THE VERB PHRASE IN IKA

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ABBREVIATIONS

1  first person singular
2  second person singular
1pl  first person plural
3pl  third person plural
12pl  first or second person plural
0  object
S  subject
laux  first person singular auxiliary verb
l:would  first person singular for the modal 'would'
3D  three-dimensional noun class indicator
aux  auxiliary verb
ben  benefactive
cert  certification
cntr  contrary to expectation
compar  comparative
cop  copula
dist  distal deictic aspect
gen  genitive
ig  interrogative
impers  impersonal
imperfv  imperfective
incep  inceptive
lim  limitative
loc  locative
med  medial deictic aspect
neg  negative
perf  perfect
periph  peripheral participant
pro  pronoun
pt.ref  point of reference
recip  reciprocal/reflexive
top  topic
wit  witness
0. Introduction

0.1. The genetic classification of the Ika language.

Ika is a Chibchan language spoken by the Bintukwa, approximately 7000 people living on the southern slopes of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta in northeastern Colombia. Kogi, Malayo, and Chimila are the languages most closely related to Ika and are also spoken in or near the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta. Although most sources place Ika within the Chibchan language family proper, Shafer (1962) posits a family coordinate with Chibchan, called Aruakan, consisting of Ika its three sister languages, (see also Jijón y Caamaño 1943, Key 1979, Loukotka 1935, 1938, and 1968, Mason 1950, McQuown 1955, Rivet and Loukotka 1952, Tovar 1961, and Wheeler 1972). The Bintukwa have also been referred to as the Aruak, Arhuak, Arhuaco, Ica, Ijca, Bintucua, and Bintukua.

0.2. Purpose of this article

This article deals with the major topics of concern in discussing the Ika verb phrase: auxiliary verbs, agreement, aspect, mood, and valence change.

The following formula gives the relative order of the major groups of elements in the verb phrase:

lexical-verb (negative) (temporal aspect) (modal suffixes)
(deictic aspect, mood/clause connectors)

The lexical verb stem itself is the only obligatory element in the verb phrase. Parenthesized elements sometimes have no overt marker in a given case, though this choice may have a particular significance (e.g., temporal aspect implies 'perfective'). There are four parenthesized groups. If the negative suffix occurs, it comes immediately after the lexical verb. The temporal aspect markers form the second group (section 4.). The modal suffixes form the third group (section 5.1.). Deictic aspect and mood indicators or clause connectors form the fourth group (sections 6 and 5.2.).

There are certain co-occurrence restrictions among the suffixes in the verb phrase, though the full extent of these restrictions is not known. For example, the modals -ngua 'will' and -nguasi 'in order to' must follow
a verb marked by -än 'imperfective' and -iza 'would' usually does so as well. Not all combinations of deictic aspect and clause connectors are possible, but I will not deal with that topic here.

Agreement affixes have no fixed location in the verb phrase. Among the subject affixes, the prefixes occur at the beginning of the phrase, and the one suffix occurs at the end (-rua 'first person singular subject'). The object markers may appear in two places. Ordinarily they appear on the lexical verb, immediately following the subject prefix (if any), but with the modal verb/suffix -nga'ua 'will', object markers reference the subject of the clause and appear prefixed to -nga'ua, medially in the verb phrase. (The section below on agreement gives examples of all the agreement affixes; section 5.1.5. gives more detail on -nga'ua and its use of the object prefixes.)

The section on valence change (7.) covers various operations which affect the number of participants referenced in the verb phrase: causatives, benefactives, reflexives and reciprocals, and a prefix which enables the object prefixes to refer primarily to non-direct objects and possessors. A final section discusses the functions of the prefix an- 'point of reference'.

1. **Auxiliary verbs**

Auxiliary verbs occur in five environments. Firstly, stressed, uninflected auxiliary verbs occur in imperatives. Secondly, auxiliary verbs occur in sentence introducers, supporting deictic aspect and clause connecting suffixes. These suffixes show the relationship between the final clause of the previous sentence and the first clause of the sentence which the introducer initiates.

Thirdly, auxiliary verbs occur in questions which help keep conversation flowing, as in 1. (The auxiliary verb in focus is in bold, in 1b).

(1) a. "Eiki nik-u' nän-no?" na−³ zar-i

   thus work-neg aux-ig 10-think-while

   eimai nako-uv-in.

   by.here come-laux-wit

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'I have come thinking "He is still working, isn't he?"

b. Kua, eime i ki na-u-ku-e?
      oh like_this cntr 25-aux-med-ig

'Oh, did you (come) like that?'

The last two uses of auxiliary verbs involve the structure of the verb phrase itself and will be covered in the next two sections. Auxiliary verbs obligatorily occur in the verb phrase to support suffixes which are prevented from appearing on the main verb and optionally occur under specific pragmatic conditions to produce a phrase with an uninflected main verb followed by an auxiliary verb.

1.1. The obligatory use of auxiliary verbs.

The obligatory use of auxiliary verbs in the verb phrase is controlled by the groups of elements discussed in the introduction to this chapter. The formula given there shows the lexical verb as the first element in the phrase, optionally followed by suffixes from four groups:

- lexical-verb (negative) (temporal aspect) (modal suffixes)
  (deictic aspect, mood/clause connectors)

As a general rule, the four groups are mutually exclusive: suffixes from more than one group do not appear together on a single verb. Thus, if both a temporal aspect suffix and a modal suffix occur in the same verb phrase, for example, the lexical verb carries the temporal aspect and the auxiliary verb supports the modal suffix. A major function of auxiliary verbs, then, is to support additional suffixes when suffixes from more than one group occur in a given verb phrase.

In 2., the first verb carries the modal suffix -ikua 'must', and the auxiliary verb nan (reduced to n in this case) carries the clause connecting suffix -ame' 'because'. (The suffix -kuma 'impersonal' does not enter into the concept of mutually exclusive groups in the verb phrase, but may combine with suffixes from any group).

( 2 )    MODAL   AUX-CONNECTOR
        mi-u-kum-ákkua  n-ame'
20-do-impers-must  be-because
'it had to be done to you because...

3 shows a verb phrase in which the lexical verb carries the temporal aspect suffix -akí 'perfect' while the auxiliary verb carries the deictic aspect marker -na 'distal'.

(3) TEMPORAL AUX-DEICTIC
    guak-akí nu'-na
    kill-perf aux-dist

'it had killed it'

The negative suffix u' requires that the following auxiliary verb (if needed) be nan. In 4, the lexical verb carries the negative, the first auxiliary verb carries -än 'imperfective', and the modal -ngua 'will' serves as its own auxiliary. (See section 5.1.5. below for more on the verb-like nature of this modal.)

