¿El sol es Dios?
(93)	B4:284	el sol no es sino fuego [*sic*]

References

Adelung, Johann C. and Johann S. Vater
   1812   *Mithridates oder allgemeine Sprachenkunde mit dem Vater Unser als Sprachprobe in beynahe fünfhundert Sprachen und Mundarten.* Vol. 3. Berlin: Vossischen Buchhandlung.

Bahuchet, Serge, ed.
   1994   *Situation des populations indigènes des forêts denses et humides.* Luxemburg: Office des publications officielles des Communautés Européennes.

Beuchat, Henri and Paul Rivet
   1911   "La famille Betoya ou Tucano", *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 17:117–36, 162–90.

Brinton, Daniel Garrison
   1891   *The American Race: A Linguistic Classification and Ethnographic Description of the New Tribes of North and South America.* New York: N.D.C. Hodges.
   1892   "Further notes on the Betoya dialects from unpublished sources", *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 30:271–78.

Buschmann, Walter
   n.d.   Das Verbum der Betoy-Sprache vom rio Casanare. Manuscript in Coll. ling. fol. 145 ("Betoi Sprache"), Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin–Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

Dümmler, Christiane
   1994   "Wilhelm von Humboldts Bemerkungen zu neu-granadinischen Indianersprachen: die Betoi- und die Mosca- (Chibcha-) Grammatiken", in Klaus Zimmermann (ed.), *Wilhelm von Humboldt und die amerikanischen Sprachen: internationales Symposium des Ibero-Amerikanischen Instituts PK, 24.–26. September 1992 in Berlin*, pp. 179–93. Padeborn, Munich, Vienna, and Zurich: Schöningh.

Gilij, Filippo Salvadore
   1782   *Saggio di storia americana; o sia, Storia naturale, civile e sacra de' regni, e delle provincie spagnuole di Terra-ferma nell'America Meridionale.* Vol. 3: *Della religione, e delle lingue degli Orinochesi, e di altri Americani.* Rome: Luigi Perego.
   1784   *Saggio di storia americana; o sia, Storia naturale, civile e sacra de' regni, e delle provincie spagnuole di Terra-ferma nell'America Meridionale.* Vol. 4: *Stato presente di Terra-ferma.* Rome: Luigi Perego.

Greenberg, Joseph H.
   1987   *Language in the Americas.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

Gumilla, Joseph
   1739   *Breve noticia de la Apostolica, y exemplar vida del Angelical, y V. P. Juan Ribero, de la Compañia de Jesús, Misionero de Indios en los Rio de Cazanare, Meta, y otras vertientes del gran Río Orinoco, pertenecientes a la Provincia del Nuevo Reyno.* Madrid. (Reprinted in José Gumilla, *Escritos varios*, José del Rey ed., pp. 21–54. Caracas: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1970.)

1745   *El Orinoco ilustrado, y defendido. Historia natural, civil, y geográfica de este gran río.* Madrid: Manuel Fernandez. (2d Spanish ed., revised and expanded. Reprint ed., Madrid: M. Aguilar, 1945.)

Hervás y Panduro, Lorenzo

1784   *Idea dell'Universo.* Vol. 17: *Catalogo delle lingue conosciute e notizia delle loro affinità e diversità.* Cesena: Gregorio Biasini.

1786   *Idea dell'Universo.* Vol. 19: *Aritmetica delle nazioni e divisione del tempo fra l'Orientali.* Cesena: Gregorio Biasini.

1787a   *Idea dell'Universo.* Vol. 20: *Vocabolario poligloto con prolegomeni sopra più di CL. lingue dove sono delle scoperte nuove, ed utili all'antica storia dell'uman genere, ed alla cognizione del meccanismo delle parole.* Cesena: Gregorio Biasini.

1787b   *Idea dell'Universo.* Vol. 21: *Saggio pratico delle lingue con prolegomeni, e una raccolta di orazioni Dominicali in più di trecento lingue, e dialetti con cui si dimostra l'infusione del primo idioma dell'uman genere, e la confusione delle lingue in esso poi succeduta, e si additano la diramazione, e dispersione delle nazioni con molti risultati utili alla storia.* Cesena: Gregorio Biasini.

n.d. [1783]   Elementi grammaticali della Lingua Betoi. Manuscript in Opera Nostrorum 342 (folios 193r–201v), Archivio Romano della Compagnia di Gesù, Rome.

Humboldt, Wilhelm von

n.d.   Betoi Sprache. Manuscript in Coll. ling. fol. 145 ("Betoi Sprache"), Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin–Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

Koch-Grünberg, Theodor

1913–1916   "Die *Betóya*-Sprachen Nordwestbrasiliens und der angrenzenden Gebiete", *Anthropos* 8:944–97; 9:151–95, 569–89, 812–32; 10–11:114–58, 421–49.

Medina, Miguel Fulgencio de

n.d.   [Data on numbers of natives in the Missions of Tame, San Javier de Macaguane, and San Ignacio de Betoyes provided for the execution of an ordinance of 6 March 1791 motivated by the request of the Depositary of the Missions, Brother José María Díaz Granados]. Manuscript in Fondo Antiguo, Colección de Libros Raros y Curiosos, vol. 323 (folios 281r–282v), Biblioteca Nacional, Bogotá.

Mezzofanti, Giuseppe Gaspare

n.d.   [Untitled collection of the Lord's Prayer in 26 Central and South American languages plus one in Kapampangan of the Philippines]. Manuscript in Collezione manoscritti Mezzofanti 7, no. 1, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Bologna.

