

GENDER IN A NEW GUINEA LANGUAGE

BARUYA¹ NOUNS AND NOUN PHRASES

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0. General Introduction.
1. Noun Stems.
2. Noun Classes.
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SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

+	obligatory occurrence of unit following
±	optional occurrence of unit following
-	obligatory non-occurrence of unit following
:	means that the slot preceding this symbol is filled by the unit following
~	separates allomorphs
/	is used between alternatives

Superscript numbers in a formula mean the slot is repeated that number of times. If the number is 2, the slot is repeated twice.

Acc	accompaniment slot
acc	accompaniment morpheme
Aj	adjective phrase
aj	adjective
AN	appositional noun phrase
Ap	apposition slot
Cc	clitic slot (or combination of clitic slots)
CN	co-ordinate noun phrase

d	dual number
fem	feminine gender
full	a wide range of possibilities (chart 3)
H	head slot
I.O.	indirect object
It	item slot (in name and appositional phrases)
Lim	limitation slot
M	modification slot
masc	masculine gender
MK	modified kin phrase
MN	modified noun phrase
M Name	modified name phrase
MQual	modified quality phrase
N	noun phrase
n	noun
n adj	adjunct quality noun
n doa	domestic animate noun
n dof	domestic family animate noun
nge	generic noun, animate or inanimate
nhua	human animate noun
nhuf	human family animate noun
n kin	referential kin noun
n loc	location noun
n nat	nature quality noun
n place	place noun
n prop	proper noun
n qual	quality noun
n sp	specific noun, animate or inanimate
NaP	name phrase
neut	neuter gender
Num	numeral phrase (also numeral clause)
p	plural number
poss	possessive
PossP	possessive phrase
pron	pronoun
rep	representative
Restr.	restricted range of possibilities (chart 3)
Sp	specification slot
s	singular number
spec	specifier
sum	summary word

0. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

This paper describes gender, and the noun stems and phrases with which gender occurs. Gender refers to the sex of animate noun referents, or to the size, shape or importance of inanimate referents. These and other clitics are described in Section 3. The Behavioural Noun Classes described in Section 2 do not coincide with the Gender Classes. The paper is based upon the tagmemic model developed by K.L. Pike and expanded by R.E. Longacre (see Bibliography). Formulas are not given in the early part of the paper.

1. NOUN STEMS

1.0. Derived noun stems and noun roots, which occur with adjectivizer derivational morphemes, are discussed in this section. The formation of various types of compound nouns is also presented. Roots are single morphemes which carry the "basic meaning" of words. Stems are either single morphemes (roots) or sequences of morphemes. Compound stems are combinations of roots. Derived stems are one or more roots, plus one or more derivational affixes. Derived stems usually have a different distribution from the original roots.

1.1. NOUN ROOTS

Recurring partials have been noted within the noun roots, but these are only relevant in compound stems and the formation of adjectives. Historically it seems that all nouns had stem class markers, one of which actively survives as the substantive² morpheme. The historic class marker and the substantive morpheme can occur together.

y+ ³ -ta	y+ ³ -t-ya	'tree'
tree-class marker	tree-class marker-	
	substantive	
k+n-na	k+n-n-ya	'sugar cane'
sugar-class marker	sugar-class marker-	
	substantive	

The class markers are:

ya ⁴	taanya	'branch'
	g+lyā	'bag'
e	bule	'back'
	a'mwé	'person'
ia	y+kwia	'wrapping'
	ar+bwia	'tree species'

ta	bu'ta	'tadpole'
	yí'ta	'tree'
ka	kwaa'ka	'ground'
	dí'ka	'fire'
na	kinna	'sugar'
	bina	'bird species'
a	anga	'house'
	tyaala	'salt'

1.2. DERIVED STEMS

(a) Adjectives may be derived from noun stems by affixing derivational suffixes to the noun root minus historic class marker (see Section 1.1.).

The derivational suffixes are:

-na'ka	'characterized by'
-maaya	'not characterized by'
-dya	'characterized by the colour of'
kun-na'ká	'wise'
wisdom-having	
tyídú'-maaya	'unknowledgeable'
knowledge-without	
biwaa'-dyá	'blue-grey' (colour of clay)
clay type-colour	
awí'-dya	'yellow' (colour of root)
yellow root-colour	

(b) Any verb stem, when affixed by the substantive² morpheme, becomes a noun.

balí-ya	'death; dead person'
die-substantive	
yawíri-tá	'thought'
think-substantive	

The prefix na- 'for the purpose of' is also a derivational affix and occurs before some nominalized verb stems giving an idiomatic meaning to the noun thus formed.

na-balí-ya	'sickness'
for-die-substantive	

na-wala-bwarĩ-yá *'sleeping mat'*
 for-down-smooth-
 substantive

na-mwaali-yá-yíta *'chair; roost'*
 for-sit-substantive-
 wood

1.3. COMPOUND STEMS

Any compound which includes a noun root is a noun. In compounds, noun and adjective roots lose their historic class markers, except when occurring as the final root. Various types of compound are illustrated below:

(a) Noun root - verb root

tyaal-gĩ'ni-ya *'betrothal'*
 salt-chew-substantive
 ang-yĩrĩ'máarĩ-ta *'a visit'*
 house-visit-substantive
 arĩ'madĩ-ya *'animal species'*
 nest-build-substantive

(b) Verb root - verb root

baikúrĩ-baikúrĩ-ta *'insect species'*
 jump-jump-substantive
 baatyĩrĩ-ma'ni-yá *'a shirt'*
 open-put self into-sub-
 stantive

(c) Direction root - verb root

na-wala-bwarĩ-yá *'sleeping mat'*
 for-down-smooth-sub-
 stantive

Compounds as above, which end in a verb root, usually occur with feminine gender.

(d) Verb root -ya - noun root (Noun stem - noun root)

na-mwaali-yá-yíta *'a seat'*
 for-stay-substantive-wood

(e) Adjective root - noun root

yaa'-nyáanna	'insect species'
white-insect	
mudí'-wawínya	'time for working again'
new-work/garden	

(f) Noun root - adjective root

aalí'-yaa'ká	'flood water'
water-white	

(g) Noun root - direction root - noun root

ang-yíla-yagínyá	'roof framework'
house-up-bone	

(h) Noun root - noun root

These are the most common noun compounds.

bu'-gílyá	'net to catch tadpoles'
tadpole-bag	
gí-l-yífví'tá	'possessions'
bag-cape	
dí'-kíráyá	'bundle of firewood'
firewood-bundle	

The resultant compound may also occur within another compound.

(dí'-kírá ⁵)-wíla	'rope to carry firewood'
fire wood-bundle-vine	
(wawín-yí')-munné	'garden clearing feast'
garden-tree-feast	
sol-(mún-naanya)	'rattan belt'
rattan-stomach-track	

The final noun root in a compound determines which gender occurs.

1.4. MORPHOPHONEMICS

The examples in Sections 1.2. and 1.3. have been written in their basic forms rather than their spoken forms which result from morphophonemic behaviour. Between morphemes and/or stems the following morphophonemic rules occur:

1. Preceding a consonant other than y or w

(a) p r and w become glottal stop. If r is the following consonant

it becomes t.

(b) b d g m n and ng become nasals at the same point of articulation as the following consonant. If the following consonant is p t or k, b d or g results respectively.

