The system of “associated motion” in Cavineña

1 Cavineña: some background

The language and its speakers:
- Northern Bolivia, Amazon Basin
- Tacanan family: Araona, Cavineña, Ese Ejja, Reyesano, Tacana
- Macro Pano-Tacanan family hypothesis: (Key 1968, Girard 1971)
- Approx. 1000 ~ 12000 fluent speakers

Context of the study:
- Doctoral dissertation at the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology (La Trobe University, Australia)
- Writing of a descriptive grammar of the language (Guillaume 2004)

The corpus:
- 15 months of fieldwork (6 fieldtrips) between 1996 et 2003 (in the town of Riberalta and 2 traditional communities)
- 60 texts and conversations recorded, transcribed and translated
- 20 texts written directly by speakers
- sentences obtained through controled settings
- sentences overheard during participant observation
- non-religious texts published by Camp et Liccardi (SIL missionaries)
- sentences that illustrate the entries of Camp et Liccardi’s (1989) dictionary

Basic clause structure:
- case marking language; ergative pattern (S=O≠A)

(1) a. [Tu-ke tupuju] =tuS ibaS tsajaja-chine.
    3SG-FM FOLLOWING =3SG(-FM) jaguar run-REC.PAST
    ‘The jaguar chased him (lit. ran following him).’ sg010

b. Iba=raA =tuO iye-chine takureO.
    jaguar=ERG=3SG(-FM) kill-REC.PAST chicken
    ‘The jaguar killed the chicken.’ n1.0227

- polysynthetic: root + numerous affixes + noun incorporation but no marking of person in the verb!
2 The system of “associated motion”

- paradigm of eleven mutually exclusive verbal suffixes (see Diagram in Appendix 1)
- function: associate a “motion” component to the event expressed by the verb stem they are attached to

(2) a. Tudya =ekwana_{A} ba-{ti}-kware takure_{O}.
   then =1PL see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST chicken
   ‘Then we went to see the chicken (in the back of the bus).’ ga034

   b. Jadya=tibu=dya =mikwana_{O} ba-na-wa...
      thus=REASON=FOC =2PL see-COME.TEMP-PERF
      ‘This is why I have come to see you (here in your village).’ T1.69

- fascinating topic that immediately draws the attention of the investigator
- earliest description by Camp (1982)
- not yet fully understood. Work in progress.

2.1. Typological perspective

- correspond to “associated motion” as in Australian languages (Wilkins 1991).
- different form directionals as in Mayan languages (Haviland 1991, 1993, Craig 1994)
  Papuan languages (Foley 1986: 148-52)
  English particles (e.g., in, out, away, up, down, etc.).

- “associated motion” markers encode motion and path while directionals only encode path.¹
- “associated motion” markers associate a motion component to a verb stem event, regardless of whether this event already involves motion or not
- “associated motion” markers can be attached to all sorts of verbs

(3) motion verbs          non-motion verbs
    nubi-{ti}-    ‘go and enter’    nawi-{ti}-    ‘go and bathe’
    warere-{ti}- ‘go and turn’    wira-{ti}-    ‘go and pee’
    isha-{ti}-   ‘go and insert O’  tawi-{ti}-    ‘go and sleep’
    abu-{ti}-    ‘go and carry O’   ba-{ti}-      ‘go and see O’
    wesa-{ti}-   ‘go and lift O’    isara-{ti}-   ‘go and greet O’
    ara-{ti}-    ‘go and eat O’    etc.
    etc.

¹ Following Talmy (1985, 2000), motion (here “translational” motion, as opposed to “self-contained” motion) refers to the spatiotemporal displacement of an entity (or figure) vis-à-vis a ground object, from a source (origin) to a target (goal, endpoint). Path concerns the specification of the course followed by the figure during its displacement with regards to different landmarks, e.g., vis-à-vis the deictic center (towards vs. away from), vis-à-vis an enclosure (in vs. out), vis-à-vis the vertical axis (up vs. down), etc.
• directional markers can only specify the path of a motion that is already present in the verb stem event they are attached to.
• directional markers are restricted to motion verbs

(4) **motion verbs** (English)

```plaintext
move out
run away
push O in
throw O away
etc.
```

• note that Cavineña also has directional-like markers (-tsura ‘UP’, -bute ‘DOWN’, etc.). However, they belong to a distinct paradigm-slot in the predicate structure

• “associated motion” markers hardly ever discussed in the typological literature
• unlike for directional systems, “Talmy’s “verb-framed / satellite-framed” framework not applicable for “associated motion” systems because it only accounts for motion events expressed by motion verbs

(5) French — verb framed

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>v root</th>
<th>dans</th>
<th>sa chambre.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L’enfant</td>
<td>monte</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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(6) English — satellite framed

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>v root</th>
<th>SATELLITE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The child</td>
<td>goes up into his room.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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(2) Cavineña — ???

