

BOLIVIAN INDIAN GRAMMARS: One



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BOLIVIAN INDIAN GRAMMARS: I

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Introduction

Ten grammars of indigenous Bolivian languages are presented in the two volumes of Bolivian Indian Grammars. The data were gathered and analyzed by members of the Bolivia Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, which has carried on linguistic investigations in this country since 1955.

The corpus on which each grammar has been based was closed far short of an exhaustive treatment. Nevertheless each analysis is based on a minimum of 200 pages of text dictated spontaneously. Gaps in the patterns have been filled in by elicited materials, but no patterns have been established on the basis of elicited materials alone. Most of the linguists have not only gathered far more than the minimum amount of texts, but have also become fluent in speaking the languages, and intimately acquainted with the culture through years of living in the tribal villages.

The grammars are presented in the tagmemic model¹ of Pike with adaptation of the matrices² and syntax paradigms³ developed by him, as well as the basic concepts which characterize the tagmemic model: (1) the postulation of three hierarchies, the phonological, grammatical, and lexical or semantic; (2) the segmentation of the construction occurring on a given level into a string⁴ of tagmemes manifested by lower-level constructions or units; (3) the definition of the tagmeme as a class-slot correlative with an obligatory versus optional (+ or -) characteristic; (4) the assumption that units and patterns exist in a language; (5) the stipulation that a well-defined unit be described in terms of identificational-contrastive features, variants, and distribution; and (6) the establishment of emic (versus etic) units.

¹ Pike, Kenneth L. 1954, 1955, 1960. *Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behaviour*, Part I, II, III. Glendale, Summer Institute of Linguistics.

² Pike, Kenneth L. 1962. "Dimensions of Grammatical Constructions," *Language*, Vol. 38:3, part 1, July-September.

³ Pike, Kenneth L. 1963. "A Syntactic Paradigm," *Language*, Vol. 39, No. 2, April-June.

⁴ Longacre, Robert E. 1960. "String Constituent Analysis," *Language*, Vol. 36, No. 1, January-March.

The grammars begin with a description of the highest level for which a formal definition has been described, and proceed from level to level, ending with roots and affixes. Each construction which manifests a tagmeme in the formulas is analysed on a lower level, or, in case of recursive constructions, on the same or a higher level. Rewrite operations⁵ for the generation of sentences from the formulas are not explicit, but are implicit in the grammars. By substituting each formula or lexical unit for its symbol, from the highest level to the root and affix, the grammar generates the grammatical sequences of the language insofar as the grammar and lexicon are correct and complete.

In these volumes of grammars which are uniform in underlying theory and general form of presentation, a comparison of sets of matrices might serve as a guide or outline for typological studies. For example, a glance at the clause matrices of Chacobo and Quechua immediately calls attention to major structural differences between the two languages: the basic cleavage between transitive and intransitive, and between complete and incomplete in the Chacobo, whereas these categories are relatively unimportant in Quechua, which emphasizes an affirmative-negative set of contrasts. Both of these languages have very complex clause structures, but the complexity in the Chacobo is in markedly different areas than that in the Quechua. A comparison of the clause matrices of these two languages with that of Movima again emphasizes the differences in the general structure of the languages.

On the other hand a comparison of sets of matrices for the purpose of establishing or corroborating a genetic relationship is sometimes or in some areas fruitful, sometimes not. It would be difficult to argue a relationship between the Tupi-guaranian Sirionó and Guarani on the basis of Chart I of the Guarani grammar (Guarani 1.1) and Chart I, which most nearly corresponds to it in the Sirionó grammar (Sirionó 2.3.1), although minor features of the grammars are strikingly alike. The combination of function words on the clause level (Sirionó 2.3.3. and 4.12) and of particles in the verb phrase (Sirionó 3.1.2) which are peculiar to Sirionó corresponds very closely to the clutter of clitic particles of the verb phrase periphery which is characteristic of Guarani (Guarani 2.1.3). Likewise the series of predicates P1, P2, P3, P4 and the anteverb within one clause in Guarani (1.1.2) are parallel to the series of dependent clauses filling

⁵ Longacre, Robert E. 1964. Grammar Discovery Procedures, a Field Manual. The Hague, Mouton and Co.

Sat slots in the content string (Sirionó 2.3.1.2) and the preverb in the verb phrase (Sirionó 3.1.2) of Sirionó.

The comparison of clause matrices in the Arawakan languages is more encouraging. Those of Baure (Chart II, 2.1.1) and Ignaciano (Chart I, 2.1.1.1) show noteworthy similarities as well as differences. In the Tacanan family the matrices of the clause, verb phrase, and verb of Tacana and Eseejja suggest similarity of structure, although some major differences appear (Eseejja Chart I, 2.1.1, Chart II, 3.1.1, and Chart III, 4.1.1; Tacana Chart I, 2.1, Chart II 3.2;1, and Chart IV, 4.1.1.1).

In noting both contrasts and similarities consideration must be given to differences in presentation which reflect the linguist's preferences rather than structural contrasts. An instance is the apparent difference between the Eseejja and Tacana verb charts, due to the presence of the quotative verbs 40 and 50 in Eseejja and the auxiliary verbs 50 in Tacana. This difference is easily determined to be primarily one of presentation by comparing the roots of the two sets of verbs (Eseejja 4.1.6.1 and Tacana 4.1.4), and their ultimate distribution in the quotative clauses (Eseejja 2.1.2 and 3.1.2.1; Tacana 2.2.2).

The comparison of the independent, dependent, and included clause matrices of Quechua (Chart I, 2.1.1 with those of Aymara (unpublished grammar notes by Warkentin, Heaslip, McNeil of the Summer Institute of Linguistics) shows a very striking similarity.

Below are listed a few of the features which for theoretical reasons or as a demonstration of techniques characteristic of the tagmemic model may be of special interest.

(1) In Baure the formation of verbs from nominal bases is of such high frequency that it is economical to classify the noun roots to correspond with the verb roots (Baure 4.1.1.2.3.1 and 4.1.4.1).

(2) In Ignaciano the skewing of hierarchies is noteworthy (Ignaciano, end of 2). Also the Ignaciano grammar demonstrates devices for separating distribution from composition classes, introducing the former at the first level on which they are relevant, rather than carrying them through various levels for which they have no significance as has sometimes been done because of their correlation or partial correlation to composition classes. (Ignaciano 4.2.2.1, 4.2.4.1, 4.2.6, 4.3.1.1.1, 4.3.1.2). Such devices are not limited to use in the Ignaciano grammar.

(3) Complex and discontinuous verb phrases in Tacana receive quite different treatment from that given very similar ones in Eseejja (Tacana 3.1 and 3.2; Eseejja 3.1).

(4) In Eseejja postclitics previously considered to be affixes are interpreted as separate words each capable of affixation, in order to solve an otherwise baffling problem of affix order (Eseejja 3.1.2.3.3).

(5) In Chacobo the extension of the transitive-intransitive cleavage extends from sentence level (Chacobo 2.1.2) to verb root (5.1.1.5.1), even being marked in the clause margins (3.1.1 and 3.2) and noun phrases (4.3).

Conventions of analysis and symbolism

In the following paragraphs various conventions and symbols are explained by means of notes and illustrations.

Generally in the tagmemic model units are considered to be in emic contrast on the basis of two structural differences⁶. These may be two differences in composition (one of which may be recognized by difference in transform potential) which necessitate the writing of separate formulas, or, following Pike, they may be one structural difference and one difference in distribution. For the purposes of these volumes we have further defined the basis of emic distinction as follows: A difference in distribution together with a difference in class of slot fillers which is relevant on different levels and/or is correlated with other emic distinctions (such as the difference in the lists of transitive and intransitive verbs in most languages) establishes emic contrast; however, a difference in distribution plus a difference in lists of slot fillers which are primarily semantically determined does not establish emic contrast. For example, we may describe one phrase, N 1, as manifesting both time and location tagmemes, although the time slot is filled only by a list of those phrases which include a word indicating time, while the location slot is filled by a different list of those phrases which include a word indicating place:

...+T:N 1 +L:N 1 ...

When only one difference between the formulas of two emic classes is apparent, a difference in distribution is to be assumed.

In two of the grammars, the Chacobo and Baure, it was found economical to describe the nuclei of the clauses separately from the margins. The resultant distinction between clause and clause nucleus is not considered to be a bona fide difference in level. The clauses are therefore shown as emically different, although the formulas combining nuclei and margins show that only the nuclei contrast.

We have not tested all combinations implied in the formulas. In a language with a great many clause classes with numerous marginal

⁶ Pike, 1962 and Longacre, 1964.

tagmemes each manifested by a variety of classes of constructions, the potential number of combinations is astronomical. In such cases when no restriction is apparent we have assumed that all possible combinations occur.

Wherever it has been a matter of choice we have kept the higher levels simple at the expense of complexity on the lower levels.

Pike's technique of multiplication⁷ is frequently used; that is, each unit of a matrix (or each formula of a paradigm) is modified in the same way so that a corresponding matrix is established.

Co-occurrent tagmemes are said to be in portmanteau relationship when they are manifested simultaneously by the same construction.

When the formulas of a tagmemic paradigm are identical with the formulas of the tagmatic paradigm except for the slot fillers, the fillers are shown in the tagmemic paradigm, and the tagmatic paradigm is omitted.

When there is variation of order of tagmemes the most frequent order is shown in the formula, and the variations are described.

In tagmemic grammars a phrase is generally described as a construction involving an obligatory tagmeme and at least one other tagmeme, obligatory or optional. For the grammars in these volumes the phrase is better defined as a unit of the level between clause and word, which characteristically manifests a clause-level tagmeme. For economy of description in some instances we have treated as a phrase a single tagmeme manifested by one word, a unit which cannot be expanded, when it shares the distribution of a class of phrases.

In many of the grammars there are hesitation words which may interrupt any construction on any level. We have described the occurrence of the hesitation only where it is frequent or characteristic.

In the matrices each vector is represented by a millennium, century, decade or unit, in an arrangement such that the item in each cell is designated by a combination of the numerical symbols of the row and vector. For example in Chart I, Emic Clause Classes, of Quechua (2.1), the Intr column is numbered 30, and the Ig corr row is numbered 02. The symbol C1 30 refers to any intransitive clause; that is, to any of the clauses 31a to 34b. The symbol C1 02 refers to any interrogative corroborative clause, that is, to C1 12, 22, 32, 42, or 52. The symbol C1 32 refers to the intransitive interrogative corroborative clause. Similarly a row symbol 103 may be combined

⁷ Pike, 1962.

with decade symbols of the columns to produce the symbols 113, 123, etc.

In general the order of formulas in the paradigms follows column by column the order of the corresponding matrix.

In the abbreviations lower case letters symbolize units which fill slots on the morphological level. The symbols of all higher level units and of all tagmemes begin with capitals. The sentence is labeled Sent, and the clause, C1; a construction whose symbol begins with a capital and which has no other indication of level, may be assumed to be a phrase; i.e. N is to be read "noun phrase," n is to be read "noun." The list of abbreviations gives only the forms with capitals, except in those cases in which the form with capital is not employed.

In citations of the indigenous language, however, capital letters are morphophonemic symbols, which are explained in the morphophonemic section of each grammar. Citations are written morphophonemically only where the morphophonemic form is particularly relevant.

In citations of the indigenous languages, the intonation contours are approximately marked by punctuation. Beyond that the contours are identified only to the extent that they are essential to the description of the grammar.

Class and numerical symbols are generally given together, except that affixes are symbolized by the numerical symbol alone. When, however, an affix numbered under a particular word class occurs in the composition of a different word class, that affix is shown with class symbol as well as numerical symbol:

vb stem 12 = . . . +Caus: 3217, but

n stem 4 = + . . . - Caus:vb affix 3217.

Distribution classes of roots and constructions as well as morphophonemic classes are to be marked in the lexicon of a language. Loans are generally treated as roots.

N not followed by a numerical symbol, symbolizes any noun phrase.

A series designated by a hyphen refers to any one member of the series unless otherwise specified. The symbol C1 11-34 refers to any one clause numbered from 11 to 34. The symbol vb A-L refers to any one verb with a letter symbol from A to L of the alphabet.

If the formula of C1 11-34 includes a corresponding series, for example if it contains the tagmeme +P: Vb 11-34, it is to be assumed that in each clause of the series the numerical symbol within the formula will be identical with the numerical symbol of the clause. This means that in the example above the predicate of C1 23 will be manifested by Vb 23.

±(+A +B) indicates that the occurrence together of the tagmemes A and B is optional but that neither occurs without the other.

±(+A ±B) indicates that the occurrence of tagmeme A or of the two tagmemes together is optional, but that tagmeme B does not occur without tagmeme A.

±(+A ±B) indicates that the occurrence of either one of the tagmemes or of the two tagmemes together is obligatory.

+/-/- indicates that the occurrence of a tagmeme is optional under stated conditions, and obligatory under other conditions, and that it does not occur under other stated conditions.

(...)ⁿ indicates that the parenthetical item is optionally repeated an indefinite number of times.

T³ indicates that the tagmeme T optionally occurs up to three times in a construction. In morphophonemic writing a superscript merely distinguishes symbols.

T 1, T 2 symbolize two tagmemes which are formally contrastive although they are similar in function.

The formula +Base: n r 1/4 Res/8/vb r 10 +Cpd: n r 3 AS is to be read as follows: the obligatory Base tagmeme manifested by a noun root of class 1, by members of a restricted list of noun roots 4, by a noun root of class 8, or by a verb root 10; plus the obligatory tagmeme Compound manifested by members of noun root class 3 which arbitrarily select fillers of the Base slot with which to occur.

The symbol Res is thus employed of an etic class which is relevant at only one point in the grammar. The list of n r 2 Res in one formula is assumed to be a different list from that of n r 2 Res in another formula in the same language.

In the tagmeme +Base: n r 2 (imo), the form cited in the parenthesis is the only n r 2 which manifests the Base.

When corresponding slot symbols are differentiated by number in tagmemic formulas, the number may be omitted in the tagmatic formula when the fillers clearly show the differentiation: P 22 and P 23 in the tagmemic formulas may be written as P: Vb 22 and P: Vb 23 respectively in the tagmatic formulas.

Esther Matteson
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December, 1965

Abbreviations and Symbols

A	agent
Abil	abilitative
Abs	absolute
Ac	accompaniment
Act	active
Ad	additive
Adj	adjective
Adjl	adjectival
Adv	adverb
Advs	adversative
Aff	affirmative
An	animate
Antic	anticipatory
Ap	appositive
AS	arbitrary selection
Asp	aspect
Asr	assertive
At	attributive

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Att	attitude
Aug	augmentative
Aux	auxiliary
Ben	benefactive
C	consonant
C	complement
Caus	causative
Cd	coordinate
Cert	certification
Char	characterizer
Cir	circumstantial
Cit	citation
Clar	clarification
Clas	classification
Clos	closure
Cn	connective
Col	collective
Com	complete
Con	contour
Cond	condition
Conj	conjunction
Cont	continuative
Coop	cooperative
Cop	copulative

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

17

Corr	corroborative
Cp	comparative
Cpd	compound
Ctd	contained
Decl	declarative
Def	definite
Dem	demonstrative
Dep	dependent
Depr	deprecatory
Desc	descriptive
Desid	desiderative
Det	determinative
Detr	detrimental
Dim	diminutive
Dir	direction
Dis	discourse
Ditr	ditransitive
Div	diversification
Dub	dubititive
Dup	duplication
Dur	durative
End	endearment
Emph	emphatic

Eq	equative
Ev	evaluative
Ex	existential
Excl	exclusive
Exclam	exclamatory
Exp	expectation
Ext	external
Exten	extensive
Extra	extraordinary
F	function
Fem	feminine
Frag	fragment
Frust	frustrative
Fv	formative
Gen	genitive
Gd	gender
Hab	habitual
Hes	hesitation
Hm	human
Hort	hortatory
Hyp	hypothetical
I	item

Id	identical, identification
Ig	interrogative
Imper	impersonal
Impv	imperative
Inan	inanimate
Inc	incipient
Incl	inclusive
Incom	incomplete
Ind	independent
Indef	indefinite
Indic	indicative
Indir	indirect
Inf	infinitive
Info	information
Inst	instantaneous
Instr	instrumental
Inten	intention
Intens	intensifier
Inton	intonation
Intr	intransitive
Intro	introducer
Intrv	intransitivizer
Inv	invitation
IO	indirect object
It	iterative

J	juncture
L, loc	locative
Lim	limitative
M	manner
Mar	margin
Masc	masculine
Mk	marker
Mod	modification
Mov	movement
N	noun
Neg	negative
Neu	neuter, neutral
Nl	nominal, nominalizer
Nuc	nucleus
Num	number, numeral
O	object
Obl	obligatory
Onom	onomatopoetic
Opt	optative
P	predicate
Par	partitive

Part	particle
Pas	passive
Per	periphery
Perc	perceptive
Perf	perfect
Perm	permissive
Permn	permanent
Pl	plural
Pos	position
Posd	possessed
Postpos	postpositive
Prepos	prepositive
Pres	present
Prevb	preverb
Priv	privative
Pro	pronoun
Prob	probability
Prog	progressive
Proh	prohibitive
Ptc	participle
Ptcl	participial
Ptn	potential
Pur	purpose
Q	question

Qual qualifier
Quan quantitative
Quot quotative

R root
Rad radical
Rec reciprocal
Recp receptor
Red reduplication
Ref referent
Refl reflexive
Rel relative, relationship
Rep repetitive
Repr reportative
Res restricted
Resp respectively

S subject
Sat satellite
Sem semelfactive
Sent sentence
Seq sequence
Sg singular
Sim simultaneous
Spec specifier
Sub subordinate

Subj	subjunctive
Subs	substantive
Suc	successive
T	time
Temp	temporal, temporary
Tr	transitive
Trn	transition
Trv	transitivizer
V	vowel
Vb	verb
Vbl	verbal
Voc	vocative

PERSONS

- 1 sg
- 2 sg
- 3 sg (f)
- 3 sg (m)
- 1 pl (excl, incl)
- 2 pl
- 3 pl

+	obligatory
-	minus

<u>+</u>	optional
/	or
,	and
{ }	tagmemic formula
[]	tagmatic formula
~	variation under stated conditions

PITCH

1	low
2	mid
3	high

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Baure

by Priscilla Baptista and Ruth Wallin

Baure¹,² Arawakan, 5000 speakers, located on the Blanco, Negro and San Martín rivers of the Department of Beni, Province of Itenez, Bolivia.

1. The sentence
 - 1.1. The emic complex and coordinate sentence classes
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3. The phrase
 - 3.1. The verb phrase
 - 3.2. The noun phrase
 - 3.3. The locative phrase
 - 3.4. The specifier phrase
4. The word
 - 4.1. The verb
 - 4.2. The substantive

¹The phonemes of Baure are: p, t, č, k, ?, b, s, š, h, m, n, r, w, y, i, e, a, o.

²Baptista y Wallin, 1964.

- 4.3. The adverb
- 4.4. The time word
- 4.5. The modifier word
- 4.6. The connector word
- 4.7. The onomatopoetic word
- 4.8. The interrogative word
- 4.9. The particle
5. The morphophonemics

1. The sentence

1.1. The emic complex and coordinate sentence classes

		Complex		Coordinate
		Cond	Pur	
		10	20	30
Decl	01	11	21	31
Ig	03	13	23	33
Impv	05	15	25	35

Chart I. Emic complex and coordinate sentence classes

1.2. The complex sentence

1.2.1. Tagmemic complex sentence paradigm

- Sent 11 = {+(+Sat:Cl dep 100 +Inton 2:Contour 2) +Nuc:
Cl ind 01-02 +Inton 1: Contour 1}
- Sent 13 = {+(+Sat:Cl dep 100 +Inton 2:Contour 2) +Nuc:
Cl ind 01-04 +Inton 3:Contour 3}
- Sent 15 = {+(+Sat:Cl dep 100 +Inton 2:Contour 2) +Nuc:
Cl ind 05-06 +Inton 4:Contour 4/1}
- Sent 21 = {+Nuc:Cl ind 01-02 +Inton 2:Contour 2 +Sat:
Cl dep 200 +Inton 1:Contour 1}
- Sent 23 = {+Nuc:Cl ind 01-04 +Inton 2:Contour 2 +Sat:
Cl dep 200 +Inton 3:Contour 3}
- Sent 25 = {+Nuc:Cl ind 05-06 +Inton 2:Contour 2 +Sat:
Cl dep 200 +Inton 4:Contour 4/1}

1.2.2. Citation complex sentence paradigm

Sent 11 = nerški kač niwóyikinopi pétiporos 'now go I-make-you your-pellet-bow' (now I am going to make your pellet bow for you).

ápo rokí?inaša pon--kowé teč nípírimpen noy kiročáye 'if he-want another--there-is that my-piece there well-in' (if he wants another, there is my piece there in the well).

Sent 13 = kon to ka pikí?inow 'what the that-which you-want' (what do you want?).

ápo rošimoša to pitóbian--yikáčiyowoni 'if he-arrive the your-neighbor--you-go where' (if your neighbor arrives, where will you go?).

Sent 15 = pihinokoša te ber nitórari 'you-look this already my-finding' (you look at this that I have already found).

ápo ropihškoša to kobé--ónka ípikowon 'if he-pass-by the dog--not fearer' (if the dog passes by, don't be afraid).

Sent 21 = nikí?inow niyfnošen--koéč to nen hiráneb hénoko-neb 'I-want I-teach-them--because the these men good' (I want to teach them because these men are good).

nímpaša to neš--koéhko ti nen rišérekopow 'I-take the meat--so-that the my-mother she-cook' (I will take the meat so that my mother can cook).

Sent 23 = moeh piwóyokoša kahápar--koéč ónka pičórosonow 'certainly you-make manioc-liquid--because not your-corn' (are you really going to make manioc drink because you don't have corn?).

yiyónopa?i--koéhko yitórakoša to yišéčaneb 'you-pl-go--so-that you-find the your-children' (are you going to go so that you will find your children?).

Sent 25 = pihénícop--koéč ber pikoéyon 'you-good--because already you-with-wife' (you be good because already you have a wife).

páhokaša te netipóros--koéhko petipókoša teč arén
 'you-try this my-pellet-bow--so-that you-shoot
 that bird' (you try my pellet bow so that you can
 shoot that bird).

1.3. The coordinate sentence

1.3.1. Tagmemic coordinate sentence paradigm

- Sent 31 = {+Cd:Cl ind +Inton 2:Contour 2 +Nuc:Cl ind
 01-02 +Inton 1:Contour 1}
 Sent 33 = {+Cd:Cl ind +Inton 2:Contour 2 +Nuc:Cl ind
 01-04 +Inton 3:Contour 3}
 Sent 35 = {+Cd:Cl ind +Inton 2:Contour 2 +Nuc:Cl ind
 05-06 +Inton 4:Contour 4/1}

1.3.2. Citation coordinate sentence paradigm

- Sent 31 = nehórikow--áčo niwóyikow korakók 'I-make-thread--and I-make net' (I make thread, and I make a net).
 nečón nosómpow teč ka?án--áčo šímonowor neríki 'last-night they-heard that animal--and arriver-is-he now' (last night they heard that animal and he is arriving now).
 Sent 33 = napirš riším ti karém nokópe--áčo yití yeki?í-čopik 'also she-arrive Carmen yesterday--and you you-when-come' (also Carmen arrived yesterday and when did you come?).
 bérapič to neč ačopánoneb--tiwé kon to ka nohinoékopik 'already-come the those judges--but who the that-which they-look-come' (those judges already came but for whom have they come looking?).
 Sent 35 = nibéhapi--tiwé ónka nikóni 'I-untie-you--but not eater-me' (I'll untie you but don't eat me).
 áčo pikew nérikikoe--áčo pimokápoe naká 'and

you-go now-emph--and you-sleep there' (and
you go right now and you sleep there).

1.4. The sentence fragment

1.4.1. Tagmemic sentence fragment paradigm

Sent frag 41 = {+Nuc:Cl dep/N/L/t/cn 1/part neg/part gr
+Voc:n 1 c/4c/pro 1 +Inton 1:Contour 1-3}

Sent frag 42 = {+Nuc:part agm +Voc:n 1 c/4c/pro 1
+Inton 5:Contour 5}

Sent frag 43 = {+Nuc:onom +Inton 6:Contour 6}

1.4.2. Citation sentence fragment paradigm

Sent frag 41 = enbérē to níkáčočow nti 'tomorrow the my--
going I' (when I go tomorrow).

teč ínoye topopáronow 'that water-in dirty' (in that
dirty water).

ber--nen 'already--my-mother'.

napirí 'also'.

nte 'hello'.

Sent frag 42 = héni--ntóri 'all-right--my-friend'.

Sent frag 43 = tótorekow Sound of rooster crowing

1.5. The intonation

Pitches of antepenult, penult, and ultima

Contour 1 decl = 2-3-1↓

Contour 2 non-final = 2-3-2↓

Contour 3 question = 2-2-3↑

Contour 4 impv = 2-1-2↑

Contour 5 answer = 2-1-1↓/3-1-1↓

Contour 6 onom = Varies according to sound imitated

2. The clause

2.1. The independent clause

2.1.1. Emic independent clause classes

	Tr	Intr	Eq	Quot	
				Tr	Intr
	10	20	30	40	50
Decl 01	11	21	31	41	51
Ex 02	12	22	32	42	52
Q 03	13	23		43	53
Q 04	14	24	34	44	54
Impv 05	15	25		45	55
Impv 06	16	26		46	56

Chart II. Emic independent clause classes

2.1.2. Tagmemic independent clause formula

Cl = {+Mar:Cl mar +Nuc:Cl nuc 10-50}

The independent clause is subdivided into emic distribution classes 11-56 on the basis of the filler of the nucleus slot and of the distribution. Since the distribution classes do not otherwise differ in composition, they are not shown in separate formulas.

2.1.3. Independent clause citation

Ind cl = noy teč in neríyow--noropików to neč ka?ánoneb
 'there that water they-drink-where--they-just-
 now-come the those animals' (those animals were
 just now going there where they drink that water).
 kopi ikomórikon to mónci 'why-you killer the child'
 (why did you kill the child?).
 ne soratíye--ónka to ka kf?inon 'here town-in--
 not the that-which caring-person' (here in the
 town there is no one who cares).
 nihín--ónka ímokon 'my-daughter--not sleeper'
 (my daughter, don't sleep).

2.1.4. The independent clause margin

2.1.4.1. Tagmemic independent clause margin formula

Cl mar = {+(+Intro:cn 1/4-5 +Reportⁿ:part report +Voc:
N 3/n 1 c/4c/pro 1 2nd, 3rd person +Mod⁴:
Cl dep 300-400/L/n 4g-5g/n 4i-6i/t/mod)}

The order of the tagmemes is free, except that the Intro tagmeme occurs only clause initially. The clause initial position is, otherwise, generally emphatic.

The Report tagmeme most frequently immediately follows the P tagmeme in clauses 40 and 50. In other clauses it most frequently follows the Intro tagmeme or the first occurrence of the Mod tagmeme.

The Mod tagmeme occurs not more than twice preceding and twice following the Cl nuc tagmeme.

2.1.4.2. Independent clause margin citation

Cl mar = áčo--neríki--yití tekówon níronáneb wónow ne
'and--now--you all my-fathers located here' (now
all of you my fathers here).

napírí--hi--noy teč rowériye čómpē 'also--it-is-
said--there that his-house-in big' (and it is said
that there in that big house of his).

tiwé--ntóri--enbéré to rosiápočowapa to ses naká
'but--my-friend--tomorrow the its-entering-in
the sun there' (but, my friend, tomorrow when
the sun sets there).

moeh kotípopin--moríčí 'certainly white-thread--
Mary' (certainly, white thread, Mary).

pítí--pihnokiy teč kaháw 'you--you-see-where that
deer' (you, where you saw that deer).

2.1.5. The independent clause nucleus

2.1.5.1. Tagmemic independent clause nucleus paradigm

Cl nuc 11 = {+_S 1:Cl dep 600/N 1-6/Spec/pro 1 +Neg:part
neg +P 11:Vb 111 ±_O 1:Cl ind 34/Cl dep 600/
N 1-7/Spec /pro 1}

In this and the following formulas, the referent of the O 1 tagmeme is obligatorily different from the referent of the suffixal object optionally included in the P tagmeme; that is, if the P tagmeme includes a suffixal object in a clause in which the O 1 tagmeme occurs, the suffixal object is semantically an indirect object and the referent of the O 1 tagmeme is semantically a direct object. (see 4.1)

Cl nuc 12 = {+P 12: Vb 233/n 11b +O 1:Cl ind 34/C1 dep
600/N 1-7/Spec/pro 1 +S 1:Cl dep 600/N 1-6/
Spec/pro 1}

Cl nuc 13 = {+P 13:vb 113 +O 1:Cl ind 34/C1 dep 600/N
1-7/Spec/pro 1 +S 1:Cl dep 600/N 1-6/Spec/
pro 1}

Cl nuc 14 = {+Q 1:ig 1 +P 14:Vb 233/n 11b +O 1:Cl ind
34/C1 dep 600/N 1-7/Spec/pro 1 +S 1:Cl dep
600/N 1-6/Spec/pro 1}

The ig 1 which manifests the Q 1 tagmeme is marked to agree with either the phrase that manifests the S 1 tagmeme or the phrase that manifests the O 1 tagmeme or both.

Cl nuc 15 = {+P 15:Vb 115 +O 1:Cl ind 34/C1 dep 600/N
1-7/Spec/pro 1 +S 2:N 1-6/Spec/pro 1 2nd, 3rd
person}

Cl nuc 16 = {+Neg:part neg +P 16:Vb 233/n 11b +O 1:
Cl ind 34/C1 dep 600/N 1-7/Spec/pro 1 +S 2:
N 1-6/Spec/pro 1}

Cl nuc 21 = {+Neg:part neg +P 21:Vb 121 +S 1:Cl dep
600/N 1-6/Spec/pro 1}

Cl nuc 22 = {+P 22:Vb 234/n 12b +S 1:Cl dep 600/N 1-6/
Spec/pro 1}

Cl nuc 23 = {+P 23:vb 123 +S 1:Cl dep 600/N 1-6/Spec/
pro 1}

Cl nuc 24 = {+Q 2:ig 2 +P 24:Vb 234/n 12b +S 1:Cl dep
600/N 1-6/Spec/pro 1}

The ig 2 which manifests the Q 2 tagmeme is marked to agree with the phrase that manifests the S 1 tagmeme.

Cl nuc 25 = {+P 25:Vb 125 +S 2:N 1-6/Spec/pro 1 2nd,
3rd person}

- Cl nuc 26 = {+Neg:part neg +P 26:Vb 234/n 12b +S 2:
 N 1-6/Spec/pro 1 2nd, 3rd person}
- Cl nuc 31 = {+P 31:Vb 231/n/pro 1 +O 2:Cl dep 600/N
 3-6/10-11/Spec/pro 1}
- Cl nuc 32 = {+Neg:part neg +P 32:Vb 232/N 7 +O 2:Cl
 dep 600/N 3-6/10-11/Spec/pro 1}
- Cl nuc 34 = {+Q 3:ig 3 +P 34:N 3-7/10-11/Spec +O 2:
 Cl dep 600/N 3-6/10-11/Spec/pro 1/ig 3 +S 1:
 Cl dep 600/N 1-6/Spec/pro 1/ig 3}

Either the S tagmeme or the O 2 tagmeme occurs in portmanteau relationship with the Q 3 tagmeme.

- Cl nuc 41 = {+Cit:Discourse +P 41:Vb 141 +O 1:Cl ind
 34/Cl dep 600/N 1-7/Spec/pro 1 +S 1:Cl dep
 600/N 1-6/Spec/pro 1}

In this and the following formulas, the discourse manifesting the Cit tagmeme is optionally interrupted by other tagmemes of the clause nucleus, most frequently following the first word of the discourse.

- Cl nuc 42 = {+P 42:Vb 235/n 11b (kičóno) +O 1:Cl ind 34/
 Cl dep 600/N 1-7/Spec/pro 1 +S 1:Cl dep 600/N
 1-6/Spec/pro 1 +Cit:Discourse}

- Cl nuc 43 = {+P 43:vb 143 +O 1:Cl ind 34/Cl dep 600/N
 1-7/Spec/pro 1 +S 1:Cl dep 600/N 1-6/Spec/pro
 1 +Cit:Discourse}

- Cl nuc 44 = {+Q 1:ig 1 +P 44:Vb 235/n 11b (kičóno) +O 1:
 Cl ind 34/Cl dep 600/N 1-7/Spec/pro 1 +S 1:Cl
 dep 600/N 1-6/Spec/pro 1 +Cit:Discourse}

The ig 1 which manifests the Q 1 tagmeme is marked to agree with either the phrase that manifests the S 1 tagmeme or the phrase that manifests the O 1 tagmeme or both.

- Cl nuc 46 = {+Neg:part neg +P 46:Vb 235/n 11b (kičóno)
 +O 1:Cl ind 34/Cl dep 600/N 1-7/Spec/pro 1
 +S 2:N 1-6/Spec/pro 1 2nd, 3rd person +Cit:
 Discourse}

- Cl nuc 51 = {+Cit:Discourse +P 51:Vb 151 +S 1:Cl dep
 600/N 1-6/Spec/pro 1}

- Cl nuc 52 = {+P 52: Vb 236/n 12b (kéwono) +S 1: Cl dep
 600/N 1-6/Spec/pro 1 +Cit: Discourse}
- Cl nuc 53 = {+P 53: vb 153 +S 1: Cl dep 600/N 1-6/Spec/
 pro 1 +Cit: Discourse}
- Cl nuc 54 = {+Q 2: ig 2 +P 54: Vb 236/n 12b (kéwono)
 +S 1: Cl dep 600 N 1-6/Spec/pro +Cit: Discourse}

The ig 2 which manifests the Q 2 tagmeme is marked to agree with the phrase that manifests the S 1 tagmeme.