(4) NEGATIVE AUX-TEMPORAL AUX-MODAL
    nik-u' nan-än nā-ngua
    work-neg aux-impfv 10-will

'I will not work'

Other suffixes besides the negative also place restrictions on the choice of the following auxiliary verb. -akí 'perfect' and -än 'imperfective' (when it is not followed by 'will') require that the following auxiliary be nuk. Most of the modal verbs require nan as the next auxiliary verb, although -ikuoí 'able to' appears to select either nan or zan.

1.2. The optional use of auxiliary verbs.

The auxiliary verb ū may optionally occur in the verb phrase to produce a phrase with an uninflected verb stem. The optional auxiliary verb follows immediately after the uninflected verb. The lexical verb is usually the uninflected verb in such phrases. Native speakers do not indicate that there is any difference in meaning between verb phrases
with and without optional auxiliary verbs, but it appears that the function of optional auxiliaries is to give pragmatic emphasis to the main, lexical verb. Most of the examples below contrast two clauses, the first one without an optional auxiliary verb and the second with one. The abbreviation AUX (in bold) appears above the optional auxiliary.

In both 5a and 5b, the only suffix is -na 'distal deictic aspect', but in 5a, the main verb carries this suffix, while in 5b the main verb is uninflected and the following optional auxiliary carries the suffix.

(5) a. LEXICAL-DEICTIC

Mouga-ri awa'rei zoža-na.
two-top below go-dist

'Two men went below.'

b. LEXICAL AUX-DEICTIC

Zoža u-na.
go aux-dist

'They went.'

6 involves a modal suffix, with the main verb carrying this suffix in 6a and an auxiliary verb carrying the suffix in 6b. (Ze is an allomorph of zoža 'go', and aw is an allomorph of u with further morphophonemic reduction to a.)

(6) a. LEXICAL-MODAL

Känkänän nain-n zei-kua ni.
forest walk-impv go-must cert

'Let's go hunting (walk in the forest).'

b. LEXICAL AUX-MODAL

Känkänän nai-n zoža a-ukua nin.
forest walk-impv go aux-must cert

'Let's go hunting.'
When the negative suffix occurs in the verb phrase, it appears on the main verb, requiring that nan be the following auxiliary verb. In such cases, an optional auxiliary verb in turn may follow nan, and nan, not the main verb, is uninflected. (The uninflected nan cliticizes to the preceding verb.)

(7) a. LEXICAL-NEG AUX-DEICTIC
    Nā-zei' nān-na
    2S-go-neg aux-dist

    'You did not go.'

b. LEXICAL-NEG-AUX AUX-DEICTIC
    Ka'chon-u -nān u-na.
    find-neg-aux aux-dist

    'He did not find it.'

Optional auxiliaries may also occur in verb phrases which already contain an obligatory auxiliary verb, as described in the previous section. Both 8a and b have a modal suffix followed by an obligatory auxiliary verb carrying the remaining suffixes in the phrase. In 8b, an optional auxiliary also occurs in the phrase, leaving the main verb with no suffixes:

(8) a. LEXICAL-MODAL AUX-CONNECTOR
    Eimei mi-u-kum-ākkua n-ame',
    like.this 20-do-impers-must aux-because

    'It had to be done to you like this because...'

b. LEXICAL AUX-MODAL AUX-CONNECTOR
    Nā-zoža aw-iza na-ndi,
    2S-go aux-would aux-if

    'If you were to go...'

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The feature common to all verb phrases with optional auxiliary verbs is that the lexical verb is separated towards the left, optionally taking only the negative suffix, with the remainder of the grammatical material occurring to the right on auxiliary verbs. This grammatical organization serves to highlight the main verb\(^2\), and optional auxiliary verbs are especially common in cases where the verb itself constitutes the new information in the clause\(^3\).

2. Agreement.

Agreement in Ika is handled by means of subject and object affixes. Third person plural subject is optionally marked, and third person subject and object are always unmarked, but otherwise, person-marking is obligatory. The subject affixes consistently reference the subject of a clause, but the object prefixes serve a variety of functions. The primary function of the object prefixes is to mark the grammatical object. When the source/goal of bitransitive verbs (e.g., 'buy', 'sell', 'give', etc.) is human, the object prefix refers to that participant rather than the (less animate) object. The object prefixes reference an experiencer subject with a restricted set of verbs including a'zan 'to think' and a'džun 'to want'. In conjunction with kà- 'peripheral participant', the object prefixes may reference the possessor of one of the arguments of the verb (see section 7.2. below). Finally, the object prefixes are involved in the formation of benefactive markers (section 7.3.).

Table 1 gives the subject person affixes. First person singular is usually unmarked, but -rua 'first person singular subject' occurs in the past and with irrealis forms (e.g., with negatives such as 'I did not go.')\(^4\) Third person singular is always unmarked. First and second person plural are both indicated by a- 'first or second person plural subject' but, in practice, are distinguishable by mood: first person is usually declarative and second person interrogative (there is no person marking with imperatives). Special contexts are required for the opposite combinations (e.g., first person plural interrogative). ri- and win- are intransitive and transitive prefixes, respectively, for third plural\(^5\).
The following chart gives a simple paradigm for the verb tšua 'see' to illustrate subject person marking. I have given the second person forms as interrogatives, as noted above.

**Singular**  | **Plural**
--- | ---
1. tšua-na-rua | a-tšua-na
   see-dist-IS | 12pIS-see-dist
   'I saw it.' | 'We saw it.'
2. nā-tšua u-ž-e | a-tšua u-ž-e
   2S-see aux-med-ig | 12pIS-see aux-med-ig
   'Did you see it?' | 'Did you all see it?'
3. tšua-na | win-tšua-na
   see-dist | 3pIS-see-dist
   'He saw it.' | 'They saw it.'

Table 2 summarizes the object person prefixes on verbs. As with subjects, third person singular object is unmarked.

**Singular**  | **Plural**
--- | ---
1 | nā- niwi- |
2 | mi- niwi- |
3 | Ø winā- |

Table 2 Object person prefixes

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The object prefixes are also used as possessor prefixes on kin terms. With kin terms, however, third person is indicated by a-, e.g. a-tégamâ (30-uncle) 'his uncle'.

When subject and object prefixes occur on the same verb, the subject prefix comes first. In 9, the second person subject prefix nää- precedes the first person plural object prefix niwi- (the final i of niwi- is lowered to e morphophonemically before glottal stop):

(9)  Nää-niwe-'zasana ki u-ġ-e?
    2S-1pl0-pay cntr aux-med-ig
    'Did you pay us?'