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>v root</th>
<th>SATELLITE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tudyat =ekwana ba -ti -kware takure.</td>
<td>see -GO.TEMP -REM.PAST chicken</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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‘Then we went to see the chicken (in the back of the bus).’ ga034
• “associated motion” markers typically grammaticalize from verbs

Table 1. Correspondences between motion suffixes and motion verbs in Cavineña

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffixes</th>
<th>Independent verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ti / -nati</td>
<td>‘GO.TEMP’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-na</td>
<td>‘COME.TEMP’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-diru</td>
<td>‘GO.PERM’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-eti</td>
<td>‘COME.PERM’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kena</td>
<td>‘LEAVE’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-aje</td>
<td>‘GO.DISTR’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-be</td>
<td>‘COME.TEMP.DISTR’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-etibe</td>
<td>‘COME.PERM.DISTR’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tsa</td>
<td>‘COME(O)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dadi</td>
<td>‘GO(O)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

• but: “associated motion” markers are not verbs anymore!
  => we are not talking about verb compounding/serialization (at least synchronically)
  => no case for equipollent-framed language

• “associated motion” markers are very frequent in Amerindian languages, reported under various names, including the misleading term “directional”:

  North: Atsugewi (Hokan, California, Talmay 1985)
  Central: Olutec (Mixe-zoquean, Mexico, Zavala 2000)
  Oaxaca Chontal (Isolate, Mexico, O’Connor 2004)
  South: Asheninca (Arawak, Peru, J. Payne 1982)
  Cavineña (Tacanan, Bolivia)
  Matses (Panoan, Peru, Fleck 2003: 364)
  Reyesano (Tacanan, Bolivia, Guillaume 2006b)
  Yagua (Peba-Yagua, Peru, T. Payne 1984)
  and many others…

• “associated motion” markers in other areas of the world:
  Chadic languages of Africa (Parson 1960/61, Frajzyngier 1993 and p.c.)
2.2. Semantics of “associated motion” markers in Cavineña (cf. Appendix 1 - Diagram 1)

The system semantically particularly complex, that involves:
1 — the figure (moving entity): S/A or O argument;
2 — the manner of realization of the verb stem event: punctual or distributed;
3 — the orientation of the motion: ‘towards’ or ‘away from’ a reference point;
4 — the “stability” of the motion target: temporary or permanent;
5 — the location of the verb stem event vis-à-vis the target or the source of the motion: ‘move and V’ or ‘V while moving’ or ‘V and move’

3 S/A-oriented motion suffixes - punctual verb stem event

Table 1. S/A-oriented motion suffixes - punctual realization

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ti/-nati</td>
<td>‘GO.TEMP’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-diru</td>
<td>‘GO.PERM’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-na</td>
<td>‘COME.TEMP’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-eti</td>
<td>‘COME.PERM’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kena</td>
<td>‘LEAVE’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Semantic constrasts:
(1) orientation of the motion (§3.1)
(2) “stability” of the location that is targeted by the motion (§3.2)
(3) location of the verb stem event vis-à-vis the target or the source of the motion (§3.3)

3.1. Orientation of the motion

• specify a motion that is deictically oriented, i.e., directed either away from or towards the deictic center (DC)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ti, -nati, -diru</td>
<td>motion away from the DC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-na, -eti</td>
<td>motion towards DC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

• DC is the location of the speaker at the time of speech

(7) a. Kwa-kwe AltoIvón=ju! Ba-ti-kwe tu-wa
    go-IMP.SG AltoIvón=LOC see-GO.TEMP-IMP.SG there-LOC
    Chakubu=kwana_o!
    Cháccobo.person=PL
    ‘Go to Alto Ivón! Go and meet (lit. see) the Chácobo people there!’ pa002

b. Ita [jiecc=ke bicho]o ba-na-kwe!
    ATT.GETTER here=LIG beast see-COME.TEMP-IMP.SG
    ‘Come and see that beast!’ ij012
3.2. “Stability” of the targeted location

- the motion targets different kinds of locations in terms of their “stability”

- ti, -nati, -na  motion targets “unstable” (temporary) locations
- diru, -eti  motion targets “stable” (permanent) locations

• compare (7a) and (7b) (“unstable” locations) with (8a) and (8b) (“stable” locations)

(8)  a. Jadya=ekte tunas tu-wa ani-diru-wa [ekwana-ja iykwa epu=ju].
    thus=PERL =3PL there-LOC sit-GO.PERF 1PL-GEN now village=LOC
    ‘This is why they (our Cavineña ancestors) have settled (lit. gone to sit) there, where our village is now.’ hs047

   b. Ba-etikware =tu-ra =0 =O amen a i-ke =O ari ari.
    see-COME.PERF.REFL=3SG 1SG-FM big=REDUP
    ‘(When my older brother returned back home, after many years), he saw me much bigger (than at the time he had left).’ nk054

3.3. Location of the verb stem event vis-à-vis the source and/or the target of the motion

• specification of where the verb stem event takes place vis-à-vis the source and/or the target of the motion.