- Cl nuc 55 = {+Cit: Discourse +P 55: Vb 155 +S 2: N 1-6/Spec/pro 1 2nd, 3rd person}

- Cl nuc 56 = {+Neg: part neg +P 56: Vb 236/n 12b (kéwono)
 +S 2: N 1-6/Spec/pro 1 2nd, 3rd person +Cit:
 Discourse}

The most frequent order of tagmemes is that given in the paradigm above. However it varies freely, with the following exceptions: (1) the Neg tagmeme occurs only immediately preceding the P tagmeme; (2) the Q tagmeme of Ig Cl nuc 04 obligatorily occurs initially.

2.1.5.2. Citation independent clause nucleus paradigm

- Cl nuc 11 = to šiyé--rohíñokopaw--kon to rámpikow teč
 toéroker 'the fox--he-see--what the he-carry-
 come that field-man' (the fox was seeing what
 the farmer was bringing).
- nti--ónka--nipápi--to nihíkoč 'I--not--I-give-you--
 the my-knife' (I won't give you my knife).
- porók--riámen--teč 'never--she-take-them--that'
 (she never took that to them).
- Cl nuc 12 = wécon--to neč--te hir ačów to ropíři 'fighter
 --the those--this man and the his-brother' (this
 man and his brother are fighting those).
- Cl nuc 13 = roponoekšyowoni--to čor--teč nišír 'he-plant-
 where--the corn--that my-son' (where did my son
 plant the corn?).
- yítórákiyowoni--to ka yiník 'you-found-where--the
 that-which you eat' (where did you find what you
 are eating?).

Cl nuc 14 = koropi--poékon 'why-him-you--allower' (why do you let him?).

amopi--kí?inonow--to rehtipoékopaša to arén 'why-not-you--wanter-is--the he-shoot the bird' (why don't you want him to shoot the bird?).

Cl nuc 15 = rohinoékoša--to mísi--rotí 'he-look-for--the cat--he' (let him look for the cat).

Cl nuc 16 = berék--ípikowon--to bekiyíri to neč yibíroneb 'not-ever--fearer--the god the those devils' (don't ever fear the god of those devils).

Cl nuc 21 = woków--rabíkóp--teč ka?án šiyé 'not-yet--he-return--that animal fox' (that fox has not yet returned).

ónka--nokáč--ápo rohín ápo réta ápo ren ápo
rošír 'not--they-go--or his-daughter or his-brother or his-mother or his-son' (neither his daughter nor his brother nor his mother nor his son went).

Cl nuc 22 = yónonow--tič etónoči 'walker-is--that woman-little' (that girl is one who walks).

harékison--ti čapák 'light-eyed-person--the spider' (the spider has light-colored eyes).

Cl nuc 23 = rikáčiyowoni--ti pen 'she-go-where--this your-mother' (where did your mother go?).

Cl nuc 24 = kono--pínokian--to simórineb 'why-they--runners--the pigs' (why are the pigs running?).
amono--šímonopaw--to ahſneb 'why-not they--arrive-are--the children' (why aren't the children arriving?).

Cl nuc 25 = yisiáp--yití 'you-enter--you-pl' (you enter).

Cl nuc 26 = nóka--imokón pití 'not--sleeper--you' (don't sleep).

Cl nuc 31 = mónikowapa--ten rowér 'pretty-is--this his-house' (this house of his is pretty).

hir--teč 'man--that' (that is a man).

nti--ané moemóri 'I--old-person widow' (I am an old person, a widow).

Cl nuc 32 = ónka--niſírow--ten 'not--my-son-is--this'
(this is not my son).

woków--hírowor 'not-yet--man-is-he' (he is not yet a man).

ónka--to ka noník 'not--the that--which they eat'
(there isn't anything for them to eat).

Cl nuc 34 = kon--to wohíkon--to čóbi 'who--the stealer--the salt' (who stole the salt?).

kon--to ka rokí?inow--teč hir 'what--the that--which he-wants--that man' (what does that man want?).

Cl nuc 41 = pāšani ikowékoe--rokícow--hi--tič etón 'you-give-me a-little--he told--it is said--that woman'
(it is said he told that woman, "you give me a little").

nti--rokícowor--néromon to ka?ánoneb 'I--he-told-him--chief the animals' ("I am chief of the animals," he told him).

Cl nuc 42 = ber ónka nikí?inowor--kícon--hi 'already not I-want-it--sayer--it is said' ("already I don't want it," it is said he says).

Cl nuc 43 = rokíciyowoni--to neč hiráneb--nitórákowor ne
'he-tell-where--the those men--I-found-it here'
(where did he tell those men, "I found it here?").

Cl nuc 44 = kopi--kfícowonow--to nen--kač noším to yibíroneb 'why-you--teller-are--the these--go they-arrive the devils' (why are you telling these, "the devils are going to arrive?").

Cl nuc 45 = neríki nikáčošap--píkíč--ti pon--pití 'now I-go--you-tell--the other-person--you' ("now I'm going," you tell the other person).

Cl nuc 46 = ónka--kíconowor--ónka nikotorékopaša noy
'not--teller-is-him--not I-work there' (don't tell him, "I will not work there").

Cl nuc 51 = hah--rokew--teč móndi 'yes--he-say--that child' (that child said, "yes").

Cl nuc 52 = kewon--to nirón--pámpik teč yákis 'sayer--

the my-parent--you-carry-come that fire-wood'
(my parent says, "you bring that firewood").

Cl nuc 53 = nokéyow--biyónopoekopaša pon soratiye 'they-say-where--we-walk-down other town-to' (where did they say, "we are going by land to another town?").

Cl nuc 54 = kopi--kéwonow--kač rohán 'why-you--sayer-are--go he-well' (why do you say, "he is going to be well?").

Cl nuc 55 = héni--roké--rotí 'all-right--he-say--he' (let him say, "all right").

Cl nuc 56 = ónka--kéwon--ónkaw 'not--sayer--no' (don't say, "no").

2.2. The dependent clause

2.2.1. Tagmemic dependent clause paradigm

Cl 100 = {+Cond:cn 3 +Nuc:Cl ind 01}

Cl 200 = {+Pur:cn 2 +Nuc:Cl ind 01-02}

Cl 310 = {+P dep:vb dep 110/140 +O:N 1-6/Spec/pro 1
+S:N 1-4/Spec/pro 1}

Cl 320 = {+P dep:vb dep 120/130/150 +S:N 1-6/Spec/pro 1}

Cl 410 = {+T:n 4i-6i +Nuc:N 8/vb dep 210 +O:N 1-6
Spec pro 1 +S:N 1-6 Spec/pro 1 +L:L/adv}

Cl 420 = {+T:n 4i-6i +Nuc:N 9/vb dep 220/230 +S:N
1-6/Spec/pro 1 +L:L/adv}

Cl 500 = {+P dep:vb dep 500 +Mod:n 4i-6i/adv}

Cl 600 = {+Spec:part lim +Nuc:Cl ind 11/21}

2.2.2. Citation dependent clause paradigm

Cl 100 = ápo--rošímoša to hir 'if--he-arrives the man'
(if the man arrives).

Cl 200 = koéhko--rokáč enhére 'so-that--he-go tomorrow'
(so that he will go tomorrow).

koēč--berškononeb notí 'because--fishers they'
(because they are fishermen).

koēč--ber roník to him 'because--already he-eat
the fish' (because he is already eating the fish).

koēč--pití péron 'because--you lazy-person' (be-
cause you are a lazy person).

Cl 310 = rohínokiy--teč--to šiyé 'he-see-where--that--the
fox' (where the fox sees that).

ríkíciyow--rotí--ti čapák 'she-told-where--him--
the spider' (where the spider told him).

Cl 320 = riábikiyow--rití 'she-return-where--she' (where
she returns).

neríyow--to ka?ánoneb čónokoneb 'they-drink-
where--the animals big-ones' (where the impor-
tant animals drink).

mónikiyow--to nowér to bičonoéneb 'pretty-where
--the their-house the our-country-men' (where
the houses of our countrymen are pretty).

Cl 410 = enbérē--to roníkóčow--to neš--teč 'tomorrow--
the his-eating--the meat--that' (tomorrow when
that one eats the meat).

páhare--rotórakaša--teč arén--kákiwokoye 'day-
after-tomorrow--he-find--that bird--jungle-in'
(day after tomorrow when he finds that bird in the
jungle).

Cl 420 = neríki--to nikáčočow--nti--soratiye 'now--the
my-going--I--town-to' (now when I go to town).
to ber rosiápočowapa--to ses 'the already his-
entering--the sun' (when the sun was already
setting).

pomórekoe--kowěša--to ničóron--noy 'other-year--
there-is--the my-corn--there' (next year when I
have corn there).

rišímoša--ti nihín 'she-arrive--the my-daughter'
(when my daughter arrives).

Cl 500 = hírikonow--noy 'sitter--there' (one who sits
there).

šímonow--neríki 'arriver--now' (one who arrives now).

C1 600 = to--nehtipoékopaša to arén 'the--I-shoot the bird' (my shooting of the bird).

to--nokómoriow to číntineb 'the--they-gather the people' (the gathering of the people).

3. The phrase

3.1. The verb phrase

3.1.1. Tagmemic verb phrase paradigm

Vb 100 = {+Mod 2:vb aux 700 +Mod 1:vb aux 600 +H:vb
10-20/40-50}

Verb phrases 100 are further subdivided into classes Vb 111, 115, 121, 125, 141, 145, 151 and 155, corresponding to the verb of class 10-20 and 40-50 which manifests the H tagmeme (see 4.1) and to the distribution in clause classes 11, 15, 21, 25, 41, 45, 51 and 55. (see 2.1.1, Chart II)

Vb 200 = {+Mod:n core 2 (imir) +H:vb 30}

Verb phrases 200 are further subdivided into classes Vb 231-236, corresponding to the verb of class 30 which manifests the H tagmeme (see 4.1) and to the distribution in clause classes 31, 32, 12, 14, 16, 22, 24, 26, 42, 44, 46, 52, 54 and 56 (see 2.1.1, Chart II).

3.1.2. Citation verb phrase paradigm

Vb 100

Vb 111 = sta--rokf?inow--ronikóni 'prog--he-want--he-eat-me' (he is wanting to eat me).

Vb 115 = kač--pitíriwapa--pikárawow 'go--you-know-how--you-learn' (you are going to know how to learn).

Vb 121 = éta--ráročop 'finish--he-climb' (he finished climbing).

Vb 141 = riebirírik--rikícowor 'she-little-by-little--she-told-him' (she told him little by little).

Vb 200

Vb 231 = imfr--mónčikowore 'very--child-he' (he is very young).

Vb 234 = imfr--beríkonow 'very--fisher' (he is very much a fisher).

3.2. The noun phrase

3.2.1. Tagmemic noun phrase paradigm

N 1 = {+Spec:Spec/part lim +Quant 2:n 4f +Quant 1:n 4e
+H:n 1 a-3 a/6a-10a/1 d/vb dep 300-400 +Desc:
n 4g-5g}

N 2 = {+Spec:Spec/part lim +Quant 2:n 4f +Quant 1:n
4e +Gen:n 1d +H:n 4b-5b/11b-12b/4e/4f/4g-
5g/vb dep 500 +Desc:n 4g-5g}

N 3 = {+H:N 1-2/Spec +Ap:C1 dep 300/500/n}

N 4 = {+H:N 1-2 +Gen:N 10-11 +Ap:C1 dep 300/500/n}

N 5 = {+(+Conj:cn 3 +H:N 1-3)⁴}

N 6 = {+H:N 1-3 +Conj:cn 3/5 +Cd:N 1-3}

N 7 = {+Spec:part lim +Rel:part rel +Conj:cn 3 +H:
n/vb}

N 8 = {+Spec:part lim +T:t/part neg 5 +Mod:vb aux 600-
700 +H:n 7/vb dep 300}

N 9 = {+Spec:part lim +T:t/part neg 5 +Mod:vb aux 600-
700 +H:n 8a-9a/vb dep 400}

N 10-11

Obtain formulas N 10 and N 11 from N 1 and N 2 respectively by multiplication as follows: Rewrite +Spec tagmeme as +Spec:part lim.

3.2.2. Citation noun phrase paradigm

N 1 = to--pon--mapín--rošéčaneb--čónokoneb 'the--other--two--his-children--big' (his other two big children).

to--pimónikopi 'the--your-prettiness' (your prettiness).

- te--robekóri 'this--he-speak' (this word of his).
 teč--roháričočow 'that--his-tying' (his tying that).
 N 2 = to neč--rotír--hiráneb 'the those--his--men' (those men of his).
 to--mapiá--nipér--simóri--ti?áči 'the--two--my-domesticated-possession--pig--small' (my two small pigs).
 to--mpón 'the--three--people'.
 teč--kotorékonow 'that--worker'.
 N 3 = teč pári--nobeký to anéneb 'that house--they-speak-where the old -people' (that house where the old ones speak).
 to nen hiráneb čónokoneb--ačopánoneb 'the these men big--judges' (these important men, judges).
 to neč--šímonow neríki 'the those--arriver now' (those who are arriving now).
 teč ka?án--siyé 'that animal--fox' (that fox).
 N 4 = to rowér--to kosé 'the his-house--the Joe' (Joe's house).
 to neč neromónoneb--to číntineb--wónow noy 'the those their-chiefs--the people--situated there' (those chiefs of the people who are situated there).
 to ritír čobi--ti nen--karém 'the her salt--the my-mother--Carmen' (the salt of my mother Carmen).
 N 5 = ápo--rohín--ápo--réta--ápo--ren--ápo--rošír 'or--his daughter--or--his sister--or--his mother--or--his son' (his daughter or his sister or his mother or his son).
 ápo--to číntineb hénekoneb--ápo--to číntineb mehwokononeb 'or--the people good--or--the people bad' (the good people or the bad people).
 N 6 = to áne--áčo--to ropíri 'the old-person--and--the his brother' (the old person and his brother).
 ti čapák hárekison beyánow naká--áčo--to pon ka?ánoneb 'the spider fair-eyed-one guarder there--and--the other animals' (the spider with

light-colored eyes who was guard there, and the other animals).

N 7 = to--ka--béher 'the--that--which--untier' (he who unties).

to--ka--ápo--roemír 'the--that--which--or--his-face' (that about his face).

to--ka--noník 'the--that--which--they-eat' (that which they eat).

N 8 = to--sta--rokí?inow--robékočow 'the--prog--he-wants--his-speaking' (when he was wanting to speak).

to--ber--nohínokoč 'the--already--their-seeing' (when they had already seen).

N 9 = to--wókow--rosiápoč 'the--not-yet--his-entering' (when he had not yet entered).

to--ber--rotíriwapa--rohábicočow 'the--already--he-knows-how--his-paddling' (when he already knows how to paddle).

N 10 = ten--pahás--riníkori 'that--one--her-plate' (that one plate of hers).

N 11 = ti--etóniči--mónik 'the--woman-little--pretty' (the pretty girl).

3.3. The locative phrase

3.3.1. Tagmemic locative phrase paradigm

L 1

Obtain formula from N 1 by substituting loc 1-2 for the filler of the H slot.

L 2

Obtain formula from N 2 by substituting loc 3-4 for the filler of the H slot.

L 3-4

Obtain formulas from N 3 and N 4 respectively by substituting L 1-2 for the filler of the H slot.

L 5-6

Obtain formulas from N 5 and N 6 respectively by substituting L 1-3 for the filler of the H slot.

L 7 = {+H:adv +Ap:Cl dep 300/L 1-6}

L 8 = {+Rel:n 4h/12h +H: L 1-7/n 4i-6i}

3.3.2. Citation locative phrase paradigm

L 1 = teč--riábinonoye--mehéwokon 'that--her-husband-in
--bad' (in that bad husband of hers).

L 2 = to--pon--bipér--típorekoye--číča 'the--other--our-
domesticated-possession--chicken-in--big' (In
our other big chicken).

L 3 = teč nimokóye--rimokýow ti mónci 'that my-hammock-
in--she-sleep-where the child' (in my hammock
where the child is sleeping).

L 4 = to nosóriye--to nironáneb 'the their-town-in--the
my-parents' (my my parents' town).

L 5 = ápo--típorekopenoye--ápo--riwériye 'or--chicken-
pen-in--or--her-house-in' (in the chicken pen
or in her house).

L 6 = kiročáye--áčo--wapoériye 'well-in--and--river-in'
(in the well and in the river).

L 7 = ne--rowériye čómpé 'here--his-house-in big' (here
in his big house).

naká--rošimý teč šiyé 'there--he-arrive-where
that fox' (there where that fox arrives).

L 8 = iyowón--soratíye 'from--town-in' (from within the
town).

íškón--enbéré 'until--tomorrow'.

3.4. The specifier phrase

3.4.1. Tagmemic specifier phrase paradigm

Spec 1 = {+H:pro 2}

Spec 2 = {+H:part lim +Pl:pro 3}

3.4.2. Citation specifier phrase paradigm

Spec 1 = ti 'this-fem-present' (this).

te 'this-m-present' (this).

ten 'this-m-proximate' (this).

teč 'this-m-remote' (that).

Spec 2 = to nen 'the these-proximate' (these).
to neč 'the these-remote' (those).

4. The word

4.1. The verb

4.1.1. The independent verb

4.1.1.1. The transitive verb 10

4.1.1.1.1. The inflected transitive verb 10

4.1.1.1.1.1. Tagmemic verb 10 paradigm

vb 11 = {+S dep:1000 +Base:vb theme 10 +O dep:1000
+Emph:1210/{+Com:1220 +Appr:1230}}

vb 15 = {+S dep:1002-1003/1006-1007 +Base:vb theme
10 +O dep:1000 +Emph:1210/{+Com:1220
+Appr:1230}}

4.1.1.1.1.2. Citation verb 10 paradigm

vb 11 = ni-biáše-r-e 'I -pull-out-will -it -emph' (I will
pull it out).

ri-hfnoekowo-ro-ni-š 'she -looking-for -him -ctf -
appr' (well, she would have been looking for
him).

vb 15 = yi-beháša-ni-či 'you -untie-will -me -en' (you
untie me).

4.1.1.1.2. The transitive verb theme 10

4.1.1.1.2.1. Tagmemic verb theme 10 paradigm

vb theme 10.1. = {+Base:vb stem 10a +Subj:2210b +Ben:

2221 +T:2230 +Suc:2240 +Mot:2250b +(Dur:
 4260 +Abs:4271) +(Perf:2260b +Rep:2270
 +Unf:2280b) +Ptn:2290b +Punc:3220b
 +/-Clos:-b}

In this and the following formulas 'Clos' is a super-tagmeme occurring in portmanteau relationship with any tagmeme manifested by an affix b. The symbol +/- indicates that the closure tagmeme is obligatory following any affix other than an affix b.

The Ptn tagmeme optionally precedes the Unf tagmeme. No more than 5 of the optional tagmemes occur simultaneously.

vb theme 10.2 = {+Base:vb stem 10b +Subj:2210b +Ben:
 2221 +T:2230 +Suc:2240 +Mot:2250b +(Dur:
 4260 +Abs:4271) +(Perf:2260b +Rep:2270
 +Unf:2280b) +Ptn:2290b +Punc:3220b +Clos:
 -b}

vb theme 10.3 = {+Base:vb stem 20a Res +Subj:2210b
 +(Ben:2221 +T:2230 +Suc:2240 +Mot:2250b)
 +(Dur:4260 +Abs:4271 +[Perf:2260b +Rep:
 2270 +Unf:2280b] +Ptn:2290b +Punc:3220b)/
 (+Ben:2221 +T:2230 +Suc:2240 +Mot:2250b
 +[Perf:2260b +Rep:2270 +Unf:2280b] +Ptn:
 2290b +Punc:3220b) +/-Clos:-b}

4.1.1.2.2. Citation verb theme 10 paradigm

vb theme 10.1 = -wóyiko-no-ša 'make -for -will' (will make for).

-hfnoko-pa-ša 'see -go -will' (will go to see).

-níko-po-re-yo 'eat -perf -rep -unf' (going to eat again).

vb theme 10.2 = -ačíko-pik-i-ko 'visit -come -dur -abs'
 (visited).

-nó-wa-na-pa-po-wo 'announce -temp -suc -go
 -perf -punc' (going to speak for a little while and then depart).

-kára-wa-ša 'study -temp -will' (will learn).

vb theme 10.3 = -ára?inoko-no-wo 'sad -for -punc' (be sad for).
 -yóno-wa-na-pa-po-wo 'walk -temp -suc -go -perf -punc' (go to walk for a little while to one place and then to another).

4.1.1.1.3. The transitive verb stem 10

4.1.1.1.3.1. Tagmemic verb stem 10 paradigm

vb stem 10.1 = {+Base:vb core 10 Res/n core 1-7 Res
 +/+Aug:4210 +(Cpd 1:n core 1-6 Res/8 Res
 +[Dur:4260 +Abs:4271])/(+Cpd 2:n core 1-6
 Res/8 Res +Dur:4260 +Abs:4271)/(+Dur:
 4260/Dir:4251 +Abs:4271)}

In this and the following formulas, the symbol +/+ indicates that the Aug tagmeme is obligatory with cores of morphophonemic classes 1 and 2 (see 5.5); it is optional elsewhere.

vb stem 10.2 = {+Base:vb core 10 Res/n core 1-7 Res
 +/+Aug:4210 +(Cpd 1:n core 1-6 Res/8 Res
 +[Dur:4260 +Abs:4271])/(+Cpd 2:n core 1-6
 Res/8 Res/9 Res +Cur:4260 +Abs:4271)/
 (+Dur:4260/Dir:4251 +Abs:4271)}

vb stem 10.3 = {+Base:vb core 10 Res/n core 1-7 Res
 +/+Aug:4210 +Desid:4220 +Sn:4230 +Ext-ag:
 4240 +(Dur:4260 +Abs:4271)/(+Dur:4260
 +Abs:4271)}

vb stem 10.4 = {+Base:vb core 10 Res/n core 1-7 Res
 +/+Aug:4210 +Dur:4260 +Abs:4271}

vb stem 10.5 = {+Base:vb core 10 (ni-) +Abs:4271/Dir:
 4251/(+T:2230 +Suc:2240)}

vb stem 10.6 = {+Base:vb core 10 Res/n core 1-7 Res
 +(Cpd:n core 1-6 Res/8)/(+Dir:4253 +Inst:
 4272)}

vb stem 10.7 = {+Base:vb core 10 Res/n core 1-7 Res
 +/+Aug:4210 +Sn:4230 +Ext-ag:4240 +(Dur:
 4260 +Abs:4271)}

vb stem 10.8 = {+Indef:4100 +Base:vb core 10 Res/n core
 1-7 Res +Cpd:n core 1-6 Res/8 Res +Indef:
 4273}

vb stem 10.9 = {+Base:vb core 10 Res/n core 1-7 Res
 +(Dir:4251 +Abs:4271)/(+Dir:4253 +Abs:
 4271)}

vb stem 10.10 = {+Base:vb core 10 (-iyono-) +(+Aug:4210
 +Dur:4260 +Inst:4272)/(+Desid:4220 +Sn:4230
 +Ext-ag:4240 +[+Dur:4260 +Abs:4271])/(+Cpd
 2:n core 1-6 Res 8 Res +Dur:4260 +Abs:4271)
 /(+Dur:4260 +Abs:4271)}

vb stem 10.11 = {+Base:vb core 10 (-imohiri-) +(+Aug:
 4210 +Inst:4272)/(+Desid:4220 +Sn:4230
 +Ext-ag:4240 +[+Dur:4260 +Abs:4271])/(+Cpd
 2:n core 1-6 Res/8 Res +Dur:4260 +Abs:4271)
 /(+Dur:4260 +Abs:4271)}

Verb stem composition classes 10.1-11, 20.1-10 and 30 are not relevant on the higher levels; however the verb stems are subdivided into arbitrary distribution classes a and b.

4.1.1.3.2. Citation verb stem 10 paradigm

vb stem 10.1 = -sóri-ešo-ko- 'fry -meat -abs' (fry meat).
 -tóra?-ači-ko- 'find -dir -abs' (find in another place).

vb stem 10.2 = -póno-e-ko- 'plant -dur -abs' (keep on planting).
 -katopó-p-aro- 'dirty -aug -liquid' (make a liquid dirty).

vb stem 10.3 = -híno-so-?i-no-e-ko- 'look -want -sn -ext-ag -dur -abs' (want to keep on thinking).
 -híno-no-ko- 'look -aug -abs' (look very much).

vb stem 10.4 = -bé-be-ko- 'talk -aug -abs' (talk very much).

vb stem 10.5 = -ní-ači- 'eat -dir' (eat in another place).
 -ní-wa-na- 'eat -temp -suc' (eat for a little while and then do something else).

vb stem 10.6 = ímo-wero-čo 'put -medicine -inst' (treat with medicine).

póni-ye-čo- 'touch -dir -inst' (touch at that place).

vb stem 10.7 = -kí-ki-?i-no 'want -aug -sn -ext-ag'
(want very much).

-kopéra-?i-no-e-ko- 'harm -sn -ext-ag -dur -abs'
(keep harming).

vb stem 10.8 = -ko-bé-si- 'indef -speak -indef' (be spoken to).

-ko-eyño-poe-si 'indef -be-taught -down -indef'
(be taught on the ground).

vb stem 10.9 = -išóm-ači-ko- 'stay -dir -abs' (stay in another place).

-šímo-emiri-ko- 'arrive -front -abs' (arrive in front of).

vb stem 10.10 = -iyóno-yono-e-čo 'make-walk -aug -dur -inst' (cause to keep walking).

-iyóno-poe-ki-ko 'make-walk -down -dur -abs'
(cause to keep going by land).

vb stem 10.11 = -imohíri-ki-ko 'make-sit -dur -abs'
(cause to keep sitting).

-imohíri-hiri-čo 'make-sit -aug -inst' (make sit a lot).

4.1.1.1.4. The transitive verb core 10

4.1.1.1.4.1. Tagmemic verb core 10 paradigm

vb core 10.1 = {+Base:vb r 11 +Core fv 1:5201}

vb core 10.2 = {+Base:vb r 12 +Core fv 2:5202}

vb core 10.3 = {+Base:vb r 13 +Core fv 3:5203}

vb core 10.4 = {+Base:vb r 14 +Core fv 4:5204}

vb core 10.5 = {+Base:vb r 15 +Core fv 5:5205}

vb core 10.6 = {+Base:vb r 16}

vb core 10.7 = {+Priv:5131 +Att:5121 +Base:vb core
10.1-6 Res/n core 1-6 Res}

vb core 10.8 = {+Caus:5111 +Base:vb core 10. 1-7 Res/
20.1-6 Res}

vb core 10.9 = {+Cause:5111 +Priv:5131 +Att:5121
+Base:vb core 20}
 vb core 10.10 = {+Priv:5131 +Att:5121 +Caus:5111
+Base:vb core 20}
 vb core 10.11 = {+Trz:5112 +Base:vb core 20 Res/n core
1-6 Res}

4.1.1.1.4.2. Citation verb core 10 paradigm

vb core 10.1 = -sí-ri- 'toast -core-fv' (toast).
 vb core 10.2 = -e-ró- 'drink -core-fv' (drink).
 vb core 10.3 = -pá-re- 'play -core-fv' (play).
 vb core 10.4 = -tó-ra- 'find -core-fv' (find).
 vb core 10.5 = -yí-no- 'teach -core-fv' (teach).
 vb core 10.6 = -ámo- 'carry'.
 vb core 10.7 = -kó-tiro- 'with -possession' (own).
 -mo-kó-tiro- 'not -with -possession' (not own).
 vb core 10.8 = -e-ní- 'make -eat' (cause to eat).
 -e-píno- 'make -flee' (cause to flee).
 -e-mo-kó-tiro- 'make -not -with -possession'
(cause not to own).
 vb core 10.9 = -e-mo-kó-tore- 'make -not -with -work'
(cause not to work).
 vb core 10.10 = -ko-e-méri- 'with -make -escape' (save).
 mo-ko-e-méri- 'not -with -make -escape' (not
save).
 vb core 10.11 = ka-topó- 'trz -dirty' (dirty)..

4.1.1.1.5. The transitive verb root 10 (see 4.1.4)

4.1.1.2. The intransitive verb 20

4.1.1.2.1. The inflected intransitive verb 20

4.1.1.2.1.1. Tagmemic verb 20 paradigm

vb 21 = {+S dep:1000 +Base:vb theme 20 +Emph:1210/
(+Com:1220 +Appr:1230)}

vb 25 = {+S dep:1002-1003/1006-1007 +Base:vb theme 20
 +Emph:1210/(+Com: 1220 +Appr: 1230)}

4.1.1.2.1.2. Citation verb 20 paradigm

vb 21 = ro-emokópawo-ni-š 'he -sleep -ctf -appr' (well,
 he would have been sleeping).

no-šímo-e?i 'they -arrive -emph' (they have to
 arrive).

vb 25 = pi-kéwaporeyi-čl 'you -go-again -en' (you go
 again).

4.1.1.2.2. The intransitive verb theme 20

4.1.1.2.2.1. Tagmemic verb theme 20 paradigm

vb theme 20.1 = {+Base:vb stem 20a +Subj:2210b +T:2230
 +Mot:2250b +(Dur:4260 +Abs:4271) +(Perf:
 2260b +Rep:2270 +Unf:2280b) +Ptn:2290b
 +Refl:3210b +Punc:3220b +/-Clos:-b}

vb theme 20.2 = {+Base:vb stem 20b +Subj:2210b +T:
 2230 +Mot:2250b +(Dur:4260 +Abs:4271)
 +(Perf:2260b +Rep:2270 +Unf:2280b) +Ptn:
 2290b +Refl:3210b +Punc:3220b +Clos:-b}

vb theme 20.3 = {+Base:vb stem 10 Res +(Recip:2222b
 +Mot:2250b +[-Perf:2260b +Rep:2270 +Unf:
 2280b] +Ptn:2290b +Punc:3220b)/(+Subj:2210b
 +T:2230 +Mot intent:2250b +[-Perf:2260b
 +Rep:2270 +Unf:2280b] +Ptn:2290b +Refl:
 3210b +Punc:3220b) +/-Clos:-b}

4.1.1.2.2.2. Citation verb theme 20 paradigm

vb theme 20.1 = -imokósó?ino-wa-pa-po 'sleep -temp -go
 -refl' (be sleepy).

-káčo-pik-i-ko 'go -mot -dur -abs' (keep on going).

-tórok-a-po 'go-out -subj -refl' (go out).

vb theme 20.2 = -bériko-po-wo 'fish -perf -punc' (have
 been fishing).

-kokopoési-a-ša 'be-lowered -subj -will' (will be lowered).

vb theme 20.3 = -wéčo-koko-po-re-po 'fight -recip -perf -again -unf' (going to have fought each other again).

-hínoko-po 'look -refl' (watch out for one's self).
-bi-á-po 'go-out -subj -refl' (get out of the way).

4.1.1.2.3. The intransitive verb stem 20

4.1.1.2.3.1. Tagmemic verb stem 20 paradigm

vb stem 20.1 = {+Base:vb core 20 Res/n core 1-7 Res
 $\underline{+}$ /Aux:4210 $\underline{+}$ (+Cpd 1:n core 1-6 Res/8 Res
 $\underline{+}$ [+Dur:4260 +Abs:4271])/(+Cpd 2:n core 1-6
Res/8 Res $\underline{+}$ Dur:4260 +Abs:4271)/($\underline{+}$ Dur:4260
+Abs:4271)}

vb stem 20.2 = {+Base:vb core 20 Res/n core 1-7 Res
 $\underline{+}$ /+Aug:4210 $\underline{+}$ (+Cpd 3:n core 1-6 Res/8 Res/9
Res $\underline{+}$ Dur:4260 +Abs:4271)/(+Dur:4260 +Abs:
4271)}

vb stem 20.3 = {+Base:vb core 20 Res/n core 1-7
Res $\underline{+}$ (+Desid:4220 +Sn:4230 +Ext-ag:
4240 $\underline{+}$ [+Dur:4260 +Abs:4271])/(+Cpd 2:n core
1-6 Res/8 Res $\underline{+}$ Dur:4260 +Abs:4271)/(+Dur:
4260 +Abs:4271)}

vb stem 20.4 = {+Base:vb core 20 Res/n core 1-7 Res
 $\underline{+}$ /+Aug:4210 $\underline{+}$ Dur:4260 +Abs:4271}

vb stem 20.5 = {+Base:vb core 20 (-yono-) $\underline{+}$ (+Aug:4210
+Dur:4260 +Inst:4272)/(+Desid:4220 +Sn:4230
+Ext-ag:4240 $\underline{+}$ [+Dur:4260 +Abs:4271])/(+Dur:
4260 +Abs:4271)}

vb stem 20.6 = {+Base:vb core 20 (-hiri-) $\underline{+}$ (+Aug:4210
+Inst:4272)/(+Desid:4220 +Sn:4230 +Ext-ag:
4240 $\underline{+}$ [+Dur:4260 +Abs:4271])/(+Cpd 2:n core
1-6 Res/8 Res $\underline{+}$ Dur:4260 +Abs:4271)/(+Dur:
4260 +Abs:4271)}

vb stem 20.7 = {+Base:vb core 20 Res/n core 1-7 Res
+Inst:4272}

vb stem 20.8 = {+Base:vb core 20 Res/n core 1-7 Res
+/Aug:4210 +Desid:4220 +Sn:4230 +Ext-ag:
4240 +(Dur:4260 +Abs:4271)}

vb stem 20.9 = {+Indef:4100 +Base:vb core 20 Res/10
Res +Cpd 2:n core 1-6 Res/8 Res +Indef:4273}

vb stem 20.10 = {+Base:vb core 20 (-imo-) +(Sn:4230
+Ext-ag:4240 +[Dur:4260 +Abs:4271])/(+Cpd
2:n core 1-6 Res/8 +Dur:4260 +Abs:4271)/
(+Dur:4260 +Abs:4271)}

4.1.1.2.3.2. Citation verb stem 20 paradigm

vb stem 20.1 = -tóri-tori-soenoki- 'itch -aug -ear' (ear itches very much).
-kámo-ko- 'fat -abs' (fat).

vb stem 20.2 = -aro-é-ko- 'fly -dur -abs' (keep on flying).
-ya 'cry'.

vb stem 20.3 = -šímo-so-?i-no-e-ko 'arrive -want -sn -ext-ag -dur -abs' (keep on wanting to arrive).
-pfno-poe-ko- 'flee -down -abs' (flee by land).

vb stem 20.4 = yibíri-biri-ko- 'tremble -aug -abs' (tremble very much).
há-ha-ki-ko- 'laugh -aug -dur -abs' (keep on laughing very much).

vb stem 20.5 = -yóno-so-?i-no- 'walk -want -sn -ext-ag' (want to walk).

vb stem 20.6 = -híri-hiri-čo- 'sit -aug -inst' (sit a lot).

vb stem 20.7 = -hábi-čo- 'paddle -inst' (paddle).

vb stem 20.8 = -ehewó-?i-no- 'happy -sn -ext-ag' (be happy).

vb stem 20.9 = -ko-ehébi-poe-si 'indef -fall -down -indef' (have fallen down).

vb stem 20.10 = -fmo-čipi-ko- 'sleep -roof -abs' (sleep under the roof).