The combination of second person subject and first person object (both singular) results in the repetition of the form nää:

(10) Bin zan-ikin nää-nää-wa'k-ään-no?
     when cop-lim 2S-10-ben-see-impfv-ig
     'How long will you wait for me?'

3. Locationals and noun classes

Ika has a minimal noun class system in that the shape of a concrete object determines the choice of verb or predicate nominal in sentences involving existence, location, or the notion 'to put'. The main classes involved are long objects (one dimensional), flat objects (two dimensional), three dimensional objects, liquids, containers, and objects with specialized holders. The grammatical correlates of these classes are different words/verbs chosen according to the category of the item involved (e.g. gaka 'to put down long objects', pan 'to put down flat objects').

Dixon lists three characteristics of noun class systems (1982:161):

We can say that the category of noun classes is (1) a grouping of all the nouns of a language into a smallish number of classes, (2) so that there is some overt indication of the class of a noun within
any sentence in which it occurs, (3) and this
indication is not entirely within the noun-
word.

The noun class system in Ika is minimal in that it involves only nouns re-
ferring to concrete objects and the noun classes are only relevant in lo-
cational sentences. This type of noun class system is similar to that of
the Athapaskan languages (Dixon 223).

3.1. Existentials and locatives.

Existential and locative clauses make use of noun class indicator plus
copula to indicate existence or location. In (11), a'kuaskuaşi is the noun
class indicator for liquids.

(11) Tşo'kuţi-se’ dže a’kuaskuaşi ziňa.
gourd.bowl-loc water liquid cop

'The water is in the bowl.' or 'There is water in the bowl.'

The class indicator for three-dimensional objects is sa:

(12) Akunşi sɛmɛi än-sa zar-i-ri,
cooked.food lots ?-3D cop-while-R1

'There was a lot of cooked food,...'

The same noun may occur with more than one class indicator. For example,
in one hunting story, džua 'blood' occurs in one case with a'kuaskuaşi
to mean 'a pool of blood' and in another case with pa 'flat things'
to mean 'spread out or spilled on the ground':

(13) a. Džua ingi-ri a’ni tekî a’kuaskuaşi zar-i,
blood little-RL rock top.of liquid cop-while

'There was a pool of blood on top of a rock...'

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b. peri za-dzu'a papa zin-eki
dog gen-blood flat cop-loc

'Where dog blood was on the ground'

The distinction between existential and locative clauses is not always clear. When the item involved is known, definite, or topical, it will generally not be overtly mentioned, and the clause is taken as locative in nature. When the item is indefinite, new, or non-topical, it will more likely occur as a noun phrase and the clause is interpreted as existential. For example, in 14a, the turó 'round hill' is a new item and the clause is existential; in 14b the item (a deer) is known and not overtly mentioned, and the clause is locational/positional.

(14) a. Dźirigakän båkänna turó a'sa zän' zina'ba,
mountain middle round.hill 3D just cop
'There was a hill in the middle of the mountains...'

b. Eiki på nar-e',
still flat cop-then

'(The deer) was still lying down...'

Occasionally, class indicator words help categorize unfamiliar objects by referring to their general characteristics and position. In 15, the hunters see something but cannot identify it:

(15) Ini på na?
what flat cop

'What is that lying down?'

In 16, an unfamiliar item (a sword) is described both as 'like a machete' and as gaka 'a long thing':
Husband: Oha gaka masite nar-i kawa. sword long machete cop-while seem
'A sword is like a machete.'

Wife: Aža gaka? that long
'It's a long thing?'

Husband: Aža gaka. Hóru-se' a'žu nus-i. that long sheath-loc long.be.in cop-while
'It's a long thing. It was in a sheath.'

3.2. Noun classes and verbs meaning 'to place'

Verbs meaning 'to place something' are sensitive to the nature of the object handled. Example 17 contrasts the verbs for 'put down', which vary according to the class of the object:

(17) a. Kān gako u
      stick long.put aux
'Put down the stick'

b. Ribru pa ú
      book flat.put aux
'Put down the book'

c. A'ní sa ú
      rock 3D.put aux
'Put down the rock'
Reduplication indicates plurality of the objects involved. Thus, when referring to a book on a table, the proper locational word is ıpa but for a number of books is ıpapá.

4. **Temporal aspect**

To understand the marking of temporal relations, it will be useful to distinguish the time of an event, some reference point from which that event is viewed, and the time of speaking (Reichenbach 1947). The three choices for temporal aspect, -akí 'perfect', -än 'imperfective', and Ø 'perfective', involve the relationship between the event and the reference point for viewing the event. -akí 'perfect' sees an event from its termination, as already completed at the (time of) the reference point, i.e., it indicates that the event referred to is anterior to the reference point:

(18) Eikí i-ri-tšor-e'-ri, guiadžina zā gämmì
there ?-3plS-ascend-then-top puma gen child

peri-se’ anä-kuss-i guak-akí nu’-na.
dog-erg pt.ref-bite-while kill-perf aux-dist

'They went up there, and the dogs had killed the puma cub, biting it.'

The first clause in 18 sets the reference point for -akí: by the time the hunters arrive. With respect to that time, the dogs have already killed the puma cub.

-än 'imperfective' indicates an event going on at the time of the reference point, focussing on the event-in-progress rather than its beginning or end. (This suffix covers the same ground as what is usually called the progressive in English.) In 19, the reference point is the time of speaking:
(19) Ini-ri ei kā-ž-ān-no?
    what-top thus periph-say-impfv-ig

'What are (the dogs) barking at?'

In 20, the reference point is prior to the time of speaking:

(20) Emi pari guiadžina zag-ān nu'-na.
    here from puma steal-impfv aux-dist

'A puma was stealing from here.'

-ān 'imperfective' may also combine with two other suffixes, -pan 'inceptive' and -bina 'motion'. -pan 'inceptive' refers to an event which is beginning to take place or about to take place at the reference point.

(21) Ingi-ri tšoutšo kānak-ām-pana keiwī
    little-ri afraid become-impfv-incep right.away

u-ž-e' pari-ri, wi ān-zoža-na.
    aux-med-then from-top ? pt.ref-go-dist

'He began to get scared, and at that point he went.'

(22) Akīn ora nā-kitšon-ām-pan-ni.
    late hour 10-time.has.come-impfv-incep-cert

'My time is about to come.' or 'It is just about time.'

-bina 'motion' indicates that the subject leaves his primary location to perform the action, then returns to that location once again. For example, question in 23 does not contain any verb of motion, yet implies that Abram came to eat then returned to where he had been before:
Abram zam\textsuperscript{-}bina u-\textsuperscript{2}e?

Abram food eat-impfv-motion aux-med-ig

'Did Abram come to eat?'