(c) l becomes i.

ang-(a)-y+r+i'máar-ta <i>house-class-visit-substantive</i>	angy+r+i'maa'ta <i>'visiting'</i>
y+rap-ta <i>stoke fire-substantive</i>	y+ra'ta <i>'fire stoking'</i>
ang-(a)-munné <i>house-class-feast</i>	ammunné <i>'house building feast'</i>
a'mwe-ng-ty+no <i>person-fem.they-with</i>	a'mwédy+no <i>'and the woman'</i>
tyaal-(a)-gula <i>salt-class-gourd</i>	tyaaigula <i>'salt gourd'</i>

2. Before w, the glottal resulting from rule 1(a) usually disappears. The combination 'w is a rare occurrence in the language. The phoneme w does not occur following dental consonants. The phoneme n is dropped before w, except when n is word initial, in which case w is lost.

mala'-(ta)-wawfnya <i>yam-class-garden</i>	malawawfnya <i>'yam garden'</i>
tu'-(ta)-wawfnya <i>track-class-garden/work</i>	tu'wawfnya <i>'road work'</i>
k+n-(na)-wawfnya <i>sugar-class-garden</i>	k+wawfnya <i>'sugar garden'</i>

3. Before y all consonants remain the same, except that the combination wy becomes y.

dy+l+k-(ka)-yaawarya <i>dog-class-pig</i>	dy+l+kyaawarya <i>'domesticated animals'</i>
--	---

4. A voiced stop following the morphophoneme VL becomes voiceless.

gaVL-daa'káangalo <i>his-older brother referential</i>	gataa'káangalo <i>'his older brother'</i>
---	--

5. When vowels occur together, unless the second is i, the second vowel is dropped. However e plus -i'ko 'neuter gender' becomes -i'ko.

kwaari'ma'ta-í'ko	kwaari'ma'tí'ko	'a knife'
knife-neuter		
tí'k-e-í'ko	tí'ki'ko	'Dick'
man's name-substantive-neuter		

6. Usually vowels í and a are lost before y or w.

na-wala-bwar-yá	n-wala-bwar-yá	'sleeping mat'
for-down-smooth-substantive	nalabwaryá	
a'mwa'(e)-á'mwe	a'mwa-á'mwe	'native doll'
person-class-person	a'mwá'mwe	

7. Pitch-accent. There are three basic pitch-accent patterns on noun stems. Most have no pitch-accent, while others have pitch-accent on either the ultimate or penultimate syllable. Some compound stems have pitch-accent on syllables other than the ultimate and penultimate. Some morphemes have a basic pitch-accent.

The same morphotonemic rule applies to words, roots in Non-Idiomatic Pitch Compounds, and morphemes. The first syllable of the word, root or morpheme gains a pitch-accent, unless the following syllable or either of the preceding two syllables has a basic pitch-accent. All except the final pitch-accent in the word mǎngwǎlá in the following example result from this rule.

kaimale-rí-ne	mwa'ta	mǎngwǎlá	tyoimáanga	tyaamínya-rí'ko
boy-object-for,	arrow,	type of arrow,	type of mingwila,	long-gender
'A long soimanga mingwila arrow for the boy (I will buy).'				

When historic class markers are dropped in a Non-Idiomatic Pitch Compound perturbation occurs according to the above rule, except that it occurs on the second syllable of the second stem instead of the first. The first syllable reflects the accent or non-accent of the lost syllable. If the second stem had a basic accent on the third syllable, this is lost in favour of the perturbed pitch-accent on the second syllable.

dík-yígáa'pala	'insect species'
dík-(ka) yígaa'pala	
fire to put out fire	
aalíkuraámya	'bird species'
aal-(ya) kuraámya	
water bird species	
dí'kwará'ka	'burning stick (for lighting fire)'
dík-(ka) kwara'ká	
fire egg	

a'mwá'mwe 'native doll'
a'mwé a'mwé
person person

Idiomatic Pitch Compounds, as a unit, have the basic pitch-accent patterns of noun stems.

ara' bunya 'mud puddle'
ara'-(ka) bunya
mud *lake*

a'tyaminyá 'banana species'
ar-(ta) tyaaminya
hand *long*

1.5. BEHAVIOUR OF HISTORIC CLASS MARKERS

The Historic Class Marker -e reduces and a root final -a is pronounced. Pitch-accent perturbation then behaves as if a syllable has been dropped.

kwadamaanga 'edge of limestone (cliff)'
kwade maanga
limestone edge

Noun roots which end in *l* and which occur with the Historic Class Marker *-ya* do not have the *l* changed to *i* when *-ya* is dropped. An *i* often occurs between *l* and the following root, but the pitch-accent perturbation behaves as if a syllable has been dropped.

aal+maangá 'river edge'
aal-(ya) maanga
water edge

gilyfþ+'tá 'possessions'
gþl-(ya) yþ+'tá
bag cape

Stem final aa before -ya, becomes e when -ya is dropped. The pitch-accent perturbation behaves as if a syllable has been dropped.

wa'pewáwɪnya	'sweet potato garden'
wa'paayá wawɪnya	
sweet potato, garden	
yɪredyɪkɪnya	'shadow of cloud'
yɪraaya dyɪkɪnyá	
cloud dark	

When Historic Class Marker -a is dropped, the pitch-accent perturbation does not behave as if a syllable has been dropped.

tyoimáanga	'arrow type'
tyola maanga	
rattan tooth	
adú'ta	'house track'
anga tu'ta	
house track	

2. NOUN CLASSES

2.0. This section describes the Behavioural Noun Classes. Chart 3 summarizes their main contrastive features.

Nouns occur as Subject, Actor, Object, Indirect Object, Instrument, Accompaniment, Benefaction, Adjunct⁶ and Vocative. Other distributions are as Possessed and Possessor Items, Time, Location, Purpose, Reason and Reference.

2.1. ANIMATE NOUNS

Animate Nouns have obligatory⁷ gender clitics according to sex. They co-occur in a clause with the verb stem mwaal+ 'to sit; live; remain'. They also occur in Slots⁸ 1 and 2 of a Name Phrase.

The Human Animate sub-class occurs in the Item 1 Slot of Name Phrase types 1 and 2 as follows:

Phrase 1. a'mwé tyaa'tya gyaa'káanga yabwin+mwá-lo
 person, family name, his mother's brother, man's name-he
 'his uncle Mr Yambwinumwa Sasa'

Phrase 2. a'mwé tyaa'tya aa'tá-lo
 person, family name, grandfather(address)-he
 'Grandfather Sasa!'

Other Human Animate Nouns are:

taayá-wo	'girl-she'
yaany+wáa'ka-wo/lo	'person without a spouse-she/he'
g+láaya-wo/lo	'ghost-she/he'

The Human Family Animate sub-class occurs in the Item 2 Slot of Name Phrase types 1 and 2 in the preceding examples. Other Human Family Animate Nouns are:

e'tya-wo	'Miss Esa'
baaruya-lo	'Mr Baruya'
y+duyá-raawo	'the Yiduya people' (different cultural group)

The Domestic Animate Nouns occur in the Item 1 Slot of Name Phrase 3.

dy+l+'ka káam+dyá tyf+m+ná-lo
dog, family name, dog's name-he
'the kaminja dog Simina'

There are two Domestic Animate Nouns.

dy+l+'ka-lo 'dog-he'
 yaawaryá-lo 'pig-he'

The Domestic Family sub-class occurs in the Item 2 Slot of Name Phrase 3 as in the preceding example.

kaam+dyá-lo (dog family name-he)
 g+naalf+'ka-wa (pig family name-she)

The Generic Animate sub-class occurs in the Item 1 Slot of Name Phrase 7.

yu'ta tyáa'ka-lo 'a saka bird'
bird bird species-he

Typical Generic Animate Nouns are:

yu'ta-lo/wo 'bird-he/she'
 maa'nyaanna-lo 'insect-he'
 yaangwia-wo 'hunted animal-she'
 dyangw+nya-lo 'fish-he'

The Specific Animate sub-class occurs in the Item 2 Slot of Name Phrase 7 as in the preceding example.

kuraa'tá-lo 'insect species-he'
 ty+waa'ka-lo 'animal species-he'

Note the parallel between Generic sub-class and the Human and Domestic sub-classes. Also note the parallel between the Specific sub-class and the Human Family and Domestic Family sub-classes.

Two members of the class of Nature Nouns also occur with mwaal+ 'live'. They are ny+la 'sun', and langwe 'moon'. These do not, however, occur with all number possibilities of this verb, and they do not occur in a Name Phrase.

2.2. INANIMATE NOUNS

Inanimate Nouns occur with optional gender. They do not co-occur in a clause with the verb stem mwaal+ 'to sit; live; remain'. They occur with singular, dual and plural clitics as Actors of clauses in which the verb is always in third person and singular number.

yí'ta-ngó waay-í'ko *'Trees are standing.'*
tree-fem.plural, stand-stative third person singular

The semantic range of Inanimate Nouns covers all vegetation, food, implements, housing, water etc.