4.1.1.2.4. The intransitive verb core 20

4.1.1.2.4.1. Tagmemic verb core 20 paradigm

vb core 20.1 = {+Base:vb r 21 +Core fv:5201}
 vb core 20.2 = {+Base:vb r 22 +Core fv:5202}
 vb core 20.3 = {+Base:vb r 23 +Core fv:5203}
 vb core 20.4 = {+Base:vb r 24 +Core fv:5204}
 vb core 20.5 = {+Base:vb r 25 +Core fv:5205}
 vb core 20.6 = {+Base:vb r 26}
 vb core 20.7 = {Priv:5131 +Att:5121 +Base:vb core
 20.1-20.6 Res/n core 1-6 Res}

4.1.1.2.4.2. Citation verb core 20 paradigm

vb core 20.1 = -yó-ri- 'be-angry -core-fv' (be angry).
 vb core 20.2 = áha-ro- 'be-burning -core-fv' (be burning).
 vb core 20.3 = -šé-re- 'cook -core-fv' (cook).
 vb core 20.4 = -á-ra- 'be-sad -core-fv' (be sad).
 vb core 20.5 = -pí-no- 'flee -core-fv' (flee).
 vb core 20.6 = -šímo- 'arrive'.
 vb core 20.7 = -mo-kó-tore- 'not -with -work' (not be
 working).
 -kó-piro- 'with -fever' (have a fever).

4.1.1.2.5. The intransitive verb root 20 (see 4.1.4)

4.1.1.3. The stative verb 30

4.1.1.3.1. The inflected stative verb 30

4.1.1.3.1.1. Tagmemic verb 30 paradigm

vb 31.1 = {+Base:vb theme 30.1 +/-O dep:1000 +Emph:
 1210/(+Com:1220 +Appr:1230)}

The symbol +/- indicates that the O dep tagmeme is obligatory when the O 2 tagmeme does not occur in the clause; it does not occur otherwise.

vb 31.2 = {+Base:vb theme 30.1 +O dep:1000 +Emph:
 1210/(+Com:1220 +Appr:1230)}

vb 32-35

Obtain formulas from that of vb 31.2 by substituting vb theme 30.2-30.5 respectively for the filler of the Base slot of verb 31.2.

4.1.1.3.1.2. Citation verb 30 paradigm

- vb 31.1 = hépiyepikowo-r-e 'good-word-dir-come-vbz -he -emph' (he comes with good words).
 hírowo-ro 'man-vbz -he' (he is a man).
 vb 31.2 = nišfrowo-či 'my-son-vbz -en' (is my son).
 móni?inoekowo-ri 'pretty-vbz -she' (she is pretty).
 vb 32 = níkonowo 'eater-vbz' (is an eater).
 iyínoekonowo-bi-ni-š 'teacher-vbz -us -ctf -appr'
 (well...would be our teacher).
 vb 33 = yónonowo-bi 'walker-vbz -we' (we are ones who walk).
 vb 34 = kičonowo-ni 'teller-vbz -me (is one who tells me).
 vb 35 = kewonowo-či 'sayer-vbz -en' (is a speaker).

4.1.1.3.2. The stative verb theme 30

4.1.1.3.2.1. Tagmemic verb theme 30 paradigm

- vb theme 30.1 = {+Base:vb stem 30/n 1-6/pro 1/adv/t/
 part neg 1-2/part aux 2 +Subj:2210b +T:
 2230 +Mot:2250b +(Perf:2260b +Rep:2270
 +Unf:2280b) +Ptn:2290b +Punc:3220b +Clos:
 -b}

vb theme 30.2-30.3

Obtain formulas by substituting n 11b and n 12b respectively for the filler of the Base slot of vb theme 30.1.

4.1.1.3.2.2. Citation verb theme 30 paradigm

- vb theme 30.1 = mónik-a-po-re-y 'pretty -subj -perf -rep -unf' (going to have been pretty again).
 máyo-wa-pa-po-wo 'much -temp -go -perf -punc'
 (there is going to be a lot for a short time).
 hír-a-ša 'man -subj -will' (will be a man).

ramóno-wo 'Ramón -punc' (it is Raymond).

nakōšo-wa-pa 'there -temp -go' (going to be there for a short time).

ónka-wo 'not -punc' (no).

éta-ša 'finish -temp -will' (will be finished).

vb theme 30.2 = ámon-a-piko-po-re-y 'bringer -subj -come -perf -rep -unf' (will have brought again).

vb theme 30.3 = kábino-wa-pa 'drunk-person -temp -go' (going to be a drunk for a short while).

4.1.1.3.3. The stative verb stem 30

4.1.1.3.3.1. Tagmemic verb stem 30 formula

vb stem 30 = {+Base:n core 6 (he-/moni-) +Aug:4210
 \quad +(+Desid:4220 +Sn:4230 +Ext-ag:4240 +Dur:
 \quad 4260 +Abs:4271)}/(+Desid:4220 +Sn:4230
 \quad +Dur:4260 +Abs:4271)/Cpd:subs r 37 (pi)}

4.1.1.3.3.2. Verb stem 30 citation

vb stem 30 = hé-he-?i-no-ko 'good -aug -sn -ext-ag -abs'
 (be very well).

hé-so-?i-ko- 'good -want -sn -abs' (wants to be good).

móni-pi-ye- 'pretty -word -dir' (pretty words from).
 móni-?i-no-e-ko- 'pretty -sn -ext-ag -dur -abs'
 (keep on being pretty).

4.1.1.4. The transitive-quotative verb 40

4.1.1.4.1. The inflected transitive-quotative verb 40

4.1.1.4.1.1. Tagmemic verb 40 paradigm

vb 41 = {+S dep:1000 +Base:vb theme 40 +/O dep:1000
 \quad +Emph:1210/(+Com:1220 +Appr:1230)}

The symbol +/O in this and the following formulas indicates that the O dep tagmeme is optional when

the O tagmeme occurs in the clause; it is obligatory otherwise.

vb 45 = {+S dep:1002-1003/1006-1007 +Base:vb theme 40
 +/_O dep:1000 +Emph:1210/(_Com:1220 +Appr:
 1230)}

4.1.1.4.1.2. Citation verb 40 paradigm

vb 41 = bi-kīčowo-ri 'we -tell -her'.

vb 45 = yi-kīčowo-ni-š 'you-pl -tell -incom -appr' (well,
 you tell).

pi-kīčowo-ro 'you -tell -him'.

4.1.1.4.2. The transitive-quotative verb theme 40

4.1.1.4.2.1. Tagmemic verb theme 40 formula

vb theme 40 = {+Base:vb stem 40 +Subj:2210b +Ben:2221
 +T:2230 +Suc:2240 +Mot:2250b +(Perf:
 2260b +Rep:2270 +Unf:2280b) +Ptn:2290b
 +Punc:3220b +Clos:-b}

4.1.1.4.2.2. Verb theme 40 citation

vb theme 40 = -kīčo-po-re-ša 'tell -perf -rep -will' (will
 have told again).

4.1.1.4.3. The transitive-quotative verb stem 40

4.1.1.4.3.1. Tagmemic verb stem 40 formula

vb stem 40 = {+Base:vb core 10.6 (-ki-) +Inst:4272}

4.1.1.4.3.2. Verb stem 40 citation

vb stem 40 = -kí-čo- 'tell -inst' (tell).

4.1.1.5. The intransitive-quotative verb 50

4.1.1.5.1. The inflected intransitive-quotative verb 50

4.1.1.5.1.1. Tagmemic verb 50 paradigm

vb 51 = {+S dep:1000 +Base:vb theme 50 +Emph:1210/
 (+Com:1220 +Appr:1230)}

vb 55 = {+S dep:1002-1003/1006-1007 +Base:vb theme 50
 +Emph:1210/ (+Com:1220 +Appr:1230)}

4.1.1.5.1.2. Citation verb 50 paradigm

vb 51 = no-kéwo-ni-š 'they -say -incom -appr' (they
 speak favorably).

vb 55 = pi-ké-să 'you -say -will' (you will say).

4.1.1.5.2. The intransitive-quotative verb theme 50

4.1.1.5.2.1. Tagmemic verb theme 50 formula

vb theme 50 = {+Base:vb core 20.6 (-ke) +Subj:2210b
 +T:2230 +Mot:2250b +(+Perf:2260b +Rep:
 2270 +Unf:2280b) +Ptn:2290b +Punc:3220b
 +Clos:-b}

4.1.1.5.2.2. Verb theme 50 citation

vb theme 50 = -ké-piko-wo 'say -come -punc' (come
 saying).

4.1.2. The dependent verb

4.1.2.1. The inflected dependent verb

4.1.2.1.1. Tagmemic dependent verb paradigm

The dependent verb 100

vb 113-153

Obtain formulas by multiplication of corresponding formulas of independent verb 11, 21, 31, 41, and 51 as follows: Substitute verb theme 110, 120, 130, 140, and 150 respectively for the fillers of the Base slots; delete tagmemes +Emph:1210 and +Appr:1230.

The dependent verb 200

vb 210-230

Obtain formulas by multiplying corresponding formulas of independent verbs 10, 20, and 30 as follows: Substitute verb themes 210, 220 and 230 respectively for the fillers of the Base slots.

The dependent verb 300

vb 330

Obtain formula by multiplication of formula of independent verb 31.2 as follows: Delete tagmemes +Emph: 1210, _Com: 1220 and +Appr: 1230; rewrite Base tagmeme as +Base:vb theme 300.

The dependent verb 400

vb 430

Obtain formula by multiplying formula of independent verb 31.2 as follows: Delete tagmemes +O dep: 1000, +Emph: 1210, _Com: 1220 and +Appr: 1230; rewrite Base tagmeme as +Base:vb theme 400.

The dependent verb 500

vb 530

Obtain formula by multiplication of formula of independent verb 32 as follows: Delete tagmemes +O dep: 1000, +Emph: 1210, _Com: 1220 and +Appr: 1230.

4.1.2.1.2. Citation dependent verb paradigm

The dependent verb 100

vb 113 = ni-yínopikiyowo-ro 'I -teach-come-where -him'
(where I come to teach him).

vb 123 = ro-yónopapoeeyowo 'he -walk-where' (where he had gone to walk).

vb 133 = hénokiyowo-ro 'good-where -it' (where it is good).

vb 143 = ro-kíčiyowo-ni 'he -tell-where -incom' (where he tells them).

vb 153 = ri-kéyowo 'she -say-where' (where she says).

The dependent verb 200

vb 215 = pi-kótokoše-ro 'you -grab-will -it' (you will grab it).

vb 221 = r-ábikošapo 'he -return-will' (he will return).

vb 232 = wónoekonaša 'sender-will' (will send).

The dependent verb 300

vb 330 = rinškočowo-ro 'her-eating-punc -it' (her eating it).

The dependent verb 400

vb 430 = nošómočo-wo 'their-standing -punc' (their standing).

The dependent verb 500

vb 530 = ákonowapa 'singer-temp-go' (going to be a singer for a short time).

há?inonowo 'tired-person-punc' (is a tired person).

4.1.2.2. The dependent verb theme

4.1.2.2.1. Tagmemic dependent verb theme paradigm

The dependent verb theme 100

vb theme 110-150

Obtain formulas by multiplication of corresponding formulas of verb themes 10-50 as follows: Delete tagmemes +Ben:2221b, +Suc:2240, +Rep:2270, +Unf:2280b, +Ptn:2290b, +Refl:3211b, and +Recip:2222b; add +L:3251b immediately following the +Perf:2260 tagmeme.

The dependent verb theme 200

vb theme 210-230

Obtain formulas by multiplication of corresponding formulas of verb themes 10, 20 and 30 as follows: Rewrite tagmeme +Ptn:2290b as +Ptn:2290b.

The dependent verb theme 300

vb theme 300

Obtain formula by multiplication of formula of verb

theme 30.1 as follows: Rewrite Base tagmeme as +Base:n
7a.

The dependent verb theme 400
vb theme 400

Obtain formula by multiplication of formula of verb
theme 30.1 as follows: Rewrite Base tagmeme as +Base:n
8a/9a.

4.1.2.2. Citation dependent verb theme paradigm

The dependent verb theme 100

vb theme 110.1 = -pónoek-iyō-wō 'plant -where -punc'
(where...plants).

vb theme 120.1 = -ímoko-po-eyi- 'sleep -perf -where'
(where...slept).

vb theme 130.1 = étopi-a-p-iyō- 'finish-word -subj -perf
-where' (where...will have finished the words).

vb theme 140 = -kíč-iyō-wa-pa 'tell -where -temp -go'
(where...is going to tell for a short time).

vb theme 150 = -ké-yo-wō 'say -where -punc' (where...
says).

The dependent verb theme 200

vb theme 210.2 = -póri-a-ša 'sew -subj -will' (will sew).

vb theme 220.1 = -ším-piko-ša 'arrive -come -will' (will
arrive).

vb theme 230.1 = ónka-ša 'not -will' (will not be any).

The dependent verb theme 300

vb theme 300 = nowěčočo-wa-pa 'their-fighting -temp -go'
(their intention of fighting for a short time).

The dependent verb theme 400

vb theme 400 = royónočo-wa-na-pa 'his-walking -temp -suc
-go' (is his intention of walking first to one place
for a short time and then to another).

4.1.3. The auxiliary verb

4.1.3.1. Tagmemic auxiliary verb paradigm

vb aux 600 = {+S dep:1000 +Base:vb theme 10 Res/20 Res}
 vb aux 700 = {+S dep:1000 +Base:vb stem 20.7 (káč)/aux
 1-2}

4.1.3.2. Citation auxiliary verb paradigm

vb aux 600 = ro-kí?inowo 'he -wants'.
 ni-béyimira 'I -begin'.
 ri-tíriwapa 'she -knows -how'.
 no-kamosérowo 'they -need'.
 bi-kámiyonowo 'we -like'.
 pi-poékowo 'you -allow'.
 ro-yónopiko 'he -walk-comes' (he comes walking).
 ri-ebirfírko 'she -little-by-little'.
 vb aux 700 = no-káčoporey 'they -go-again'.
 ri-táwo 'she -keeps-on'.
 étowapa 'finish-temp-go' (going to be finished for a
 short time).

4.1.4. The verb and substantive root

4.1.4.1. Emic verb and substantive root classes

Root	Verb		Substantive
	Tr	Intr	
r 1	11	21	31
r 2	12	22	32
r 3	13	23	33
r 4	14	24	34
r 5	15	25	35
r 6	16	26	36
r 7			37

Chart III. Emic verb and substantive root classes

4.1.4.2. Citation verb and substantive root paradigm

Transitive verb root

- vb r 11 = -so- 'fry'.
 vb r 12 = -e- 'drink'.
 vb r 13 = -pr- 'play'.
 vb r 14 = -to- 'find'.
 vb r 15 = -wo- 'send'.
 vb r 16 = -ni- 'eat'.

Intransitive verb root

- vb r 21 = -hi- 'sit'.
 vb r 22 = -aha- 'try'.
 vb r 23 = -še- 'cook'.
 vb r 24 = -a- 'be-sad'.
 vb r 25 = -pi- 'flee'.
 vb r 26 = -be- 'be-hungry'.

Substantive root

- subs r 31 = -to- 'find'.
 subs r 32 = čo- 'corn'.
 subs r 33 = se- 'sweet-potato'.
 subs r 34 = e- 'plaintain'.
 subs r 35 = -hi- 'daughter'.
 subs r 36 = iti 'blood'.
 subs r 37 = -mo- 'cloth'.

4.1.5. The verb affix

Inflectional dependent subject prefix and dependent object
 Suffix class 1000

- 1001 ni-, -ni First person singular
- 1002 pi-, -Pi Second person singular
- 1003 ro-, -ro Third person singular masculine
- 1004 ri-, -ri Third person singular feminine
- 1005 bi-, -bi First person plural
- 1006 yi-, -yi Second person plural
- 1007 no-, -no Third person plural

Stem prefix class 4100

4111 ko- Indefinite, pseudo passive (see 4273)

Core prefix class 5110

Class 5110 Transitivizing

5111 Imo- Causative

5112 ka- Transitivizer

Class 5120 Attributive

5121 kO- 'with'.

Class 5130 Privative

5131 mO- 'not, without'.

Inflectional suffix class 1200

Class 1210 Emphasizer

1211 -i?i Emphasizer

Class 1220 Compleutive

1221 -ni Incompletive, conditional, contrary to fact, action prematurely stopped.

1222 -no Compleutive

Class 1230 Attitude

1231 -š 'only'.

1232 -či Endearment, diminutive

1233 -ča Depreciative, augmentative

Theme suffix class 2200-3200

Class 2210b Mood

2211 -a Subjunctive, optative

Class 2220 Benefactive

2221 -no Benefactive

2222 -koko Reciprocal

Class 2230 Time

2231 -wa Brief duration, temporary

Class 2240 Succession

2241 -na Action first toward one place and then another

Class 2250b Motion, Intention

2251 -pa Motion away, intention, imperfective, verbalizer

2252 -piko Motion toward, intention, verbalizer

Class 2260b Perfective

2261 -po Perfective, verbalizer

Class 2270 Repetitive

2271 -re Repetitive

Class 2280b Unfulfilled

2281 -yo Unfulfilled

Class 2290b Potential

2291 -sa Potential, verbalizer

Class 3201b Reflexive

3211 -po Reflexive

Class 3220b Punctiliar

3221 -wo Punctiliar, verbalizer

Class 3250 Locative

3251 -iyo 'where'.

Stem suffix class 4200

Class 4210 Augmentative

4211 redup 1 Augmentative (see 5.5)

4212 redup 2 Superlative augmentative (see 5.5)

Class 4220 Desiderative

4221 -so- 'want-to'.

Class 4230 Subjectiveness

4231 -?i- Subjectiveness

Class 4240 External agent

4241 -no- External agent

Class 4250 Directional

4251 -ači- Action toward another place

4252 -yo- Action in another place

4253 -imiri- Action in front of

Class 4260 Durative

4261 -I- Durative

Class 4270 Stem formative

4271 -kO Absolute

4272 -čO Instrumental

4273 -si Indefinite, pseudo passive (compare 4111)

Core suffix class 5200

5201 -ri Core formative 1

5202 -ro Core formative 2

5203 -re Core formative 3

5204 -ra Core formative 4

5205 -no Core formative 5

4.2. The substantive4.2.1. The noun4.2.1.1. The inflected noun4.2.1.1.1. Emic noun classes

Distribution	Composition											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
a. Obligatorily possessed	1a	2a	3a			6a	7a	8a	9a	10a		
b. Optionally possessed				4b	5b						11b	12b
c. Name - Title	1c			4c								
d. Possessor	1d											
e. Quantifier 1				4e								
f. Quantifier 2				4f								
g. Descriptive				4g	5g							
h. Referent				4h								12h
i. Time				4i	5i	6i						

Chart IV. Emic noun classes

Classes a-i are distribution classes, not relevant to the composition of the nouns, and are therefore not shown in the following paradigm.

4.2.1.1.2. Tagmemic inflected noun paradigm

n 1 = {+Gen:8110/vb affix 1000 +Base:n theme 1 +(Cpd:
subs r 37 (pi) +P1:8220)/(+P1:8220 +Incom:vb
affix 1221 +Appr:vb affix 1230)}

n 2 = {+Gen:vb affix 1000/Priv:vb affix 5130/Att:vb affix
5120 +Base:n theme 2 +(Cpd:subs r 37 (pi)
+P1:8220)/(+P1:8220 +Incom:vb affix 1221
+Appr:vb affix 1230)}

n 3 = {+Gen:vb affix 1000 +Base:n theme 3}

n 4 = {+Base:n theme 4-6 +Orig:8210 +(Cpd:subs r 37
(pi) +P1:8220)/(+P1:8220 +Incom:vb affix 1221
+Appr:vb affix 1230)}

- n 5 = {+Base:n theme 7}
- n 6 = {+Gen:vb affix 1003 +Base:n theme 8}
- n 7 = {+Gen:vb affix 1000 +Base:vb stem 10.1-10.7/
10.9-10.11 +Inst:vb affix 4272 +O:vb affix
1000}
- n 8 = {+Gen:vb affix 1000 +Base:vb stem 20.1-20.5
+Inst:vb affix 4272}
- n 9 = {+Gen:vb affix 1000 +Base:vb stem 20.10 (-imoko)
+Inst:vb affix 4272 +Cpd:n core Res}
- n 10 = {+Gen:vb affix 1000 +Base:vb core 10 +Sub:6212}
- n 11 = {+Base:vb theme 10 +Ag:7210 +O:vb affix 1000
+Pl:8220}
- n 12 = {+Base:vb theme 20/30 +Ag:7210 +Pl:8220}

4.2.1.1.3. Citation inflected noun paradigm

- n 1 = ni-píri-ni-š 'my -sibling-of-same-sex -incom -appr'
(well, my sister).
- e-kíso-neb 'not-possessed -eye -pl' (eyes).
- pi-tíro-neb 'your -possessions -pl' (your posses-
sions).
- n 2 = ni-toéro-neb 'my -field -pl' (my fields).
- ka-wérongo 'with -house' (one who has a house).
- mo-érongo 'not -parent' (orphan).
- n 3 = pi-mónikopi 'your -prettiness'.
- n 4 = haméroko-po 'paper -orig' (made out of paper).
- šfyé-pi-neb 'fox -word -pl' (fox stories).
- póno-neb 'other -pl' (others).
- aserárono 'strong-liquid' (fermented).
- n 5 = nérikikoe 'right-now'.
- bírokikoe 'wind-long' (long-lasting wind).
- n 6 = ro-sésokonoer 'his -day' (day).
- n 7 = r-émoniko-či-bi 'he -love -inst -us' (his loving us).
- ni-wéčo-čo 'I -fight -inst' (my fighting).
- n 8 = ni-šímo-čo 'I -arrive -inst' (my arrival).
- ro-yóno-čo 'he -walk -inst' (his walking).
- n 9 = ni-imoko-čo-mo 'I -sleep -inst -cloth' (my night
gown).

- n 10 = ni-híno-ri 'I -see -sub' (that which I see).
 ro-béko-ri 'he -speak -sub' (that which he speaks).
 n 11 = hínoekonowo-no 'see -ag' (one who sees).
 iyínoeko-no-bi-neb 'teach -ag -us -pl' (our
 teachers).
 n 12 = yóno-no 'walk -ag' (walker).
 ímoko-no-neb 'sleep -ag -pl' (sleepers).
 íyowo-no 'where-vbz -ag' (from).

4.2.1.2. The noun theme

4.2.1.2.1. Tagmemic noun theme paradigm

- n theme 1 = {+Base:n stem 7 Res/10}
 n theme 2 = {+Base:n stem 7 Res/15 +Ag:7210}
 n theme 3 = {+Base:n stem 8-10 +Qual:7230}
 n theme 4 = {+Base:n stem 1-6 Res/9 /12/15}
 n theme 5 = {+Base:n stem 1-5 +(Ag:7210 +Hm pl:7222)/
 Hm sg:7221}
 n theme 6 = {+Base:n stem 8/10-11 +Ag:7210}
 n theme 7 = {+Base:n stem 13-14/16}
 n theme 8 = {+Base:n stem 17 +Hm sg:7221}

4.2.1.2.2. Citation noun theme paradigm

- n theme 1 = -poy 'foot'; -háse 'hot'.
 n theme 2 = -iró-no 'parent -ag' (parent).
 -esónókoe-no 'door -ag' (door).
 n theme 3 = móniko-pi 'pretty -qual' (prettiness).
 aséroko-pi 'strong -qual' (strongness).
 n theme 4 = tawé 'ball'; héwa 'average-sized-animal'.
 n theme 5 = soráti-no-no- 'town -ag -men' (townspeople).
 toérok-ero 'field -man' (farmer).
 n theme 6 = čoporíko-no 'round -ag' (round).
 kohínoko-no 'heave -ag' (heavy).
 n theme 7 = tobirórekiko 'very-straight'.
 rotiríkoe 'for-his-sake'.

n theme 8 = -sésokono-ero 'sun-ag -man' (day).
 -háre-ro 'light -man' (daylight).

4.2.1.3. The noun stem

4.2.1.3.1. Tagmemic noun stem paradigm

n stem 1 = {+Base:n core 1-7 Res +Cpd:n core 1-6 Res/
 8 Res/9 Res}

n stem 2 = {+Base:n core 1-7 Res +Cpd:n core 1-6 Res/
 8 Res/9 Res +Abs:vb affix 4271}

n stem 3 = {+Base:n core 1-7 Res +Abs:vb affix 4271}

n stem 4 = {+Base:n core 1 (sori-)/n 10 (bekóri-) +Nz:
 6211}

n stem 5 = {+Base:n core 1-7 Res +/+Aug:vb affix 4210}

The symbol +/+ indicates the Aug tagmeme is obligatory
 with cores of morphophonemic classes 1 and 2 (see 5.5).

n stem 6 = {+Base:n core 1-7 Res}

n stem 7 = {+Base:n core 1-7 Res}

n stem 8 = {+Base:n core 1-7 Res +Aug:vb affix 4210
 +(Cpd:n core 1-6 Res/8)/Abs:vb affix 4271}

n stem 9 = {+Base:n core 1-6 Res +(Cpd:n core 1-6 Res/
 8 Res/9 Res/n stem 14/16)/(Cpd:n core 1-6 Res/
 8 Res/9 Res +Abs:vb affix 4271}

n stem 10 = {+Base:n core 1-6 Res +Cpd:n core 1-6 Res
 +Cpd:n core 1-6 Res/8 Res/9 Res}

n stem 11 = {+Base:n core 1-6 Res +Cpd:n core 1-6 Res/
 8 Res +Aug:vb affix 4270 +Abs:vb affix 4271}

n stem 12 = {+Base:n core (po-) +Cpd:n core 1-6 Res/
 8 Res/9 Res/n stem 14/16 +(Dur:vb affix 4260
 +Abs:vb affix 4271 +Emph:vb affix 1210)}

n stem 13 = {+Base:n core 1-7 Res +Aug:vb affix 4210
 +(Dur:vb affix 4260 +Abs:vb affix 4271
 +Emph:vb affix 1210)}

n stem 14 = {+Base:n core 1-7 Res +(Dur:vb affix 4260
 +Abs:vb affix 4271 +Emph:vb affix 1210)}

- n stem 15 = {+Base:n core 1-7 Res +Abs:vb affix 4271
+Emph:vb affix 1210}
- n stem 16 = {+Base:n core 1 (neri-) +Dur:vb affix 4260
+(+Abs:vb affix 4271 +Emph:vb affix 1210)/(+In-
com:vb affix 1212 +Appr:vb affix 1220)}
- n stem 17 = {+Base:n theme 6 Res +Emph:vb affix 1210}

4.2.1.3.2. Citation noun stem paradigm

- n stem 1 = kohí-ses 'stone -sun' (hailstone).
- čoró-saro 'corn -small-pieces-liquid' (corn drink).
- n stem 2 = íno-wo-ko 'water -site -abs' (location of water).
- n stem 3 = šíro-ko 'son -abs' (son).
- n stem 4 = sor-áti 'town -nz' (town).
- békor-ati 'word -nz' (word).
- n stem 5 = morí-ri 'termite -aug' (termite).
- sóri-sóri 'owl -aug' (owl).
- n stem 6 = hópi 'jug'; fti 'blood'.
- n stem 7 = -en 'mother'; -psfri 'sibling-or-same-sex'.
- n stem 8 = etobí-bi-aro- 'sweet -aug -liquid' (very sweet liquid).
- aseró-ro-ko- 'strong -aug -abs' (very strong).
- n stem 9 = tí-?a 'small -animal'.
- mápi-yo-ko 'two -time -abs' (two times).
- mbó-morekoe 'three -year' (three years).
- n stem 10 = -há-či-kis 'covering -big -eye' (eye glasses).
- há-še 'covering -round' (hat).
- čo-wóhis 'big -hand'.
- n stem 11 = čo-porfí-ri-ko 'big -round -aug -abs' (very round).
- čo-rímo-ko 'big -fat -abs' (fatty meat).
- n stem 12 = pó-pi 'other -long-slender-flexible-object'.
- po-tókie 'other -head'.
- pó-no-e-ko-e 'other -man -dur -abs -emph' (another person).
- n stem 13 = katirí-ri-ki-ko-e 'soon -aug -dur -abs -emph' (very soon).

n stem 14 = bíro-ki-ko-e 'wind -dur -abs -emph' (wind of long duration).

n stem 15 = esonó-ko-e 'door -abs -emph' (door).
more-ko-e 'year -abs -emph' (year).

n stem 16 = néri-ki-ko-e 'now -dur -abs -emph' (right now).

néri-ki-ni 'now -dur -incom' (now).

n stem 17 = yoto-é 'night -emph' (night).

4.2.1.4. The noun core

4.2.1.4.1. Tagmemic noun core paradigm

n core 1 = {+Base:subs r 31 +Core fv 1:5201}

n core 2 = {+Base:subs r 32 +Core fv 2:5202}

n core 3 = {+Base:subs r 33 +Core fv 3:5203}

n core 4 = {+Base:subs r 34 +Core fv 4:5204}

n core 5 = {+Base:subs r 35 +Core fv 5:5205}

n core 6 = {+Base:subs r 36}

n core 7 = {+Priv:vb affix 5130/Att:vb affix 5120 +Base:
n core 1-6 Res}

n core 8 = {+Base:subs r 37}

n core 9 = {+Base:n core 1-6 Res/8 +Cpd:n core 1-6 Res/
8}

4.2.1.4.2. Citation noun core paradigm

n core 1 = pá-ri 'building -core-fv' (building).

n core 2 = bí-ro 'wind -core-fv' (wind).

n core 3 = se-ré 'sweet-potato -core-fv' (sweet potato).

n core 4 = šo-rá- 'cusi-palm -core-fv' (species of palm tree).

n core 5 = í-no 'water -core-fv' (water).

n core 6 = na 'egg'.

n core 7 = ko-típo- 'with -white' (white).

mo-yóno- 'not -walk' (not walking).

n core 8 = -mo 'cloth'.

n core 9 = -s-ar 'small-pieces -liquid' (spray).
 -poé-wo 'banana -site' (banana field).

4.2.1.5. The noun root (see 4.1.4)

4.2.2. The locative

4.2.2.1. Tagmemic locative paradigm

- loc 1 = {+Gen:8110/vb affix 1000 +Base:n theme 1
 +(Cpd:subs r 37 (pi)/Dir:8250-8260) +Pl:8220
 +L:8270}
- loc 2 = {+Gen:vb affix 1000/Priv:5130/Att:5120 +Base:n
 theme 2 +(Cpd:subs r 37 [pi]/Dir:8250-8260)
 +Pl:8220 +L:8270}
- loc 3 = {+Base:n theme 4-6 +(Cpd:subs r 37 [pi]/Dir:
 8250-8260) +Pl:8220 +L:8270}
- loc 4 = {+Base:n 11-12/pro 1/n core 6 (ani-/api-) +L:
 8270}

4.2.2.2. Citation locative paradigm

- loc 1 = ni-širo-nebe-ye 'my -son -pl -in' (in my sons).
 e-kfs-api-ye 'non-poss -eye -under -in' (under the eye).
- loc 2 = ni-toéro-ye 'my -field -in' (in my field).
- loc 3 = yašór-eki-ye 'canoe -inside -in' (inside the canoe).
- loc 4 = iyfnoekonobinebe-ye 'teach-ag-us-pl -in' (in our teachers).
 arówono-ye 'fly-ag -in' (in the flier).
 rotí-ye 'he -in' (in him).
 aní-ye 'up -in' (above).