-bina, then, marks an action performed while temporarily away from the subject's primary physical point of reference. The motion involved may be either away or toward; that is, the free translation of 23 would be 'Did Abram go to eat?' if Abram had been 'here' and would presumably return.

Not choosing -akí 'perfect', or -\textsuperscript{2}n 'imperfective', implies a perfective view of an event. That is, the event is seen as an undifferentiated whole. In 24, 'when Pablo came' establishes the point reference, and 24a-c show the three options: (a) César had already gone; (b) he was going; and (c) simply, he left. (Zoža 'go' is an irregular verb; its varying forms in 24 do not represent any difference in meaning.)

(24)

Pablo nas-e\textsuperscript{-}ri,

Pablo come-then-top

a. César zoz-akí nus-in.

César go-perf aux-wit

'When Pablo came,`

'Cesar had already gone.'

b. César zuei-n nus-in.

César go-impfv aux-wit

'Cesar was going.'

c. César zor-in.

César go-wit

'Cesar went.'

5. Mood

Indicators of mood may be grouped into two sets, a set of modal suf-
fixes involving obligation, intention, ability, etc., and suffixes and particles that show the connection between a verb and its context. The latter set indicates the connection between a dependent clause and its main clause, or between an independent clause and the speech situation.

5.1. Modal suffixes.

Table 4 lists the seven modal suffixes. These suffixes indicate a non-actual event and are therefore irreals in nature.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ikua</td>
<td>'must'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ikuei</td>
<td>'able to'</td>
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<tr>
<td>-wi'na</td>
<td>'prohibited'</td>
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<tr>
<td>-iwa</td>
<td>'about to'</td>
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<tr>
<td>-ngua</td>
<td>'will'</td>
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<tr>
<td>-nguasi</td>
<td>'in order to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-iza</td>
<td>'would'</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 Modal suffixes

5.1.1. -ikua 'must'.

-ikua 'must' conveys the idea of 'obligation'; a typical use is to give a command without using a grammatically imperative form:

(25) Zéi-³-kitši nánn-ákua ni
    go-neg-emph aux-must cert

'You must not go'

Another use of -ikua is to indicate hortatory mood, i.e., 'Let's do X'.

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Nāi-n-kitši zā' kānkānān nūk-ikua nin.
walk-impfv-emph just forest aux-must cert

'Let's go hunting (walk in the forest).'

-ikua is also used with first person, as in 27:

Beki ās-ik-o?
where sit-must-ig

'Where should I sit?'

5.1.2. -ikuei 'able to'

-ikuei 'able to' deals with the realm of possibility, i.e., what
could take place:

Gumia'sa av-e'-ri, ingumān tos-kuei neika nin
cover aux-then-top more catch-able ? cert
otiki-ri.
animal-top

'You cover over (the hole) and then you can catch the otiki
animal.'

kā-wa's-i a'tšōn-ākuei zium-n-ekī
periph-see-while arrive-able aux-dist-loc

'Where you can arrive and see out'

Warekī zār-i-gui, kā-wa'n au-kuei.
high cop-while-also periph-fall aux-able

'Up high like that, they could fall down.'
5.1.3. -wi'na 'prohibited'

-wi'na 'prohibited' marks an action as something one must never do, for example, drinking kerosene:

(31) Petroru a'ga-wi'na ni.
    kerosene drink-prohib cert

'One must not drink kerosene.'

The combination of the negative plus -i'kua 'must', by contrast, only implies that one must not do the action in this particular instance. 32 is from a story in which a hunter has bad luck because he went hunting during Easter week. The verb naža 'walk' is a shortened form of the idiom for hunting ('walk in the forest'), and džuia' 'day' refers in this case to Easter. Note that one must hunt (i'kua 'must'), but one must never hunt during religious holidays (-wi'na 'prohibited'):

(32) Nai-kua neki nai-wi'na džuia'-se'.
    walk-must cntr walk-prohib day-loc

'One has to hunt, but one should never hunt on that day.'

5.1.4. -iwa 'about to'

-iwa 'about to' is a sort of immediate future, expressing intention to do something soon. 6 When a person begins to tell a story s/he may say kuentu i-wa ni (story say-about.to cert) 'I'm going to tell a story'. The use of -iwa in this formulaic opening to a narrative illustrates the immediacy of the time involved. The reference point for -iwa need not be the time of speaking. In 33, the first clause 'when Pablo arrives' sets the reference point; the use of -iwa implies that the second action will immediately follows Pablo's arrival.

(33) Pablo na'-nik-ž-e'-ri,        i'ba
    Pablo come-when-med-then-top       together
zor-iwa ni.
go-about.to cert

'When Pablo comes, we will (immediately) go together.'

5.1.5. -ngua 'will' and -nguasi 'in order to'.

-ngua 'will' serves as a general future tense. This modal expresses intention but no particular time frame. In 34, good hunting dogs are characterized as thinking "I will chase all kinds of animals."

(34) Pinna džuna was-än nā-ngua.
    all kind chase-impfv 10-will

'I will chase all kinds.'

Many examples involving -ngua imply a general rather than specific intention, as in 34. This modal may also be used, however, with a specific intention. For example, in one hunting story, as a man prepares to fire at his quarry, he thinks 'this shotgun shell is supposed to be able to kill big game' and therefore guak-än-gua (kill-imperfective-will) 'it will kill it', referring to this specific case.

-ngua 'will' is the only modal which is always marked for person. Person marking with -ngua makes uses of the object person prefixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>na-ngua</td>
<td>niwi-ngua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mi-ngua</td>
<td>miwi-ngua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ø-ngua</td>
<td>win-gua</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5 Person marking for -ngua 'will'

The modal -nguasi 'in order to' may be simply a variant of -ngua 'will'. A clause with a verb marked by -nguasi is the purpose for the
action stated in a second clause. (This second clause is indicated in the free translation of 35 but is not included in the vernacular to avoid confusion.)

( 35 ) Uraki-sik̓ zei-n nā- nguasi
house-loc go-impfv 10-in.order.to

'(I went to look for my mule) in order to go home.'

At the time when the narrator went to look for his mule, going home was still an intention, so the use of -ngua 'will' is appropriate. The -si could mark this verb as the goal of the main verb, but -nguasi appears to have become frozen as a single morpheme; 'X-nguasi Y' implies 'do Y in order to X'.

-ngua 'will' (and -nguasi) differs from other modals in that it must follow a verb marked by än 'imperfective'. The imperfective usually indicates on-going action, as in dan-àn nuk-za (bark-imperfective aux-medial)'it is barking', but in verb phrases of the type 'verb-imperfective verb' the imperfective expresses purpose or futurity. In 36, tak 'look for' carries the imperfective suffix and is the purpose for the second verb, zoža 'go'. In terms of the chronological sequence, the speaker first 'went', then afterward 'looked for', so the verb marked by the imperfective is also future with respect to the final, main verb.

mule pt.ref-periph-look.for-impfv go-dist-1S

'I went to look for (my) mule.'