The Generic Inanimate sub-class occurs in the Item 1 Slot of Name Phrases 4, 6 and 7.

yí'ta gáawalá *'a gawala tree'*
tree tree species

anga *'house'*
 aalya *'water'*

The Specific Inanimate Noun sub-class occurs in the Item 2 Slot of Name Phrase 7 as in the preceding example.

nadaaya *'type of house'*
 m+ngw+lá *'type of arrow (carved)'*

Inanimate Nouns also occur in the Location Slot with Indirect Object clitics usually preceded by the substantive morpheme -ya.

g+lyá' áng-e-pfno wá'd+tyí *'While the bag lay in the*
bag actor, house-substantive-her, house...'
while it lay

a'mwéi gaawál-ya-rfno y+ládaapí' *'The man is standing on the*
man actor, tree species-substantive- gawala tree.'
him, up he stands

If further investigation should prove that all Inanimate Nouns do not so occur the ones which do occur could be called Locative Inanimate Nouns.

2.3. PROPER NOUNS

Proper Nouns are never modified. In all environments they occur with obligatory gender, but never with the substantive morpheme -ya.

The Human Proper Noun sub-class occurs in the Item 4 Slot of Name Phrase 1.

gataa'káanga no'káa-lo *'his older brother Noka'*
his older brother man's name-he

yaad+ma'ní-mo *'Yandimatni-he'*
 dy+tyeparináa-wo *'Jizevalina-she'*

The Address Kin Proper Nouns are listed in column 1 of Chart 1. They occur in the Item 4 Slot of Name Phrase 2.

baaruya aa'tá-lo 'grandfather Baruya'
family name, grandfather-he

níwáa-wo 'my mother-she'

Dog and Pig Proper Nouns occur in the Item 4 Slot of Name Phrase 3.

dyíłi'ka káamídyá tyfminá-lo 'the kaminja dog Simina'
dog, dog family name, dog's
name-he

mayaakwayá-lo pig's name he 'Mayagwaya'

The River and Lake Proper Nouns occur in the Item 4 Slot of Name Phrase 4.

aalya yáaika-wo 'the Yaiga River'
water river name-she

ma'nyíwe-lo 'Matnyuwe'
lake name-he

2.4. LOCATION NOUNS

Location Nouns are the only ones to co-occur with Place Nouns in Name Phrases. Only Location Nouns can occur, with or without the substantive morpheme -ya, with the location morphemes -bano 'at' or -wíno 'to' without gender morphemes. All other nouns occur with obligatory gender and obligatory substantive morpheme -ya preceding -bano or -wíno.

kwaa't-yá-bano 'at the resting place'
bare patch-substantive-
location

anga-bano 'at the village'
village-location

yí'daryá-wíno 'in/to the forest'
wawínya-wíno 'to/at the garden'

kwaa'ta tyíłaláada'ko 'Silaladak resting place'
resting place, name of land

2.5. PLACE NOUNS

Place Nouns do not occur in Representative Noun Phrases, whereas all other noun classes do occur there. Place Nouns occur in the Item 4 Slot of Name Phrase 5 and the Possessed Slot of a Possessive Phrase, or as the sole filler of a clause level slot. Place Nouns occur with fixed gender, case, person and number, while other nouns occur with variable case and usually variable person and number and sometimes variable gender.

Place Nouns never occur with the substantive morpheme *-ya*.

<i>kwaa'ta tyilaláada'ko</i>	<i>'Silaladak resting place'</i>
<i>resting place, name of land</i>	
<i>nimíré yáanyino</i>	<i>'my Yanyi'</i>
<i>my village name</i>	

2.6. REFERENTIAL KIN NOUNS

Referential Kin Nouns contrast with all other nouns by their internal structure. They consist of a stem (as listed in column 2 of Chart 1) with an obligatory possessive prefix (as listed in Chart 2) and with a referential suffix *-áanga*. Most Referential Kin Nouns occur with obligatory *-áanga*, in some this morpheme is optional, and two nouns *rawa* '*husband of wife's sister*' and *ya'mwe* '*friend*', do not occur with *-áanga*.

Referential Kin Nouns occur with obligatory gender and rarely with substantive morpheme *-ya*. They occur within a Modified Kin Phrase and are the only nouns to occur in the Item 3 Slot of Name Phrases.

<i>nekiri-nan-áanga</i>	<i>'our(dual) older sister'</i>
<i>our dual-older sister-referential</i>	
<i>dyi-kimil-áanga</i>	<i>'your cross-cousin'</i>
<i>your-cross cousin-referential</i>	
<i>kupi-nipa'k-áanga</i>	<i>'their siblings-in-law'</i>
<i>their-siblings in law-referential</i>	
<i>kir-ya'k-áanga</i>	<i>'your(dual) grandmother'</i>
<i>your/their two-grandmother-referential</i>	
<i>a'mwé tyaa'tya gyaa'káanga yabwinimwái</i>	
<i>person, family name, mother's brother, man's name</i>	
<i>'his uncle Mr Yambwinumwa Sasa'</i>	

The stems for '*father*' and '*mother*' have two allomorphs (see Chart 1). The prefixes for '*my*' and '*your*' also have two allomorphs (Chart 2). The first allomorph of these stems occurs with the first allomorph of '*my*' and '*your*', and the second stem allomorph occurs with the second possessive prefix allomorph, respectively.

Instead of using the first person singular Referential Kin Nouns for '*father*' and '*mother*' most speakers of Baruya prefer to use the appropriate Address Kin Proper Nouns instead. These are listed in column 1 of Chart 1.

<i>ne-nim-áanga</i>	<i>'our father'</i>
<i>our-father-referential</i>	

gí-maam-áanga	'your father'
your-father-referential	
g-w-áanga	'your mother'
your-mother-referential	
tyí-rí-n-áanga	'your (pl.) mother'
your plural-mother-referential	

There are two terms which do not signify biological kin, but which function as Referential Kin Nouns. These are yíkíp 'initiation guardian' and nya'kwál 'nose-piercing co-initiate'.

2.7. QUALITY NOUNS

Quality Nouns occur with optional gender. Quality Nature Nouns manifest the Actor Slot of a Nature Clause. Quality Adjunct Nouns occur in the Adjunct Slot of clauses. In both instances occurrence of clitics is the same and is very restricted. Some of these nouns when not occurring in Nature or Adjunct Clauses occur with all number possibilities, and therefore belong also to the Inanimate Noun class. The rest occur in singular number only.

Quality Adjunct Nouns:

yí-laayá	gyí-máryí-wano	'I like you.'
affection,	to you I take do	
mala		'war/fight'
kínna		'weeping'
kadí-'ka		'ear'

Quality Nature Nouns:

mí-dyí-'ká	nyí-wá-'ko	'I am hungry.'
hunger	to me has done	
yí-raaya		'cloud'
yí-rí-'ka	purá-'ko	'dawn dawned'
dawn	dawned	
mwanya		'morning'

Time Nature Nouns when occurring in a Time Slot can be suffixed by either -gaa'ko 'time' preceded by optional substantive -ya, or by -píno 'third person singular feminine indirect object' which then has a temporal meaning. Other nouns occurring in time slots are suffixed by optional -ya plus -gaa'ko.

<i>mwanya-pfno</i>	<i>'in the morning'</i>
<i>morning-her</i>	
<i>mwanya-gáa'ko</i>	<i>'in the morning'</i>
<i>morning-time</i>	
<i>y+r+'ka</i>	<i>'dawn'</i>
<i>ny+la</i>	<i>'sun'</i>

3. CLITICS

3.0. Clitics are described in Elson and Pickett, 1962, on pages 101 and 102. In this paper clitics are analysed as bound forms which function at a level higher than the word level.

Gender is one important category manifested by clitics. The noun referent determines the gender of a noun phrase. Various clitics and allomorphs are described in this section.