4.2.3. The pronoun

4.2.3.1. Tagmemic pronoun paradigm

The personal pronoun

pro 1 = {+Gen:1000 +Base:subs r 36 (ti)}

The demonstrative pronoun

pro 2 = {+Base:subs r 36 (ti) +Gd:8280 +Distance:8290}

pro 3 = {+Base:subs r 36 (no) +Gd:8282 +Distance:
8290}

4.2.3.2. Pronoun inventory

The personal pronoun

Pronoun 1		
	singular	plural
1	ntí	bití
2	pití	yití
3 feminine	rití	notí
3 masculine	rotí	

Chart V. The personal pronoun

The demonstrative pronoun

	Pronoun 2		Pronoun 3 plural
	singular	masculine	
present	ti	te	
proximate	tin	ten	nen
remote	tič	teč	neč

Chart VI. The demonstrative pronoun

4.2.4. The substantive affixes

Inflectional prefix class 8100 (see also 4.1.5, verb affix 1000, for these and other verb affixes)

Class 8110 Indefinite

8111 -e Indefinite, non-possessed

Core prefix class (see verb prefix 5120 and 5130)

Inflectional suffix class 8200 (see also verb suffix 1220, 1230 and 4272)

Class 8210 Origin

8211 -po 'made-of' (originates from).

Class 8220 Plural

8221 -nebe Plural

Locative suffix class 8250-8270

Class 8250 Directional

8251 -ani 'above'.

8252 -api 'below'.

8253 -ša 'at-the-edge-of'.

8254 -ki 'inside-of'.

8255 -peki 'on-top-of'.

Class 8270 Location

8271 -ye 'in, at, place-where'.

Pronoun suffix class 8280-8290

Class 8280 Gender

8281 -i Feminine

8282 -e Masculine

Class 8290 Distance

8291 -ne Proximate, near person spoken to

8292 -čo Remote, far away

Theme suffix class 7200

Class 7210 Agentive

7211 -no Agentive, alienable, nominalizer

Class 7220 Human number

7221 -er Human singular

7222 -no Human plural

Class 7230 Quality

7231 -pi Quality, '-ness'.

Stem suffix class 6200 (see also verb stem suffix 4210,

4260, 4270, and 1210

Class 6210 Nominalizer

6211 -ati Absolute, nominalizer

6212 -ri Subordinator, nominalizer

Core suffix class (see vb core suffix 5200)

4.3. The adverb

4.3.1. The inflected adverb

4.3.1.1. Tagmemic adverb paradigm

- adv 1 = {+Base:adverb r 1 +Distance:subs affix 8291/
 (+Abs:vb affix 4271 +Aug:vb affix 4211/Distance:
 subs affix 8290)}
- adv 2 = {+Base:adv r 2 +(+Abs:vb affix 4271 +Emph:vb
 affix 1210)}
- adv 3 = {+Base:adv r 3}

4.3.1.2. Citation adverb paradigm

- adv 1 = na-n 'there -proximate' (there).
 na-ká-ka 'there -abs -aug' (there).
 na-ká-šo 'there -abs -remote' (there).
- adv 2 = ne 'here' (present with speaker).
 ne-ko-é 'here -abs -emph' (here).
- adv 3 = noy 'there, a short distance from speaker and
 person addressed, within hearing' (there, within
 hearing).

4.3.2. The adverb root

- adv r 1 = na 'there'.
 adv r 2 = ne 'here'.
 adv r 3 = noy 'there'.

The derivation of the following word classes is in part indeterminant. Recurrent partials phonologically resembling the affixes of the preceding classes are frequent, but without the functions and meanings of those affixes. We have disregarded such resemblances and have shown in the formulas only derivations which are fairly clear.

4.4. The time word

4.4.1. The inflected time word

4.4.1.1. Tagmemic time word paradigm

- t 1 = {+Base:t r 1}

t 2 = {+Base:t r 2 +Incom:vb affix 1221}

4.4.1.2. Citation time word paradigm

t 1 = rom 'just-now'.

t 2 = beró-ni 'already -incom' (already).

4.4.2. The time root

t r 1 = rom 'just-now'.

t r 2 = ber 'already'.

4.5. The modifier word

4.5.1. The inflected modifier word

4.5.1.1. Tagmemic modifier paradigm

mod 1 = {+Base:mod r 1}

mod 2 = {+Base:mod r 2 +Incom:vb affix 1221}

Modifier inventory

	Preclitic	Enclitic	Stressed word
Mod 1	moeh 'certainly'	enč 'emph'	toéri 'cond'
Mod 2	hin-ni 'opt -incom'		biáro-ni 'desid -incom'
			nerén-ni 'hab -incom'

Chart VII. The modifier word

4.5.2. The modifier root

mod r 1 = moeh 'certainly'; enč Emphatic; toéri Conditional.

mod r 2 = hin Optative; biár Desiderative; nerén Habitual.

4.6. The connector word

4.6.1. The inflected connector word

4.6.1.1. Tagmemic connector paradigm

cn 1 = {+Base:cn r 1}

cn 2 = {+Base:cn r 2}

cn 3 = {+Base:cn r 3 +Incom:vb affix 1221}

cn 4 = {+Base:pro 2 (ti) +Punc:vb affix 3220 +Emph:vb
affix 1210}

4.6.2. Connector inventory

cn 1 = napirí 'also'; ikárek 'for-that-reason';
hárok 'meanwhile'.

Along with these connectors occur three Spanish loans:
boén 'well!', karáw 'great-scott', ay 'oh'.
cn 2 = koéč 'because'; koéhko 'so-that'.
cn 3 = apó-ni 'or -incom' (or, neither).
cn 4 = ti-w-é 'spec -punc -emph' (but).
cn 5 = ačó-w 'and -punc' (and).

4.6.3. The connector root

cn r 1 = napirí 'also'.

cn r 2 = koéč 'because'; koéhko 'so-that'.

cn r 3 = ápo 'or'.

4.7. The onomatopoetic word

onom = émberer Sound of sheep bleating

tótorekow Sound of rooster crowing

wáwakow Sound of dog barking

wéyar Sound of cow mooing

4.8. The interrogative preclitic

4.8.1. The inflected interrogative

4.8.1.1. Tagmemic interrogative paradigm

ig 1 = {+Base:ig r 1-2 +(+_O dep:vb affix 1000 +S dep:
vb affix 1000)}

ig 2 = {+Base:ig r 1-2 +S dep:vb affix 1000}

ig 3 = {+Base:ig r 1 +Incom:vb affix 1221 +Appr:vb
affix 1231}

4.8.1.2. Citation interrogative paradigm

ig 1 = ko-ro-pi 'why -him -you' (why...you...him?).

ig 2 = amo-no 'why-not -they?'.

ig 3 = ko-ni-š 'who -incom -well' (well who?).

4.8.2. The interrogative root

ig r 1 = ko- 'why?, who?, what?'.

ig r 2 = amo- 'why-not?'.

4.9. The particle

4.9.1. The relator preclitic particle

rel = ka 'that-which'.

4.9.2. The limiter preclitic particle

lim = to 'the'.

4.9.3. The reportative enclitic particle

report = hi 'it-is-said'.

4.9.4. The hesitation particle

hes = ha Hesitation

The tagmeme +Hes:part hes/pro 2 occurs interrupting any construction on any level.

4.9.5. The negative particle

neg 1 = ónka 'not'.

neg 2 = nóka 'absence'.

neg 3 = porók 'never'.
 neg 4 = berék 'not-ever'.
 neg 5 = wókow 'not-yet'.

4.9.6. The agreement particle

4.9.6.1. Tagmemic agreement particle paradigm

agm 1 = {+Base:agm r 1}
 agm 2 = {+Base:agm r 2 +Incom:vb affix 1221}

4.9.6.2. Agreement particle inventory

agm 1 = hah 'yes'.
 agm 2 = héni 'all-right'.

4.9.7. The greeting particle

4.9.7.1. Tagmemic greeting particle paradigm

gr 1 = {+Base:gr r 1}
 gr 2 = {+Base:gr r 2 +Incom:vb affix 1221}

4.9.7.2. Greeting particle inventory

gr 1 = nte 'hello'.
 gr 2 = haré-ni 'how-goes-it -incom' (how goes it?).

4.9.8. The auxiliary particle

aux 1 = íta 'progressive'.
 aux 2 = éta 'finish'.

5. The morphophonemics

5.1. Obligatory phonologically determined variation

5.1.1. Vocalic

- i ~ e immediately following o: -iron 'parent'; moéron
 'not-parent' (orphan).
- i ~ ø immediately following a: -i?i 'emph'; niyónopa?i
 'I-am-going-to-walk-emph' (I am going to walk).
- V₁ ~ ø immediately preceding V₁: ri- 'she'; -spikow
 'be-afraid'; rípikow 'she-is-afraid'.
- a in a verb theme suffix ~ e immediately preceding n, r, or
 y: hſcoša 'will-wait-for'; -ri 'her'; hſcošeri
 'will-wait-for-her'.

5.1.2. Consonantal

CV- (except ri-) ~ C- preceding a, e or o: ro- 'he';
 -áčikopapo 'going-to-visit'; ráčikopapo 'he-
 is-going-to-visit'.

A prefix C₁V₁- ~ ø- immediately preceding a theme initial
 C₁V₁: ni- 'I'; -níkow 'eat'; níkow 'I-eat'.

Nes 'meat' = -eš word medially following a consonant ~
 neš elsewhere: típorekeš 'chicken-meat'.

5.2. Free variation

5.2.1. Vocalic

V₁?V₁ ~ V₁ when V₁ is a or i: notóra?áčikowor ~ notóra-
 číkowor 'they-found-him-in-a-strange-place';
 nibéyi?inowapa ~ nibéyinowapa 'I-am-hungry'.

5.2.2. Consonantal

C_sVC_s- ~ C_sC_s- in word-initial or medial unstressed
 syllable and -C_sV ~ -C_s in word-final syllable,
 when Cs is a continuant or a stop other than ?:
 pisiáp ~ psiáp 'you-enter'; héñoko ~ héñok
 'good'.

C₁C₁ ~ C₁ when C₁ is r or n in an identical cluster, whe-
 ther or not it is separated by a word boundary:
 ber repén ~ ber epén 'already he-died'.

Cluster rn ~ n and nr ~ r: ber nikí?inowapa ~ be nikf?ino-wapa 'already I-want' (I already want).

w ~ b before -i in an arbitrary list of forms: nawinón ~ nabinón 'my-husband'.

wo- ~ be- in an arbitrary list of forms: worápikowor ~ berápikowor 'he-already-came'.

5.3. Grammatically determined variation

kihébi 'cooking-pot' = -kéhebi when manifesting the base tagmeme of n 1 ~ kihébi elsewhere.

5.4. Lexically determined variation

kaháw 'deer' = kaháb- preceding Neš 'meat' ~ kaháw elsewhere: kahábeš 'deer-meat'.

-čO Instrumental = -či- immediately preceding verb affix 1000 ~ -čo elsewhere: rémonikočibi 'his-loving -us'; rémonikočowapa 'it-is-his-love'.

-kO Absolute = -ki- immediately preceding verb affixes 1003, 1004 or 1006 ~ -ko elsewhere: yihínokir 'you-look-at-him'; noníkošero 'they-are-going-to-eat'.

kO- Attributive and mO- Privative = ka- and ma- in an arbitrary list of verb and noun cores and inflected nouns ~ ko- and mo- respectively elsewhere: kawéron 'with-house-ag' (having a house); mábe 'not-talk' (dumb); -koéyon 'with-wife' (having a wife); močókokino 'not-stomach' (heartless).

Imo- Causative = i- in arbitrary list of verb cores ~ imo- elsewhere: noépinen 'they-make-them-flee'; pimokótorekowor 'you-make-him-work' (see also 5.1.1).

-I- Durative = -ki- in an arbitrary list of verb and noun stems ~ -i- elsewhere: hírikiko 'keep-on-sitting'; ponoéko 'keep-on-planting' (see also 5.1.1).

-Pi Second person singular dependent object = -bi in an arbitrary list of verbs ~ pi elsewhere:
rohínokopabi 'he-is-going-to-see-you';
nibiápapi 'I-am-going-to-pull-you-out'.

5.5. Reduplication

redup 1 = reduplication of preceding syllable: moríri
'termite'.

redup 2 = reduplication of preceding two syllables:
sórisóri 'owl'.

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Pp. 1-98.

Ignaciano

By Willis G. and Rebecca H. Ott

Ignaciano,^{1,2} Arawakan, approximately 5000 speakers, located in the area approximately 20 leagues in diameter (80-100 miles) surrounding San Ignacio, Province of Moxos, Department of Beni, Bolivia.

1. The sentence and sentence fragment
2. The clause
 - 2.1. The independent clause
 - 2.2. The dependent clause
3. The phrase
 - 3.1. The verb phrase
 - 3.2. The noun phrase
4. The word
 - 4.1. The inflectional word affix
 - 4.2. The verb
 - 4.3. The substantive
 - 4.3.1. The noun
 - 4.3.2. The pronoun
 - 4.4. The negative word
 - 4.5. The introducer word
 - 4.6. The query word
 - 4.7. The warning word

¹The phonemes of Ignaciano are: p, t, k, s, sh, ts, ch, v, r, h, ?, m, n, fl, y, a, e, i, u.

²Ott, W. & R., 1959.

4. 8. The request for confirmation word
4. 9. The exclamatory word
4. 10. The vocative word
4. 11. The agreement word
4. 12. The onomatopoetic word
5. The morphophonemics

1. The sentence and sentence fragment

1.1. The sentence

1.1.1. Tagmemic sentence paradigm

Sent decl 1 = {+{+Sat 2:C1 102 +Inton:Contour 4}
 +Nuc:C1 01 +Inton:Contour 1-3}}

Sent decl 2 = {+Nuc:C1 1000 +Inton:Contour 1-3}

Sent impv 3 = {+Nuc:C1 02 +Inton:Contour 1/7}

Sent ig 4 = {+Nuc:C1 03 +Inton:Contour 5-6}

1.1.2. Citation sentence paradigm

Sent decl 1 = te ichapenapa--ema marahapainapa
'when big--he will-come' (when he is big,
he will come).

eta te vitekavapa anaki--venikaipa 'that when
we-arrived there--we-fished' (when we
arrived there, we fished).

Sent decl 2 = viyana vima? a esu mamita
tikachicha? avi 'we-go we-see she mother
procreated-us' (let's go see mother who
procreated us).

Sent impv 3 = pimisamanu anichicha 'you-caus-
taste-me little-bit' (let me taste a little
bit).

va? i señor pikukaratakanu 'no sir you-don't-
grab-me'.

pinahikanu 'you-release-me'.

Sent ig 4 = taha? a picha naneva 'what you-do nephew'
(what are you doing, nephew?).

tahamu? u piyana 'what-time you-go' (when
are you going?).

taha ?a takayema pinika ?i eta hara maye ?e
 ema tata 'what it-means you-eat the that
 his he father' (why do you eat my father's
 things?).

1.2. The sentence fragment

1.2.1. Tagmemic sentence fragment paradigm

Sent frag 1 = {+Nuc:exclam +Inton:Contour 8}

Sent frag 2 = {+Nuc:onom +Inton:Contour 9}

Sent frag 3 = {+Nuc:Interrupted sequence of phrases
 +Inton:Contour 12}

Sent frag 4 = {+Nuc:voc +Inton:Contour 11}

Sent frag 5 = {+Nuc:agm +Inton:Contour 10}

1.2.2. Citation sentence fragment paradigm

Sent frag 1 = aichapukaini 'ouch'.

Sent frag 2 = prrrrnnn Sound of take-off of a quail

Sent frag 3 = waipa eta. . . 'not-now it. . . '.

Sent frag 4 = kahiurechicha 'alligator-dim' (dear
 little alligator).

Sent frag 5 = haa 'agreement' (I agree, acknow-
 ledge).

1.3. The intonation

The following contours are described in terms of the pitch of the final three or four syllables of the clause, except for Contour 5 which consists of a gradual lowering of pitch throughout the clause, and for Contour 12, which consists of the tone of only one syllable.

Contour 1 = 1-2↑-1↓ Declarative

Contour 2 = 1-2-2↓ Declarative

Contour 3 = 2-2-3↑ ~ 3-2-3↑ Declarative

Contour 4 = 1-2-2↑ Condition

Contour 5 = 3. . . -2. . . -1↓ Interrogative of informa-
 tion

Contour 6 = 2-2-3↑ Interrogative of affirmation

- Contour 7 = 3-1-3-1 Imperative emphatic
 Contour 8 = 2-3-1 ~ 1-3-1 Exclamation
 Contour 9 = Varies according to sound imitated
 Contour 10 = 2-2-2- Interruption
 Contour 11 = 1-2-3↑ ~ 2-2-3↑ Call
 Contour 12 = 2↑ Agreement

2. The clause

2.1. The independent clause

2.1.1. The simple independent clause

2.1.1.1. Emic simple independent clause classes

	Tr 10	Intr 20	Eq 30	Quot 40	
Decl	01	11	21	31	Tr 41a
Impv	02	12	22		Intr 41b
Ig	03	13	23	33	

Chart I. Emic simple independent clause classes

2.1.1.2. Tagmemic simple independent clause paradigm

Transitive clause 10

C1 11 = {+Neg +P 11 +S ±O}

C1 12a = {+P 12 +O}

C1 12b = {+Neg +P 12 ±O}

C1 13 = {+Q +P 11 +(±S ±O)}

Intransitive clause 20

C1 21 = {+Neg +P 21 +S}

C1 22a = {+P 21}

C1 22b = {+Neg +P 22}

C1 23 = {+Q +Neg +P 21}

Equative clause 30

$$\begin{aligned} C1\ 31 &= \{\pm I\ \pm Neg\ +P\ 31\} \\ C1\ 33 &= \{+Q\ \pm I\ \pm Neg\ +P\ 31\} \end{aligned}$$

Quotative clause 40

$$\begin{aligned} C1\ 41a &= \{+Cit\ +P\ 41a\ \pm S\ \pm O\} \\ C1\ 41b &= \{+Cit\ +P\ 41b\ \pm S\} \\ C1\ 42 &= \{+Cit\ +P\ 41a\} \end{aligned}$$

2. 1. 1. 3. Tagmatic simple independent clause paradigm

In the following formulas, the tagmemes listed before the P tagmeme are fixed in order. The mutual order of all other tagmemes is optional. The tagmeme which is emphasized occurs after the Intro and before the Neg tagmemes. The S tagmeme, when manifested by a pronoun, optionally occurs before the Intro tagmeme. The Voc tagmeme optionally occurs between the Neg and P tagmemes. The Hes tagmeme optionally interrupts any construction on any level, any number of times. When manifested by the hesitation word pro 10, it occurs only before nouns or pronouns. In C1 33 the Neg tagmeme obligatorily occurs immediately preceding the P.

In the following formulas, the tagmeme which is emphasized in the Ig Clauses 03 occurs in portmanteau relationship with the Q tagmeme, being manifested by the same word or phrase which manifests the Q tagmeme.

Transitive clause 10

$$\begin{aligned} C1\ 11 &= [\pm Intro:intro/C1\ 106-107\ \pm Neg:neg/Warn:\\ &\quad warn\ +P\ tr:Vb\ 11\ \pm O:N\ 3/5/7/9-11/15\\ &\quad \pm S:N\ 1-2/5\ pro\ 5\ \pm T:N\ 9/18/21/C1\ 101-102\\ &\quad \pm L:N\ 4/11/13-15\ \pm Ref:C1\ 101\ \pm Req:req\\ &\quad \pm Hes:pro\ 10] \\ C1\ 12a &= [+P\ tr:Vb\ 11\ \pm O:N\ 1-2/C1\ 101\ \pm L:N\ 11/C1\\ &\quad 105\ \pm Voc:voc\ \pm Hes:pro\ 10] \\ C1\ 12b &= [+Neg:neg\ +P\ tr:Vb\ 12\ \pm O:N\ 1-2\ \pm L:N\ 13\\ &\quad \pm Voc:voc\ \pm Hes:pro\ 10] \end{aligned}$$

C1 13 = [+Q:q/C1 108/pro 6 +P tr;Vb 11 ±O:N 1-2/q/
 pro 6 ±S:N 1-2/q/pro 6 ±Voc:voc/pro 1
 Res ±Hes:pro 10]

Intransitive clause 20

C1 21 = [±Intro:intro/C1 106-107 ±Neg:neg/Warn:
 warn +P intr:Vb 21 ±S:N 1-2/7-8/10/C1
 101/pro 5 ±Ref:N 2/7/C1 101 ±T:N 11/18/
 20-21/C1 101-102 ±L:N 11/13-15/C1 101
 ±Req:req ±Voc:voc ±Hes:pro 10]

C1 22a = [+P intr:Vb 21 ±T:N 18 ±L:N 13 ±Voc:voc/
 N 6 ±Hes:pro 10]

C1 22b = [+Neg:neg/Warn:warn +P intr:Vb 22 ±T:N
 18 ±L:N 13 ±Voc:voc ±Hes:pro 10]

C1 23 = [+Q:q/C1 108/pro 6 ±Neg:neg +P intr:Vb 21
 ±S:N 1-2/pro 5-6/q ±Ref:N 2 ±T:N 18
 ±L:N 13 ±Voc:voc/pro 1 Res ±Hes:pro 10]

Equative clause 30

C1 31 = [±Intro:intro/C1 107 ±Neg:neg +P eq:N 1-2/
 4/6/9/12/17/C1 101/103 ±I:N 1-2/pro 5
 ±Ref:N 3 ±T:N 18/C1 101 ±L:N 15 ±Voc:
 voc/N 6 ±Hes:pro 10]

C1 33 = [+Q:q/pro 6 ±Neg:neg +P eq:N 1-2/12/C1 101
 /q/pro 6 ±I:N 1-2/pro 5 ±T:N 18 ±Voc:voc
 /pro 1 Res ±Hes:pro 10]

Quotative clause 40

C1 41a = [±Intro:intro/C1 107 +/-P 1 quot:Vb 11 (Vb
 including -icha 'say') +Cit:Dis ±/+P 2
 quot:Vb 11 (Vb including -icha 'say') ±S:
 N 3/6/9/C1 105 ±O:N 1-2 ±Hes:pro 10]

C1 41b = [±Intro:intro/C1 107 +/-P 1 quot:Vb 21 (Vb
 including -ka?e 'say') +Cit:Dis ±/+P 2
 quot:Vb 21 (Vb including -ka?e 'say') ±S:
 N 1-2 ±Ref:N 4 ±Hes:pro 10]

C1 42 = [+/-P 1 quot:Vb 11 (Vb including -icha 'say')
 ±Voc:voc/pro 1 Res ±Ref:N 15 ±O:N 1-2
 +Cit:Dis ±/+P 2 quot:Vb 11 (Vb including
 -icha 'say') ±Hes:pro 10]

The symbols $+/ - P_1$ and $\pm / + P_2$ indicate that if the P_1 tagmeme occurs, the P_2 tagmeme is optional; if the P_1 tagmeme does not occur, the P_2 tagmeme is obligatory.

2.1.1.4. Citation simple independent clause paradigm

Transitive clause 10

Cl 11 = ema achane--va ?i--maeperaika ?ini--mapera
 'he person-no-he-esteem-his-mount'
 (the man didn't care for his mount).
 puiti--nákachu ?ikavi 'now-I-kick-you' (now
 I'm going to kick you).
 vai--maimikatakanu ?ini--eta nukahurusira--
 ena nuchichanaveana 'no-he-help-me-the
 I-raising-they my-children' (he didn't
 help me raise my children).

Cl 12a = pikapaka 'you-kill' (kill it).
 pepana--eta kaecha--eta anaki te nupena 'you--
 bring-the shovel--the there at my-house'
 (go bring the shovel from my house).
 pima ?a--puiti 'you-look--now' (look here).

Cl 12b = vai--señor--pikukaratanu 'no--sir--you--
 don't-grab-me' (don't grab me sir).
 wai--pikuyana 'no--you-don't-go' (don't go).
 vai--piküicha--ani 'no--you-don't-do--here'
 (don't do it here).

Cl 13 = taha ?a--pipanerecha ?i 'what--you-think'
 (what are you thinking about?).
 naха ?apuka--tiharaka--eta plata--efi flina
 'who--gave the money--he that' (who gave
 the money to that man?).
 naха ?apuka--ticha ?i 'who--did' (who did it?).

Intransitive clause 20

Cl 21 = fñitupirupahi--se fiyena 'he-went-straight--to--
 her his-wife' (he went straight to his wife).
 ani--puiti hena sache--tiuchucainapa--esu esena
 'here--today this day--she-come-out--she'

woman (this very day, the woman will come out).

tinika ?ihi--eta matehi--eta nuki ?a 'it-was-full--the dirt--the his-eye' (his eye was full of dirt).

Cl 22a = piyana--te pipena 'you-go--to your-house' (go home).

Cl 22b = vai--pikutsiri ?a--meme 'not--be-ashamed--mother' (don't be ashamed, mother).

Cl 23 = tavi ?a--eta pipera 'where-is--the your-mount' (where is your mount?).

naicharakavapuka--nakaini--nuchichanaveana 'how-do-they-do--hes-those--my-children' (how are my children?).

Equative clause 30

Cl 31 = pe ?ini ?i 'many-agoutis' (there were many agoutis).

piti--etavipa ?i--te nupena 'you--it-you--in my-house' (you were in my house).

nuti--eta nuhurusira ?i--ichapemuri--eta nusufrichirava ?i 'I--that I-grew--great--that I-suffered' (when I was growing up, I suffered greatly).

Cl 33 = naha ?avisica--piti 'who-you--you' (who are you?).

taha ?a--maiharepuka ema achane 'what--his-name the person' (what is the man's name?).

ayanaya--eta viye ?eya plazo vikutiaraya 'how-many--it our time-of-grace our-agreement' (how many days will we agree upon for our time to pay?).

Cl 41a = taichapa--ta machu--ta mishi--tiuri viyana 'it-said--the donkey--the cat--good we-go' (the donkey said to the cat, "let's go").

maichapahi--ema warayu--piti taha ?a picharakaini ema ichini te mauchuhikaini ? 'he-said--the rooster--you what you-do him

tiger if he-came-out' (he said to the rooster, "what would you do to the tiger if he came out?").

maichavarehi--ema apana--pakamichavachucha
--maicha--ema chuye 'he-said-again--the other--you-hang-on-anyway--he-said-he fox'
("hang on anyway," the fox said).

C1 41b = maka?epahi--tiuripisa eta maisisiripi ema
nuparape achane--maka?epahi--ema 'he-
said--pretty it his-whistle he my-brother
person--he-said--he' ("the whistle-tune of
my brother is pretty," he said).

nuyanaya te mävi?a?i--maka?epahi--ema
ichini 'I-go to where-he-is--he-said--he
tiger' ("I will go where he is," said the
tiger).

vai maimikatakanu?ini eta nukahurusira ena
nuchichanaveana--ñika?epahi--ñiye?e eñi
vainarahi--eñi achane 'not he-help-me that
I-raise them my-children--he-said--con-
cerning-him he devil--he person' ("he
didn't help me raise my children," the man
said of the devil).

C1 42 = tiuri--te ñitekapa eñi vainarahi--pichayare--
pijarauki niharakaviya ema nuchicha 'well
--when he-arrives he devil--you-will-say--
you guess I-will-give-you him my-son'
(okay, when the devil arrives, you say
"guess and I will give you my son").

pichaya--piti--te kastellanosa--amaperu esu
esena--buenos dias señorita--pichayare
'you-say--you--in Spanish--girl she woman--
good morning miss--you-say' (you say in
Spanish to the young woman, "good morn-
ing, miss").

2.1.2. The complex independent clause

2.1.2.1. Tagmemic complex independent clause paradigm

- Cl 1001 = {+P 1 tr:Vb 11 +S 1-S 2:N 1 +P 2 tr:Vb 11
+O:N 2}
- Cl 1002 = {+P 1 tr:Vb 11 ±O 1-S 2:N 1-2 +P 2 tr:Vb
11 ±O:N 2}
- Cl 1003 = {+P 1 tr:Vb 11 ±O 1-S 2:N 2 +P 2 tr:Vb 11
+O 2-I 3:N 2 +P 3 eq:N 2}
- Cl 1004 = {+P 1 tr:Vb 11 ±O:N 2 +S 1-S 2:N 1 +P 2
intr:Vb 21 ±L:N 13}
- Cl 1005 = {+P 1 tr:Vb 11 ±O 1-S 2:N 1-2 +P 2 intr:
Vb 21 ±Ref:N 7 ±T:N 18}
- Cl 1006 = {+P 1 tr:Vb 11 +O 1-I 2:N 2/pro 5 +P 2 eq:
N 2}
- Cl 1007 = {+P 1 intr:Vb 21 +S 1-S 2:N 1 +P 2 intr:Vb
21}
- Cl 1008 = {+P 1 tr:Vb 21 +S 1-S 2:N 1 +P 2 tr:Vb 11
+O:N 2}
- Cl 1009 = {±S:N 2 +P 1 intr:Vb 21 +Ref 1-0 2:N 2/Cl
101 ±S:N 2 +P 2 tr:Vb 11}
- Cl 1010 = {+P 1 eq:N 1 +I 1-0 2:N 2 +P 2 tr:Vb 11
+S:N 1}
- Cl 1011 = {+P 1 quot:Vb 11 (vb including -icha 'say')
+Cit 1-Cit 2:Dis +P 2 quot:Vb 21 (Vb
including -ka?e 'say'))}
- Cl 1012 = {+P 1 quot:Vb 21 (Vb including -ka?e
'say') ±S:N 2 +Cit 1-Cit 2:Dis +P 2 quot:
Vb 11 (Vb including -icha 'say') +S:N 2}

Complex clauses occur with the frequency of one instance per 35 clauses of text.

When the complexity of the clause is not demonstrated by a complex tagmeme such as O 1-S 2, the clause is identified as complex by the agreement of the O dep included in the filler of P 1 with the S dep included in the filler of P 2.

2.1.2.2. Citation complex independent clause paradigm

- Cl 1001 = ñecharairika--eñi--ñivara ?ahi ñimaukicha--esu ñiyena 'he-remembered--he--he wanted to-see-eye--she his-wife' (he remembered that he wanted to see his wife's face).
- Cl 1002 = viyana vima ?a--esu mamita--tikachicha ?-avi 'we-go we-see--she mother--she-pro-created-us' (let's go see mother who pro-created us).
- Cl 1003 = mavara ?a ?ihi--machinanuyare ?ihi--nuve ?ayare--esu machicha--nuyenaya 'he-wants--his-son-in-law-I--I-take--she his-child--my-wife' (he wants me to be his son-in-law, taking his daughter for my wife).
- Cl 1004 = tahurikati--naichimaraka ?avi--ena--tipairirikana--eta ani 'suddenly they-find--us--they--they-walk-around--it here' (they who walk around here might suddenly find us).
- Cl 1005 = nukutisamipa--eta chuta--tínaka ?i--kape 'I-was-like--the short-tail--it-delivered--yesterday' (I was like the short-tailed dog that whelped yesterday).
nimichu ?avi ?i--pitekayare 'I-had called-you--you-come' (I had you called to come).
- Cl 1006 = nusama ?irika ?i--tahina--yukuina ?inihi 'I-keep-hearing--nothing--fire' (I keep hearing that there is no fire).
- Cl 1007 = naka ?epaipavarehi--ena--tipairirikana 'they-come-again--they--they-walk-around' (the ones who were walking around were coming again).
- Cl 1008 = tiuchucapa--esu--tive ?aya ?i--eta nachicha 'she-came-out--she--she-will-take--it their--child' (the woman who was going to take their child came out).
- Cl 1009 = teyarekahí--eñi achane--eta ñivacha--ñivachachapa 'he-was-loaded--he person--

it his-pay--he-paid' (the man was loaded with his pay that he had paid him).

Cl 1010 = eta ?ineni--eta kahe--maimisuvecha?i--ema 'it--the moon--he-pointed--he' (it was the moon that he pointed out).

Cl 1011 = maichapahi--nitecapa?i. . . . santa loma--maka ?epahi 'he-said--I-come. . . . Holy Hill--he-said' (he said, "I came. . . . Holy Hill").

Cl 1012 = maka ?epahi--ema chuye--penerehika ena tiuhepanavaka--maichapahi--ema chuye 'he--said--he fox--you-choose they they-are-fatter--he-said--he fox' (the fox said, "choose the fattest ones").

2. 2. The dependent clause

2. 2. 1. Tagmemic dependent clause paradigm

Cl 101 = {+Lim:pro 11 +Nuc:Cl 11/21}

Cl 102 = {+Lim:pro 11 +Cond:pro 8 (te) +Nuc:Cl 11/21/31/41}

Cl 103 = {+Nuc:n 2 Res ±S:N 7}

Cl 104 = {±Neg:neg +Nuc:n 8 ±S:N 1-2 ±O:N 1-2/Cl 101}

Cl 105 = {±Neg:neg +Nuc:n 9 ±S:N 1-2 ±Ref:N 1-2}

Cl 106 = {+Intro:intro 1 +Nuc:vb 21 (taka?e)}

Cl 107 = {+Nuc:vb 11 (taicha)/vb 21 (taka?e)}

Cl 108 = {+Q:pro 6 (taha?a) +Nuc:vb 21 (vb includ-ing -kayema 'mean')}

2. 2. 2. Citation dependent clause paradigm

Cl 101 = eta--mavara?a manika 'what--he-wants he-eats' (what he wants to eat).

eta--nami?ayare 'where I-will-carry' (the place to which I will carry).

eta--vitecapa eta anaki 'when--we-arrive the there' (when we arrive there).