- ti  verb stem event takes place at the target of the motion
   => ‘go and/to V, arrive and V, V while arriving’

- nati  verb stem event takes place between the source and the target of the motion
   => ‘V while going, V on the way’

- kena: the verb stem event takes place at the source of the motion
   => ‘V and move, V while leaving’

• -ti versus -nati:

(9)  a. Verb stem event at target of motion

    ... kwa-kware i-ke =O bei=ju wikamuty=ra.
    go-REFL 1SG-FM lake=LOC fish=PURP
    Tu-wa =tu-ke =O =O ba-ti-kware [peadya rau]o...
    there-LOC =3SG-FM (=1SG) see-GO.REFL the one egret
    ‘... I went fishing at the lake. Arriving there, I saw an egret...’ sl012-013
b. Verb stem event between source and target of motion

\[
[Jukuri \ turu \ ebari]_O =tu-ke_O =O_A \\
coati \ big.male \ big \ =3SG(-FM) (=1SG-ERG) \\
\text{mee}=ju \ \text{ba-nati}-kware. \\
saltlick=LOC \ \text{see-GO.TEMP-REM.PAST}
\]

‘While I was going (to see my family,) I saw a big male coati in a saltlick.’ mj119

• -kena

(10) a. \text{Pa-kena-kware} \ [Rosa \ [(\text{tu-ja} \ familia)]_O \ shana-ya=ke]]_S. \ cry-LEAVE-REM.PAST \ Rosa \ 3SG-GEN \ family \ leave-IMPFV=LIG

‘Rosa cried as she was leaving her family.’ n2.0887

b. \ [\text{Refresco=kamadya}]_O =tu-ke_O =O_A \ iji-kena-wa. \ soft.drink=RESTR \ =3SG-FM \ (=1SG-ERG) \ drink-LEAVE-PERF

‘I just had a soft-drink as I was leaving (my house).’ lv033

-\text{na, -diru, -eti} \ \text{verb stem event takes place either at the target of the motion or between the source and the target of the motion}

\Rightarrow \ \text{‘go and/to V, arrive and V, V while arriving’ or,}

\Rightarrow \ \text{‘V while going, V on the way’}

• illustration with -eti ‘COME.PERM’:

(11) Verb stem event at target of motion

a. \ldots \text{jamanis} \ amena \ \text{ani-eti-wa} \ tu-wa. \ vulture \ BM \ sit-COME.PERM-PERF \ there-LOC

‘(Seeing me like dead,) the vulture came and sat there (in order to eat me).’ sd055

b. \ldots \ [\text{bakwa=ja} \ kapana]_O \ [\text{armario \ dyake}] \ \text{iya-eti-kware...} \ \text{viper=GEN} \ \text{bell} \ \text{cupboard ON} \ \text{put-COME.PERM-REM.PAST}

‘… arriving (home,) he put the rattle (lit. bell) of the rattlesnake (lit. viper) on top of a cupboard.’ vi030

(12) Verb stem event between source and target of motion

a. \text{Tudya ekatses} \ \text{tawi-eti-kware} \ then \ 3DL \ sleep-COME.PERM-REM.PAST

[\text{e-diji} \ \text{patyapatya}]. \ NPF-path \ \text{IN.MIDDLE.OF}

‘They slept midway along the path.’ ts007
b. *Tudya* =tu_A  *jeti-nuka-ya*=ke_A  
then  =3SG(-ERG) come-REITR-IMPFV=LIG

\[ ba-et\text{-}kware \quad e\text{-}kike=ju \]

see-COME.PERM-REM.PAST NPF-forest=LOC

\[ [tume_{CC}=ke \quad bakwa \quad cascabel]_O. \]
there=LIG  viper  rattlesnake

‘Then, as he was coming back home (from delivering goods to his nephews at the school center), he saw that rattlesnake (lit. viper) in the forest.’ vi005

4  **S/A-oriented motion suffixes - distributed verb stem event**

- **punctual versus distributed**

  - punctual  verb stem event takes place only once in a particular location somewhere along a motion path, either at the source, or at the target, or in between