3.1. GENDER

(a) The nine genders, in their third person singular subject form, are:

Masculine	-lo	<i>'male/important'</i>
Feminine	-wo	<i>'female/general'</i>
Neuter	-+'ko	<i>'small, important'</i>
Masculine A	-baalo	<i>'curved'</i>
Neuter A	-r+'ko	<i>'long thin'</i>
Neuter B	-wa'ko	<i>'long thick'</i>
Neuter C	-m+l+'ko	<i>'small, insignificant'</i>
Neuter D	-pa'ko	<i>'large, significant'</i>
Neuter E	-ty+'ko	<i>'isolated/distinctive'</i>

An alternative analysis to the above is to recognise three genders, two of which occur with shape morphemes. These shape morphemes would be: -baa *'curved'*, -r+ *'long thin'*, -wa *'long thick'*, -m+l+ *'small'*, -pa *'large'* and -tyi *'distinctive'*. The shape morpheme -baa occurs with masculine gender and the other shape morphemes with neuter gender. This analysis has not been chosen for the following reasons:

1. In Neuter B and D the neuter morpheme -+'ko does not occur in accordance with morphophonemic rules number 6 of Section 1.4. However some names also end in -'ko rather than -+'ko, e.g. ty+laláada'ko (*land name*).

2. The Gender Class Morphemes -wa, -r+ and -b, which occur with some Specifiers¹⁷, co-occur with certain gender or shape-gender combinations,

rather than with the three basic genders -lo, -wo and -i'ko. Masculine and Neuter genders occur with -wa, Feminine and Neuter A and D and Group genders occur with -ri, and Masculine A and Neuter C B and E occur with -b.

3. Shape morphemes occur with fixed genders -lo or -i'ko and are not interchangeable.

All the genders previously listed in this section occur with the noun root y+'ta 'wood/tree' depending upon the referent.

Masculine	y+'ta-lo	'big, tall tree'
Feminine	y+'ta-wo	'medium tree/a piece of wood'
Neuter	y+'t-i'ko	'small tree/shrub'
Masculine A	y+'ta-báalo	'curved stick or tree'
Neuter A	y+'tá-ri'ko	'thin stick'
Neuter B	y+'ta-wá'ko	'thick stick/limb'
Neuter C	y+'ta-mf'li'ko	'nameless tree/insignificant tree'
Neuter D	y+'ta-pá'ko	'big piece of wood'
Neuter E	y+'ta-tyf'ko	'significant, strong or isolated tree'

The word anga 'house' and various other nouns can also occur with various genders.

Hockett, 1958, pp.231-233, states "To qualify as a gender system... every noun must belong to one of the classes, and very few can belong to more than one." The Baruya system fulfills the first requirement but not the second. As "shape" does not cover the category and "gender" is a better term than "shape-size-importance-sex" the term "gender" is used in this paper.

(b) The genders listed are all portmanteau morphemes with categories of not only gender, but person, number and case. In examples other than those previously listed, some are portmanteau morphemes whilst others show recurring partials. Examples for Masculine, Feminine and Neuter genders are shown in Chart 4. Note the recurring partials -aalo 'dual' and -aawo 'plural' in Masculine and Neuter, but not in Feminine gender, in second and third persons. The second person is based upon third person forms. Neuter dual and plural are very rare in second person. Morphemes -gino, -kilo and -ikilo are second person singular, dual and plural respectively. The order in second person is (1) gender-number and (2) person-number. In first person the recurring partial n is first person indicator, but in analogy with other persons has not been separated off. First person Masculine gender is -i. First person Feminine gender singular and dual is glottal stop, and the plural is n which results from ng by a morphophonemic rule. Morphemes -nyo, -naalo and -naawo are first

person singular, dual and plural respectively. First person singular neuter occurs with some men's names. The order of morphemes is the same as in second person, that is (1) gender and (2) person-number, though number is only indicated once.

The genders which are not listed on the chart occur in third person singular, dual and plural forms, and second person singular.

-rɪ'kaalo	neuter A third person dual
-rɪ'kaawo	neuter A third person plural
-rɪ'gɪno	neuter A second person singular

(c) Another set of genders is the Group genders which refer to combinations of kin relationships. There are only two numbers, dual and plural. A plural group gender might indicate that there is more than one of either relation included in the group. For example 'brother and sister' plural may include more than one brother, or more than one sister. The group genders are listed in Chart 5. The dual morpheme is -aalo for all group genders except -y 'husband and wife' when it is -olo. The plural morpheme is -a'kaawo for all group genders except -y again, when it is -uraawo. Pronouns lose their final syllable -no and occur with Group gender clitics.

As the order of morphemes in group gender clitics remains reasonably constant these are described here. The first order clitic is the group gender morpheme, the second order is the number morpheme and the third is the person morpheme, which also shows number. However only gender and person-number orders occur in third person.

kɪrɪmɪ-nɪd-áalo	'They, father and child.'
they d.-father and child-dual(they)	
kumɪ-nɪd-á'kaawo	'They, father and children.'
they-father and child-plural(they)	
kɪrɪmɪ-nɪd-áai-kɪlo	'You, father and child.'
you d.-father and child-dual-you	
dual	
tyarɪmɪ-nɪd-á'kaap-ikflo	'You, father and children.'
you all-father and child-plural-	
you plural	
naarɪmɪ-nɪd-áai-naalo	'We, father and child.'
we d.-father and child-dual-we dual	
nemɪ-nɪd-á'ka-naawo	'We, father and children.'
we-father and child-plural-we plural	

a'mwé-y-uraawo	'A man and his wives.'
person-husband and wife-plural(they)	
dyili'ka- n-a'káawo	'A dog and her pups.'
dog-mother and child-plural(they)	

(d) A set of clitics occurs within a Representative Noun Phrase, usually with peoples' names to mean that that name is representative of a group. The morpheme -paawo which shortens to -pa appears to be a number morpheme meaning 'representative of a plural number'. The clitics are Masculine -rapaawo, Feminine -paawo, Neuter -i'kipaawo, and -mo¹⁸ gender -mipaawo.

nokaa-rapá	'Noka and his group.'
man's name-rep.masc.	
dyitwarya-pá	'Juworya and company.'
girl's name-rep.fem.	
aapaléwaa-'kípa	'Avalewa and friends.'
man's name-rep.neut.	
yaad+ma'nt-mfpa	'Yandimatni etc.'
man's name-rep.(-mo)	

(e) The morpheme -dyaa'ko meaning 'many' or 'a crowd' occurs without gender, and seems to be a type of gender itself. It is usually preceded by the substantive morpheme.

a'mwé-dyaa'ko	'many people'
person-many	
yu't-yá-dyaa'ko	'many birds'
bird-substantive-many	

The morpheme -dyaa'ko occurs in first and second person plural.

a'mwé-dyaa'k-íktlo	'you many people'
person-many-you all	
a'mwé-dyaa'k-náawo	'we, many people'
person-many-we	
a'mwédyaa'náawo	

3.2. CASE

(a) Subject or Actor case is portmanteau with person, number and gender. Examples in Section 3.1. are given in Actor case. The various cases are:

Subject, Actor	as given in 3.1.
Object, Indirect Object	-yino
Accompaniment, Instrument	-tyino
Location in Space and Logic	-ya-bano
Location in Space (Direction)	-ya-wino
Time	±ya +-gaa'ko
Benefaction	-yi-ne
Possessor	-yi-re
Reference	-yi-nano

Except for Benefaction and Possessor cases, or in calling out or clarifying an utterance, case morphemes usually occur in a shortened form. The final morpheme -no, -ngo or -mo¹⁸ is dropped. Final -aawo is contracted to -a. Other morphemes contract as if preceding a consonant (see Section 1.4.).

a'mwé-i person-he	'a man'
mwa'tá-rí' arrow-neut.A	'an arrow'
mwanya-gáa' morning-time	'in the morning'
kwala-i-nyí male-masc.-I	'I, a man'

(b) The Object, Indirect Object case allomorphs are -yino occurring after any Actor case morpheme which ends in -no, and -ino after other Actor case morphemes. In all instances the o of the Actor case morpheme is dropped. If the remaining consonant is then l or w it changes to r or p respectively.

a'mwe-r-í person-masc.-I.O.	'to the man'
a'mwe-ráap-ino person-they masc.-I.O.	'to the men'
taaya-'-gín-yí girl-fem.-you-I.O.	'to you, a girl'

(c) Accompaniment case has allomorph -yino following morphemes ending in -lo which loses the vowel o. Morphemes ending in -aawo have this contracted to -a and occur with allomorphs -dyino or -ryino. Other morphemes lose the final o and the morphophonemic rules of Section 1.4. apply before allomorph -tyino.