-ngua behaves similarly; substituting -ngua 'will' for zoža 'go' produces a structurally and semantically similar construction:

( 37 ) Mura än-kā-tak-ān nā-ngua.
mule pt.ref-periph-look.for-impfv 10-will

'I will look for (my) mule.'
The action 'looking for' is still future and is an intention, but -ngua itself has no lexical meaning. Thus, -ngua behaves similarly to lexical verbs yet has no lexical meaning. Note also that -ngua carries person markings, using the object prefixes to mark the subject of the clause. It would seem, then, that this modal is a verb which has become bleached of its lexical content and is becoming (or has become) grammaticized as a indication of intention or future time.

5.1.6. -iza 'would'

-iza, which I will gloss 'would', marks a verb as indicating what would happen under certain conditions. This idea of 'under the right conditions' can be seen in 38, where the first clause establishes a condition.

(38)    Bogotá zoża aw-iza na-ndi, Monserate tšua aw-iza.
        Bogotá go aux-would aux-if Monserate see aux-would
        'If one were to go to Bogotá, one would see Monserate.'

Combined with the negative, -iza implies 'does not want to':

(39)    Wakuma wima neki g-u? nan-än ninza ni.
        skunk meat cntr eat-neg aux-impfv l:would cert
        'I would not (do not want to) eat skunk meat.'

(The form ninza is a special form for first person with 'would'.) Unlike -ngua, there is no consistent person marking pattern for the -iza; for second and third person, the person marking appropriate to the lexical verb is used. In 40, nā- '2 Subject' and mi- '2 Object' are selected for the two main verbs, respectively:

(40)    Nā-zoža aw-iza na-ndi, mougá me-’zar-iza ni.
        25-go aux-would aux-if two 20-feel-would cert
'If you were to go, something bad would happen (lit., 'you would feel two').

In 41, there is no overt marking for person, which is the usual pattern for third person.

(41) Asige' husiri tšu-ān zor-iza neki tšoutšo
next.day shotgun see-impfv go-would cntr fear

kānas-e' pari-ri,
become-then from-top

'The next day he would have gone to see the shotgun (booby-trap) but he got scared...'

5.2. Mood indicators and clause connectors

The other side of mood marking concerns indicators of a clause's connection to its sentential or interactional context. Non-final, dependent clauses carry clause-connecting suffixes that indicate the temporal or logical relationship between that clause and the next clause in a clause chain. Final, independent clauses are marked for speech-act value by clause final suffixes or particles. The mood indicators include markers for declarative, imperative, and interrogative.

6. Deictic aspect

One set of verb suffixes indicates the degree of closeness or relevance between a verb and its point of reference (the time of speaking for independent verbs; the main clause for medial, dependent verbs). Person and time are both involved in determining the 'distance' involved. The four elements in the set are -Ø 'proximal', -ku and -ža 'medial', and -na 'distal'.

There is a correlation between deictic 'distance' and time: independent verbs marked by -na 'distal' are always past time; and those marked
by -Ø 'proximal' are virtually always present/immediate past. Example 42 illustrates the use of -ža 'medial' for present time and -na 'distal' for past time:

(42)  a. Biteriu eikî kuž-ža.
     Viterio there live-med

     'Viterio lives there.'

     Viterio there live-distal

     'Viterio lived there.'

In conjunction with -in 'witness', however, -ža 'medial' always refers to past time:

(43)  Tšua už-in.
     see aux-med-wit

     'He saw it.'

By contrast, using no suffix (the Ø choice) implies 'happening now' or 'just happened':

(44)  Tšua av-in.
     see aux-wit

     'He sees it,' or 'He just saw it.'

Another component of the 'distance' involved is the relationship between the speaker and the event. If the speaker did not witness an event, he must use -na 'distal'; otherwise he may use -ža 'medial':

(45)  a. Tšua už-in.
     see aux-med-wit
'He saw it (and I saw him see it).'

b. Tšua u-na.

see aux-dist

'He saw it (but I didn't see him do so).'

Although 'not witnessed' calls for the use of -na 'distal', the converse is not necessarily true: -na may be used for events which the speaker did witness. For example, -na 'distal' may be used with first person (where witness/nonwitness is irrelevant), e.g., tšua-na-rua (see-distal-1S) 'I saw it'. Examples like this reflect the speaker's choice of presenting the event as more of less relevant to the time of speaking.

The relationship between the deictic suffixes and person is complex. The following chart lists the various forms for 'I/you/he see(s) it' for present/i- immediate past, past, and further removed/not witnessed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Immediate past</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Further removed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 tšua uw-in</td>
<td>tšua u-ku-in</td>
<td>tšua-na-rua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see laux-wit</td>
<td>see aux-med-wit</td>
<td>see-dist-1S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 nā-tšua u-ku-in</td>
<td>nā-tšua u-ž-in</td>
<td>nā-tšua-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S-see aux-med-wit</td>
<td>2S-see aux-med-wit</td>
<td>2S-see-dist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 tšua ūw-in</td>
<td>tšua u-ž-in</td>
<td>tšua-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see aux-wit</td>
<td>see aux-med-wit</td>
<td>see-dist</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that -na 'distal' occurs with all three persons. Note also that for past time, -ža 'medial' is not used with first person. Apparently a verb for which the speaker is the subject is too 'close' to use -ža 'medial' in the past. -ku 'medial' is used for 'you now' or 'me then', that is, one step removed from the speaker, either second person or past time (but not both). Even though I have glossed both forms as 'medial', -ku is 'closer' to the speaker than -ža. Third person, immediate past has
no suffix for deictic aspect, and first person, immediate past has what appears to be a special first person auxiliary form (uw).9

In the 'general present', -Ø 'proximal' co-occurs with first person (example 46a), while -ža 'medial' co-occurs with second and third person (examples 46b and c).

\[
(46) \begin{align*}
a. & \text{ Anke' ku-āva ni.} \\
& \text{here live-aux cert} \\
& \text{'I live here.'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
b. & \text{ Anke' nā-kuā-ža no?} \\
& \text{here 2S-live-med ig} \\
& \text{'Do you live here?'}
\]

\[
c. & \text{ Anke' kuā-ža ni.} \\
& \text{here live-med cert} \\
& \text{'He lives here.'}
\]

The deictic aspect suffixes make poor tense markers; only -na has any consistent time reference and -ža shares past time with it. But considered as markers of 'degree of relevance' or 'distance between verb and reference point', the suffixes make more sense. Person, time, and (non-) witness all enter into the relationship between an event and the speech situation (or between two events in an event chain, in the case of medial verbs/clauses).