- eta--nayuharasirapa ?i ena 'what--they-recited they' (what they recited).
- Cl 102 = te--piharakanu eta nima ?akenena 'if--you-give-me the my-riches' (if you give me riches).
- te--marata ?a makapaka eta fiera 'if--he-able he-kill the beast' (if he is able to kill the beast).
- te--tiyuritikavapa eta mapana kahe 'when--they-are-completed the three months' (when (when the three months are up).
- te--tiuripa 'when--it-good' (when it was just right).
- te--ichapepa eta isireri 'when--big the Isireri' (when Lake Isireri was big).
- te--maichavi piyana 'if--he-says-to-you go' (if he says to you, "go").
- Cl 103 = maechehiriruva ?ihi--ema varayuhi ema 'his-conversation--he Guarayo he' (what the Guarayo talked about).
- Cl 104 = ñivara ?akene--eñi nima--eta vikachicha 'he-wants-really--he my-husband--that we-have-children' (what my husband really wants, for us to have children).
- Cl 105 = natiari ?ikeneanapa ?i--achaneana. . . . 'they-are-really-in-a-place--people. . . . (the people that were there. . . .).
- Cl 106 = ene--taka ?e 'and--it-says' (so then).
- Cl 107 = taicha 'it-does' (because).
- taka ?e 'it-says' (then).
- Cl 108 = taha ?a--takayema 'what--it-means' (why).

As a consequence of incomplete grammatical and phonological change in Ignaciano, we are left with a serious problem of apparent skewing of the three hierarchies (phonological, grammatical, and lexical) where we would expect correlation. Clauses which are closely related semantically are not shown by intonation or grammar to be connected. Examples such as the following which illustrate the problem,

occur with a frequency of one instance per 30 clauses of text. In these examples the first translation in parentheses is that understood from the text; the second is an equally valid translation apart from the implications of the context.

ñika ?epaipa eñi tinaka eta uveveku 'he-came-walking he he-put the trap' (the one who set the trap came walking) or (he came walking. he set the trap).

picha manica ema cristiano 'you-make he-eat he person' (make something for the person to eat) or (you make. the person eats).

tiya ?anapahi ena ñichichanaveana naima ?apahi eñi naiya they-cried they his-children they-saw he their-father' (the children cried when they saw their father) or (his children cried. they saw their father).

ñima ?a tamutu ñituka 'he-saw all he-knew' (he saw that he knew everything) or (he saw. he knew everything).

kape ena tikaemataaneana piye ?e naha ?apuka ñikuti ?ini 'before they they-worked for you who he-is-like' (of the ones who worked for you before, who is he like?). or (they worked for you before. who is he like?).

We so generally expect intonation to group clauses into sentences that intonation is conventionally included as a feature of grammar, as in the various articles of this volume. We have indeed included it in this grammar. However, in Ignaciano the intonation does not serve as a criterion for joining or separating clauses. The typical sentence-closure intonation, a contour ending with 1-2-1↓, frequently occurs dep-clause-final. It also occurs only a little less frequently phrase-final on the filler of a subject, time, location, or other slot. A non-

final contour 1-2-2↓ occurs sometimes on phrases in series, on dependent clauses, and on the first of two clauses of the type which we would prefer to join on a semantic basis; however, series of clauses not closely related semantically not infrequently occur with this same non-final contour.

Examples of the type cited above have been treated in the grammar as two separate clauses. We have sought in vain for any grammatical basis on which to join the semantically related clauses. Some sequences have been joined as complex clauses (see 2.1.2.) on the basis of a construction overtly shared by two consecutive clauses, usually a common negative or an object of one clause serving as the subject of the other. Some sequences have been joined by positing an auxiliary-head relationship between the two verbs (see 3.1). This latter attempted solution is particularly unsatisfactory. One of the two differences between two verbs manifesting the predicates of consecutive independent clauses, and two verbs with the posited relationship, is the arbitrary listing of thirty-six verbs as "auxiliary"; the other difference is a partial restriction on the inflectional affixation of the auxiliary verb. Some of the auxiliaries occur with two principal verbs, analyzed as "Head" and "Coordinate". The verb phrase including the auxiliary occurs with the frequency of one instance per 11 clauses of text and is occasionally discontinuous.

3. The phrase

3.1. The verb phrase

3.1.1. Tagmemic verb phrase paradigm (see 4.2.6)

$$\text{Vb 11} = \{\pm\text{Aux}^2:\text{aux vb 11/21 } +\text{H:vb 11}\}$$

$$\text{Vb 12a} = \{\pm\text{Aux:aux vb 12 } +\text{H:vb 11-12}\}$$

$$\text{Vb 12b} = \{\pm\text{H:vb 12}\}$$

Vb 21 = {±Aux²:aux vb 11/21 +H:vb 21 }

Vb 22a = {+Aux:aux vb 22 +H:vb 21-22}

Vb 22b = {+H:vb 22}

3. 1. 2. Citation verb phrase paradigm

Vb 11 = nukapaka 'I-kill'.

nuvara ?a--nitsamerekavayare... -nukapaka

'I-want--I-will-try... --I-kill' (I want to try to kill).

nutanuka--nukuchuhairavi 'I-look-for--I-save--you' (I will look for a way to save you).

Vb 12a = pikuisapa--tauchuka 'you-don't-permit--it-come-out' (don't let it out).

Vb 12b = pikuechukapa 'you-don't-cut-punc' (don't cut it).

Vb 21 = nuyana 'I-go'.

naihacha--nepenapa 'they-suppose--I-died' (they will suppose that I died).

Vb 22a = pikuyana--pimaka 'you-don't-go--you-sleep' (don't go to bed).

pikuyana--pikuima ?a 'you-don't-go--you-don't-look' (don't you go to look).

Vb 22b = pikupanerereka 'you-don't-think-much' (don't grieve).

3. 2. The noun phrase

3. 2. 1. Tagmemic noun phrase paradigm

N 1 = {+H:pro 1-2 ±Dem:n C/pro 3}

N 2a = {±Mod:N 1/n C/pro 3 +H:n G}

N 2b = {±Mod:N 1/n C +H:n 2}

N 3 = {±Mod:N 1 +H:N 1-2 ±L:N 13/15}

N 4 = {+H:pro 7 ±Spec:N 1-2/5-7}

N 5 = {+H:N 1-2 +Gen:N 4}

N 6 = {+H:N 2b +Gen:N 1-2/5-7}

N 7 = {+H:N 3/6/C1 101 +Amp 2:N 2/5-6/C1 101}

N 8 = {±/-Cn:pro 2 +H:N 2/7}

±/- indicates that the occurrence of the tagmeme

Cn is subject to a collocational restriction of the pronoun etapa (and-it), which manifests it. The pronoun 2 (etapa) occurs only when the following noun phrase includes a pronoun 1 (eta), with which it agrees in person and number.

N 9 = {+H:pro 9 ±Spec:N 2/7/n T Res/C1 104 ±L:N
13/15}

N 10 = {+H:N 2 ±Cd 3:N 8 ±Sum:N 9}

The Sum tagmeme optionally occurs preceding the H. When the S tagmeme is manifested by a N 10 which has person nouns as fillers of H and Cd tagmemes, there is not always agreement in number between them and the dependent subject marker of the P filler.

N 11 = {+H:N 2 +Cd:n C}

N 12 = {+H:pro 4}

N 13 = {±Lim:pro 11 +H:n L}

N 14 = {+Rel:pro 8 (te) +H:n L +Gen:N 3}

N 15 = {±Lim:pro 11 +Rel:pro 8 ±Quant:n C/pro 3
+H:pro 3/N 2/21 ±Amp:N 2/6}

N 16 = {+Rel:pro 8 (te) +H:N 2/C1 101}

N 17 = {+H:N 11/13 +Gen:N 2/4/15/16}

N 18 = {+H:n T ±Spec:N 1/19}

N 19 = {±Lim:pro 11 ±Dem:n C/pro 3 +H:n Res}

N 20 = {+Rel:pro 8 (te) ±Dem:n C +H:n Res}

N 21 = {+H:N 18-19 +Ref:N 1/20}

3. 2. 2. Citation noun phrase paradigm

N 1 = eta--huka 'it--this' (this).

esu--suna 'she--one' (one woman).

N 2a = ena--achaneana 'they--persons' (the people).

esu suna--esena 'she one--woman' (one woman).

N 2b = esu suka--pena 'she this--your-mother'
(your mother).

N 3 = ema emana--ema huese?i--eta anaki te aperes
'he one--he judge--the there it-of Aperes'
(one of the judges of the Aperes area).

- ema emana--ema maka 'he one--he this' (this man).
- N 4 = ūiye?e--eñi suiya esu ūiyena 'him-of--he her-father she his-wife' (to where he wife's father was).
- N 5 = eñi achane--taye?e eta simena 'he person--it-of the jungle' (the man of the jungle).
- N 6 = maepiyeva--ema make 'his-lie--he this' (he is lying).
- eta maikutiara--ema achane taye?e eta simena 'the his-sign--he person it-of the jungle' (the jungle-man's sign).
- N 7 = eñi achane amaperu--eñi victor 'he person child--he Victor' (the young man Victor).
- eta kakiure ūepani?a eta hima 'the lake he-bring-where the fish' (the lake from which he brought the fish).
- N 8 = enapa--ena ūichichanaveana mapana 'they-and--they his-children three' (and his three children).
- N 9 = tamutu--te mesa 'all--it-to table' (all the things eaten on the table).
- namutu--achaneana 'all--persons' (all the people).
- N 10 = eta arusu--charke--etapa eta sipani--tamutu 'the rice--jerky--the-and the corn--all' (the rice, jerky, and corn--everything).
- N 11 = eta?i narasa--api?i--mapa?i. . . 'one orange --two--three. . . '.
- N 12 = harari?i 'that-is' (it is, there are).
- N 13 = eta--anaki 'the--there' (there).
- N 14 = te--tapeku--kavarasi 'it-to--under--bathtub' (under the bathtub).
- N 15 = eta--te--aperes 'the--it-to--Aperes' (at the Aperes).
- eta--te--huka--viavasa 'the--it-to--this--our-town' (at this our town).
- N 16 = te--eta va?u 'it -to--the hand' (with the hand).

te--ema maca nakenuinavahi 'it-to--he that my
-boss-derg' (from my no-good boss).

N 17 = eta anaki--naye ?eana ena hueseana 'the there
--they-of they judges' (there where the
judges were).

eta--te huka--vikaehu ?eya 'the it-to--this--we-
go-where' (to this place where we are
going).

N 18 = puiti--eta huka sache 'now--the this sun' (to-
day).

N 19 = eta--mapanakenepa--sache 'the--three--days'.
eta--hena--kahe 'the--that--moon' (that
month).

N 20 = te--apanava--sache 'it-of--another--sun' (of
the next day).

te--yati 'it-of--night' (at night).

N 21 = achichu--te apanava sache 'tomorrow--it-of
another sun' (day after tomorrow).

4. The word

4.1. The inflectional word affix

Inflected word prefix class 1100

1110 Prohibitive, subjunctive negative

1111 ku- Prohibitive, subjunctive negative

1120 Emphatic

1121 á- Emphatic of subject dependent 1130

1130-40 Subject dependent (see 5.3.1.)

1131 nU- First person singular

1132 vI- First person plural

1133 pl- Second person singular

1134 e- Second person plural

1135 mA- Third person singular, masculine, man
speaking

1136 fI- Third person singular, feminine, woman
speaking

1137 sU- Third person singular, feminine

1138 TA- Third person singular, impersonal

1139 nA- Third person plural

- 1141 *ti-* Third person singular, non-specific
 Inflected word suffix class 1200
- 1210 Voice
 1211 *-va* Reflexive
 1212 *-KAka* Reciprocal (see 5.1)
 1213 *-kare* Abilitative
 1214 *-si* Passive
 1220 Aspect
 1221 *-vane* Soon, early
 1222 *-numa* Priority, first
 1223 *-saRE* Customary (see 5.4)
 1224 *-karu* Urgency
 1230 Diminutive
 1231 *-chicha* Diminutive, endearment
 1232 *-sami* Sympathetic
 1233 *-kene* Intensive, identifier
 1240 Object dependent
 1241 *-nu* First person singular
 1242 *-?avi* First person plural
 1243 *-vi* Second person singular
 1244 *-?e* Second person plural
 1250 Travel to accomplish action; Additional
 1251 *-pana* Go and do or come and do
 1252 *-pana* Additional, more
 1260 Plural
 1261 *-ana* Plural
 1262 *-vaka* Individualizing plural of subjects dependent 1132, 1134, 1139, and 1141, and of objects dependent 2142 and 1144; signals third person plural object.
 1270 Certification
 1271 *-ina* Certification of affirmative
 1272 *-ima* Certification of negative, possibility of affirmative. (obligatorily followed by *-?i* 2191)
 1280 Existential
 1281 *-ri* Existential

The tagmeme *+Ex:-ri* occurs only in the speech of

older informants except in pronoun 3 (see 4.2.2.1.1) and in certain standardized sequences such as -ri?i, -ripa, -rine, and -richu.

1290 State

1291 -?i State of action in progress (see 5.2)

1292 -yaRE unfulfilled, intentive (see 5.4)

1310 Movement

1311 -pai Movement, travel during action

1320 Punctiliar

1321 -pa Punctiliar, point of time reference

1330 Degree

1331 -ine Intensifier

1332 -Ichu Limitive (see 5.2)

1340 Continuative

1341 -Icha ??A Continuative, continued existence, 'yet'. (see 5.2 and 5.4)

1350 Contrary to fact

1351 -?Ini Contrary to fact, action prematurely stopped, action desired, action that can't be fulfilled. (see 5.2, 5.4.1)

1360 Emphatic

1361 -?i Mild emphatic

1370 Repetitive

1371 -vaRE Repetitive, 'again, also'. (see 5.4)

1380 Potential

1381 -puka Subjunctive potential

1382 -sika Imperative

1390 Mode

1391 -se Contrastive, 'but'; Permissive

1392 -sesi Reprimanditive (occurs rarely)

1393 -sehi Desiderative (meaning almost zero, occurs very rarely)

1410 Identifier

1411 -ra Identifier

1420 Reportative

1421 -hi Reportative

A few of the preceding affixes are probably derived, but we have been able to identify only a few of the morphemes involved. The -re of affixes 1223,

1292, and 1370 is probably 4217, noun stem formative. The -ka of affixes 1381 and 1382 is probably a separate morpheme. The -se of affixes 1392 and 1393 is the same as -se 1391.

The word affixes occur with all word classes. The order of certain sequences of the affixes varies; that is, there is variation of the order of the tagmemes manifested by these affixes:

The mutual order of the Asp and Dim tagmemes is optional; the fillers of the Dim slot are not mutually exclusive, but occur together, 1231 preceding 1232.

When the O Dep tagmeme does not occur, the Pl tagmeme, when manifested by -ana 3111, optionally precedes the Asp tagmeme except when that tagmeme is manifested by -vane 1221.

The Travel and Add tagmemes occur only when the Voice, Asp, and Dim tagmemes do not occur.

When the Cert tagmeme is filled by -ima 1272, the State tagmeme filled by -?i 1291 is obligatory, except in verbs 12 and 22, where it is obligatorily absent.

When the Mov tagmeme does not occur, the Rep tagmeme optionally occurs preceding the Punc tagmeme.

The mutual order of the Ptn and Mode tagmemes is optional. When the Mode tagmeme is manifested by -se 1391, the Id tagmeme is obligatory.

The Ctf tagmeme optionally follows the Id tagmeme.

4. 2. The verb

4. 2. 1. The inflected verb

4. 2. 1. 1. Tagmemic inflected verb paradigm

Transitive inflected verb 10

vb 11 = {+S dep:1130-1140 ±S emph:1120 +Base:vb
stem 10 ±Voice:1212 ±Asp:1220 ±Dim:

1231-1232 ±O dep:1240 ±Travel:1251 ±Pl:
 1260 ±Cert:1270 ±Ex:1280 ±State:1290
 ±Mot:1310 ±Punc:1320 ±Deg:1330 ±Cont:
 1340 ±Ctf:1350 ±Emph:1360 ±Rep:1370
 ±Ptn:1380 ±Mode:1390 ±Id:1410 ±Report:
 1420}

vb 12 = {+S dep:1130 ±S emph:1120 +Impv neg:1110
 +Base:vb stem 10 ±Voice:1212 ±Asp:1221-
 1222 ±Dim:1231-1232 ±O dep:1240
 ±Travel:1251 ±Pl:1262 ±Cert:1270 ±Ex:
 1280 ±State:1290 ±Mot:1310 ±Punc:1320
 ±Deg:1330 ±Cont:1340 ±Ctf:1350 ±Emph:
 1360 ±Rep:1370 ±Mode:1390 ±Id:1410}

Intransitive inflected verb 20

vb 21a = {+S dep:1130-1140 ±S emph:1120 +Base:vb
 stem 20 ±Voice:1211 ±Asp:1220 ±Dim:
 1231-1232 ±Pl:1260 ±Cert:1270 ±Ex:1280
 ±State:1290 ±Mot:1310 ±Punc:1320 ±Deg:
 1330 ±Cont:1340 ±Ctf:1350 ±Emph:1360
 ±Rep:1370 ±Ptn:1380 ±Mode:1390 ±Id:1410
 ±Report:1420}

vb 21b = {+S dep:1130-1140 +Base:vb stem 10 +Voice:
 :1211/1213-1214 ±Asp:1220 ±Dim:1230
 ±Add:1252 ±Pl:1260 ±Cert:1270 ±Ex:1280
 ±State:1290 ±Mot:1310 ±Punc:1320 ±Deg:
 1330 ±Cont:1340 ±Ctf:1350 ±Emph:1360
 ±Rep:1370 ±Ptn:1380 ±Mode:1390 ±Id:1410
 ±Report:1420}

vb 22a = {+S dep:1130 ±S emphatic:1120 +Impv neg:
 1110 +Base:vb stem 20 ±Voice:1211 ±Asp:
 1220 ±Dim:1231-1232 ±Add:1252 ±Cert:
 1272 ±Ex:1280 ±State:1290 ±Mot:1310
 ±Punc:1320 ±Deg:1330 ±Cont:1340 ±Ctf:
 1350 ±Emph:1360 ±Rep:1370 ±Mode:1390
 ±Id:1410}

vb 22b = {+S dep:1130 ±S emph:1120 +Impv neg:1110
 +Base:vb stem 10 +Voice:1211 ±Asp:1220
 ±Dim:1231-1232 ±Travel:1251 ±Cert:1272
 ±Ex:1280 ±State:1290 ±Mot:1310 ±Punc:

1320 ±Deg:1330 ±Cont:1340 ±Ctf:1350
 ±Emph:1360 ±Rep:1370 ±Mode:1390 ±Id:
 1410}

Most frequently, not more than three affixes occur simultaneously in the verb; the maximum found occurring together is six.

4. 2. 1. 2. Citation inflected verb paradigm

Transitive inflected verb 10

vb 11 = ma-kapaka-nu-ina-ichu-puka 'he -kill -me
 -cert -deg -ptn' (if he kills me).

vb 12 = pi-ku-ipika-vane 'you -don't -scare -soon'
 (don't you scare it).

Intransitive inflected verb 20

vb 21a = ti-chava-ana-i-pa-?ine-ini-puka '3-person-general -return -pl -state -punc -intens -ctf -ptn' (it must have been that they had returned).

vb 21b = ti-nika-kare-ana 'third-person-general -eat -abil -pl' (they are edible).

vb 22a = pi-ku-arameka-sami 'you -don't -be-afraid-sympathetic' (don't be afraid).

vb 22b = pi-ku-echuka-va 'you -don't -cut -refl' (don't cut yourself).

4. 2. 2. The verb stem

4. 2. 2. 1. Tagmemic verb stem paradigm

In the following formulas the Class tagmeme is a super-tagmeme of classification. Its filler (Class A, B, or C) corresponds to that of the last in linear order of the items whose classification is given below.

Each verb core is classified as A, B, or C as marked in the lexicon. Each noun root 2 that optionally occurs in the Direction slot is classified in the lexicon as A 1, B 1, or C 1. Each noun root 2 that

optionally occurs in the Form slot is classified in the lexicon as A 2, B 2, or C 2. The filler of the Aug II slot is classified A. The filler of the Resp slot is classified B. The stem formative suffixes 2240 which manifests the stem formative tagmeme are:

-KA 2241 which occurs following class A
(see 5.3.1)

-cha 2242 which occurs following class B

-∅ 2243 which occurs following class C

Transitive stem 10

vb stem 11 = {+Base:vb core 11-15 ±Form:n r 2/n
stem 2 Res/vb stem 13 (-ekene?a) ±Aug I:
2210 ±Aug II:2220 +Aug III:2230 +Class:
class A-C +Stem fv 1:2240 ±Stem fv 2:
2250}

vb stem 12 = {+Base:vb core 16 +Class:class B
+Stem fv 1:2242 ±Stem fv 2:2250}

vb stem 13 = {+Base:vb core 17 +Class:class C
±Stem fv 1:2243 ±Stem fv 2:2250}

Intransitive stem 20

vb stem 21 = {+Base:vb core 21-24 ±Form:n r 2/n
stem 2 Res/vb stem 13 (-ekene?a) ±Aug
I:2210 ±Aug II:2220 ±Aug III:2230 +Class:
class A/C +Stem fv 1:2241-2243 ±Stem fv
2:2250}

vb stem 22 = {+Base:vb core 15 +Class:class C
+Stem fv 1:2243 +Stem fv 2:2250}

4.2.2.2. Citation verb stem paradigm

Transitive stem 10

vb stem 11 = -hachapa-re-ka 'receive -aug -stem-fv'
(receive repeatedly).

-imati-ekene?a-∅ 'know -behind -stem-fv'
(recognize).

-echu-iri-ka 'cut -aug -stem-fv' (chop repeatedly).

-vara?a-∅-ira 'want -stem-fv -stem-fv'
(want).

-ipika-re-si-ira 'scare -aug -stem-fv -stem-fv'
(scare).

vb stem 12 = -hamura-cha 'desire -stem-fv' (desire).

-itekapau-cha 'arrive-at -stem-fv' (arrive).

-yupa-cha 'door-pin -stem-fv' (block the door).

vb stem 13 = -imati-∅ 'know -stem-fv' (know).

-etere-ki-∅ 'jump -form -stem-fv' (jump up
into a tree).

-kaiti-?a-∅ 'tie -body -stem-fv' (tie an ani-
mal).

vb stem 21 = -yuhara-ka 'recite -stem-fv' (pray).

-imaka-ku-re-ka 'sleep -inside -aug -stem-fv'
(sleep elsewhere).

-uchu-ku?a-∅ 'come-out -cavity -stem-fv'
(come out of).

-iya-?a-∅ 'cry -form -stem-fv' (cry).

vb stem 22 = -maune-∅ 'be-thirsty -stem-fv' (be
(thirsty).

-yana-∅ 'go -stem-fv' (go).

4. 2. 2. 3. The verb stem affix

Verb stem suffix class 2200

2210 Augmentative

2211 -ra Augmentative

2220 Augmentative

2221 -hi Augmentative

2230 Augmentative

2231 -IrI Augmentative (see 5. 4)

2240 Classificatory stem formative

2241 -KA Stem formative (see 5. 3)

2242 -chA Stem formative

2243 -∅ Stem formative

2250 Stem formative

2251 -ira Stem formative (see 5. 3. 2)

2252 -i?a Stem formative (see 5. 1)

2253 -ina Benefactive stem formative

2254 -ine Locative of time and space stem formative

2255 = -irare Customary locative stem formative

4. 2. 3. The verb core

4. 2. 3. 1. Tagmemic verb core paradigm

Transitive verb core 10

vb core 11 = {+Caus I:3121 +Base:vb rad 10 ±Extr:
3210 ±Resp:3220}

vb core 12 = {+Caus I:3121 +Base:n stem 4 (-ihare)
+Extr:3210}

vb core 13 = {+Caus II:3122 +Base:vb core 11
(-pica)/vb core 14 (-kachicha)}

vb core 14 = {+Att:3111 +Base:vb rad 20A/n stem
B-C}

vb core 15 = {+Priv:3112 +Base:vb rad 11 (-ima)}

vb core 16 = {+Base:vb rad 21 +Resp:3221}

vb core 17 = {+Caus I:3121 +Base:vb rad 20B Res/vb
core 15 Res}

Intransitive verb core 20

vb core 21 = {+Base:vb rad 20}

vb core 22 = {+Priv:3112 +Base:n stem 1 (une)}

vb core 23 = {+Att:3111 +Base:vb rad 11 Res}

vb core 24 = {+Att:3111 +Base:n stem B-C/n 8/n r 1
(-richu/rine)}

4. 2. 3. 2. Citation verb core paradigm

Transitive verb core 10

vb core 11 = -imi-echa 'caus -know' (punish,
chastise).

-ama-ma 'carry -extr' (bring much).

vb core 12 = -imi-ihare-re 'caus -name -extr' (name
off a number of names).

vb core 13 = -e-kachicha 'caus -have-children'
(impregnate).

-i-pika 'caus -fear' (scare, frighten).

vb core 14 = -ka-parape 'att -brother' (marry).

-ka-ima 'att -sleep' (put to sleep).

vb core 15 = -ma-ima 'priv -see' (not see for a long
time).

vb core 16 = -pika-u 'fear -resp' (be respectful).

-iteka-u 'arrive -resp' (arrive at).

vb core 17 = -imi-iteka 'caus -come' (purpose of coming).

Intransitive verb core 20

vb core 21 = -yana- 'go':

vb core 22 = -ma-une 'without -water' (be thirsty).

vb core 23 = -ka-echuhi- 'with -cut' (be cut).

vb core 24 = -ka-ena 'with -mother' (have a mother).

-ka-richu- 'with -only' (be alone).

-ka-ima?akene- 'with-that-which-is-seen'
(have possessions, be rich).

4. 2. 3. 3. The verb core affix

Verb core prefix class 3100

3110 Attributive

3111 kA- Attributive, Intransitivizer (pseudo passive) (see 5.1)

3112 ma- Privative

3120 Causative

3121 Iml- Causative (see 5.1)

3122 É- Causative (see 5.1)

Verb core suffix class 3200

3210 Extraordinary

3211 Reduplication; extraordinary (see 5.5)

3220 Respective

3221 -u Respective

4. 2. 4. The verb radical

4. 2. 4. 1. Tagmemic verb radical paradigm

Transitive verb radical 10

vb rad 11 = {+Base:vb r tr}

vb rad 12 = {+Base:vb r tr (-ve) +Cpd:vb r tr/n r 2
(-ku)}

vb rad 13 = {+Base:vb r tr +Cpd:vb r intr}

vb rad 14 = {+Cpd:vb r tr (-evi-) +Base:vb rad 13
(-itapai-)}

vb rad 15 = {+Base:vb stem 10 (-iharaka) +Pas:
1214}

Intransitive verb radical 20

vb rad 21 = {+Base:vb r intr}

vb rad 22 = {+Base:vb r intr Res/vb r neu Res +Cpd:
vb r intr AS/vb r tr AS/n stem AS}

vb rad 23 = {+Base:vb r intr Res +Punc:1321}

vb rad 24 = {+Cpd:vb r tr (-ita) +Base:vb r intr
(-pahi)}

vb rad 25 = {+Base:vb r intr (-uri)/vb r tr (-ita)
+Cpd:vb r tr (-niKA) +Cpd 2:vb r tr (-si)}

vb rad 26 = {+Base:vb r intr (-tia-) +Ex:1280 +State:
1281}

The verb radicals 20 are divided into distribution classes verb radical 20A and 20b. Class 20B consists of verb radicals -chava 'return', -yana 'go', -siapa 'enter', and -iteka 'come'. Class sOA consists of all verb radicals 20 not included in verb radicals 20B.

4. 2. 4. 2. Citation verb radical paradigm

Transitive verb radical 10

vb rad 11 = -kapa- 'kill'.

vb rad 12 = -ve-hapu- 'undo -tie' (untie).

-ve-ku- 'undo -inside-of' (remove from within a cavity).

vb rad 13 = -ita-pai- 'finish-doing -mov' (finish, destroy).

vb rad 14 = -evi-itapai- 'swing-around -destroy'
(chop brush).

vb rad 15 = -iharaka-si- 'deliver -pas' (give a present).

Intransitive verb radical 20

vb rad 21A = -ima- 'sleep'.

vb rad 21B = -yana- 'go'.

- vb rad 22A = -kari-samure- 'hurt -heart' (grieve).
 -kati-ekene- 'hurt -come-behind' (be sorry about).
 -uri-samure- 'good -heart' (be happy).
 -iye-pana- 'lie-down -go/come' (go, come and lie down).
 -putu-nIKA- 'hurry -eat' (eat fast) (see 5.1).
 vb rad 23B = -sia-pa- 'enter -punc' (enter).
 vb rad 24A = -ita-paihi- 'finish -be-skillful' (be skillful).
 vb rad 25A = -uri -nIKA-si- 'good -eat -drink' (be good for consumption) (see 5.4).
 -ita-nIKA-si- 'finish -eat -drink' (finish dining) (see 5.4).
 vb rad 26B = -tia-ri-?i- 'be-in-a-place -ex -state' (be in a place).

4. 2. 5. The verb root

4. 2. 5. 1. Citation verb root paradigm

- vb r tr = -kapa- 'kill'.
 vb r neu = -kati- 'hurt'.
 vb r intr = -uri- 'good'.

4. 2. 6. The auxiliary verb

The auxiliary verbs are an arbitrarily selected distribution class (of thirty-six including two Spanish loans) drawn from the regular verbs.

The aux vbs characteristically occur with fewer inflectional affixes than the verbs which manifest the head tagmeme of the verb phrase.

4. 2. 6. 1. The auxiliary verb stem inventory

Transitive verb stem 10

- vara?a 'want'; -hamuracha 'desire'; -itsamareka 'try'; -imihacha 'suppose'; -ita 'finish'; -vaneka 'command'; -etavika 'exceed'; -tanuka 'look-for'; -rata?a 'be-able-to';

-imati 'know, recognize'; -ituka 'know-how, be-accustomed-to'; -ituruka 'learn-how'; -isapa 'permit'.

Intransitive verb stem 20

-ihacha 'suppose'; -yakuhi 'get-tired-of'; -echa 'know-ideas'; -isapava 'permit'; -kaecheku?a 'finish'; -itanisi 'finish-eating'; -iteka 'come'; -yana 'go'; -itupiru 'go-directly'; -na?aka 'set-one-self-to'; -apechava 'do-again'; -vayucha 'be-much, many'; -hurikati 'be-quick, sudden'; -ane?i 'be-near'; -yere?i 'be-far'; -epiyayaka 'be-slow, do-slowly'; -putuva?u 'be-swift, do-quickly'; -urinisi 'be-tasty'; -aramikare 'be-marveled-at'; -eharare 'be-difficult'; -maeharare 'not-be-difficult'; mehor 'be-better'; noimporta 'not-matter'.