a'mwe-l-yfno person-he-with	'and a man'
a'mwe-i-ná-dyino person-masc.-we-with	'with us men'
a'mweinaryino (alternative form)	
mwa-ta-rf'-tyino arrow-neut.A-with	'with an arrow'
a'mwe-n-tyfno person-they fem.-with	'and women'
a'mwedynfno (alternative form)	

(d) The Location in Space, and Location in Logic or Reason, cases occur with gender morphemes with the following changes. In morphemes ending in -lo, -lo changes to r. Morphemes ending in -wo lose this, and other morphemes ending in o lose the o and -yabano affixes to the consonant. The y of nyo reduces preceding the y of -yabano. Some nouns occur without gender with these cases (see Section 2.4.).

a'mwe-r-yá-bano person-he-substantive-place	'near the man'
a'mwe-ng-yá-bano person-they fem.-substantive-place	'because of the women; near the women'
taaya-'-n-yá-bano girl-fem.-I-substantive-place	'because of me, a girl'
kaimale-i-náa-ya-bano boy-masc.-we-substantive-place	'near us boys'
aapaléwaa-'k-yá-wino man's name-he neut.-substantive-to	'to Awaewa'

(e) Time case usually occurs without gender morphemes, except in the use of a'mwé 'person'. See also section 2.7. where the 'feminine indirect object' morpheme is used as a time morpheme.

taaya-gáa'ko girl-time	'when she was a girl'
mwanya-gáa'ko morning-time	'in the morning'
burf'ka-gáa'ko rain-time	'rain time'

y+r+l-ya-gáa'ko	'a cold season'
cold-substantive-time	
a'mwe-'-tyf-ya-gáa'ko	'when you/he was married'
person-she-with-substantive-time	

(f) The Benefaction case morpheme -ne always follows another case morpheme. It occurs after Indirect Object case, or Location in Space and Logic, or -gaa'ko time morpheme, from which the final -ko is lost.

a'mwe-rf-ne	'for the man'
person-him-for	
aapaléwaa-'k-f-ne	'for Avalewa'
man's name-neut.-for	
a'mwe-yá-ban-ne	'because of the woman'
person(fem.)-substantive-place-for	
anga-ban-né	'for the village'
village-place-for	
mwanya-gáa'-ne	'for the morning'

(g) Possessor case occurs following the modified Object or Indirect Object case morpheme -y+. This differs from Indirect Object in that lo plus -y+, and no plus -y+, both the lo or no and the y+ are lost, and this is not so in Indirect Object.

a'mwé-lo	person-he	'a man'	becomes
a'mwé-re	person(he)-possessor	'a man's'	
a'mwe-i-gf(no)	person-masc.-you	'you, a man'	becomes
a'mwe-i-gf-re	person-masc.-you-possessor	'belong to you, a man'	
aapaléwaa-'k-i-re		'Avalewa's'	
man's name-neut.-I.O.-possessor			
a'mwé-raap-i-re		'men's'	
person-they masc.-I.O.-possessor			
taayá-ng-i-re		'girls''	
girl-they fem.-I.O.-possessor			

(h) Reference case -nano, like Benefaction, occurs with Indirect Object, Location in Space and Logic and also with Time case -gaa'ko, from which the final -ko is dropped. The Reference morpheme -nano also occurs with Adverbs and verb stems.

a'mwé-r+-nano	'about the man'
person-him-about	

aapaléwaa-'k-í-na man's name-neut.-I.O.-about	'concerning Avalewa'
a'mwé-yá-ban-na person(she)-substantive-place- about	'because of the woman'
anga-wín-na village/house-place-about	'concerning the village'
mwanya-gáa'-na morning-time-about	'in reference to the morning'
tínn-ya-'-ná eye-substantive-she-about	'with my eye (I want to see)'

3.3. EMBEDDING (LAYERING)

All the preceding clitics can occur following Benefaction, Possessor, Reference and Accompaniment. In the latter two the substantive morpheme is evident preceding the additional clitics.

dí'k-e-'-né-'-ne-' fire-substantive-she-for-she- for-she	'for fire (I have come)'
a'mwe-ráap-í-re-i person-they masc.-I.I.- possessor-he	'he, who belongs to the men'
dí'k-e-'-nán-ya-' fire-substantive-she-about- substantive-she	'it, concerning the fire'
a'mwe-l-yí-ya-' person-he-with-substantive-she (actor)	'she, with a husband'

3.4. EQUATIVE VERB CLITIC

The Indicative Equative Verb Clitic is -yíro occurring in final order. The Negative, Dubitative and Interrogative Equatives are separate words rather than clitics. The clitic -yíro occurs following all cases except possession to make an Indicative Equative Clause. When a morpheme ends in -aawo this is dropped and allomorph -ero occurs. Morphemes ending in -ngo or -nyo or -ko, lose the o and occur with -íro allomorph. Allomorph -ro occurs with -ne benefaction morpheme. Allomorph -tyíro occurs with -wo 'she' which contracts to glottal stop. Other morphemes occur with -yíro allomorph.

a'mwé-r-ero person-they masc.-be	'They are men.'
aapaléwaa-'k-íro man's name-neut.-be	'He is Avalewa.'
mwanya-gáa'-ne-ro morning-time-for-be	'It is for the morning.'
taaya-'-tyíro girl-she-be	'It is a girl.'
a'mwe-l-yíro person-he-be	'He is a man.'
kaimale-i-gín-yíro boy-masc.-you-be	'You are a boy.'
burika-gáa'k-íro rain-time-be	'It is the rainy season.'

3.5. Using Group genders with other than Subject case, the following order of affixes occurs:

gender number person case indicative equative

This could be considered the basic order of all clitics, even though third person singular non-Group genders in Subject case are portmanteau.

a'mwé-níd-a'ká-na-dyín-yíro person-father and child-plural-first person (plural)-with-be 'They are with us, a father and his children'
a'mwé-l-yíro person-masc.singular third person subject-be 'He is a man'

4. NOUN PHRASES

4.0. The various Noun Phrases are described in this section with tagmemic formulas. Elson and Pickett, 1962, discusses symbols and formulas on pages 60, 68, 70 and elsewhere. Phrase formulas are discussed on pages 74, 75 and 104, 105 and 106.

There is a strong tendency for phrases in Baruya to be minimal. Thus a Head Slot and only one qualifying slot besides the clitic slot occur quite frequently. A Head Slot plus two qualifying slots sometimes occur, but a Head Slot and three qualifying slots are very rare. In the latter case most Baruya people would use an Appositional Phrase instead.

The examples in this section show words and clitics but not morphology within words.

4.1. NAME PHRASE¹⁹ NaP

NaP = (+It:n)²⁻⁴ +/-Cc:clitics

A Name Phrase consists of two to four Item Slots filled by certain noun classes and sub-classes. Depending on the fillers of the Item Slots and the distribution of the phrase, clitics are either obligatory or optional.²⁰ Two slots are most common, but even more common is to use a single noun, i.e. not a Name Phrase.

Any Name Phrase consisting of Item 1 and 2 Slots only, may occur in a Modified Noun Phrase.

The possible combinations of nouns which may co-occur are described below in various Name Phrase sub-types:

Name Phrase 1 consists of:

+²¹ (+It1:nhua ±It2:nhuf ±It3:nkin ±It4:nprop1) +Cc:clitics

The fillers of Item slots are respectively, a Human Animate Noun, a Human Family Animate Noun, a Referential Kin Noun and a Human Proper Noun. The use of Name Phrase 1 denotes respect to a person referent. Respect may also be shown by using a person's family name instead of his personal name.

a'mwé tyaa'tya gyaa'káanga yabwinimwa-i
person, family name, kin noun, man's name-he
'his uncle Mr Yambwinumwa Sasa'

Name Phrase 2 consists of:

+ (+It1:nhua ±It2:nhuf ±It4:nprop2) +Cc:clitics

This is almost the same as the preceding phrase except that when an Address Kin Proper Noun occurs in the Item 4 Slot, Item 3 Slot does not occur.

a'mwé baaruya aa'tá-i
person family name, grandfather-he
'Mr grandfather Baruya'

Name Phrase 3 consists of:

+ (+It1:ndoa ±It2:ndof ±It4:nprop3) +Cc:clitics

A Name Phrase Three consists of two or three slots plus a Clitic Slot. Item 1 and 2 Slots are filled respectively by a Domestic Animate Noun and a Domestic Family Animate Noun. The Item 4 slot is filled by a