Not all verbs occur with all four choices of deictic aspect. The copular verb kawa 'seem' only occurs in proximal aspect (i.e., never occurs with any of the three suffixes). The copula nan occurs either with medial or distal aspect, as illustrated in 47a and b:

\[
(47) \begin{align*}
a. & \text{ Kažatañ kominsariu na ni.} \\
& \text{ Kažatañ comisario cop cert} \\
& \text{'Kažatañ is the comisario (a political office).'}
\end{align*}
\]
b. Kažataní kominsariu nan-na ni.
Kažataní comisario cop-dist cert

'Kažataní was the comisario.'

All dative subject verbs (as well as some other verbs like kua 'to live' take proximal aspect (-Ø), -za 'medial', and -na 'distal'. The remaining verbs use all four deictic aspects. These four types of verbs reflect a continuum from less to more verb-like or 'transitive' in the sense of Hopper and Thomson 1980.

7. Valence change

Causatives, ka- 'peripheral participant', benefitatives, and reciprocal/reflexives all involve a change in the number of participants referenced by a verb.

7.1. Causatives

Ika has two sorts of causatives, lexical and analytic (cf. Comrie 1981:160-61). Lexical causatives are those where the idea of causation is built into the verb itself, for example, guak 'to kill' taken in the sense 'cause to die'. Another lexical causative involves permission rather than causation, per se: tšuna 'to let someone enter':

( 48 ) a. Mi-tšuna u-ž-e?
20-let.enter aux-med-ig

'Did he let you go in?'

b. Nátšuna u-ž-in.
10-let.enter aux-med-wit

'He let me go in.'
Tšuna 'let enter' is minimally different from tšona 'enter', but I have found no other such pairs to warrant identifying a morphological process of causative formation. Note, however, that tšuna behaves similarly to other causative verbs: the one who enters becomes the object of the verb, and the one who causes is the subject.

One verb shows clearer evidence of a morphological causative, but again is the only verb for which I have found such a causative form. Compare kämma 'sleep' and kämma-sa 'cause/rock to sleep' in 49:

(49) a. Zizi hamaka-se' kämm-än nu'-na.
    baby hammock-loc sleep-impfv aux-dist

'The baby was sleeping in the hammock.'

b. Marta zizi hamaka-se' kämma-s-än nu'-na.
    Martha baby hammock-loc sleep-cause-impfv aux-dist

'Martha rocked the baby to sleep in the hammock.'

Analytic causatives are ones involving two verbs, one of which specifically means 'cause'. The verb gua'sa 'to make, cause' takes a verb -än 'imperfective' as its complement, conveying the idea 'to make someone do X':

(50) Huan-se' tšei tšus-än gua'sa-na.
    Juan-erg farm leave-impfv cause-dist

'Juan made him leave his farm.'

Gua'sa plus the negative indicates 'cause not to X' or 'prevent from doing X' rather than 'did not cause to X'; that is, the scope of negation is the subordinate verb rather than gua'sa itself.

(51) šį wiš-än neki
    foul.odor spray.out-impfv cntr
gua's-u nar-i, cause-neg aux-while

'(She) did not let the (skunk's scent) spray out.'
'(She) kept the (skunk's scent) from spraying out.'

The causee is referenced on gua'sa by the object prefixes:

(52) a. Zož-än mi-gua'sa u-ž-e?
go-impfv 20-cause aux-med-ig

'Did he make you leave?'

10-cause-dist

'He made me (leave).'

Gua'sa always involves the idea of force, i.e., of making the causee do something s/he would not otherwise do.

7.2. kā- 'peripheral participant' and valence increase

The prefix kā- 'peripheral participant' increases a verb's valence by allowing the verb to take object person prefixes to refer to an additional participant. With some verbs, this peripheral participant is one semantically implied by the verb but not included in the set of participants that the verb can refer to grammatically. In other cases, the additional participant is the possessor of one of the items involved in the action.

ža 'say' semantically implies a hearer but, grammatically, may not refer to that hearer without adding kā- (compare ža-na (say-distal) 'he said' with nä-kā-ža-na (10-peripheral.participant-say-distal) 'he said to me'). Similarly, wa'k 'look' is grammatically intransitive although the act of looking implies what is seen; in order to add object
d. Pratu tšo’
plate cont.put aux

'Put down the plate'

Other verbs of placing appear to be derived from the basic verbs for 'put down'. Thus, 'put down flat things' is pan, 'put flat things up on' is ipan, and 'put flat things into' is kāpas. Table 3 summarizes all the information I have gathered to date concerning noun class indicators and verbs of placing, location, and existence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Long</th>
<th>Flat</th>
<th>3D</th>
<th>Liquid</th>
<th>Holders</th>
<th>Containers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Existential/ Be in</td>
<td>gaka</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative Be on</td>
<td>a'geikua</td>
<td>a'pānkua</td>
<td>a'nikua</td>
<td>a'kua</td>
<td>a'žu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Be up on</td>
<td>igeikua</td>
<td>ipānkua</td>
<td>inikua</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>be on</td>
<td>geikua</td>
<td>pānkua</td>
<td>nikua</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Put up on</td>
<td>igeika</td>
<td>ipan</td>
<td>isa</td>
<td>idos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Put down</td>
<td>gaka</td>
<td>pan</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>dos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Put in</td>
<td>kāgaka</td>
<td>kāpas</td>
<td>kāssa</td>
<td>kādos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 Locational words and noun classes.

The noun class 'things with holders' refers to such relationships as a machete in its sheath or batteries in a flashlight. The key idea is that the holder is designed to contain the item in question. For the verb meaning 'to put', only 'put in' is relevant for this class. The noun class 'containers' refers to the position or existence of items such as pots or plates, rather than referring to the contents of the container. Note that people fall into this class when in an upright position. Thus, when coming up to a person who is standing, a polite comment is ei tšo (thus container/standing) 'you're standing'. However, people are classified as three dimensional (sa) when sitting, and for 'be up on', men are classified with long things, women (and animals) with flat things. Compare ipānkuža 'woman lying down' and igeikuža 'man lying down'.

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prefixes, it is necessary to use kä-, e.g., mi-ka-wa’ka (20-peripheral, participant-look) 'it looks at you'. Tšua 'see', on the other hand, is transitive and may take object marking prefixes without kä-.