4. 3. The substantive

4. 3. 1. The noun

4. 3. 1. 1. The inflected noun

4. 3. 1. 1. 1. Tagmemic inflected noun paradigm

- n 1 = {+Base A/C ±Voice ±Dim ±Punc}
- n 2 = {+Gen +Base B-C ±Voice ±Dim ±Punc}
- n 3 = {+Base D ±Voice ±Dim ±Punc}
- n 4 = {+Gen +Base E ±Voice ±Dim ±Punc}
- n 5 = {+Base D ±Voice ±Dim +Punc}
- n 6 = {+Gen +Base E ±Voice ±Dim +Punc}
- n 7 = {+Gen +Base F +Voice ±Dim ±Punc}
- n 8 = {+Gen +Base vbl tr ±Voice +Dim ±Punc}
- n 9 = {+Gen +Base vbl intr ±Voice +Dim ±Punc}

4. 3. 1. 1. 2. Tagmatic inflected noun paradigm

- n 1 = [+Base:n stem A/C ±Voice:1211-1212 ±Asp:

1220 ±Dim:1230 ±O dep:1240 ±Add:1252
 ±Pl:1260 ±Cert:1270 ±Ex:1280 ±State:
 1290 ±Mot:1310 ±Punc:1320 ±Deg:1330
 ±Cont:1340 ±Ctf:1350 ±Emph:1360
 ±Rep:1370 ±Ptn:1380 ±Mode:1390 ±Id:1410
 ±Report:1420]

n 2 = [+Gen:1131-1139 +Base:n stem B-C ±Voice:
 1211-1212 ±Asp:1220 ±Dim:1230 ±O dep:
 1240 ±Add:1252 ±Pl:1260 ±Cert:1270
 ±Ex:1280 ±State:1290 ±Mot:1310 ±Punc:
 1320 ±Deg:1330 ±Cont:1340 ±Ctf:1350
 ±Emph:1360 ±Rep:1370 ±Ptn:1380 ±Mode:
 1390 ±Id:1410 ±Report:1420]

n 3 = [+Base:n stem D ±Asp:1220 ±Dim:1230 ±O dep:
 1240 ±Add:1252 ±Pl:1260 ±Cert:1270 ±Ex:
 1280 ±State:1290 ±Mot:1310 ±Punc:1320
 ±Deg:1330 ±Cont:1340 ±Ctf:1350 ±Emph:
 1360 ±Rep:1370 ±Ptn:1380 ±Mode:1390
 ±Id:1410 ±Report:1420]

n 4 = [+Gen:1131-1139 +Base:n stem E ±Asp:1220
 ±Dim:1230 ±O dep:1240 ±Add:1252 ±Pl:
 1260 ±Cert:1270 ±Ex:1280 ±State:1290
 ±Mot:1310 ±Punc:1320 ±Deg:1330 ±Cont:
 1340 ±Ctf:1350 ±Emph:1360 ±Rep:1370
 ±Ptn:1380 ±Mode:1390 ±Id:1410 ±Report:
 1420]

n 5 = [+Base:n stem D ±Asp:1220 ±Dim:1230 ±Add:
 1252 ±Cert:1270 ±Ex:1280 ±State:1290
 ±Mot:1310 ±Punc:1320 ±Deg:1330 ±Cont:
 1340 ±Ctf:1350 ±Emph:1360 ±Rep:1370
 ±Ptn:1380 ±Mode:1390 ±Id:1410 ±Report:
 1420]

n 6 = [+Gen:1138 +Base:n stem E ±Asp:1220 ±Dim:
 1230 ±Add:1252 ±Cert:1270 ±Ex:1280
 ±State:1290 ±Mot:1310 ±Punc:1320 ±Deg:
 1330 ±Cont:1340 ±Ctf:1350 ±Emph:1360
 ±Rep:1370 ±Ptn:1380 ±Mode:1390 ±Id:
 1410 ±Report:1420]

n 7 = [+Gen:1131-1139 +Base:n stem F +Voice:1211-

1212 ±Asp:1222-1223 ±Dim:1230 ±Add:
 1252 ±Pl:1261 ±Cert:1270 ±Ex:1280 ±
 State:1290 ±Mot:1310 ±Punc:1320 ±Deg:
 1330 ±Cont:1340 ±Ctf:1350 ±Emph:1360
 ±Rep:1370 ±Ptn:1380 ±Mode:1390 ±Id:
 1410]

n 8 = [+Gen:1131-1139 +Base:vb tr ±Voice:1211-1212
 ±Asp:1220 ±Dim 1:1231-1232 +Dim 2:1233
 ±O dep:1240 ±Add:1252 ±Pl:1260 ±Cert:
 1270 ±Ex:1280 ±State:1290 ±Mot:1310
 ±Punc:1320 ±Deg:1330 ±Cont:1340 ±Ctf:
 1350 ±Emph:1360 ±Rep:1370 ±Ptn:1380
 ±Mode:1390 ±Id:1410]

n 9 = [+Gen:1131-1139 +Base:vb stem intr ±Voice:
 1211 ±Asp:1220 ±Dim 1:1231-1232 +Dim
 2:1233 ±Add:1252 ±Pl:1260 ±Cert:1270
 ±Ex:1280 ±State:1290 ±Mot:1210 ±Punc:
 1320 ±Deg:1330 ±Cont:1340 ±Ctf:1350
 ±Emph:1360 ±Rep:1370 ±Ptn:1380 ±Mode:
 1390 ±Id:1410]

Nouns manifesting the P Eq or Item tagmemes have up to six affixes. The most frequent number is two. Nouns manifesting other tagmemes are much less frequently affixed and a maximum of four affixes occur.

Nouns 1, 2, 8 and 9 are further subdivided into emic distribution classes C, G, L, and T. Class C consists of cardinal nouns, class L consists of location nouns, Class T consists of time nouns, and class G consists of all nouns not included in C, L and T. Nouns 3 and 4 belong to class L. Nouns 5-7 belong to T.

4. 3. 1. 1. 3. Citation inflected noun paradigm

n 1 = ahaira-ina-?i-puka-ini 'male -cert -emph -ptn
 -ctf' (if it... a male).

n 2 = vi-penapachu-vaka-ya-?i 'we -house-each -each

-one -unf -emph' (the houses each one of us will have).

n 3 = anakiapa-chicha-pa 'over-there -endear -punc'
(over there, dear).

n 4 = ta-mira?u-pana 'it -in-front-of -more' (more in front of it).

n 5 = anakiapa-pana-pa 'over-there -more -punc' (at an earlier time).

n 6 = ta-mira?u-pa 'it -in-front-of -punc' (before).

n 7 = nu-paenuma-wa-ima-?i 'I -just-now -refl -seems -state' (now, then, I).

n 8 = ma-ima?a-kene-ana-pa 'he -see -intens -pl -punc'
(his visible things, his riches).

n 9 = na-tiari?i-kene-ana-pa-?i 'they -are-there
-intens -pl -punc -emph' (the ones who were there).

4.3.1.2. The noun stem

4.3.1.2.1. Tagmemic noun stem paradigm

n stem 1 = {+Base:n r 1 Res}

n stem 2 = {+Base:n r 1/n stem/vb r (-ava)/vb core
(-ekati)/vb stem (-seka) +Cpd:n r AS/n
stem AS}

n stem 3 = {+Base:n r 1 Res/n stem 2 Res/6 Res
+Stem fv:4216}

n stem 4 = {+Base:n r 1 Res/n stem 3 Res 9 Res
+Stem fv:4217}

n stem 5 = {+Base:n r 1 Res/n stem 2 Res +Stem
fv:4219}

n stem 6 = {+Base:n r 1 Res +Stem fv:4212}

n stem 7 = {+Base:n r 1 Res +Stem fv:4222}

n stem 8 = {+Base:n r 1 Res/vb r (-esesu) +Stem
fv:4216 +Cpd:n r 1 (-pa)/n r 2 AS}

n stem 9 = {+Base:n r 1 Res/vb r Res +Stem fv:4218
+Cpd:n r 2 AS}

n stem 10 = {+Base:n r 1 Res +Stem fv:4217 +Cpd:n
r 2 AS}

- n stem 11 = {+ Base:vb r Res +Stem fv:4219 +Cpd:n
r 2 AS}
- n stem 12 = {+Base:n r 1 Res/n stem 2 Res/5 Res/36
Res +Stem fv:4211}
- n stem 13 = {+Base:n r 1 Res +Stem fv:4213}
- n stem 14 = {+Base:n r 1 Res +Stem fv:4214}
- n stem 15 = {+Cpd 1:n r 1 AS +Base:n r 1 Res
+Stem fv:4219 +Cpd 2:n r 2 (-ki)}
- n stem 16 = {+Base:n r 1 Res +Cpd 1:n r 1 AS +Cpd
2:n r 2 AS}
- n stem 17 = {+Base:n r 1 Res +Stem fv:4215}
- n stem 18 = {+Base:n r 1 Res +Stem fv 1:4213 +Stem
fv 2:4219}
- n stem 19 = {+Base:n r 1 Res +Stem fv:4221}
- n stem 20 = {+Base:n r 1 Res/n stem 2 Res +Ag:
4223}
- n stem 21 = {+Priv:3112 +Base:n stem 4 Res}
- n stem 22 = {+Priv:3112 +Base:vb r (-ava-) +Stem
fv:4215 +Cpd:n r 2 (-?i)}
- n stem 23 = {+Base:vb r (-aju-) +Cpd:n r 2 (-me)
+Stem fv:4219 +Stem fv:4211}
- n stem 24 = {+Base:n r 1 Res/n stem 14 Res +Refl:
1211}
- n stem 25 = {+Base:n r 1 Res/vb r Res +Cpd:n r 1
(-ye)/n r 2 (-si) +Refl:1211}
- n stem 26 = {+Base:pro r 7 (-ye?E) +Stem fv 1:4217
+Stem fv 2:4219 +Refl:1211} (see 5. 3. 2)
- n stem 27 = {+Base:n stem 5 (-niru) +Extr:vb affix
3211 +Cpd:n r 2 (-cu?a)}
- n stem 28 = {+Base:vb r (-yu) +Cpd:n r 1 (-sa)
+Extr:vb affix 3211}
- n stem 29 = {+Cpd:n r 1 (ap-) +Base:n r 1 Res
+Stem fv:4219}
- n stem 30 = {+Base:n r 1 (-atse) +Stem fv:4217
+Cpd:n r 2 (-pi)}
- n stem 31 = {+Base:vb r (-yu)/n r 1 (-achu) +Stem
fv:4211 +Stem fv:4216 +Cpd:n r 2 (-pi,
-ki)}

- n stem 32 = {+Cpd 1:vb r (-yu) +Base:vb r (-pai)
+Stem fv:4218 +Cpd 2:n r 2 (-ki)}
- n stem 33 = {+Cpd 1:n r 1 (-ipava) +Cpd 2:n r 2 (-ki)
+Base:n r 1 (-peva)}
- n stem 34 = {+Cpd:n r 1 AS +Base:n r 1 Res +Stem
fv:4217}
- n stem 35 = {+Base:vb r (-ava) +Hab:1223}
- n stem 36 = {+Base:n r 1 (-chi) +Stem fv 1:4214
+Cpd:n r 1 (-ena)}
- n stem 37 = {+Base:vb r (-imati) +Stem fv:4211
+Hab:1223}
- n stem 38 = {+Base:vb core tr Res ±Aug:vb stem
affix 2230AS +Stem fv:4219}
- n stem 39 = {+Base:n stem 1 (anaki) +Cpd:n r 1
(apa-)}
- n stem 40 = {+Base:n r 1 (-mira) +Resp:vb core
affix 3220}
- n stem 41 = {+Base:n r 1 (-pae) +Priority:1222}

Noun stems 1-38 are divided into distribution classes A, B, C, which are only partially correlated with the preceding composition classes 1-41: noun stems A include stems of n stem 1-23; noun stems B include stems of n stem 1-16, 24-38; noun stems C include stems of n stem 1-8. Noun stem 39 is classified as D; n stem 40, as E; and n stem 41, as F. (see 4.3.1.1)

4.3.1.2.2. Citation noun stem paradigm

- n stem 1 = amuya 'child'.
- n stem 2 = ara-ima 'new -husband'; -hiya-mama
'hair -chin' (beard); asa-pi 'heat -form'
(roasted manioc).
- n stem 3 = ahai-ra 'male -stem-fv' (male, man).
- n stem 4 = kachapa-re 'platform -stem-fv' (platform).
- n stem 5 = pake-ru 'bridge -stem-fv' (bridge).
- n stem 6 = anu-ma 'above -stem-fv' (sky, heaven).
- n stem 7 = va-?u 'hand -stem-fv' (hand).

- n stem 8 = -sinara-hi 'defender -form' (idol).
 parivapa 'needle-instrument' (needle).
- n stem 9 = ahai-ri-?i 'male -stem-fv -bird' (rooster).
- n stem 10 = sache-re-?i 'sun -stem-fv -form' (dry
 season).
- n stem 11 = esesu-ru-?i 'rub -stem-fv -form' (sharp-
 ening stone).
- n stem 12 = akenu-ka 'chief -stem-fv' (chief).
- n stem 13 = akute-na 'sugar-cane -stem-fv' (sugar
 cane).
- n stem 14 = acha-ne 'person -stem-fv' (person, man).
- n stem 15 = e-mu-ru-ki 'inan -heart -stem-fv -form'
 (heartwood).
 -epa-tsru-ki 'outer-layer -sweat -stem-fv
 -form' (heat rash).
- n stem 16 = -kuriche-pira-ki 'swamp -plant -form'
 (reed).
- n stem 17 = erI-pa 'gourd -stem-fv' (gourd). (see
 5.3.1)
- n stem 18 = acha-na-ru 'person -stem-fv -stem-fv'
 (older person).
- n stem 19 = yava-ti 'axe -stem-fv' (axe).
- n stem 20 = chiripi-eru 'two-tone-oceanina -player'.
 punu-Reru 'bell -player' (bell ringer).
- n stem 21 = ma-tserare 'priv -tear' (one unable to
 cry, stoic).
- n stem 22 = ma-ava-pa-?i 'priv -reside -stem-fv
 -form' (uninhabited area).
- n stem 23 = ahu-me-ru-ka 'write -form -stem-fv
 -stem-fv' (paper).
- n stem 24 = -achane-va 'person -refl' (one's spirit).
- n stem 25 = -epi-ye-va 'make -lie -refl' (one's lie).
 mahu-si-va 'flake -head -refl' (dandruff).
- n stem 26 = -ye-re-ru-va 'of -stem-fv -stem-fv -refl'
 (one's own things).
- n stem 27 = -miru-ru-ku?a 'food -extr -trail' (trail-
 lunch).
- n stem 28 = -yu-sa-sa 'pierce -wound -extr' (punc-
 ture wound).

- n stem 29 = -ap-ena-ru 'other -mother -stem-fv'
(aunt).
- n stem 30 = -atse-re-pi 'grandmother -stem-fv -word'
(nickname).
- n stem 31 = -yu-ka-ra-ki 'pierce -stem-fv -stem-fv
-form' (bullet, arrow).
-achu-ka-ra-pi 'grandfather -stem-fv -stem-fv
-form' (folk story).
- n stem 32 = -yu-pai-ri-ki 'pierce -walk -stem-fv
-form' (pole for propelling a boat).
- n stem 33 = -i-pava-ki-peva 'stem-fv -extension -form
-foot' (toe).
- n stem 34 = -sa-mu-re 'animate -heart -stem-fv'
(heart).
-epa-tsu-re 'outer-layer -sweat -stem-fv'
(sweat).
- n stem 35 = -ava-sa 'reside -hab' (town).
- n stem 36 = -chi-ne-ena 'child-in-law -stem-fv
-woman' (daughter-in-law).
- n stem 37 = -imati-ka-sare 'know -stem-fv -hab'
(friend, one well-known to one).
- n stem 38 = -sama-iri-ru 'hear - -stem-fv' (news).
- n stem 39 = anaki-apa-pa 'there -other -punc' (a long
time ago).
- n stem 40 = -mira-?u 'face -resp' (area in front of).
- n stem 41 = -pae-numa-va 'point-of-time -priority
-refl' (just now, just then).

4. 3. 1. 2. 3. The noun stem affix

- 4210-4220 Stem formative
4211 -ka Stem formative
4212 -ma Stem formative
4213 -na Stem formative
4214 -ne Stem formative
4215 -pa Stem formative
4216 -ra Stem formative
4217 -re Stem formative
4218 -ri Stem formative
4219 -ru Stem formative

- 4221 -ti Stem formative
 4222 -?u Stem formative
 4223 -Reru Agent, instrument player (from Spanish -ero) (see 5.4).

4.3.1.3. The noun root

4.3.1.3.1. Citation noun root paradigm

- n r 1 = amuya 'child'; -mira 'face'; apa- 'other';
 -muri 'group'.
 n r 2 = -ki 'rigid' (rigid item); -pi 'flexible'
 (flexible item); -me 'flat'; -ama
 'liquids'.

4.3.2. The pronoun

4.3.2.1. The inflected pronoun

4.3.2.1.1. Tagmemic inflected pronoun paradigm

- pro 1 = {+Base:pro stem 1-2 ±Voice:1211-1212
 ±Asp:1220 ±Dim:1230 ±O dep:1240 AS
 ±Pl:1260 AS ±Cert:1270 ±Ex:1280 ±State:
 :1290 ±Mot:1310 ±Punc:1320 ±Deg:1330
 ±Cont:1340 ±Ctf:1350 ±Emph:1360 ±Rep:
 1370 ±Ptn:1380 ±Mode:1390 ±Id:1410}
 pro 2 = {+Base:pro stem 1-2 +Punc:1320 ±Voice:
 1211-1212 ±Asp:1220 ±Dim:1230 ±Pl:1260
 ±Cert:1270 ±Ex:1280 ±State:1290 ±Punc:
 1320 ±Deg:1330 ±Cont:1340 ±Ctf:1350
 ±Emph:1360 ±Rep:1370 ±Ptn:1380 ±Mode:
 1390 ±Id:1410}
 pro 3 = {+Base:pro stem 3/10 ±Asp:1220 ±Dim:1230
 ±Pl:1260 ±Cert:1270 ±Ex:1280 ±State:
 1290 ±Mot:1310 ±Punc:1320 ±Deg:1330
 ±Cont:1340 ±Ctf:1350 ±Emph:1360 ±Rep:
 1370 ±Ptn:1380 ±Mode:1390 ±Id:1410}
 pro 4 = {+Base:pro stem 3 (-ra) +Ex:1280 +State:
 1291 ±Asp:1220 ±Dim:1230 ±Pl:1262}

$\pm \text{Cert}:1270 \pm \text{Mot}:1310 \pm \text{Punc}:1320 \pm \text{Deg}:1330 \pm \text{Cont}:1340 \pm \text{Ctf}:1350 \pm \text{Emph}:1360 \pm \text{Rep}:1370 \pm \text{Ptn}:1380 \pm \text{Mode}:1390 \pm \text{Id}:1410 \pm \text{Report}:1420 \}$
 pro 5 = {+Base:pro stem 5 $\pm \text{Asp}:1220 \pm \text{Dim}:1230 \pm \text{Pl}:1261 \pm \text{Cert}:1270 \pm \text{Ex}:1280 \pm \text{State}:1290 \pm \text{Mot}:1310 \pm \text{Punc}:1320 \pm \text{Deg}:1330 \pm \text{Cont}:1340 \pm \text{Emph}:1360 \pm \text{Rep}:1370 \pm \text{Ptn}:1380 \pm \text{Mode}:1390 \pm \text{Id}:1410 \pm \text{Ctf}:1350 \pm \text{Report}:1420}
 pro 6 = {+Base:pro stem 6 $\pm \text{Asp}:1220 \pm \text{Dim}:1230 \pm \text{O dep}:1240 \text{ AS } \pm \text{Pl}:1260 \pm \text{Cert}:1270 \pm \text{Ex}:1280 \pm \text{State}:1290 \pm \text{Mot}:1310 \pm \text{Punc}:1320 \pm \text{Deg}:1330 \pm \text{Cont}:1340 \pm \text{Ctf}:1350 \pm \text{Emph}:1360 \pm \text{Rep}:1370 \pm \text{Ptn}:1380 \pm \text{Mode}:1390 \pm \text{Id}:1410 \pm \text{Report}:1420}
 pro 7 = {+Base:pro stem 7 $\pm \text{Asp}:1220 \pm \text{Dim}:1230 \pm \text{O dep}:1240 \pm \text{Pl}:1260 \pm \text{Cert}:1270 \pm \text{Ex}:1280 \pm \text{State}:1290 \pm \text{Mot}:1310 \pm \text{Punc}:1320 \pm \text{Deg}:1330 \pm \text{Cont}:1340 \pm \text{Ctf}:1350 \pm \text{Emph}:1360 \pm \text{Rep}:1370 \pm \text{Ptn}:1380 \pm \text{Report}:1420}
 pro 8 = {+Base:pro stem 8}
 pro 9 = {+Base:pro stem 9 $\pm \text{Asp}:1220 \pm \text{Dim}:1230 \pm \text{Pl}:1260 \pm \text{Cert}:1270 \pm \text{Ex}:1280 \pm \text{State}:1290 \pm \text{Mot}:1310 \pm \text{Punc}:1320 \pm \text{Deg}:1330 \pm \text{Cont}:1340 \pm \text{Ctf}:1350 \pm \text{Emph}:1360 \pm \text{Rep}:1370 \pm \text{Ptn}:1380 \pm \text{Mode}:1390 \pm \text{Id}:1410 \pm \text{Report}:1420}
 pro 10 = {+Base:pro stem 4 $\pm \text{Asp}:1220 \pm \text{Dim}:1230 \pm \text{O dep}:1240 \pm \text{Add}:1252 \pm \text{Pl}:1260 \pm \text{Cert}:1270 \pm \text{Ex}:1280 \pm \text{State}:1290 \pm \text{Mot}:1310 \pm \text{Punc}:1320 \pm \text{Deg}:1330 \pm \text{Cont}:1340 \pm \text{Ctf}:1350 \pm \text{Emph}:1360 \pm \text{Rep}:1370 \pm \text{Ptn}:1380 \pm \text{Mod}:1390 \pm \text{Id}:1410 \pm \text{Report}:1420}
 pro 11 = {+Base:pro stem 2 (eta)}$$$$$

Pronouns 1-3 occur most frequently without affixation.

Pronouns 4-10 frequently occur with one or two affixes.

Pronouns occurring as fillers of the Item or P eq tagmemes have up to four affixes.

4. 3. 2. 1. 2. Citation inflected pronoun

pro 1 = eta-ina-vare-puka 'it -cert -again -possible'
(it must have been).

eta-vi-pa-?i 'it -you -punc -emph' (it was
you!).

pro 2 = eta-pa 'it -punc' (and it).

ema-pa-va 'he -punc -refl' (and he himself).
nuti-pa-va 'I -punc -refl' (and I myself).

pro 3 = mara 'that-man'.

huka-?i 'this -emph' (here it is.).

pro 4 = hara-ri-?i-pa 'that -ex -state -punc' (now
there is, are some).

pro 5 = tahina-pa 'no-exist -punc' (now there isn't
any).

pro 6 = taha?a-puka 'what -possible' (what might it
be?).

taha?a-sika 'what -possible (impv)' (what is
it? tell me).

naha?a-vi 'who -you' (who are you?).

pro 7 = nuye?e-ina-ini 'mine -cert -ctf' (I hope it
will be mine).

piye?e-nu 'yours -I' (I am yours).

pro 8 = te 'to, towards-it'.

pro 9 = tamutu-pa 'all -punc' (that's all).

namutu-chicha-sami 'all -little -dear' (all the
little dear ones).

pro 10 = hahaHA?e-ana 'hes -pl' Hesitation antici-
pating plural form. (see 5. 2. 2)

hakani-chicha-?avi 'hes -en -us' Hesitation
anticipating word ending with first plural
object.

pro 11 = eta 'it'.

4. 3. 2. 2. The pronoun stem

4. 3. 2. 2. 1. Tagmemic pronoun stem paradigm

- pro stem 1 = {+Base:S dep 1131-1134 +Cpd:pro r 1
±Aug:2220}
- pro stem 2 = {+Cpd:pro r 2 +Base:S dep 1135-1139
±Aug:2220}
- pro stem 3 = {+Base:S dep 1135-1139 +Cpd:pro r 3}
- pro stem 4 = {+Base:S dep 1139 +Cpd 1:pro r 3 (-ka)
+Cpd 2:pro r 4/Ctf:1350}
- pro stem 5 = {+Base:S dep 1131-1139 +Cpd:pro r 5}
- pro stem 6 = {+Base:S dep 1138-1139 +Cpd 1:pro r 6
+Cpd 2:n r 2 (-?a, -mu?u AS)}
- pro stem 7 = {+Base:S dep 1131-1139 +Cpd:pro r 7}
- pro stem 8 = {+Base:S dep 1135-1138 +Cpd:pro r 8}
- pro stem 9 = {+Base:S dep 1132/1134/1138-1139
+Emph:1120 +[±Cpd 1:n r (-mutu) ±Cpd 2:
n r (-muri, -ekene)]}
- pro stem 10 = {+Base:S dep 1139 +Cpd:pro r 9}

4. 3. 2. 2. 2. Citation pronoun stem paradigm

- pro stem 1 = nu-ti 'I -1-person' (I).
pi-ti 'you-2-person' (you).
- pro stem 2 = e-su '3-person -she' (she).
e-ta '3-person -it' (it).
- pro stem 3 = hu-ka 'it -this' (this thing).
ma-ra 'he -that' (that man).
- pro stem 4 = ha-ka-ha?e '3-person -stem-fv -hes'
Hesitation
- pro stem 5 = tā-hina 'it -not-exist' (its absence).
má-hina 'he -not-exist' (his absence).
- pro stem 6 = ta-áha?-a 'it -what -body' (what).
na-áha?-a 'they -what -body' (who).
ta-áha-mu?u 'it -what -time-unit' (when).
- pro stem 7 = nu-ye?e 'I -of' (mine, concerning me).
ma-ye?e 'he -of' (his, concerning him).
- pro stem 8 = m-e 'he -to' (to, towards him).
s-e 'she -to' (to, towards her).
- pro stem 9 = vi-mutu 'we -all'

na-mutu-muri 'they-all -group' (they all together).

vi-á-mutu 'we -subject-emph -all' (all of us).
(see 5.3.1)

ta-á-mutu 'it -subject-emph -all' (all of those things).

pro stem 10 = na-ni 'they -this' (these).

4.3.2.3. The pronoun root

4.3.2.3.1. Citation pronoun root paradigm

pro r 1 = -ti First and second person

pro r 2 = e- Third person

pro r 3 = -ka 'this'; -ra 'that'; -Ena 'that (out of sight)'; (see 5.3.1)

pro r 4 = -HA?e Hesitation (see 5.2)

pro r 5 = -hina 'no-exist' (not there).

pro r 6 = -áha 'what'.

pro r 7 = -ye?E 'pertaining-to'.

pro r 8 = -e 'to'.

pro r 9 -ni 'this, that, recalling-from-memory'.

4.4. The negative word

4.4.1. The inflected negative word

4.4.1.1. Tagmemic inflected negative word formula

neg = {+Base:neg stem ±Asp:1220 ±Dim:1230 ±O
dep:1240 ±Pl:1260 ±Cert:1270 ±Ex:1280
±State:1290 ±Mot:1310 ±Punc:1320 ±Deg:
1330 ±Cont:1340 ±Ctf:1350 ±Emph:1360
±Rep:1370 ±Ptn:1380 ±Mode:1390 ±Id:1410
±Report:1420}

4.4.1.2. Inflected negative word citation

neg = va??ipa-nu 'no-now -I' (not me now).

vA??icha-nu 'no-yet -I' (not me yet).

4. 4. 2. The negative stem

4. 4. 2. 1. Tagmemic negative stem formula

neg stem = {+Base:neg r ±Punc:1320/Cont:1340}

4. 4. 2. 2. Citation negative stem

neg stem = vA ??i 'no'; vA ??i-pa 'no -punc' (not now); vA ??i-Icha ??A 'no -cont' (not yet).

4. 4. 3. The negative root

4. 4. 3. 1. Citation negative root

neg r = vA ??i 'no'. (see 5. 3. 1)

4. 5. The introducer word

4. 5. 1. The inflected introducer word

4. 5. 1. 1. Tagmemic introducer word paradigm

intro 1 = {+Base:intro r 1 ±Asp:1220 ±Dim:1230 ±O dep:1240 ±Add:1252 ±Pl:1260 ±Cert:1270 ±Ex:1280 ±State:1290 ±Mot:1310 ±Punc: 1320 ±Deg:1330 ±Cont:1340 ±Ctf:1350 ±Emph:1360 ±Rep:1370 ±Ptn:1380 ±Mode +1390 ±Id:1410}

intro 2 = {+Base:intro r 2 ±Asp:1220 ±Dim:1230 ±Add:1252 ±Pl:1260 ±Cert:1270 ±Ex:1280 ±State:1290 ±Mot:1310 ±Punc:1320 ±Deg: 1330 ±Cont:1340 ±Ctf:1350 ±Emph:1360 ±Rep:1370 ±Ptn:1380 ±Mode:1390 ±Id: 1410}

intro 3 = {+Base:intro r 3}

4. 5. 1. 2. Citation introducer word paradigm

intro 1 = ene-ri-chu-vare 'and -ex -only -again' (and again).

intro 2 = he?e-sare 'agm -hab' (sure enough).

apaesa-vare 'so-that -again' (so that also).
 enuruhi-kene 'immediately -intens'
 (immediately).

intro 3 = masbien 'rather' (from Spanish 'mas bien').

4.5.2. The introducer root

intro r 1 = ene 'and'.

intro r 2 = he?e Agreement

ApaEsa 'so-that'. (see 5.2)
 enuruhi 'immediately'.

intro r 3 = masbien 'rather' (from Spanish 'mas bien').

4.6. The query word

4.6.1. The inflected query word

4.6.1.1. Tagmemic inflected query word formula

q = {+Base:q stem 1-2 ±Asp:1220 ±Dim:1230 ±O dep:
 1242/1244 ±Add:1252 ±Pl:1260 ±Cert:
 1270 ±Ex:1280 ±State:1290 ±Mot:1310
 ±Punc:1320 ±Deg:1330 ±Cont:1340 ±Ctf:
 1350 ±Emph:1360 ±Rep:1370 ±Ptn:1380
 ±Mode:1390 ±Id:1410 ±Report:1420}

4.6.1.2. Citation inflected query word

q = ayana-?e-sika 'how-many -you-all -impv-ptn'
 (how many are there of you?).

4.6.2. The query word stem

4.6.2.1. Tagmemic query word paradigm

q stem 1 = {+Base: q r/pro stem 6}

q stem 2 = {+S dep:1138 +Base:vb stem 21 (-avi?a)}

4.6.2.2. Citation query word paradigm

q stem 1 = ayana 'how-many'; taha?a 'what';
 naha?a 'who'; tahamu?u 'when'.
 q stem 2 = ta-avi?a 'it -is-where' (where).

4. 6. 3. The query root

q r = ayana 'how-many'.

4. 7. The warning word

4. 7. 1. The inflected warning word

4. 7. 1. 1. Tagmemic warning word formula

warn = {+Base:warn r ±Dim:1230 ±Rep:1370 ±Ptn:
 1380 ±Mode:1390 ±Id:1410}

4. 7. 1. 2. The warning word citation

warn = machu-chicha 'beware-lest -en' (beware,
 dear one, lest . . .).
 machu-vare 'beware-lest -again'.

4. 7. 2. The warning word root citation

warn r = machu 'beware-lest. . .'.

4. 8. The request for confirmation word

4. 8. 1. The inflected request for confirmation word

4. 8. 1. 1. Tagmemic request for confirmation word formula

req = {+Base:req r ±Dim:1230 ±Rep:1370 ±Ptn:
 1380}

4. 8. 1. 2. The request for confirmation word citation

req = masi-chicha 'isn't-that-right -dear?'
 masi-puka 'that's-right-isn't-it -ptn' (that's
 right, isn't it?).

4.8.2. The request for confirmation root

req r = masi 'sure-that's-right-isn't-it?!

The derivation of the following word classes is indeterminant. Recurrent partials phonologically resembling the affixes of the preceding classes are frequent, but without the functions and meanings of those affixes. We have therefore disregarded such resemblances.

4.9. The exclamatory word

4.9.1. The exclamatory word citation

exclam = akayavaini 'ouch'; aichapukaini
 'gracious!';
 etaichuva Surprise; heva 'here-it-is';
 he ?eni 'gracious'; shapiti 'so!-it's-you';
 tetavicavapa 3-person-surpass-refl-punc'
 (gracious!).

4.10. The vocative word

voc = tata 'sir'; meme 'madam'; sami 'dear'.

4.11. The agreement word

4.11.1. The agreement word inventory

agm = ha 'agreement' (I agree, acknowledge).
 (There is frequent extra-systematic vowel
 lengthening in this word.)

4.12. The onomatopoetic word

4.12.1. The onomatopoetic word root citation

onom = prrrnn Sound of takeoff of quail

5. The morphophonemics

5.1. Phonologically determined variations

-V₁- = -ø- immediately preceding -V₁- ~ -V₁- elsewhere:
where: pi- + -ima?a = píma?a.

Verb core affix 3122 -E Causative = -i- preceding
root-initial-syllable nucleus -i- ~ -e
elsewhere: e-ca-chicha 'to-cause-to-have-a-child'; i-pika 'to-cause-to-fear'.

Verb core affix 3121 -ImI- Causative = -eme- preceding
stems with initial -e ~ -imi- elsewhere:
eme-echa 'cause-to-know'; imiteka 'cause-to-come'.

Verb core affix 3111 -kA Causative = -k- preceding
initial vowel -u- of stems ~ -ka elsewhere:
-k-uchuka 'cause-to-go-out'; -ka-siapa
'cause-to-go-in'.

Verb stem affix 2252 -i??a Stem formative = -iya
immediately following a stressed vowel ~
-i?a elsewhere. (see 4.2.2.3)

Word affix 1212 -KAka Reciprocal = -ka following
verb stems ending with -ka ~ -kaka elsewhere:
v-ima?a-kaka '1-pl-see-recip' (we
looked at each other); ti-nikahirika-ka-ana
'3-sg-bite-recip-pl' (they bit each other).

5.2. Free variation

5.2.1. Word affix variation

word affix 1223 -sare Habitual = -sare ~ -sa ~
-sae.

word affixes 1291 -??i State and 1351 -??ini Contrary to fact = ??i, -??ini respectively
~ -i, -ini respectively. (see 4.1)

word affix 1292 -yaRE Unfulfilled = -yare ~ -ya ~
-yae.

word affix 1332 -ichu Limitative = -ichu ~ -chu.

word affix 1341 -icha?a Continuative = -icha?a ~
-cha?a. (see 5.4).