  - distributed  verb stem event is distributed or realized continuously between the source and the target of the motion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1. S/A-oriented motion suffixes - distributed realization</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-aje</td>
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<tr>
<td>-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-etibe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

• contrasting -nati (punctual) and -aje (distributed)

(13) a. *Kwa-baka-nuka-tsu*=pa  =tu  *ba-aje-kware*  
go-SHORT-REITR-SS =REP  =3SG(-ERG) see-GO.DISTR-PAST

\[ [kwanubi=kwana=ja \quad e\text{-}mekware]_O. \]
animal=PL=GEN  NPF-trace

‘He kept going and soon started to see traces of animals.’ se029

b. *Yawa*  *pupi-da*=ju  =pa  
ground  clean-ASF(=LIG)=LOC =REP

\[ [kwanubi=kwana=ja \quad e\text{-}tsau=kwana]_O \quad ba\text{-}nati-wa. \]
animal=PL=GEN  NPF-bone=PL  see-GO.TEMP-PERF

‘(Then, after going a bit further, he ended up in a clearing and there,) on the clean ground, he saw the bones of animals.’ se030c
• distributed or continuous

(14) distributed

\[
[I-ke_{\text{S}} \text{ mia-keja je-ya}_{\text{S}}=ke]_{\text{S}} \text{ neti-be-wa}.
\]

1SG-FM 2SG-ALL come-IMPFV=LIG stand-COME.TEMP.DISTR-PERF

‘As I was coming to you, I had to stop (lit. stand) many times on the way (to do various things. So this is why I am late).’ n3.0497

(15) continuous

\[
Jadya =tu_{\text{O}} \text{ amena ara-be-kware e-ra}_{\text{A}}.
\]

thus =3SG(-FM) BM eat-COME.TEMP.DISTR-REM.PAST 1SG-ERG

‘So I was coming and eating (motacú nuts) along the way.’ mp029

4.1. Orientation

- **aje** motion away from the DC

- **be, -etibe** motion towards DC

(16) **Tudya diru-baka-tsu kike-tere-aje-kware maju-diru=ishu.**

then go-SHORT-SS shout-COMP-GO.DISTR-REM.PAST die-GO.PERM=PURP.GNL

‘Then, he (the jaguar I had shot) went away a short distance, screaming with pain intermittently before he died.’ mt012

(17) **Nereka-da [e-kwe e-bakujuna] tsajaja-be-ya.**

miserable-ASF 1SG-GEN 1-daughter run-COME.TEMP.DISTR-IMPFV

‘My daughter was coming back to me, running now and then, miserably (through the terrible pampa path, in order to meet me back).’ ka018

4.2. “Stability” of the targeted location

- **be** motion targets “unstable” (temporary) locations

- **etibe** motion targets “stable” (permanent) locations

- **aje** unspecified

• compare **be** in (17) with **etibe** in (18)

(18) **E-diji=ju i-kes jara-etibe-chine.**

NPF-path=LOC 1SG-FM lie-COME.PERM.DISTR-REC.PAST

‘I lay on the path many times on my way back home (because I had a strong fever).’ pf079
5 O-oriented motion suffixes

- Figure is S/A argument versus O argument

*Table 1.* O-oriented motion suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-tsa</th>
<th>‘COME(O)’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-dadi</td>
<td>‘GO(O)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These two suffixes have the following semantic and distributional characteristics:

1. They are only used with transitive verbs;
2. The orientation of the motion is not deictic: the reference point is the location of the A argument, regardless of the location of the speaker;
3. The verb stem event is realized punctually;
4. There is no distinction in terms of the “stability” of the targeted location nor in terms of the location of the verb stem event vis-à-vis the source or the target of the motion.

\[(19) \quad \text{a. } \text{Tume} =pa =taa =tu-ja =tu_0 \]
\[
\quad \text{then} \quad =\text{REP} =\text{EMPH} =3\text{SG-DAT}=3\text{SG(-FM)} \\
\quad ba-\text{tsa-ya } ekwita_0 \ldots \\
\quad \text{see-COME(O)-IMPFV} \quad \text{person} \\
\quad \text{‘Then he saw a man coming towards him,’ cp013a} \\
\]
\[
\quad \text{b. } [\text{Peadya ekwita}]_0 =tu-ke_0 =\emptyset \_A \quad ba-\text{dadi-wa...} \\
\quad \text{one \ person } =3\text{SG-FM} (=1\text{SG-ERG}) \text{ see-GO(O)-PERF} \\
\quad \text{‘I saw a man going away from me (with the duck he had stolen).’ ju008} \\
\]