The verb ängeik 'to sell' is a transitive verb (rather than bitransitive) though semantically it implies a buyer. To explicitly refer to the buyer, either by a separate noun phrase or a first or second person object prefix, it is necessary to use kä-. Compare 53a and b:

(53)  
a. Kafé änguei'-na rua ni.
  coffee sell-dist-1S cert
  'I sold coffee.'

b. Kafé Pablo-se’ k-änguei'-na rua ni.
  coffee Pablo-loc periph-sell-dist-1S cert
  'I sold coffee to Pablo.'

Apart from the cases described above, the additional participant brought in is the possessor of one of the clause participants. In 54a, the second person object prefix mi- refers to 'you' as the object of the verb ga 'eat' while in 54b, because of the presence of kä-, if refers to 'you' as the possessor of the object:

(54)  
a. Tigri mi-ga.
  jaguar 20-eat
  'The jaguar eats you.'

b. Peri kin-di mi-kä-ga
  dog lim-top 20-periph-eat
  '(The jaguar) eats your two dogs.'

With locative/existential clauses, a possessor is associated with the location. 55 predicates the existence of a kakårón 'shotgun shell' and names
the husiri 'shotgun' as the place where the shell is located. The combination of the first person object marker and kā- 'peripheral participant' indicates that the speaker is the possessor of the location -- the shotgun:

(55) Husiri kakärón neki nā-k-a'niku na-'. no? shotgun shell cntr 10-periph-be.in-neg aux-neg ig

'There is no shell in my gun, is there?'

In 56, the tšegekuána 'handbag' is the location specified, and the peripheral participant is the possessor of the handbag.

(56) Tšegekuána-se' a'buru k-a'nikuña-na. handbag-loc offering periph-be.in-dist

'There was an offering in his handbag.' or 'He had an offering in his handbag.'

With intransitive verbs, kā- indicates the possessor of the subject:

(57) Husiri neki k-a'wi-u' nān-na. shotgun cntr periph-go.off-neg aux-dist

'His shotgun didn't fire.'

This particular usage of kā- is similar to what Relational Grammarians call 'Possessor Ascension' (cf. Frantz 1981:28-30, and Allen, Gardiner, and Frantz 1984:306-7 for possessor ascension in Southern Tiwa). As is apparently the case with other instances of possessor ascension, the peripheral participant/possessor, here, is associated with the most oblique of the noun phrases present: subject of intransitive, object of transitive, source/goal of bitransitive, and location of locative/existential clauses.

To summarize, kā- serves to include a peripheral participant in a clause as the referent of the object prefixes. The particular role of
that peripheral participant is determined by the nature of the verb.

7.3. Benefactives

The benefactives role is signalled by the verb prefix n- for first and second person, and by i- for third person, in combination with the object person prefixes. Compare 58a and b, in which 58b shows nā- (1 Object) plus n- 'benefactive' to indicate 'for me':

(58) a. Kafé zas-ān nuk-ţ-in.
    coffee save-imfv aux-med-wit
    'He is saving coffee.'

b. Kafé nā-n-zas-ān nuk-ţ-in.
    coffee 10-ben-save-imfv aux-med-wit
    'He is saving coffee for me.'

In 59, i- 'benefactive' indicates that the action is performed for the benefit of another:

(59) Huan urak̓ i-gav-ān nuk-ţa ni.
    Juan house ben-make-imfv aux-med cert
    'Juan is making a house for someone.'

Although third person singular object is unmarked, third plural is indicated by winā- (with the ā deleted preceding i):

(60) Akusa win-i-zas-ān nu'-ku-in.
    needle 3p10-ben-save-imfv aux-med-wit
    'I'm saving needles for them.'

The benefactive markers are also used in a 'malefactive' sense:
(61) Huan nā-n-gu’-na.
    Juan 10-ben-pick.up-dist

'Juan took it from me (took it to my detriment).'

Some verbs may occur with either the benefactive marker or kā- peripheral participant'. In such cases, the benefactive form indicates a closer or more direct involvement in the action than the form with kā-. Compare nā-n-una’-na (10-benefactive-bring-distal) 'he brought me' and nā-k-una’-na (10-peripheral.participant-bring-distal) 'he brought something to me'. With the benefactive, the person reference by the object prefix is directly affected whereas with kā-, s/he is only a recipient.

In some cases, the benefactive form results in an idiom. Wa’k usually means 'to look', but in combination with the benefactive means 'to wait for':

(62) Mi-n-wa’k-ān nus-e?
    20-ben-look-impfv aux-ig

'Was he waiting for you?'

Another idiomatic use of the benefactive is with the copula zan in expressions indicating 'older or younger than'. In such constructions, the object prefixes in conjunction with the benefactive marker refer to the subject of the clause.

(63) Dawid nā’ān guasi ingumān i-ziñ-ni.
    David lpro compar more ben-cop-cert

'David is older than me.'

(64) Nā’ān Huan guasi ingumān nā-n-ziñ-ni.
    lpro Juan compar more 10-ben-cop-cert

'I am older than Juan.'
7.4. Reciprocals and reflexives.

Reciprocals and reflexives are marked by the verb prefix rina 'reciprocal'. In the absence of overt noun phrases, it is not always clear whether a reciprocal or reflexive meaning is intended:

(65) Rina-tšua u-ku-in.
    recip-sec aux-med-wit
    'We saw each other.' or 'I saw myself.'

The postposition sin 'with' with an overt noun indicates a reciprocal meaning:

(66) Pablo-sin rina-tšua uv-in.
    Pablo-with recip-see laux-wit
    'I (just) saw Pablo.'

Rina- occurs with verb forms usually associated with first person singular rather than plural (see section 6 on deictic aspect).

The adjective kingui 'same' following the subject noun indicates a reflexive reading of rina-:

(67) A kingui rina-sua u-ž-in.
    3pro same recip-burn aux-med-wit
    'He burned himself.'

Note that kingui is also used in emphatic forms, e.g. 'he himself did it'.

8. Comparatives and equatives

Comparison is indicated by the postposition guasi associated with the standard of comparison, in conjunction with a separate adjective or
adverb. In 68, Huansitu is the standard of comparison and ingumân 'more' (meaning 'faster' in this case) is the comparative adjective:

(68)  Pedru Huansitu guasi ingumân nûža ni.
Pedro Juansito compar more walk cert

'Pedro walks faster than Juansito.'

Equation is also handled by means of a postposition, in this case sin 'with'. In 69, ma 'you' is the standard for the equation and dikkin 'same height' is the adjective:

(69)  Huan ma-sin dikkin kawa no?
Juan 2pro-with same.height seem ig

'Is Juan the same height as you?'

9. **an- 'point of reference'.**

The verb prefix an- 'point of reference' occurs in two main environments: with transitive verbs, to indicate a non-human object, and with motion verbs, to identify a significant place with respect to which the motion takes place. In both uses, the key idea is that of fixing a point of reference towards which the action is directed. The prefix has the form än- when followed by a consonant-initial form, resulting in a closed syllable.