5.2.2. Pronoun root variation

pro r 4 -HA?e = -ha?e ~ -?e. (see 4.3.2.3.1)

5.2.3. Introducer root variation

intro r 3 ApaEsa = apaesā ~ pasa (see 4.5.1.2)

5.3. Grammatically determined variations

5.3.1. Word affix variation

Subject dependent prefix variation

word affix 1131 nU '1-sg' = n- preceding S emph:
 1120, vb stem and n stems with initial
 vowel ~ nu- elsewhere: n-á-wara?a 'I
 -emph-want'; n-ama 'I-carry'; nu-nika 'I-
 eat'.

word affix 1132 vI '1-pl' = v- preceding stem initial
 -i- and -e- and S emph: 1120 ~ vi- else-
 where: v-ituka 'we-know'; v-á-yana 'we-
 emph-are-going'; vi-ama 'we-carry'.

word affix 1133 pI '2-sg' = p- preceding stem initial
 -i and -e- and S emph: 1120 ~ pi- else-
 where: p-ituka 'you-know'; p-á-yana 'you-
 emph-are-going'; pi-ama 'you-carry'.

word affix 1134 E- '2-pl' = φ before stem initial -i-
 or -e- ~ e- elsewhere.

word affix 1135 mA '3-sg-m-man-speaking' (man
 talking about a man) = m- preceding pro r
 8 and preceding S emph: 1120 ~ ma-
 elsewhere: m-e 'to-him'; m-á-ca?e (he-
 emph-said'; ma-icha 'he-does'.

word affix 1136 fI '3-sg-m-woman-speaking' = f-
 preceding stem initial -i- and -e- and S
 emph: 1120 and pro r 8 ~ fi- elsewhere:
 fi-icha 'he-does'; fi-ekene?a 'he-is-behind';
 fi-á-ka?e 'he-emph-said'; fi-sama 'he-
 hears'.

word affix 1137 sU '3-sg-f' = s- preceding pro r 8 ~

su- elsewhere: su-ka 'she-this-one'; su-ituka 'she-knows'; s-e 'to-her'.

word affix 1139 nA '3-pl' = n- preceding S emph:1120
 ~ na- elsewhere: n-á-sama 'they-emph-hear'; na-sama 'they-hear'.

word affix 1138 TA '3-sg-non-human' = hu- preceding
 pro r 3 (-ka) in pro stem 3 ~ ha- preceding
 pro r 3 (-ra) and also preceding pro r
 3 (-ka) in pro stem 4 ~ h preceding pro r
 3 (-ena) ~ t- preceding pro r 8 and S
 emph:1120 ~ ta- elsewhere: hu-ka 'this';
 ha-ra 'that'; h-ena 'that-yonder'; t-e 'to';
 t-á-mutu 'all-emph'; ta-nika 'it-eats'.

5.3.2. Verb root and verb stem affix variations

vb stem fv -KA 2241 Classificatory stem formative =
 -si preceding stem fv 2250 ~ -ka elsewhere:
 -ite-ka 'come-stem-fv' (come);
 -ite-si-ira 'come-stem-fv-stem-fv' (come).

Final -A of verb root and verb stem affix = -i immediately preceding verb stem formatives
 2250 ~ -a elsewhere, when -A is the final
 -a of such root or affix: nusami-ira 'I-am-hearing'; nusama 'I-hear'; nujamurachi-ira 'I-am-desiring'; nujamuracha 'I-desire'.

5.3.3. Pronoun root variation

pro r 3 -Ena 'that yonder' = -na following word prefix 1137 su- ~ -ena elsewhere: su-na 'she-that' (that woman yonder); ma-ena 'he-that' (that man yonder).

pro r 7 -ye? ?E 'pertaining to' = -ye in noun stem ~ -ye? e elsewhere. (see 4.3.2.3.1)

5.3.4. Negative root variation

neg r vA? ?i Negative = vai ~ vi with suffixes or
 immediately preceding the P tagmeme ~

va?i elsewhere: (see 5.2) va?i 'no'; vai-pa 'no-punc' (not now); vai nuvara?a 'no I-want' (I don't want).

5.3.5. Noun stem variation

vowel I = -e when preceded by word affixes ~ i- elsewhere: (see 4.3.1.2.2) n-esane 'my-field' (my field); isani-ti 'field-stem-fv' (field); n-echeti-ra 'I-sg-chili-pepper-stem-fv' (my chili pepper).

5.4. Lexically determined variations

5.4.1. Word affix variation

word affix 1341 -Icha??A Continuative = -cha following -Ichu 1332 ~ -Icha?a elsewhere. (see 5.2.1)

word affix 1351 -? ?Ini Contrary to fact = -ni after -ine 1331 ~ -? ?Ini elsewhere. (see 5.3.1, 4.1)

word affix 1371 -vaRE Repetitive = -vare ~ -va ~ -vae preceding -pa 1321, ~ -vare ~ -va elsewhere.

5.4.2. Verb stem affix variation

verb stem affix 2231 -IrI Augmentative = -iri in an arbitrary list of verbs ~ -ri in another list ~ -re elsewhere.

5.4.3. Verb root variation

verb root -niKA 'eat' = -ni in vb rad 24 ~ -nuku following -putu- in vb rad 23 ~ -nika elsewhere. (see 4.2.4.2)

5.4.4. Noun stem variation

noun stem affix 4223 -Reru Agent = -reru following

punu-'bell' ~ -eru elsewhere. (see
4. 3. 1. 2. 3)

5. 5. Reduplication

redup = complete reduplication of preceding syllable.
(see 4. 2. 3. 3)

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Tacana

By John C. and Ida Ottaviano

Tacana,^{1,2} Tacanan, 3000-4000 speakers, situated in and around the towns of Ixiamas, Tumupasa and San Buena Ventura, in the province of Iturralde, department of La Paz and on the Beni, Madre de Dios and Orton Rivers in the departments of Beni and Pando, Bolivia.

1. The sentence
1. 3. The intonation
1. 4. The sentence fragment
2. The clause
2. 2. The independent clause
2. 3. The included clause
2. 4. The participial clause
3. The phrase
3. 1. The phrase margin
3. 2. The verb phrase
3. 3. The noun phrase
3. 4. The pronoun phrase
3. 5. The adjective phrase
3. 6. The modifier phrase
3. 7. The question phrase
3. 8. The limiter phrase

¹The phonemes of Tacana are: p, t, k, b, d, ɓ, ɗ, ɗ', s, ʂ, c, ڇ, m, n, w, y, h, ?, i, e, a, u.

²Van Wynen, D. & M., 1962.

- 3.9. The postpositive phrase
- 3.10. The particle phrase
- 4. The word
 - 4.1 The verb
 - 4.2. The noun
 - 4.3. The pronoun
 - 4.4. The adjective
 - 4.5. The adverb
 - 4.6. The question
 - 4.7. The limiter
 - 4.8. The postpositive
 - 4.9. The particle
 - 4.10. The onomatopoetic word
- 5. The morphophonemics

1. The sentence

1.1. Tagmemic sentence formula

Sent 1 = {+Nuc:C1 ind +Inton:Contour 1 ±(+Clar:Mod
/N +Inton:Contour) }

1.2. The sentence citation

Sent 1 = behu kimiša cine kuinanahihi kiema ebakua-
-ebakua Mario 'cl-j three day left my son-
-son Mario' (my son Mario left three days
ago).

tuaweda behu eid ?itani hida nai ubura čida--
piada ura 'it hes drinks that rain while
little--one hour' (it drinks that rain water
for a little while).

1.3. The intonation

The intonation Contour 1 is described in terms of
the pitches of stressed syllables within the clause;

high pitch 3 occurs on the first stressed syllable; the pitch is gradually lowered to mid pitch 2, which is optionally maintained throughout the clause, or is gradually lowered to pitch 1 on the last stressed syllable; after the last stressed syllable, the pitch rapidly descends to the end of the clause.

Contour 1 = ... 3... 2... ~... 3... 2... 1...

Contour 2 = Varies according to the sound imitated

1. 4. The sentence fragment

1. 4. 1. Tagmemic sentence fragment paradigm

Sent frag 1 = {+Nuc:Phrase/C1 Dep +Inton:Contour 1}

Sent frag 2 = {+Nuc:word/part 24 ±Lim:lim 4 +Inton:Contour 1}

Sent frag 3 = {+Nuc:onom +Inton:Contour 2}

1. 4. 2. Citation sentence fragment paradigm

Sent frag 1 = ehududu puhi 'run for' (in order to run).

kiema mama be 'my mother only' (my mother).

Sent frag 2 = hadé 'good'.

piada be 'one only' (one).

Sent frag 3 = rail. Sound produced by the flight of an arrow

buU Sound of striking an object

2. The clause

2. 1. Emic clause classes

	Tr 10	Intr 20	St 30	Impv 40	Quot 50 Tr	Eq 60	Perc 70	Pret 80	Apv 90
Independent 00			31a						
Decl 01	11	21	31b	41	51a	51b	61	71	81
Ig 02	12	22	32	42	52a	52b	62	72	82
Impv 03	13	23	33		53a	53b	63	73	83
Ob 04	14	24	34		54a	54b	64	74	84
Neg-abil 05	15	25	35	45	55a	55b	65	75	
Prob 06	16	26	36	46	56a	56b	66		
Included 100									
Pur 101	111	121	131	141	151a	151b	161	171	
Seq 102	112	122	132	142	152a	152b	162	172	
Conc 103	113	123	133	143	153a	153b	163	173	
Cond 104	114	124	134	144	154a	154b	164	174	
Participial 200									
Pret 201	211	221							

Chart I. Emic clause classes

2. 2. The independent clause

2. 2. 1. Tagmemic independent clause paradigm

In the Cl 02 one other tagmeme occurs in the clause-initial position in portmanteau relationship with the Q tagmeme.

Transitive

$$Cl\ 11 = \{ \pm Neg\ 1 \ \pm S\ 11 \ \pm O \ + P\ 11 \ \pm Neg\ 2 \}$$

$$Cl\ 12 = \{ Q \ \pm S\ 12 \ \pm O \ + P\ 11 \}$$

$$Cl\ 13 = \{ \pm Neg\ 3 \ \pm S\ 13 \ \pm O \ + P\ 13 \}$$

$$Cl\ 14 = \{ \pm Neg\ 1 \ \pm S\ 14 \ \pm O \ + P\ 14 \ \pm Neg\ 2 \}$$

$$Cl\ 15 = \{ \pm S\ 11 \ \pm O \ + P\ 15 \ + Neg\ 2 \}$$

$$Cl\ 16 = \{ \pm Hyps \ \pm O \ + S\ 16 \ + P\ 11 \ \pm Neg\ 2 \ + Prob \}$$

Intransitive

- C1 21 = {±Neg 1 ±S 21 +P 21 ±Neg 2}
 C1 22 = {+Q ±S 22 +P 21}
 C1 23 = {+/-Neg 3 ±S 23 +P 23}
 C1 24 = {±Neg 1 ±S 14 +P 24 ±Neg 2}
 C1 25 = {±S 21 +P 25 +Neg 2}
 C1 26 = {+Hyps +S 26 +P 21 ±Neg 2 +Prob}

Stative

- C1 31a = {±Neg 1 +(±S 31a ±Mod ±C) +P 31a
 ±Neg 2}
 C1 31b = {+P 31b +Report}
 C1 32 = {+Q +(±S 32 ±Mod ±C) +P 31a}
 C1 33 = {+/-Neg 3 ±S 23 ±C +P 33}
 C1 34 = {±Neg 1 ±S 14 ±C +P 34 ±Neg 2}
 C1 35 = {±S 31a +P 35 +Neg 2}
 C1 36 = {+Hyps +S 36 +P 31 ±Neg 2 +Prob}

Impersonal

- C1 41 = {±Neg 1 +P 41 ±Neg 2}
 C1 42 = {+Q +P 41}
 C1 45 = {+P 45 +Neg 2}
 C1 46 = {+Hyps +P 41 ±Neg 2 +Prob}

Quotative transitive

- C1 51a = {+Cit ±Neg 1 ±o +(±S 51a ±P 51a) ±Neg 2}
 C1 52a = {+Q ±o +(±S 52a ±P 51a) +Cit}
 C1 53a = {+Cit +/-Neg 3 ±S 13 ±o +P 53a}
 C1 54a = {+Cit ±Neg 1 ±S 14 ±o +P 54a ±Neg 2}
 C1 55a = {+Cit ±S 51a ±o +P 55a +Neg 2}
 C1 56a = {+Cit +Hyps +S 51a ±o +P 51a ±Neg 2
 +Prob}

Quotative intransitive

- C1 51b = {+Cit ±Neg 1 +(±S 51b ±P 51b) ±Neg 2}
 C1 52b = {+Q +(±S 52b ±P 51b) +Cit}
 C1 53b = {+Cit +/-Neg 3 ±S 23 +P 53b}
 C1 54b = {+Cit ±Neg 1 ±S 14 +P 54b ±Neg 2}
 C1 55b = {+Cit ±S 51b +P 55b +Neg 2}
 C1 56b = {+Cit +Hyps +S 51b +P 51b ±Neg 2
 +Prob}

Equative

- C1 61 = { \pm Neg 1 \pm S 61 +P eq \pm Aux 51b \pm Neg 2}
 C1 62 = {+Q \pm S 62 +P eq \pm Aux 51b}
 C1 63 = { \pm /-Neg 3 \pm S 23 +P eq +Aux 53b}
 C1 64 = { \pm Neg 1 \pm S 14 +P eq +Aux 54b \pm Neg 2}
 C1 65 = { \pm S 61 +P eq +Aux 55b \pm Neg 2}
 C1 66 = {+Hyps +S 66 +P eq \pm Aux 51b \pm Neg 2
 +Prob}

Perceptive

- C1 71 = { \pm Neg 1 +S 51a +P 71 \pm Neg 2 +O 71}
 C1 72 = {+Q +S 52a +P 71 +O 71}
 C1 73 = { \pm /-Neg 3 \pm S 13 +P 73 +O 71}
 C1 74 = { \pm Neg 1 +S 14 +P 74 \pm Neg 2 +O 71}
 C1 75 = {+S 51a +P 75 +Neg 2 +O 71}

Pretense

- C1 81 = { \pm S 81 \pm Neg 1 +O 81 +P 51b \pm Neg 2}
 C1 82 = {+Q \pm S 82 +O 81 +P 51b}
 C1 83 = { \pm S 13 +O 81 + \pm /-Neg 3 +P 53b}
 C1 84 = { \pm Neg 1 \pm S 14 +O 81 +P 54b \pm Neg 2}

Appellative

- C1 91 = {+S 91 +P 81 \pm Neg 2 +Apv}
 C1 92 = {+Q +S 92 +P 81 +Apv}

2. 2. 2. Tagmatic independent clause paradigm

In the following formulas, the order of the tagmemes is free, with the following exceptions: The tagmeme \pm /-Abil follows the Dub, which occupies the third position in the clause. Neg 1 and Neg 3 precede the P tagmeme; Neg 2 follows the P tagmeme. The Cl j occurs either clause-initial, clause-final, or both.

Collocational restrictions are indicated in the formulas of Cl 01, 02, and 03 as follows: \pm /-Abil indicates that the tagmeme is optional when part 2 kua Abilitative occurs in the verb phrase; it does not otherwise occur. The symbol \pm /-Neg 3 indicates that the tagmeme is obligatory when the affix 1131 -hi

Negative occurs in the verb; it does not otherwise occur.

Transitive

- Cl 11 = [\pm Cir³:Cl 100 \pm Neg 1:part 13 \pm Dub:Part 2
 \pm /-Abil:part 1 \pm S Ap:pro 1/3/5 \pm Mod³:Mod
 1-8 \pm S:Pro 2-5/7/9/pro 17/N 2-3 \pm Hes^a:
 part 15 \pm O:pro 1/3-5/7-8/pro 17/N 4-5
 \pm Report²:Part 1 \pm P:Vb 11-12 \pm Neg 2:part
 14 \pm Voc:n \pm Cl j²:part 15]
- Cl 12 = [\pm Cir:Cl 100 \pm Q:q 8/Q 1-10/N 6-7 \pm Dub:Part
 2 \pm S:Pro 2-5/7/9/pro 17/21/N 2-3/6/Q 1-2/
 8 \pm /-Abil:part 1 \pm O:Pro 1/3-4/6-7/pro 17/
 N 4-5/7/Q 3/7 \pm Hes^a:part 15 \pm P:Vb 11
 \pm Mod³:Mod 1-8/Q 4-6/10 \pm Voc:n \pm Cl j²:
 part 15]
- Cl 13 = [\pm Cir:Cl 100 \pm /-Neg 3:part 12 \pm S:pro 4/9
 \pm Mod³:Mod 1-8 \pm Hes^a:part 15 \pm O:Pro 1/3-
 5/7-8/pro 17/N4-5 \pm P:Vb 13 \pm Voc:n
 \pm Cl j²:part 15]
- Cl 14 = [\pm Cir:Cl 100 \pm Neg 1:part 13 \pm S:Pro 4-7/N 1
 \pm Mod³:Mod 1-8 \pm Hes^a:part 15 \pm O:Pro 1/3-
 5/7-8/pro 17/N 4-5 \pm P:Vb 14 \pm Neg 2:part
 14 \pm Voc:n \pm Cl j²:part 15]
- Cl 15 = [\pm Cir:Cl 100 \pm Mod³:Mod 1-8 \pm S:Pro 2-5/7/9/
 pro 17/N2-3 \pm Hes^a:part 15 \pm P:Vb 15 \pm Neg
 2:part 14 \pm O:Pro 1/3-5/7-8/pro 17/N 4-5
 \pm Voc:n \pm Cl j²:part 15]
- Cl 16 = [\pm Cir:Cl 100 \pm Hyps:N 9/Pro 10 \pm O:Pro 1-3/
 N 4-5 \pm S:Pro 2-3/N 2-3 \pm Mod³:Mod 1-8
 \pm P:Vb 11 \pm Neg 2:part 14 \pm Hes^a:part 15
 \pm Prob:part 20 \pm Voc:n \pm Cl j²:part 15]

Intransitive

- Cl 21 = [\pm Cir⁴:Cl 100 \pm Neg 1:part 13 \pm Dub:Part 2
 \pm /-Abil:part 1 \pm S Ap:pro 1/3/5 \pm Mod³:Mod
 1-8 \pm S:Pro 1/3-5/7-8/pro 17/N 4-5 \pm Re-
 port²:Part 1 \pm Hes^a:part 15 \pm P:Vb 21-22
 \pm Neg 2:part 14 \pm Voc:n \pm Cl j²:part 15]
- Cl 22 = [\pm Cir:Cl 100 \pm Q:q 8/Q 3-7/9-10/N 7 \pm Dub:

Part 2 ±S:Pro 1/3-5/7-8/pro 17/21/N 4-5/
 7/Q 3/7 ±-/Abil:part 1 ±Hes^a:part 15 +P:
 Vb 21 ±Mod³:Mod 1-8/Q 4-6/10 ±Voc:n
 ±Cl j²:part 15]

C1 23 = [±Cir:C1 100 +/-Neg 3:part 12 ±S:pro 3/9
 ±Mod³:Mod 1-8 ±Hes^a:part 15 +P:Vb 23
 ±Voc:n ±Cl j²:part 15]

C1 24 = [±Cir:C1 100 ±Neg 1:part 13 ±S:Pro 4-7/N 1
 ±Mod³:Mod 1-8 +P:Vb 24 ±Neg 2:part 14
 ±Hes^a:part 15 ±Voc:n ±Cl j²:part 15]

C1 25 = [±Cir:C1 100 ±Mod³:Mod 1-8 ±S:Pro 1/3-5/7
 -8/pro 17/N 4-5 ±Hes^a:part 15 +P:Vb 25
 ±Neg 2:part 14 ±Voc:n ±Cl j²:part 15]

C1 26 = [±Cir:C1 100 +Hyps:Pro 10/N 9 +S:Pro 1/3/
 N 4-5 ±Mod³:Mod 1-8 +P:Vb 21 ±Neg 2:
 part 14 ±Hes^a:part 15 +Prob:part 20 ±Voc:
 n ±Cl j²:part 15]

Stative

C1 31a = [±Cir:C1 100 ±Neg 1:part 13 ±Dub:Part 2
 +(±S:pro 16-18/23/Pro 1/3-4/7/N 1/4-5
 ±Mod³:Mod 1-7 ±C:Adj 1-2/C1 200) ±Re-
 port:Part 1 ±Hes^a:part 15 ±P:Vb 31a/32
 ±Neg 2:part 14 ±Voc:n ±Cl j²:part 15]

The S tagmeme is manifested by N 4-5 only when
 the P tagmeme occurs.

C1 31b = [+P:vb 31b +Report:Part 1]

C1 31b occurs only discourse initial.

C1 32 = [±Cir:C1 100 +Q:q 8/Q 3-4/6-7/9-10/N 7
 ±Dub:Part 2 +(±S:Q 3/7/N 4-5/7 ±Mod³:
 Mod 1-7/Q 4/6/10 ±C:Adj 1-2/C1 200) ±P:
 Vb 31a ±Hes^a:part 15 ±Voc:n ±Cl j²:part
 15]

C1 33 = [±Cir:C1 100 +/-Neg 3:part 12 ±Mod³:Mod
 1-7 ±S:pro 3/9 ±Hes^a:part 15 ±C:Adj 1-2
 +P:Vb 33 ±Voc:n ±Cl j²:part 15]

C1 34 = [±Cir:C1 100 ±Neg 1:part 13 ±S:Pro 4-7/N 1
 ±Mod³:Mod 1-7 ±C:Adj 1-2 +P:Vb 34 ±Neg

2:part 14 ±Hes^a:part 15 ±Voc:n ±Cl j²:part
15]

Cl 35 = [±Cir:Cl 100 ±S:Pro 1/3-5/7-8/pro 16-18/23/
N 1/4-5 ±Hes^a:part 15 ±Mod³:Mod 1-7 +P:
Vb 35 +Neg 2:part 14 ±Voc:n ±Cl j²:part
15]

Cl 36 = [±Cir:Cl 100 +Hyps:Pro 10/N 9 +S:Pro 1/3/
N 4-5 ±Mod³:Mod 1-8 +P:Vb 31 ±Neg 2:
part 14 ±Hes^a:part 15 +Prob:part 20
±Voc:n ±Cl j²:part 15]

Impersonal

Cl 41 = [±Cir:Cl 100 ±Neg 1:part 13 ±-/Abil:part 1
±Dub:Part 2 +P:Vb 41-42 ±Report:Part 1
±Hes^a:part 15 ±Mod³:Mod 1-2/4-5/7 ±Neg
2:part 14 ±Voc:n ±Cl j²:part 15]

Cl 42 = [±Cir:Cl 100 +Q:q 8/Q 6/9 ±Dub:Part 2
±-/Abil:part 1 ±Hes^a:part 15 +P:Vb 41
±Mod³:Mod 1-2/4-5/7/Q 6 ±Voc:n ±Cl j²:
part 15]

Cl 45 = [±Cir:Cl 100 ±Hes^a:part 15 +P:Vb 45 +Neg
2:part 14 ±Mod³:Mod 1-2/4-5/7 ±Voc:n
±Cl j²:part 15]

Cl 46 = [±Cir:Cl 100 +Hyps:Pro 10/N 9 ±Mod³:Mod
1-2/4-5/7 ±Hes^a:part 15 +P:Vb 41 ±Cl j²:
part 15]

Quotative transitive

Cl 51a = [+Cit:Dis ±Dub:Part 2 ±Report:Part 1
±Neg 1:part 13 ±Hes^a:part 15 ±O:Pro 1/3/
N 4-5 +(±S:Pro 2-3/N 2-3 ±P:Vb 51a)
±Neg 2:part 14 ±Voc:n ±Cl j²:part 15]

Cl 52a = [+Q:q 8/Q 6/9/N 6 ±Dub:Part 2 ±Hes^a:
part 15 ±O:Pro 1/3/N 4-5 +(±S:Pro 2-3/N
2-3/6 ±P:Vb 51a) ±Mod:Q 6 +Cit:Dis
±Voc:n ±Cl j²:part 15]

Cl 53a = [+Cit:Dis +/-Neg 3:part 12 ±S:Pro 4/9
±Hes^a:part 15 ±O:Pro 1/3/N 4-5 +P:Vb
53a ±Voc:n ±Cl j²:part 15]

Cl 54a = [+Cit:Dis ±Neg 1:part 13 ±S:Pro 4-7/N 1

$\pm O:Pro\ 1/3/N\ 4-5\ \pm Hes^a:part\ 15\ +P:Vb$
 $\pm Neg\ 2:part\ 14\ \pm Voc:n\ \pm Cl\ j^2:part$
 $15]$

Cl 55a = [+Cit:Dis $\pm Hes^a:part\ 15\ \pm S:Pro\ 2-3/N\ 2-3$
 $\pm O:Pro\ 1/3/N4-5\ +P:Vb\ 55a\ \pm Neg\ 2:part$
 $14\ \pm Voc:n\ \pm Cl\ j^2:part\ 15]$

Cl 56a = [+Cit:Dis $\pm Hyps:Pro\ 10/N\ 9\ +S:Pro\ 2-3/N$
 $2-3\ \pm O:Pro\ 1/3/N\ 4-5\ +P:Vb\ 51a\ \pm Neg\ 2:$
 $part\ 14\ \pm Hes^a:part\ 15\ +Prob:part\ 20$
 $\pm Voc:n\ \pm Cl\ j^3:part\ 15]$

Quotative intransitive

Cl 51b = [+Cit:Dis $\pm Dub:Part\ 2\ \pm Report:Part\ 1$
 $\pm Neg\ 1:part\ 13\ \pm Hes^a:part\ 15\ +(\pm S:Pro$
 $1/3/N\ 4-5\ \pm P:Vb\ 51b-52b)\ \pm Neg\ 2:part\ 14$
 $\pm Voc:n\ \pm Cl\ j^2:part\ 15]$

Cl 52b = [+Q:q 8/Q 6/9/N 7 $\pm Dub:Part\ 2\ +(\pm S:Pro$
 $1/3/N\ 4-5/7\ \pm P:Vb\ 51b\ \pm Mod:Q\ 6\ \pm Hes^a:$
 $part\ 15\ \pm Voc:n\ +Cit:Dis\ \pm Cl\ j^2:part\ 15]$

Cl 53b = [+Cit:Dis $\pm Neg\ 3:part\ 12\ \pm S:Pro\ 3/9$
 $\pm Hes^a:part\ 15\ +P:Vb\ 53b\ \pm Voc:n\ \pm Cl\ j^2:$
 $part\ 15]$

Cl 54b = [+Cit:Dis $\pm Neg\ 1:part\ 13\ \pm S:Pro\ 4-7/N\ 1$
 $\pm Hes^a:part\ 15\ +P:Vb\ 54b\ \pm Neg\ 2:part\ 14$
 $\pm Voc:n\ \pm Cl\ j^2:part\ 15]$

Cl 55b = [+Cit:Dis $\pm Hes^a:part\ 15\ \pm S:Pro\ 1/3/N\ 4-5$
 $+P:Vb\ 55b\ \pm Neg\ 2:part\ 14\ \pm Voc:n\ \pm Cl\ j^2:$
 $part\ 15]$

Cl 56b = [+Cit:Dis $\pm Hyps:Pro\ 10/N\ 9\ +S:Pro\ 1/3/N$
 $4-5\ +P:Vb\ 51b\ \pm Neg\ 2:part\ 14\ \pm Hes^a:part$
 $15\ +Prob:part\ 20\ \pm Voc:n\ \pm Cl\ j^2:part\ 15]$

Equative

Cl 61 = [+Cir:Cl 100 $\pm Neg\ 1:part\ 13\ \pm Dub:Part\ 2$
 $\pm S:Pro\ 1/3-5/7-8/pro\ 17/N\ 4-5\ \pm Hes^a:$
 $part\ 15\ \pm Report:Part\ 1\ \pm Mod^3:Mod\ 1-7$
 $+P eq:N\ 4-5/Adj\ 1\ \pm Aux:Vb\ 51b\ \pm Neg\ 2:$
 $part\ 14\ \pm Voc:n\ \pm Cl\ j^2:part\ 15]$

Cl 62 = [+Cir:Cl 100 $\pm Q:Q\ 3-4/6-7/9/q\ 8/N\ 7\ \pm Dub:$
 $Part\ 2\ \pm S:Pro\ 1/3-5/7-8/pro\ 17/N\ 4-5/7/$

- Q 3/7 ±Hes^a:part 15 ±Mod³:Mod 1-7/Q 4/6
 -7 +P eq:N 4-5/Adj 1/Q 3-4/7 ±Aux:Vb 51b
 ±Voc:n ±Cl j²:part 15]
- C1 63 = [±Cir:C1 100 +/-Neg 3:part 12 ±S:Pro 3/9
 ±Hes^a:part 15 +P eq:N 4-5/Adj 1 +Aux:Vb
 53b ±Voc:n ±Cl j²:part 15]
- C1 64 = [±Cir:C1 100 ±Neg 1:part 13 ±S:Pro 4-7/N 1
 ±Hes^a:part 15 +P eq:N 4-5/Adj 1 +Aux:Vb
 54b ±Neg 2:part 14 ±Voc:n ±Cl j²:part
 15]
- C1 65 = [±Cir:C1 100 ±S:Pro 1/3-5/7-8/pro 17/N 4-
 5 ±Hes^a:part 15 +P eq:N 4-5/Adj 1 +Aux:
 Vb 55b +Neg 2:part 14 ±Voc:n ±Cl j²:
 part 15]
- C1 66 = [±Cir:C1 100 +Hyps:Pro 10/N 9 +S:Pro 1/3
 /N 4-5 +P eq:N 4-5/Adj 1 ±Aux:Vb 51b
 ±Neg 2:part 14 ±Hes^a:part 15 +Prob:part
 20 ±Voc:n ±Cl j²:part 15]

Perceptive

In C1 70, the included clause filling the 0 slot is optionally discontinuous with its tagmemes interspersed among the tagmemes of C1 70, as for example: S 70 0 incl P 70 P incl Mod 70.

- C1 71 = [±Neg 1:part 13 ±Dub:part 2 +S:Pro 2-3/N
 2-3 +P:Vb 71-72 ±Neg 2:part 14 ±Hes^a:
 part 15 ±Report:Part 1 +O:C1 11/21/31a/
 41/51/61 ±Voc:n ±Cl j²:part 15]
- C1 72 = [+Q:Q 9/q 8 ±Dub:Part 2 +S:Pro 2-3/N 2-3
 ±Hes^a:part 15 +P:Vb 71 +O:C1 11/21/31a/
 41/51/61 ±Voc:n ±Cl j²:part 15]
- C1 73 = [+/-Neg 3:part 12 ±S:pro 4/9 ±Hes^a:part 15
 +P:Vb 73 +O:C1 11/21/31a/41/51/61 ±Voc
 :n ±Cl j²:part 15]
- C1 74 = [±Neg 1:part 13 ±S:Pro 4-7/N 1 +P:Vb 74
 ±Neg 2:part 14 ±Hes^a:part 15 +O:C1 11/21/
 /31a/41/51/61 ±Voc:n ±Cl j²:part 15]
- C1 75 = [+S:Pro 2-3/N 2-3 ±Hes^a:part 15 +P:Vb 75
 +Neg 2:part 14 +O:C1 11/21/31a/41/51/61
 ±Voc:n ±Cl j²:part 15]

Pretense

- Cl 81 = [±S:Pro 1/3/8/N 2-3 ±Dub:Part 2 ±Neg 1:
 part 13 +O:Cl 211/221/N 8 +P:Vb 51b
 ±Neg 2:part 14 ±Hes^a:part 15 ±Report:
 Part 1 ±Voc:n ±Cl j²:part 15]
- Cl 82 = [+Q:Q 3/6/9/q 8 ±Dub:Part 2 ±S:Pro 1/3/8
 pro 21/N 2-3/6/Q 3 +O:Cl 211/221/N 8
 +P:Vb 51b ±Mod:Q 6 ±Hes^a:part 15 ±Voc:
 n ±Cl j²:part 15]
- Cl 83 = [±S:pro 4/9 +O:Cl 211/221/N 8 ±Hes^a:part
 15 +/-Neg 3:part 12 +P:Vb 53b ±Voc:n
 ±Cl j²:part 15]
- Cl 84 = [±Neg 1:part 13 ±S:Pro 4-7/N 1 +O:Cl 211/
 221/N 8 ±Hes^a:part 15 +P:Vb 54b ±Neg 2:
 part 14 ±Voc:n ±Cl j²:part 15]

Appellative

- Cl 91 = [+S:N 4-5 ±Dub:Part 2 +P:Vb 81 ±Neg 2:
 part 14 +Apv:prop n]
- Cl 92 = [+Q:Q 9/q 8 ±Dub:Part 2 +S:N 4-5 +P:Vb
 81 +Apv:prop n]

2. 2. 3. Citation independent clause paradigm

Transitive

- Cl 11 = aimue--duseitia da--yama--aiča--mabe 'not--
 brought asv--I--meat--not' (I did not bring
 meat).
- ekiene--cu--akirihi nehe--maraka--ece--yainia
 'first--yet--stick with--hit--one--does'
 (first one hits it with a stick).
- Cl 12 = ai--hia--ece--banaha 'what--dub--one--wants
 --to-plant' (what does one want to plant?).
- Cl 13 = be--ema--meičehi 'not--me--you-pl-not--
 fight' (don't you all fight me).
- Cl 14 = behu--depe su--dereu tahi--mama 'cl-j--
 plate in--put have-to--ma'am' (you have to
 put it in the plate, ma'am).
- Cl 15 = ekuanau--kua manuame tahi--mabe--wabu

'we--could kill have-to--not--pig' (we could not kill the pig).

C1 16 = ema mu--uči ha--aiča--ediatasa--pepe 'I foc--dog actor--meat--eating--think' (I think the dog is eating meat).

Intransitive

C1 21 = behu epaupauhatiani su da--sikuri kuana mača--enubiani--ete kuana--waripa ena puhi--kuči ena puhi 'cl-j flooding when asv --boa pl also--enter--house pl--chicken grab for--pig grab for' (when it floods, the boas also enter the houses to grab chickens and pigs).

C1 22 = hukuasu--mida--puwe--tata 'why--you--come--sir' (why did you come, sir?).

C1 23 = rerukie--ehude su 'crawl--town to' (crawl to town).

C1 24 = ukieda--hududu tahi 'far--run have-to' (one has to run far).

C1 25 = eceda mu--kua asease tahi--make--behu 'we-dual foc--can hunt have-to--not--cl-j' (we two can't hunt).