- additional examples:

\[(20) \quad \text{a. } [E-kwe \ e-bakujuna=ekana=ra]_A =\emptyset _O \\
\quad \text{1SG-GEN 1-daughter=PL=ERG } (=1\text{SG-FM}) \\
\quad \text{dunu-\text{tsa-chine}=dy.a.} \\
\quad \text{surround-COME(O)-REC.PAST}=\text{FOC} \\
\quad \text{(When I arrived home after a long journey,) my daughters surrounded me.’ ka541} \\
\]
\[
\quad \text{b. } ... \text{tyuwi=ju } \text{buka}=ra_A \text{ mada}_O \text{ karu-\text{dadi-kware.} } \\
\quad \text{nape}=\text{LOC} \text{ furet}=\text{ERG} \text{ agouti } \text{ bite-GO(O)-REM.PAST} \\
\quad \text{‘(From the top of a tree, I was observing a furet chasing an agouti. I saw) the furet bit the agouti on the nape (from behind).’ ms020} \\
\]
6 Discourse function of associated motion

• “echo” phenomenon with semantically corresponding independent verbs of motion in the same sentence or contiguous sentences

(9a) I went to fish. I saw-GO an egret.
(12b) As he was coming back home, he saw-COME that rattlesnake.
(13a) He kept going and soon started to see-GO traces of animals.
(14) As I was coming to you, I had to stop-COME many times on the way.
(16) The jaguar went away a short distance, screaming-GO with pain before he died-GO.

• the same phenomenon was noted in Central Australian languages by Wilkins (1991), who interprete it as a device for foregrounding the verb stem event.

« [I]t is not the main function of ‘associated motion’ forms to present and elaborate information about a motion event. Just as tense [...] functions to locate events within the flow of time, the ‘category of associated motion’ functions to locate events within the flow of space. » (Wilkins 1991: 251)

• hypothesis: structuring of narratives by way of specifying important “scenes”

- the presentation of motion events is realized by way of independent verbs
- the role of “associated motion” markers is to set up important “scenes”
• the story of Mr. Crisanto and the Rattlesnake

(1) Mr. Crisanto had three nephews who were studying in a remote school.
(2) One day he went to the school to bring them food.

SCENE 1: THE FOREST
(3) As he was coming back home, he saw a rattlesnake, in the forest.
(4) The rattlesnake almost bit him.
(5) Then Mr. Crisanto cut a stick and killed the snake.

SCENE 2: THE EDGE OF THE PAMPA
(6) Then, as he was coming back again, he saw another snake, at the edge of the pampa.
(7) The same thing happened: the snake almost bit him.

SCENE 3: NEAR THE RATTLESNAKE
(8) This time, Mr. Crisanto, approached the rattlesnake, cut its rattle with a knife, took the bell with him and left the snake in the path.

SCENE 4: A WOOD IN THE PAMPA
(9) Then, he kept coming back, (stopped) and slept (for the night) in a wood of the pampa.
(10) His house was far away from the school.
(11) As dawn was breaking he heard the noise of leaves moving.
(12) He looked carefully around him and saw a rattlesnake who was turning around his mosquito net.
(13) He immediately jumped out of his mosquito net, got ready and left the rattlesnake.

SCENE 5: A LOG
(14) And he kept coming back. He came back a short distance and (stopped and) ate his food on top of a log. (As he was doing so,) he saw again a rattlesnake who was going in the path.
(15) He was really surprised and left it again.

SCENE 6: THE HOME OF MR. CRISANTO
(16) He kept going toward his house. Then he arrived (lit. was) at his house.
(17) Then he put the rattlesnake’s bell on top of a cupboard, having tightly tied it inside a piece of clothe.
(18) Then he went to sleep.
(19) His house was in good shape. There was no way a snake could enter it. But when he woke up, he saw the damn rattlesnake lying underneath the cupboard!
7 References


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GUILLAUME, A., 2006b, A Reyesano (Maropa) - English dictionary, with grammatical notes, ms, 169 pp.


PAYNE, D. Ms. Position, Location, Direction and Movement in the Western Amazon.


## Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=</td>
<td>clitic boundary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(          )</td>
<td>material that does not appear on the surface (used in the glossing line)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[        ]</td>
<td>multiple-word constituent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>transitive subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABIL</td>
<td>abilitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADVERS</td>
<td>adverative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFFTN</td>
<td>affection</td>
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<td>ALWS</td>
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<td>antipassive</td>
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<td>ASF</td>
<td>(dummy) adjective suffix</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASSOC</td>
<td>associative</td>
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<td>attention getter</td>
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