Domestic Proper Noun.

dy+l+'ka káam+dya tyf'míná-i
dog dog type dog's name-he
'the kaminja dog Simina'

yaawaryá gínaalf'ka mayaakwaya-i
pig pig type pig's name-he
'the ginalika pig Mayagwaya'

Name Phrase 4 consists of:

+It1:river/lake +It4:nprop4 +Cc:clitics

Name Phrase 4 consists of three obligatory slots. Item 1 Slot is filled by the nouns for 'river' or 'lake'. The Item 4 Slot is filled by Proper Noun subclass 4. The Clitic Slot is filled by suitable clitics as described in Section 3.

aal+bunyá má'nyíwe-i 'Matnyuwe lake'
lake lake name-he

aalya yáaika-' 'River Yaiga'
water/river, river name-she

Name Phrase 5 consists of:

+It1:nloc +It4:nplace +Cc:fixed gender

Name Phrase 5 also consists of three obligatory slots. The Item 1 and 4 Slots are filled by a Location and a Place Noun respectively. Only one clitic, other than the Indicative Equative, occurs with each Place Noun.

anga wíya-píno 'Wiavi village'
village, village name-her

yí'daryá tyí'nyí-no 'Sitni forest'
forest forest name-it

Name Phrase 6 consists of:

+ (±It1:arrow ±It2:carved arrow ±It4:arrow type) ±Cc:clitics

Only one example of Name Phrase 6 has been found to date. It consists of from two to four slots, two of them being Item Slots. In an Equative Clause the Clitic Slot is obligatory. The fillers of the Item Slots are mwa'ta 'arrow', mīngw+lá 'carved arrow' and 'types of carved arrow' respectively. All these nouns belong to the Inanimate Noun class.

mwa'ta mīngw+lá aangwityíla 'an angwuzila carved arrow'
arrow carved arrow, type of carved arrow

Name Phrase 7 consists of:

+It1:generic noun +It2:specific noun ±Cc:clitics

Name Phrase 7 consists of two obligatory Item Slots filled by Generic and Specific Nouns respectively. These nouns are described in Sections 2.1. and 2.2. The Clitic Slot is optional.

yu'ta tyáa'ka	'a saka bird'
bird bird species	
yí'ta gáawalá	'a gawala tree'
tree tree species	

4.2. MODIFIED NOUN PHRASE MN

MN = +H:n/NaP (±M:Aj)² ±Lim:gape ±Sp:spec/Num +Cc:clitics

A Modified Noun Phrase consists of two obligatory slots. The Head Slot may be filled by a noun or any Name Phrase which consists of Item 1 and Item 2 Slots only. Nouns which may occur are Animate, Inanimate and Location Nouns. The obligatory Clitic Slot is filled by the clitics described in Section 3. Optional slots are Modification, which may be repeated, Limitation and Specification. The Adjective Phrase which fills the Modification Slot is manifested by an adjective only, if the Modification Slot is repeated. The morpheme gape 'only' is the filler of the Limitation Slot. The Specification Slot is filled by a Specifier or a Numeral Phrase, and/or a Numeral Clause. If Numeral Phrases manifest Specification, clitics may also occur within the Numeral Phrase.

yí'ta dtráginya tyáamínáanga p+r+-'	
wood hard long one-fem.	
'(cut) a long hard tree'	
a'mwé tewaanya gápe-l-yfro	
person good only-he-be	
'He is the only good man'	
dyí+lí'ka gápe áagakwa-i	
dog only unseen reflexive-he	
'Only that unknown dog'	
yaawaryá gínalí'ka da-ráai da-i	
pig pig species this-d.masc.,this-he	
'The three ginalika pigs'	

Counting is usually by fingers and this accounts for the use of the root daVL 'this'.

a'mwé ke'tt-wáai ke'tt-'
 person, up far-d.fem., up far-she
 'Three women up far'

This is more common in apposition as:

a'mwé da-wáai da- k'é'nti-ngo
 person, this-d.fem., this-she-up far(pl)-they fem.
 three women those far up
 'Those three women far up'

The Head Slot is obligatory when more than one of the optional slots occur. The Head can be optional when the meaning is obvious and there is only one optional slot. The resulting stem plus clitics appears then like a pronoun.

pwa-ra y+nfkawo
 another-they masc., are coming
 'They/Others are coming.'

This is instead of a'mwé pwara
 person, others
 'other men'

4.3. MODIFIED KIN PHRASE MK

MK = +H:nkin ±M:aj ±Lim:gape ±Sp:spec/Num +Cc:clitics

The Modified Kin Phrase is more restricted than a Modified Noun Phrase. The obligatory Clitic Slot is the same as in the Modified Noun Phrase, but the obligatory Head must be manifested by a Referential Kin Noun. It is rare for any optional slots to occur. Of the three optional slots any two have been elicited together and accepted by Baruya speakers. The Modification Slot may be manifested by the Adjective Phrase *tewaanya náanga* good, big 'very good', but more usually by one adjective.

ny+daa'káanga tewanya gápe-l-yíro
 older brother good only-he-be
 'He is the only good older brother'

ny+gwaaláanga k+bangwé da-ráai da-i
 younger brother, medium, this-d.masc., this-he
 'Three younger (not youngest) brothers'

n+maamáanga gape pwa-i
 my father only another-he
 'My father only'

4.4. MODIFIED QUALITY PHRASE MQual

MQual = +H:nqual ±M:aj/spec/Num + Cc:clitics

The obligatory Head of a Modified Quality Phrase is filled by a Quality Noun. The optional Modification Slot is filled by an adjective or a specifier. A few Quality Nouns may co-occur with Numeral Phrases.

kinna maalɬ'ka-'-tyɬro
weeping, small-she-be
'It is a little mourning.'

mɨdyɨ'ka náanga-'-tyɬro
hunger big-she-be
'It is a famine.'

yagɨnya áaga-'
bone unseen-she
'an unseen bone'

mala ké'tɨ-'
fight, up far-she
'a fight up there'

mala da-wáai da-'
fight, this-d.fem., this-she
'three fights'

mwanyá da-káa,²²
morning, this-time
'this morning'

Most Time Nouns, a division of Nature Nouns, occur with Numeral Phrases.

dyarɨ'ta da-ryáai da-rɨ'
clear weather, this-d.(time), this-it
'three clear days'

4.5. MODIFIED NAME PHRASE MName

MName = +H:npropl,2 +M:Num +Cc:clitics

A Modified Name Phrase consists of three obligatory slots. The filler of the Head Slot is a Proper Noun subclass 1 or 2, i.e. Human and Address Kin Proper Nouns, in third person singular subject case. The filler of the Modification Slot is any numeral over one. In practice this is usually 2, as duplication of personal names is avoided. The Clitic Slot is usually manifested by subject case only.

nuyá-i kwa-ráai
man's name-he, reflexive-d.masc.
'two men called Nuya'

tʃ'ki-' pwa-ro pwa-i
man's name-it, another-d.masc., another-he
'three men called Dick'

aa'tá-i kwa-raai-kílo
grandfather-he, reflexive-d.masc.-you 2
'you two grandfathers'

4.6. POSSESSIVE PHRASE PossP

PossP = +Possessor:pron poss./N-re +Possessed:nprop/nplace/MN/NaP

A Possessive Phrase consists of an obligatory Possessor Slot filled by a Possessive Pronoun or a Noun Phrase occurring with the final clitic -re 'possessor', and an obligatory Possessed Slot filled by a Proper Noun, Place Noun, Modified Noun Phrase or a Name Phrase.

nĩmĩ-ré dyĩlĩ'ka káamĩdya-i
I-poss. dog dog species-he
'my kaminja dog'

nĩmĩ-ré gĩlya téwaanya-'
I-poss. bag good-she
'my good bag'

a'mwé náanga-re yaawárya-i
person, big(he)-poss., pig-he
'the old man's pig'

nĩnnya appaléwaa-'
my own, man's name-it
'my own Avaléwa'

Any phrase occurring in a Possessive Phrase is either minimal or nearly so.