Montejo, María Elisa

1982   Los betoye: un problema etnolingüístico. Ph.D. dissertation, Université de Montréal.

Müller, Friedrich

1882   *Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft.* Vol. 2, pt. 1. Vienna: Holder.

Rey Fajardo, José del

1971   *Aportes a filología venezolana.* Vol. 2. Caracas: Universidad Católica Andrés Bello.

Rivero, Juan

1883   *Historia de las Misiones de los Llanos de Casanare y los rios Orinoco y Meta escrita el año de 1736.* Bogotá: Imprenta de Silvestre y Compañia.

Silgo Gauche, Luis

1995   *La labor lingüística de los valencianos en India.* Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana.

Tapia, Matía de

1715   Mudo lamento de la vastísima y numerosa gentilidad que habita las dilatadas márgenes del caudaloso Orinoco, su origen, y vertientes, a los piadosos oídos de la Magestad Catholica de las Españas, nuestro señor Don Felipe Quinto (que Dios

garde). Madrid. (Small print run; sample copy in Jesuítas, J. XXVII, Academia Nacional de la Historia, Madrid; reprinted: pp. 169–213 in *Documentos jesuiticos relativos a la historia de la Compañia de Jesús en Venezuela.* José del Rey Fajardo, ed., Academia Nacional de la Historia, Caracas, 1966.)

Zamponi, Raoul

2002   "Notes on Betoi Verb Morphology", *International Journal of American Linguistics* 68(2):216–41.

Languages of the World/Materials

LINCOM's Descriptive Grammar Series

01 **Ge'ez** (Classical Ethiopic) St. Weninger (1st ed., 2nd ed.)
02 **Kwamera** L. Lindstrom & J. Lynch
03 **Mbalanhu** D. Fourie
05 **Ukrainian** A. Danylenko & S. Vakulenko
06 **Cantonese** S.-Y. Killingley
10 **Koiari** T.E. Dutton
11 **Gunin**/Kwini W. McGregor
12 **Even** A.L. Malchukov
18 **Sanskrit** D. Killingley & S.-Y. Killingley
19 **Ixtenco Otomí** Y. Lastra
20 **Maori** R. Harlow
21 **Chadian Arabic** S. Abu-Absi
22 **(Modern Eastern) Armenian** N.A. Kozintseva
27 **Passamaquoddy-Maliseet** R. Leavitt
28 **Rural Palestinian Arabic** (Abu Shusha dial.) K.N. Shahin
30 **Northern Sotho** L.J. Louwrens, I.M. Kosch & A.E. Kotzé
31 **Saliba** U. Mosel
34 **Sinhala** J.W. Gair & J. Paolillo
50 **Zulu** S.E. Bosch & G. Poulos
58 **Tokelauan** R. Hooper
59 **Kunama** M.L. Bender
63 **Maldivian/Divehi** J.W. Gair & B. Cain
64 **Dogon** V. Plungian
65 **Corse** M. Giacomo-Marcellesi
66 **Bulgare** J. Feuillet
68 **Sumerian** J.L. Hayes
69 **Basilicatese** R. Bigalke
70 **El Gallego** J.A. Pérez Bouza
71 **Pima Bajo** Z. Estrada Fernández
73 **Kalderaš** L.N. Tcherenkov & M.F. Heinschink
74 **Abruzzese** R. Bigalke
82 **Canaano-Akkadian** Sh. Izre'el
83 **Papiamentu** S. Kouwenberg & E. Murray
88 **Nyulnyul** W. McGregor

89 **Warrwa** W. McGregor
92 **A Grammar of Icari Dargwa** Nina R. Sumbatova & Rasul O. Mutalov
93 **Daur** Chaolu Wu (Üjiyedin Chuluu)
100 **Bare** (Arawak) Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald
101 **Acadian French** D. Jory & V. Motapanyane
103 **Chamling** K. Ebert
104 **Kodava** (Dravidian) K. Ebert
105 **Romanes** (Sinti) D. Holzinger
106 **Sepecides-Romani** P. Cech & M.F. Heinschink
107 **Burgenland-Romani** D.W. Halwachs
109 **Karachay** St. Seegmiller
111 **Nivkh** E. Gruzdeva
114 **Hittite** S. Luraghi
116 **Songhay** R. Nicolai & P. Zima
117 **Macedonian** V.A. Friedman
125 **Czech** L. Janda & Ch.E. Townsend
127 **Modern Hebrew** O. Schwarzwald
129 **Siciliano** R. Bigalke
130 **Ratahan** N.P. Himmelmann & J.U. Wolff
133 **Tsakhur** W. Schulze
135 **Late Cornish** I. Wmffre
136 **Fyem** D. Nettle
137 **Yingkarta** A. Dench
139 **Svan** K. Tuite
141 **Evenki** N. Bulatova & L. Grenoble
145 **Russian** E. Andrews
147 **Georgian** M. Cherchi
148 **Serbo-Croatian** S. Kordic
152 **Central Breton** I. Wmffre
155 **Chagatay** A. Bodrogligeti
158 **Vogul** T. Riese
159 **Mandan** Mauricio Mixco
160 **Upper Sorbian** G. Schaarschmidt
162 **West Greenlandic** Jerrold M. Sadock
165 **Dagaare** A. Bodomo
170 **Tol** Dennis Holt
179 **Toba** H.E. Manelis Klein
180 **Degema** E.E. Kari
183 **Jaqaru** M.J. Hardman
184 **Madurese** W. D. Davies