With transitive verbs, an- indicates that a non-human object is involved, usually one which is directly affected by the action in a clause with a high degree of carry-over from agent to patient. In 70, an- occurs on the verbs guak 'kill' and ga 'eat', illustrating the direct impact of the action on the non-human object.

(70)  Dže-sikî än-guak-akî nus-i-ri, ingî-ri
river-loc pt.ref-kill-perf aux-while-top little-top
Having killed (the deer) at the river, (the dogs) were eating on it when I arrived.'

Verbs with which an- often occurs are ones which inherently imply a direct effect on the object, e.g., a’tärı 'skin an animal', a’sl 'tie up', and gos 'carry'; other verbs imply less contact, e.g., tšua 'see', dan and 'bark'. In all cases, however, an- 'point of reference' indicates that the object is the focus of attention.

With motion verbs, an- singles out a location as a significant point with respect to which the motion takes place. In this way, an- helps distinguish directed and undirected motion. That is, a motion verb without an-predicates movement without being specific about the location involved. 71a would be a leave-taking which focusses on the departure while 71b focusses on the goal of the motion:

( 71 )  

a. Zor-iwa ni.  
go-about.to cert  
'I'm going now.'

b. Nabusímake án-zor-iwa ni.  
Nabusímake pt.ref-go-about.to cert  
'I'm going to Nabusímake.'

Within narratives, an- helps define physical scenes. For example, hunting stories involve a great deal of movement as the hunters leave home to track game, follow particular animals, return home then later resume the hunt, etc. Only a few instances of motion verbs, however, are marked by an-. These cases are usually ones involving motion towards significant locations in the story. When the hunter returns to his home, the verb usually carries an-; a person's house as his home base is an inherently important location. As a story progresses, however, narrators use an- to define a
place around which a segment of the story revolves. In the hunting stories, these are places such as where game is sighted and the hunters converge or where the chase ends and the kill is made. Movements toward these spots often are marked by an- while other verbs of motion are not so marked.

This use of an- 'point of reference' to mark a significant location is similar to the use of 'come' and 'bring' in English. Fillmore suggests that these verbs may serve to define points of reference within narratives (1975: 67):

"Come" and "bring" also indicate, in discourse in which neither speaker nor addressee figures as a character, motion toward a place taken as the subject of the narrative, toward the location of the central character at reference time, or toward the place which is the central character's home base at reference time.

Naka 'come' is very infrequent in the narratives in my corpus and apparently is defined with reference to the speaker, not the characters within the story. an-, however, combines with other motion verbs to serve the same purpose of indicating significant locations within the narrative.

Clauses in which an- 'point of reference' figures often show features of high transitivity, as defined by Hopper and Thompson 1980. In a general sense, transitivity is seen as "the effective carrying over of an activity from an A [agent] to a patient" (1980:279), but more specifically, Hopper and Thompson suggest that transitivity be broken down into a number of components defining scales along which a given clause can be ranked as more or less transitive. Those components of interest with regard to an- are number of participants, kinesis, volitionality, affectedness of 0, and individuation of 0.

Motion verbs with specific locations have more 'participants' than those with no location or those with a non-specific location. The verbs on which an- appears are usually kinetic, i.e., involving action as opposed to states (an exception to this is a verb such as tšua 'see'). Clauses with an- usually show volitionality of the agent and an affected object, often with a direct impact of the agent on the object (e.g., with verbs like 'kill' and 'eat'). Finally, in clauses with an-, the object or location is almost
always highly individuated; that is, it is referential, concrete, and definite rather than non-referential, abstract, and indefinite.

NOTES

1. Uninflected, here, means having no suffixes. Prefixes play a relatively minor role in the verb complex as a whole and apparently have no bearing on the occurrence of optional auxiliary verbs.

2. Hugh Tracy suggested that auxiliary verbs focus on the preceding verb (personal communication), drawing my attention to the possibility that optional auxiliaries have a pragmatic rather than a grammatical function.

3. These observations concerning frequency of optional auxiliaries are only informal at this point.

4. The suffix -rua 'first singular subject' may occur following -na 'distal deictic aspect' (used in past time references) or following the auxiliary/copular verb nan, which usually appears in irrealis contexts, that is, with negatives and modal suffixes. The section on deictic aspect discusses the relationship between aspect and person, and two auxiliary verbs appear to have first person bound up with the verb stem itself (uw 'first person auxiliary' and ninza 'I: would'), but apart from these circumstances and -rua, there is no overt marking of first person.

5. Although win- usually marks third plural subject with transitive verbs, it also occurs with vowel-initial intransitive verb stems, rather than ri-.

6. The glosses of -iwa 'about to' and -pan 'inceptive' give the impression that the two overlap in meaning or function. -iwa, however, mainly involves intentionality while -pan focusses on the temporal relationship between an event and the point of reference for describing the event, that the event was, is, or will be beginning (or about to begin) at the time of the point of reference.

7. The suffix -in 'witness' is one of the markers of declarative mood, for predating events in the past that the speaker witnessed. Although this gloss sounds like one associated with evidential markers, there is no evidential system per se in Ika.

8. As I mentioned in section 2, on agreement, second person forms are usually interrogative, first person forms declarative, in Ika.
that sense, the second person declarative forms in this chart are unnatural, and indeed, it was necessary to generate special contexts in order to elicit a form such as 'you saw it': how often does a person ask a question about what he himself has done? My first experiments with eliciting paradigms invariably produced such 'paradigms' as the one given in the section on agreement: 'I saw it. Did you see it? He saw it'. It is possible that speakers of other languages do not have the same difficulty that the Bintukwa have with this matter, but their reactions highlight the unnaturalness of eliciting paradigms. A few semesters of linguistic training seem to give one a permanent immunity to the feeling that manipulating language in the abstract is an odd sort of thing to do.

9. An alternative analysis of uw might be to segment off the w as some sort of first person marker. However, w as such a marker would occur only in this environment and only with the auxiliary verb (never with a main verb). For this reason, I have opted to consider the w part of the auxiliary verb itself.

10. In contrast to Tracy and Tracy 1973, I do not consider the velar nasal to have phonemic status. One environment in which n has a velar point of articulation is syllable-finally before vowels. The n of the prefix n- 'benefactive' phonetically has a velar point of articulation when preceding a vowel, and therefore part of the definition of its underlying form is that a syllable boundary follows the n.

11. As with n- 'benefactive' (see the previous footnote), the n of rina- 'reciprocal/reflexive' phonetically has a velar point of articulation, and the underlying form of the morpheme would show a syllable boundary following the n.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