4.7. APPositional Noun Phrases AN

AN = +It:N +Ap:N/pron/nprop

An Appositional Noun Phrase consists of two obligatory slots. The first, an Item Slot, is manifested by any Noun Phrase. The second, an Apposition Slot, is manifested by any Noun Phrase or pronoun, or Proper Noun. A pronoun or Proper Noun may occur in either the Item or the Appositional Slot, but not in both.

a'mwe náanga-i gam+tya-i
 person, big-he, he that-he
 'that one, the old man'

taayá tewaanya-' dyf̣warya-'
 girl good-she girl's name-she
 'Juworya, a good girl'

a'mwé baakya-i aapaléwaa-'
 person, family name-he, man's name-it
 'A Bakya, Avalewa'

nimi a'mwé tewaanyá-i-nyí
 I person, good-masc.-I
 'I, a good man'

a'mwé-i gam+ aapaléwaa-'
 a man-he, he man's name-it
 'he, a man, Avalewa'

The preceding example illustrates an Appositional Phrase within an Appositional Phrase.

anga-ba yáanyí
 village, village name
 'Yanyi, a village'

anga maalí'ke-ba kwadamaangírí
 village, small-place, village name
 'Kwodamangiri, a small village'

Another Appositional Noun Phrase consists of a Co-ordinate Noun Phrase filling the Item Slot and a Summary word, composed of the demonstrative root *tya* 'that' plus clitics, filling the Apposition Slot. This is
 AN2 = +It:CN +Ap:sum.

nimi-dyí aapaléwaa-'-tyí tya-i-náai
 I-with Avalewa-it-with that-masc.-we d.
 'I and Avalewa, we two'

4.8. CO-ORDINATE NOUN PHRASE CN

CN = (+H:MN/MK/MQual/NaP/PossP/n/pron ±Acc:-tyíno)
 + (+H:MN/MK/MQual/NaP/PossP/n/pron ±Acc:-tyíno)ⁿ

A Co-ordinate Noun Phrase consists of two or more Co-ordinate Head Slots. Following each Head Slot an optional Accompaniment Slot occurs filled by the accompaniment clitic *-tyíno*. If an Accompaniment Slot occurs with the first Head Slot, then each of the following Head Slots

is also followed by an Accompaniment Slot. Each Head Slot may be manifested by a Modified Noun, Kin or Quality Phrase, a Name Phrase, a Possessive Phrase, any noun which does not occur in a modified phrase, or a pronoun. There are many possible combinations of fillers in all Head Slots. There are usually no more than four Head Slots. Most phrases occur in their minimal forms in Co-ordinate Phrases.

tí'ki-'ko wanyaawaryáa-'ko nímtí

man's name-it, man's name-it I

'Dick, Wonyaworya and I'

anga yáanyí wíyaví wáa'mai

village, village name, village name, village name

'Yanyi village, Wiavi and Wapme'

nímtí-dyí kuraariwáa-'k-í-re ganíma'anga-l-yí a'mwé-dyí

I-with, man's name-it-IO-poss., his father-he-with, women-they with

'I and Kurariwa's father and some women'

wa'paayá kaa'ta gwá'ka kí'na

sweet potato, taro, edible shoot, sugar

'sweet potato, taro, shoots and sugar'

4.9. REPRESENTATIVE NOUN PHRASE RN

$RN = (+H:n + Cc:rep \text{ clitics}) \pm (+H:n + Cc:rep \text{ clitics})^2$

A Representative Noun Phrase consists of one or more Head Slots filled by any noun other than Place Nouns and marked with a representative clitic, see section 3.1(d). One Head Slot is obligatory, but three may occur. The referent of the noun is a representative of a much larger group of referents. Only closely related nouns may occur in the optional Head Slots. In a Representative Noun Phrase non Kin or non Proper Nouns occur with obligatory substantive marker -ya and feminine genders.

toyadáya-rapa dyíwárya-pa

boy's name-rep.masc., girl's name-rep.fem.

'Toyanda and his group, Juworya and her group'

nímwá-rapa-ri aa'tárapa-ri

my father-rep.masc.-with, my grandfather-rep.masc.-with

'with my father and his group and my grandfather's group'

aapaléwaa'k-í-páap-í

man's name-rep.neut.-I.O.

'Avaléwa's group'

yu'tya-pa yáangwia-pa
bird-rep.fem., possum-rep.fem.
'birds, possums, etc.'

yuré'ka-pa
stream name-rep.fem.
'Yureka and other streams'

5. CONCLUSION

Gender is an important feature of Baruya nouns and Noun Phrases. The referent of each noun root or stem determines which gender occurs. The referent of the final noun root in compound noun stems determines the gender of the compound. In Animate Nouns gender is according to sex. Gender is obligatory with four of the seven Behavioural Noun Classes. Gender is one of the categories that is manifested by clitics. These clitics are often portmanteau morphemes occurring with person, number and case. The various Noun Phrases have been described showing the occurrence of gender and other clitics.

Hockett's definition of gender was quoted in section 3.1(a), where it was noted that Baruya gender applies to all nouns, but that some nouns belong to more than one gender, in fact a few belong to all genders. Though the gender of Animate Nouns is according to sex, the gender of Inanimate Nouns is determined by the shape, size or importance of each referent. Baruya has Behavioural Noun Classes (section 2), Historic Class Markers (section 1), and Gender Class morphemes (section 3.1(a)). Gender seems to be the best single term to cover the latter category. There are only nine genders in Baruya. These have the semantic range usually covered by gender.

Chart 1: KIN NOUN STEMS

aa'tá-lo	ya'kwai + ⁹	<i>All male relatives of grandparents' and grand-children's generation. Reciprocal term.</i>
aa'táa-wo	ya'k +	<i>All female relatives of grandparents' and grand-children's generation. Reciprocal term.</i>
nimwá-lo ¹⁰ maaná-lo ta'táa-lo	nim-maam +	<i>Father, father's brother. By some speakers, mother's sister's husband.</i>

Chart 1: KIN NOUN STEMS (continued)

níwáa-wo	n~w +	Mother, father's wife. By some, father's brother's wife, mother's brother's wife.
náa-wo		
wa'tyá-wo	yuy +	Father's sister. By some, father's brother's wife, mother's brother's wife.
nyíwalyáa-mo -no	yíwaly ¹³ +	Father's sister's husband, wife's brother's children. Reciprocal term.
aa'pí	yaa'k +	Mother's brother.
aa'pyá-lo		
aamáa-wo	nyíwan +	Mother's sister. By some, father's brother's wife, mother's brother's wife.
nyígí-wo	yíkíp ¹³ ±	Female ego's nose piercer. Male ego's initiate guardian. Reciprocal term.
daa'kwá-lo	daa'k +	Older brother, older male parallel cousin.
gwaaikwá-lo	gwaal +	Younger brother, younger male parallel cousin.
mwá-lo		Male ego's nose-piercing co-initiate.
míráa-lo		Reciprocal. Terms used according to age group.
nya'kwá-lo	nya'kwai ±	
yí'páa-lo		
naangá-wo	nan +	Older sister, older female parallel cousin.
bwiká-wo	nyaabul ±	Younger sister, younger female parallel cousin.
bwi		
mikwá-lo	gimí ±	Male ego's male cross cousin. Reciprocal.
mi		
nya'kyá-lo	nya'k +	Female ego's male cross cousin.
nya'kyá-wo	nya'k +	Female cross cousin.
nyíbwaaí+wo	bwaaí+p ±	Son, sibling's son, husband's sibling's son, wife's sister's son.
nyíraapí-no	raap ±	Daughter, sibling's daughter, husband's sibling's daughter, wife's sister's daughter.
aa'pé-wo ¹¹	bal +	Wife.
	kwai ¹² +	Husband.

Chart 1: KIN NOUN STEMS (continued)

nyabá-lo	nyabal ±	Co-wife, wife of husband's brother. Reciprocal.
ny+nipa-'ko	nipa'k ±	Sister's husband, wife's sister and brother, wife's parents' siblings' children. ¹³ Reciprocal.
ny+nyaangwí-lo	nyaangul ±	Male ego's brother's wife, husband's brother, husband's parents' siblings' male children. Reciprocal.
ny+rawa-lo	rawa -	Wife's sister's husband. Reciprocal.
ny+luyaa	luy +	Female ego's brother's wife, husband's sister, husband's parents' siblings' female children. Reciprocal.
ny+nyaali-mo	nyaalim ±	Daughter's husband, wife's parents and their siblings.
nyaayá-lo -wo -yolo ¹⁴	yaay +	Son's wife, husband's parents and their siblings.
nyá'mwe-lo ¹⁵ -wo	ya'mwe -	Friend (brother/sister).
	ya'mw +	Female ego's puberty co-initiate. People born at same time. Reciprocal.

Chart 2: POSSESSIVE PREFIXES OF REFERENTIAL KIN NOUNS

PERSON	NUMBER		
	Singular	Dual	Plural
First	nyí- ~ ní-	nekiri-	ne-
Second	dyíVL ¹⁶ - ~ gí-	kiri-	tyiri-
Third	gaVL-	kiri-	kupí-

Chart 3: SYNOPSIS

NOUN CLASS	Gender	Sub- stantive	In RepN	Expand	Number	NaP Item	NaP Num.	Possess.
Animate	+	±	±	Full	s,d,p	1,2	1,2 3,7	Full
Inanimate	±	±	±	Full	s,d,p	1,2	4,6 7	Full
Proper	+	-	±	-	s	4	1,4	Full
Location	±	±	±	Full	s,d,p	1	5	Full
Place	+	-	-	-	s	4	5	Restr.
Referential Kin	+	±	±	Restr.	s,d,p	3	1	Full
Quality	±	±	±	Restr.	s	-	-	Restr.

Chart 4: GENDERS IN ACTOR OR SUBJECT CASE

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
<i>Third person</i>			
Masc.	-lo	-ráalo	-raawo
Fem.	-wo	-wáalo	-ngo
Neut.	-í'ko	-í'káalo	-í'kaawo
<i>Second person</i>			
Masc.	-i-g+no	-ráai-kílo	-ráap-ikílo
Fem.	-i'-g+no	-wáai-kílo	-ng-ikílo
Neut.	-í'-g+no	-í'káai-kílo	-í'káap-ikílo
<i>First person</i>			
Masc.	-i-nyo	-i-náalo	-i-naawo
Fem.	-i'-nyo	-i'-náalo	-n-naawo
Neut.	-í'-nyo		

Chart 5: GROUP GENDERS

<i>Grandfather and child</i>	-ya'kwal
<i>Grandmother and child</i>	-ya't
<i>Father and child</i>	-nɪd
<i>Mother and child</i>	-n
<i>Child and father's sister</i>	-yur
<i>Child and father's sister's husband</i>	-nyɪwaly
<i>Child and mother's brother</i>	-ya't
<i>Child and mother's sister</i>	-nyɪwar
<i>Brother and brother</i>	-dar
<i>Male and co-initiate</i>	-nya'kwal
<i>Brother and sister</i>	-gɪnyɪr
<i>Sister and sister</i>	-nad
<i>Male cross cousins</i>	-gimɪl
<i>Female cross cousins</i>	-nya't
<i>Male and female cross cousins</i>	-nya't
<i>Husband and wife</i>	-y
<i>Man and wife's parent</i>	-nyalɪd
<i>Man and brother's wife</i>	-yawɪl
<i>Man and wife's sister's husband</i>	-rawar
<i>Man and siblings-in-law other than above</i>	-nɪba't
<i>Woman and brother's wife</i>	-lur
<i>Woman and husband's brother's wife or woman's co-wife</i>	-nyabal

NOTES

1. Baruya (alternative Barua) is a language belonging to the Kapau-Menye family of the Anga (Kukukuku) language stock. See Anga Bibliography. Upon completion of a survey of the Gulf District of Papua, the author plans to publish a preliminary comparison of Anga languages.

There are 4400 speakers of Baruya living in the Wonenara Sub-district of the Eastern Highlands District of New Guinea. There are two main dialects. The Wantakia dialect is spoken in the Wugamwa River valley and has 1260 speakers. The Baruya dialect has 3140 speakers who live along the upper Aziana River near Wonenara, and also along the Yaiga River near Marawaka. This paper is based upon the Baruya dialect, which was studied at the village of Yanyi during four years field work under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The data was checked with Nokai, a man about twenty-three years old, and Avalewa, about sixteen years old.

Thanks are due to Dr Alan Healey for his stimulus in writing this paper, and for various suggestions, especially in Section 2.

2. The substantive morpheme is a derivational morpheme in most instances. Its function appears to be one of neutralization of the class of stem to which it is affixed so that it can occur as noun, temporal or locative. A noun stem plus substantive morpheme may function in the same way as the original stem does. In this instance the substantive morpheme behaves as a noun marker.

The three allomorphs of the substantive morpheme are:

- ta which occurs after final consonants p r and w on verb stems of three syllables and over;
- e which occurs after k and ng on noun stems;
- ya which occurs elsewhere.

3. For a fuller description of the phonemes of Baruya see: Lloyd and Healey, "Barua Phonemes, A Problem in Interpretation". The consonants are p, t, k, ' , b, d, g, m, n, ng, l, r, w and y. The voiceless stops p, t and k have fortis allophones word initially and following glottal, and voiced fricative allophones elsewhere. Glottal stop has unreleased

p, t and k occurring syllable finally before stops and nasals at the same point of articulation. The voiced stops b, d and g are prenasalized. Alveolar flap has a flapped lateral allophone which occurs before i and y. Pitch-accent is symbolized by '.

The vowels are i, e, ɪ, a, aa, u and o. Of these ɪ and a are short, i and u of medium length and e, aa and o are long. The allophones of ɪ and a range from front to back depending on the proximity to y or w respectively.

4. There is some evidence for the class markers -ya, -e, -ia and -ta being phonologically defined allomorphs. The allomorph -e occurs following stem final a, -ia occurs following w, and -ta seems to occur with one and two syllable roots ending in p, r, or w which has changed to glottal stop, or following compounds in which such roots are final. The allomorph -ya occurs elsewhere.

5. The final vowel is not lost here as morphophonemic rule 6 states.

6. Adjunct is a clause level slot which functions as a type of manner slot.

7. Nouns occurring within a Name Phrase with obligatory gender are each considered to occur with obligatory gender.

8. Slot refers primarily to grammatical function, but in Baruya Noun Phrases also to a definite position within a construction.

9. The plus symbol in column two means that the referential suffix -áanga obligatorily occurs with this stem, and ± indicates optional occurrence of -áanga, while - (minus) indicates that -áanga does not occur. This chart was checked with Yagirivawini, a youth of 18 years.

10. Where alternative terms occur the first is the most common. The third term is used by children only. Children may use all three terms.

11. The referential form is literally the stem meaning 'female', which as a Referential Kin Noun occurs with obligatory -áanga. Another alternative form is a'mwé 'person' without -áanga which occurs with feminine gender. These two forms occur with free possessive pronouns, not the prefixes of Chart 2.

aa'pé-wo 'wife'	gannyá baláanga-wo 'his wife'
wife-she	

a'mwe-'-gí 'wife'

person-fem-you

gannyá a'mwé-wo 'his wife'

his person-she

12. The term literally means 'male' and as a Referential Kin Noun occurs with obligatory -áanga. An alternative form is a'mwé 'person' without -áanga which occurs with masculine gender. These two forms also occur with free possessive pronouns.

a'mwe-i-gí 'Husband!'

person-masc-you

gannyá a'mwé-lo 'her husband'

her person-he

gannyá kwal-áanga-lo 'her husband'

her male-referential-he

13. Masculine gender occurs with a male referent of a Referential Kin Noun, feminine gender with a female referent.

14. The morpheme -yolo is 'husband and wife' group gender. Some address terms occur with only one affix, whether the person referred to is male or female. Referential kin terms referring to both sexes occur with the appropriate masculine and feminine gender.

15. Apparently based on the stem a'mwe 'person'. The last two terms have the same stem, but are used consistently to give the meanings shown.

16. See morphophonemics, section 1.4(4).

17. Specifiers occur in the Specification Slot of Noun Phrases. Specifiers will be described in a later paper.

18. The syllable -mo occurs with some Proper Nouns, see section 2.2. and Chart 1. It may be another gender, only occurring in singular number.

19. See symbols and abbreviations.

20. A later paper on clauses will enlarge on the distribution of both phrases and clitics.

21. From the general Name Phrase formula at least two slots must occur.

22. The demonstrative root *da* has the basic form *daVL*.

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