C1 26 = ema mu--mida--putia--make--pepe 'I foc--you--went--not--think' (I don't think you went).

Stative

C1 31a = iba--emanu bid ?u--esani 'tiger--dead pretense--is-lying' (the tiger is lying pretending to be dead).

awa nai epuani su--ekuanau--hiabe--saida--yani 'if rain doing when--we--now--well--are' (if it rains, we will be well now).

C1 31b = anitia--pa da 'was--it-is-said asv' (there was, it is said).

C1 32 = esia epu puhi--a--mikie ete henitia--edid ?i--esa--bai su 'fish do for--ig-corr--your house from--path--is-lying--lake to' (is

there a path to the lake from your house for fishing?).

- C1 33 = anitikie *be* da 'stay only asv' (only stay).
 C1 34 = ukieda--ani tahi 'far--is have-to' (it has to be far).
 C1 35 = kua ani tahi--mabe 'can be have-to--not' (one cannot stay).
 C1 36 = tuweda mu--uči--ete su--yani--pepe 'he foc--dog--house at--is--think' (he thinks the dog is in the house).

Impersonal

- C1 41 = wenaitiana--behu 'dawned--cl-j' (it dawned).
 C1 42 = a da--ed? iati 'ig-corr asv--will-sun-shine' (will the sun shine?).
 C1 45 = kua wena tahi--mabe--hiabe kita 'can dawn have-to--not--now deg' (it can't dawn right now).
 C1 46 = ema mu--ewenani--pepe 'I foc--dawning--think' (I think it is dawning).

Quotative transitive

- C1 51a = tiu yatani *be* kuana biame da--diaha--ataitia--iba ha 'uncle call only you-pl even-though asv--eat-want--said-to-him-tiger actor' ("even though you call me uncle, I want to eat you," said the tiger to him).
 C1 52a = a da--miada--ataitia--ema da ediadiati behu 'ig-corr asv--you--said-to-me--I asv will-go--to-eat cl-j' (did you say to me, "I will go to eat?").
 C1 53a = akie--diusu lu pahi 'say-to-him--God you pay' (say "thank you" to him).
 C1 54a = hadé--a tahi 'fine--say-to-him have-to' (one has to say, "fine" to him).
 C1 55a = kua a tahi--mabe--putikie 'can say-to-him have-to--not--go' (one can't say to him, "go").
 C1 56a = tuweda mu--yama--aitia--puwekie--pepe 'he

foc--I--said-to-him--come--think' (he thinks I said to him, "come").

Quotative intransitive

- C1 51b = tuweda da--nedahi esa--puitia 'he asv--sick is-lying--said' (he said, "he's sick").
 C1 52b = a da--mida--puitia--ema da ediadiati behu 'ig-corr asv--you--said--I asv will-go-to-eat cl-j' (did you say? "I will go to eat"?).
 C1 53b = pukie--diusu lu pahi 'say--God you pay' (say, "thank you").
 C1 54b = hadé--pu tahi 'good--say have-to (one has to say, "good").
 C1 55b = tuweda--kua pu tahi--mabe--meputi 'he--can say have-to--not--we-go' (he can not say, "let's go").
 C1 56b = tuweda mu--ema--puitia--hadé--pepe 'he foc--I--said--fine--think' (he thinks I said, "fine").

Equative

- C1 61 = edid?i--hia--behu--saida 'path--dub--hes--good' (perhaps the path is good).
 C1 62 = a da--ema--eid?e--epu 'ig-corr asv--I--alive --will-be' (will I live?).
 C1 63 = beidahi--pukie 'happy--be' (be happy).
 C1 64 = ate--mue--pu tahi--mabe 'bad--not--be have-to--not' (should not be bad).
 C1 65 = kua--tunada--pu tahi--mabe 'can--lazy--be have-to--not' (shouldn't be lazy).
 C1 66 = ema mu--tuweda--saida--pepe--tata 'I foc--it --good--think--sir' (I think it is good, sir).

Perceptive

- C1 71 = yama--yanana epasa--id?aba--hapuiča--ete
 dum su 'I--child crying--hear--yesterday
 --house inside at' (I heard the child crying in the house yesterday).
 C1 72 = kiepia--mi--arusu yanana husiaitia--baitia
 'where--you--rice boy threw--saw' (where did you see the boy throw rice?).

- C1 73 = čamakie--biwa esikuabade 'look--monkey climbing' (look at the monkey climbing).
- C1 74 = babe pu tahi--saída ye hana 'know do have-to --good this food' (you should know this food is good).
- C1 75 = tuweda--kua ba tahi--mabe--biwa ediatabade ehaha 'he--can see have-to--not--monkey eating fruit' (he can't see the monkey eating fruit).

Pretense

- C1 81 = mikueda--diadiahā bid?u--epuani 'you--want-to-eat lie--doing' (you are pretending to be hungry).
- C1 82 = a--mi--emanu bid?u--pu kua--yapunati tehe 'ig-corr--you--dead lie--do can--will-darken until' (can you pretend to be dead until it gets dark?).
- C1 83 = mudumudu bue bid?u--pukie 'work know lie--do' (pretend to work).
- C1 84 = aiča edia bid?u--pu tahi 'meat eat lie--do have-to' (have to pretend to eat the meat).

Appellative

- C1 91 = kiema familia kuana--banime--kartahena 'my family pl--is-named--Cartajena' (my family is named Cartajena).
- C1 92 = awa--mikie ebakua--banime--karlos 'ig-corr--your son--is-named--Carlos' (is your son named Carlos?).

2.3. The included clause

2.3.1. Tagmemic included clause paradigm

Transitive

- C1 111 = {Neg 1 ±S 11 ±O +P 111 +Sub 111 ±Neg 2}
- C1 112 = {Neg 1 ±S 11 ±O +P 112 +Sub 112 ±Neg 2}

Cl 113 = {±Neg 1 ±S 11 ±O +P 113 +Sub 113 ±Neg 2}

Cl 114 = {±-/Rel ±Neg 1 ±S 11 ±O +P 11 +Sub 114 ±Neg 2}

Intransitive

Cl 121 = {±Neg 1 ±S 21 +P 121 +Sub 111 ±Neg 2}

Cl 122 = {±Neg 1 ±S 21 +P 122 +Sub 112 ±Neg 2}

Cl 123 = {±Neg 1 ±S 21 +P 123 +Sub 113 ±Neg 2}

Cl 124 = {±-/Rel ±Neg 1 ±S 21 +P 21 +Sub 114 ±Neg 2}

Stative

Cl 131 = {±Neg 1 ±S 31a +P 131 +Sub 111 ±Neg 2}

Cl 132 = {±Neg 1 ±S 31a +P 132 +Sub 112 ±Neg 2}

Cl 133 = {±Neg 1 ±S 31a +P 133 +Sub 113 ±Neg 2}

Cl 134 = {±-/Rel ±Neg 1 ±S 31a +P 31a +Sub 114 ±Neg 2}

Impersonal

Cl 141 = {±Neg 1 +P 141 +Sub 111 ±Neg 2}

Cl 142 = {±Neg 1 +P 142 +Sub 112 ±Neg 2}

Cl 143 = {±Neg 1 +P 143 +Sub 113 ±Neg 2}

Cl 144 = {±-/Rel ±Neg 1 +P 41 +Sub 114 ±Neg 2}

Quotative transitive

Cl 151a = {+Cit ±Neg 1 ±S 51a ±O +P 151a +Sub 111 ±Neg 2}

Cl 152a = {+Cit ±Neg 1 ±S 51a ±O +P 152a +Sub 112 ±Neg 2}

Cl 153a = {+Cit ±Neg 1 ±S 51a ±O +P 153a +Sub 113 ±Neg 2}

Cl 154a = {±-/Rel +Cit ±Neg 1 ±S 51a ±O +P 51a +Sub 114 ±Neg 2}

Quotative intransitive

Cl 151b = {+Cit ±Neg 1 ±S 51b +P 151b +Sub 111 ±Neg 2}

Cl 152b = {+Cit ±Neg 1 ±S 51b +P 152b +Sub 112 ±Neg 2}

Cl 153b = {+Cit ±Neg 1 ±S 51b +P 153b +Sub 113 ±Neg 2}

Cl 154b = {±/-Rel +Cit ±Neg 1 ±S 51b +P 51b
+Sub 114 ±Neg 2}

Equative

Cl 161 = {±Neg 1 ±S 61 +P eq ±Aux 151b +Sub 111
±Neg 2}

Cl 162 = {±Neg 1 ±S 61 +P eq ±Aux 152b +Sub 112
±Neg 2}

Cl 163 = {±Neg 1 ±S 61 +P eq ±Aux 153b +Sub 113
±Neg 2}

Cl 164 = {±/-Rel ±Neg 1 ±S 61 +P eq ±Aux 51b
+Sub 114 ±Neg 2}

Perceptive

Cl 171 = {+O 71 ±Neg 1 +P 171 +Sub 111 ±Neg 2}

Cl 172 = {+O 71 ±Neg 1 +P 172 +Sub 112 ±Neg 2}

Cl 173 = {+O 71 ±Neg 1 +P 173 +Sub 113 ±Neg 2}

Cl 174 = {±/-Rel +O 71 ±Neg 1 +P 71 +Sub 114
±Neg 2}

2.3.2. Tagmatic included clause paradigm

In the following formulas of Cl 100, the mutual order of tagmemes S, Hes, Mod, and O is free.

In the formulas of Cl 104, the symbol ±/-Rel indicates that the tagmeme is optional when Part 5 manifests the Sub tagmeme; it does not otherwise occur.

Transitive

Cl 111 = [±Neg 1:part 13 ±S:Pro 2-5/7/9/pro 17/N
2-3 ±Hesⁿ:part 15 ±Mod³:Mod 1-8 ±O:Pro
1/3-5/7-8/pro 17/N 4-5 +P:Vb 111 +Sub:
Postpos 4 ±Neg 2:part 14 ±Cl j:part 15]

Cl 112 = [±Neg 1:part 13 ±S:Pro 2-5/7/9/pro 17/N
2-3 ±Mod³:Mod 1-8 ±O:Pro 1/3/5/7-8/pro
17/N 4-5 ±Hesⁿ:part 15 +P:Vb 112 +Sub:
Part 4 ±Neg 2:part 14 ±Cl j:part 15]

Cl 113 = [±Neg 1:part 13 ±S:Pro 2-5/7/9/pro 17/N
2-3 ±Hesⁿ:part 15 ±Mod³:Mod 1-8 ±O:Pro
1/3/5/7-8/pro 17/N 4-5 +P:Vb 113 +Sub:

Postpos 2-3/Lim 3 ±Neg 2:part 14 ±Cl j:
part 15]

Cl 114 = [±-/Rel:q 8 ±Neg 1:part 13 ±S:Pro 2-5/7/9
/pro 17/N 2-3 ±Hes^a:part 15 ±Mod³:Mod 1-
8 ±O:Pro 1/3/5/7-8/pro 17/N 4-5 +P:Vb
11 +Sub:Postpos 1/Part 3/5/Lim 4 ±Neg
2:part 14 ±Cl j:part 15]

Intransitive

Cl 121 = [±Neg 1:part 13 ±S:Pro 1/3-5/7-8/pro 17/N
4-5 ±Hes^a:part 15 ±Mod³:Mod 1-8 +P:Vb
121 +Sub:Postpos 4 ±Neg 2:part 14 ±Cl j:
part 15]

Cl 122 = [±Neg 1:part 13 ±S:Pro 1/3-5/7-8/pro 17/N
4-5 ±Hes^a:part 15 ±Mod³:Mod 1-8 +P:Vb
122 +Sub:Part 4 ±Neg 2:part 14 ±Cl j:part
15]

Cl 123 = [±Neg 1:part 13 ±S:Pro 1/3-5/7-8/pro 17/N
4-5 ±Hes^a:part 15 ±Mod³:Mod 1-8 +P:Vb
123 +Sub:Postpos 2-3/Lim 3 ±Neg 2:part
14 ±Cl j:part 15]

Cl 124 = [±-/Rel:q 8 ±Neg 1:part 13 ±S:Pro 1/3-5/7
-8/pro 17/N 4-5 ±Hes^a:part 15 ±Mod³:Mod
1-8 +P:Vb 21 +Sub:Postpos 1/Part 3/5/
Lim 4 ±Neg 2:part 14 ±Cl j:part 15]

Stative

Cl 131 = [±Neg 1:part 13 ±S:Pro 1/3-5/7-8/pro 16-18
/23/N 1/4-5 ±Hes^a:part 15 ±Mod³:Mod 1-7
+P:Vb 131 +Sub:Postpos 4 ±Neg 2:part 14
±Cl j:part 15]

Cl 132 = [±Neg 1:part 13 ±S:Pro 1/3-5/7-8/pro 16-
18/23/N 1/4-5 ±Hes^a:part 15 ±Mod³:Mod 1
-7 +P:Vb 132 +Sub:Part 4 ±Neg 2:part 14
±Cl j:part 15]

Cl 133 = [±Neg 1:part 13 ±S:Pro 1/3-5/7-8/pro 16-
18/23/N 1/4-5 ±Mod³:Mod 1-7 ±Hes^a:part
15 +P:Vb 133 +Sub:Postpos 2-3/Lim 3
±Neg 2:part 14 ±Cl j:part 15]

Cl 134 = [±-/Rel:q 8 ±Neg 1:part 13 ±S:Pro 1/3-5/7

-8/pro 16-18/23/N 1/4-5 ±Mod³:Mod 1-7
 ±Hesⁿ:part 15 +P:Vb 31a +Sub:Postpos 1/
 Part 3/5/Lim 4 ±Nes 2:part 14 ±Cl j:
 part 15]

Impersonal

- C1 141 = [±Neg 1:part 13 ±Hesⁿ:part 15 ±Mod³:Mod
 1-2/4-5/7 +P:Vb 141 +Sub:Postpos 4
 ±Neg 2:part 14 ±Cl j:part 15]
 C1 142 = [±Neg 1:part 13 ±Hesⁿ:part 15 ±Mod³:Mod
 1-2/4-5/7 +P:Vb 142 +Sub:Part 4 ±Neg 2:
 part 14 ±Cl j:part 15]
 C1 143 = [±Neg 1:part 13 ±Hesⁿ:part 15 ±Mod³:Mod
 1-2/4-5/7 +P:Vb 143 +Sub:Postpos 2-3/
 Lim 3 ±Neg 2:part 14 ±Cl j:part 15]
 C1 144 = [±/-Rel:q 8 ±Neg 1:part 13 ±Hesⁿ:part 15
 ±Mod³:Mod 1-2/4-5/7 +P:Vb 41 +Sub:Post-
 pos 1/Part 3/5/Lim 4 ±Neg 2:part 14 ±Cl
 j:part 15]

Quotative transitive

- C1 151a = [+Cit:Dis ±Neg 1:part 13 ±Hesⁿ:part 15
 ±S:Pro 2-3/N 2-3 ±O:Pro 1/3/N 4-5 +P:Vb
 151a +Sub:Postpos 4 ±Neg 2:part 14 ±Cl
 j:part 15]
 C1 152a = [+Cit:Dis ±Neg 1:part 13 ±Hesⁿ:part 15
 ±S:Pro 2-3/N 2-3 ±O:Pro 1/3/N 4-5 +P:Vb
 152a +Sub:Part 4 ±Neg 2:part 14 ±Cl j:
 part 15]
 C1 153a = [+Cit:Dis ±Neg 1:part 13 ±Hesⁿ:part 15
 ±S:Pro 2-3/N 2-3 ±O:Pro 1/3/N 4-5 +P:Vb
 153a +Sub:Postpos 2-3/Lim 3 ±Neg 2:part
 14 ±Cl j:part 15]
 C1 154a = [±/-Rel:q 8 +Cit:Dis ±Neg 1:part 13 ±Hesⁿ
 :part 15 ±S:Pro 2-3/N 2-3 ±O:Pro 1/3/N
 4-5 +P:Vb 51a +Sub:postpos 1/Part 3/5/
 Lim 4 ±Neg 2:part 14 ±Cl j:part 15]

Quotative intransitive

- C1 151b = [+Cit:Dis ±Neg 1:part 13 ±Hesⁿ:part 15

$\pm S:Pro\ 1/3/N\ 4-5\ +P:Vb\ 151b\ +Sub:Post-$
 $\pm pos\ 4\ \pm Neg\ 2:part\ 14\ \pm Cl\ j:part\ 15]$

Cl 152b = [+Cit:Dis $\pm Neg\ 1:part\ 13\ \pm Hes^n:part\ 15$
 $\pm S:Pro\ 1/3/N\ 4-5\ +P:Vb\ 152b\ +Sub:Part\ 4$
 $\pm Neg\ 2:part\ 14\ \pm Cl\ j:part\ 15]$

Cl 153b = [+Cit:Dis $\pm Neg\ 1:part\ 13\ \pm Hes^n:part\ 15$
 $\pm S:Pro\ 1/3/N\ 4-5\ +P:Vb\ 153b\ +Sub:Post-$
 $\pm pos\ 2-3/Lim\ 3\ \pm Neg\ 2:part\ 14\ \pm Cl\ j:part$
 $15]$

Cl 154b = [$\pm/-Rel:q\ 8\ +Cit:Dis\ \pm Neg\ 1:part\ 13$
 $\pm Hes^n:part\ 15\ \pm S:Pro\ 1/3/N\ 4-5\ +P:Vb$
 $54b\ +Sub:Postpos\ 1/Part\ 3/5/Lim\ 4$
 $\pm Neg\ 2:part\ 14\ \pm Cl\ j:part\ 15]$

Equative

Cl 161 = [$\pm Neg\ 1:part\ 13\ \pm S:Pro\ 1/3-5/7-8/pro\ 17/$
 $N\ 4-5\ \pm Hes^n:part\ 15\ +P\ eq:N\ 4-5/Adj\ 1$
 $\pm Aux:Vb\ 151b\ +Sub:Postpos\ 4\ \pm Neg\ 2:$
 $part\ 14\ \pm Cl\ j:part\ 15]$

Cl 162 = [$\pm Neg\ 1:part\ 13\ \pm S:Pro\ 1/3-5/7-8/pro\ 17/$
 $N\ 4-5\ \pm Hes^n:part\ 15\ +P\ eq:N\ 4-5/Adj\ 1$
 $\pm Aux:Vb\ 152b\ +Sub:Part\ 4\ \pm Neg\ 2:part\ 14$
 $\pm Cl\ j:part\ 15]$

Cl 163 = [$\pm Neg\ 1:part\ 13\ \pm S:Pro\ 1/3-5/7-8/pro\ 17/$
 $N\ 4-5\ \pm Hes^n:part\ 15\ +P\ eq:N\ 4-5/Adj\ 1$
 $\pm Aux:Vb\ 153b\ +Sub:Postpos\ 2-3/Lim\ 3$
 $\pm Neg\ 2:part\ 14\ \pm Cl\ j:part\ 15]$

Cl 164 = [$\pm/-Rel:q\ 8\ \pm Neg\ 1:part\ 13\ \pm S:Pro\ 1/3-5/$
 $7-8/pro\ 17/N\ 4-5\ \pm Hes^n:part\ 15\ +P:eq:N$
 $4-5/Adj\ 1\ \pm Aux:Vb\ 51b\ +Sub:Postpos\ 1/$
 $Part\ 3/5/Lim\ 4\ \pm Neg\ 2:part\ 14\ \pm Cl\ j:$
 $part\ 15]$

Perceptive

Cl 171 = [+O:Cl 11/21/31a/41/51/61 $\pm Neg\ 1:part\ 13$
 $\pm Hes^n:part\ 15\ +P:Vb\ 171\ +Sub:Postpos\ 4$
 $\pm Neg\ 2:part\ 14\ \pm Cl\ j:part\ 15]$

Cl 172 = [+O:Cl 11/21/31a/41/51/61 $\pm Neg\ 1:part\ 13$
 $\pm Hes^n:part\ 15\ +P:Vb\ 172\ +Sub:Part\ 4$
 $\pm Neg\ 2:part\ 14\ \pm Cl\ j:part\ 15]$

- C1 173 = [+O:Cl 11/21/31a/41/51/61 ±Neg 1:part 13
 ±Hes^a:part 15 +P:Vb 173 +Sub:Postpos 2-
 3/Lim 3 ±Neg 2:part 14 ±Cl j:part 15]
 C1 174 = [±-/Rel:q 8 +O:Cl 11/21/31a/41/51/61
 ±Neg 1:part 13 ±Hes^a:part 15 +P:Vb 71
 +Sub:Postpos 1/Part 3/5/Lim 4 ±Neg 2:
 part 14 ±Cl j:part 15]

2. 3. 3. Citation included clause paradigm

Transitive

- C1 111 = ete--epu--puhi mu 'house--will-make--for
 foc' (in order to make a house).
 C1 112 = tuweda--pa da--ceitiame--pucu 'her--is-
 said asv--cause-to-be-fat--doing' (causing
 her to be fat).
 C1 113 = uči ha--aiča--ediatasā--tupu da 'dog acotr
 --meat--eating--while asv' (while the dog
 was eating meat).
 C1 114 = awa--nasa--banaha--su 'if--plantain--want-
 to-plant--when' (if one wants to plant
 plantain).

Intransitive

- C1 121 = ena--erahaha--tehe 'river--go-down--until'
 (until the river goes down).
 C1 122 = dapia--inca--saída--hanawaitia--pucu
 'there--Inca--well--rested--doing'
 (because the Inca rested well there).
 C1 123 = tuneda--etiritiritaneti--tupu 'they--dancing
 --while' (while they were dancing).
 C1 124 = nai--epuani--su 'rain--doing--when' (when
 it is raining).

Stative

- C1 131 = pamapa--yanita--tehe (all--are--until'
 (until all are here).
 C1 132 = puši mara--ani--pucu 'four years--be--
 doing' (being there four years).
 C1 133 = deha--yani--pehesu 'man--is--to' (to the
 man).

Cl 134 = ema--ebade--nime 'I--am--like' (like I am).

Impersonal

Cl 141 = ewena--tehe 'will-dawn--until' (until it dawns).

Cl 142 = apuna--pucu 'darken--doing' (darkening).

Cl 143 = ed ?iatianani--tupu 'shining--while' (while it's shining).

Cl 144 = hiabé--ewenani--biame 'now--dawning--although' (although it is now dawning).

Quotative transitive

Cl 151a = be pahi--mesa tata--ya--tehe 'not cry--his father--will-say-to-him--until' (until his father says to him, "don't cry").

Cl 152a = ema nedahi--ataitia--pucu 'I sick--she-said-to-him--doing' (because he said to him, "I'm sick").

Cl 153a = diusu lu pahi tata--yatani--tupu 'God you pay sir--he-says-to-him--while' (while he says to him, "thank you, sir").

Cl 154a = tuweda--puwekie--ataitia--pepe 'he--come--said-to-me--think' (thinking he said to me, "come").

Quotative intransitive

Cl 151b = be putihi--mesa tata--epu--tehe 'not go--his father--will-say--until' (until his father says, "don't go").

Cl 152b = ema putiha--pu--pucu 'I want-to-go--say--doing' (saying, "I want to go").

Cl 153b = hiču deha--pan pan--epuweti--pehesu 'that man--bread bread--saying--to' (to that man saying, "bread, bread").

Cl 154b = ema--aiča saida mabe--putitia--su 'I--meat good not--said--when' (when I said, "the meat is not good").

Equative

- C1 161 = saida--epu--puhi 'good--will-be--for' (in order to be good).
 C1 162 = ema--edi--pucu 'I--old--being' (I, being old).
 C1 163 = yanana--nedahi--pehesu 'boy--sick--to' (to the sick boy).
 C1 164 = beidahi--su 'happy--when' (when happy).

Perceptive

- C1 171 = eba--ewenani--puhi 'will-see--dawn--for' (in order to see it dawn).
 C1 172 = uči ha cuitani yanana--ba--pucu 'dog actor biting child--see--doing' (seeing the dog bite the child).
 C1 173 = iba aki esa--ebatani--biame 'tiger tree is--he-sees--although' (although he sees the tiger in the tree).
 C1 174 = deha putikie ataitia--id ?abataitia--su 'man go said-to-him--heard--when' (when he heard that the man said to him, "go").

2. 4. The participial clause

2. 4. 1. Tagmemic participial clause paradigm

Transitive

C1 211 = {+O +P 211}

Intransitive

C1 221 = {+P 221}

2. 4. 2. Tagmatic participial clause paradigm

Transitive

C1 211 = [+O:N 4-5 +P:Vb 211]

Intransitive

C1 221 = [+P:Vb 221]

2. 4. 3. Citation participial clause paradigm

Transitive

Cl 211 = aiča--diadiahā--bid'ū 'meat--want-to-eat--
pret' (pretending to want to eat meat).

Intransitive

Cl 221 = ekuarara 'fried' (fried).

3. The phrase

3.1. The phrase margin

3.1.1. Tagmemic phrase margin paradigm

Mar A = {+(±Spec:pro 19-20 ±Lim:lim 1-2/Lim 1-2)}

Mar B 1 = {+Desc:Adj/vb 211/221 ±Dim:part 11
±Num:part 7-8 +Gen:part 10}

Mar B 10 = {+Desc:Adj/vb 211/221 ±Dim:part 11
±Num:part 7-8 +A:part 9 ±Lim:lim 3}

Mar B 20 = {+(±Desc:Adj/vb 211/221 ±Dim:part 11
±Num:part 7-8 ±A:part 9 ±Lim:lim 3)}

Mar B 30 = {+(±Desc:Adj/vb 211/221 ±Dim:part 11
±Num:part 7-8 ±Lim:lim 3)}

Mar C = {+(±Lim:lim 4 ±Asv:part 4 ±Foc:part 3)}
Mar C occurs only once per clause.

3.1.2. Citation phrase margin paradigm

Mar A = hiču--beta 'that--two' (those two).

Mar B 1 = bauđa--čidi--sa 'tall--dear--'s' (the tall
dear one's).

Mar B 10 = pasane--ha 'white--actor' (white).

Mar B 20 = saida--di 'good--also' (good also).

Mar B 30 = ceida--dece 'fat--dual' (two fat).

Mar C = be--da--mu 'only--asv--foc'.

3.2. The verb phrase

3.2.1. Emic verb phrase classes

	Tr 10	Intr 20	St 30	Imper 40	Aux		Perc 70	Apv 80
					50a	50b		
Independent 00								
Decl	01	11	21	31	41	51a	51b	71
		02	12	22	32	42		72
Impv	03	13	23	33		53a	53b	73
Ob	04	14	24	34		54a	54b	74
Neg abil	05	15	25	35	45	55a	55b	75
Dependent 100								
Pur	101	111	121	131	141	151a	151b	171
Seq	102	112	122	132	142	152a	152b	172
Cond	103	113	123	133	143	153a	153b	173
Participial 200								
Pret	201	211	221					

Chart II. Emic verb phrase classes

3. 2. 2. Tagmeme sequences in the verb phrase

The tagmemes shown in Column I in Chart III are mutually exclusive on the morphological level with those shown opposite them in Column II. When they cooccur in the verb phrase, those shown in Column I occur in or adjacent to the verb which manifests the H of the phrase, while those shown in Column II occur in or following the Aux tagmeme.

I	II	
Comp	Incom	Indef
	Frust	Dur
	Dir	Tense
	State	Desid
Abil	Incom	Indef
	Dir	Dur
	State	Tense
Desid	Dir	Tense
	State	Opt
	Indef	Incom
	Dur	Frust
	Abil	
Dir	State	Dur
	Indef	Tense
Frust	Opt	Dur
	Incom	Tense

Chart III. Tagmeme sequences in the verb phrase

3. 2. 3. The independent verb phrase

3. 2. 3. 1. Tagmemic verb phrase paradigm

The auxiliary tagmeme optionally follows the tagmeme Ob in all verb phrases Vb 04.

In the following formulas the symbol +/- indicates that the tagmemes numbered 2 are mutually exclusive with the corresponding tagmemes numbered 1.

Verb phrases divided by the symbol... are optionally discontinuous.

Transitive

- Vb 11y = {+Dep O 1:part 4 +H:vb 11 ±Abil 1:part 2/
 Comp:part 17 ±Dep S 1:pro 10 ±Past
 prog 1:part 18 ±Lim 1:lim 4/Asv 1:part 4
 . . . ±(±/-Dep O 2:part 4 +Aux:vb 51a-51b
 ±/-Abil 2:part 2 ±/-Dep S 2:pro 10
 ±/-Past prog 2:part 18 ±/-Lim 2:lim 4/
 Asv 2:part 4)}
- Vb 12y = {+H:vb 12 ±Dep S 1:pro 10 ±(+Aux:vb 52b
 ±/-Dep S 2:pro 10) ±Lim:lim 4/Asv:part
 4}
- Vb 13y = {+H:vb 13-14 ±Aux:vb 53a-53b/54a-54b
 ±Lim:lim 4/Asv:part 4}
- Vb 14y = {+H:vb 15 ±Aux:vb 55a-55b ±Past prog:part
 18 +Ob:part 19 ±Lim:lim 4/Asv:part 4}
- Vb 15y = {+Abil:part 2 . . . +H:vb 15 +Ob:part 19
 . . . ±Aux:vb 51c}
- Vb 11z = {+H:vb stem 13 +Aux 1:vb 51b ±Abil 1:
 part 2/Comp:part 17 ±Dep S 1:pro 10
 ±Past prog 1:part 18 ±Lim 1:lim 4/Asv 1:
 part 4 . . . ±(±Dep O:part 4 +Aux 2:vb
 51b ±/-Abil 2:part 2 ±/-Dep S 2:pro 10
 ±/-Past prog 2:part 18 ±/-Lim 2:lim 4/
 Asv 2:part 4)}
- Vb 12z = {+H:vb stem 13 +Aux 1:vb 52b ±Dep S 1:pro
 10 ±(+Aux 2:vb 52b ±/-Dep S 2:pro 10) ±
 Lim:lim 4/Asv:part 4}
- Vb 13z = {+H:vb stem 13 +Aux 1:vb 52b-53b ±Lim 1:
 lim 4/Asv 1:part 4 ±Aux 2:vb 52b-53b
 ±Lim 2:lim 4/Asv 2:part 4}
- Vb 14z = {+H:vb stem 13 +Aux 1:vb 55b ±Aux 2:vb
 55b ±Past prog:part 18 +Ob:part 19 ±Lim:
 lim 4/Asv:part 4}
- Vb 15z = {+Abil:part 2 . . . +H:vb stem 13 +Aux 1:
 vb 55b +Ob:part 19 . . . ±Aux 2:vb 51c}

Intransitive

- Vb 21y = {+H:vb 21 ±Abil 1:part 2/Comp 1:part 17
 ±Dep S 1:pro 10 ±Past prog 1:part 18

- \pm Lim:1:lim 4/Asv 1:part 4 . . . \pm (+Aux:vb
 51b \pm /-Abil 2:part 2 \pm /-Dep S 2:pro 10
 \pm /-Past prog 2:part 18 \pm /-Lim 2:lim 4/Asv
 2:part 4)}
- Vb 22y = {+H:vb 22 \pm Dep S 1:pro 10 \pm (+Aux:vb 52b
 \pm /-Dep S 2:pro 10) \pm Lim:lim 4/Asv:part 4}
- Vb 23y = {+H:vb 23-24 \pm Aux:vb 53b-54b \pm Lim:lim 4/
 Asv:part 4}
- Vb 24y = {+H:Vb 25 \pm Aux:vb 55b \pm Past prog:part 18
 \pm Ob:part 19 \pm Lim:lim 4/Asv:part 4}
- Vb 25y = {+Abil:part 2 . . . +H:vb 25 \pm Ob:part 19
 \pm Lim:lim 4/Asv:part 4 . . . \pm Aux:vb 51c}
- Vb 21z = {+H:vb stem 23 \pm Aux 1:vb 51b \pm Abil 1:part
 2/Comp:part 17 \pm Dep S 1:pro 10 \pm Past
 prog 1:part 18 \pm Lim 1:lim 4/Asv 1:part
 . . . \pm (+Aux 2:vb 51b \pm /-Abil 2:part 2
 \pm /-Dep S 2:pro 10 \pm /-Past prog 2:part 18
 \pm /-Lim 2:lim 4/Asv 2:part 4)}
- Vb 22z = {+H:vb stem 23 \pm Aux 1:vb 52b \pm Dep S 1:pro
 10 \pm (+Aux 2:vb 52b \pm /-Dep S 2:pro 10)
 \pm Lim:lim 4/Asv:part 4}
- Vb 23z = {+H:vb stem 23 \pm Aux:vb 54b \pm Lim:lim 4/
 Asv:part 4}
- Vb 24z = {+H:vb stem 23 \pm Aux 1:vb 55b \pm Aux 2:vb
 55b \pm Past prog:part 18 \pm Ob:part 19 \pm Lim:
 lim 4/Asv:part 4}
- Vb 25z = {+Abil:part 2 . . . +H:vb stem 23 \pm Aux 1:
 vb 55b \pm Ob:part 19 \pm Lim:lim 4/Asv:part
 4 . . . \pm Aux 2:vb 51c}

Stative

- Vb 31 = {+H:vb 31 \pm Abil 1:part 2/Comp:part 17 \pm Dep
 S 1:pro 10 \pm Past prog:part 18 \pm (+Aux:vb
 51b \pm /-Abil 2:part 2 \pm /-Dep S 2:pro 10)
 \pm Lim:lim 4/Asv:part 4}
- Vb 32 = {+H:vb 32 \pm Dep S 1:pro 10 \pm (+Aux:vb 52b
 \pm /-Dep S 2:pro 10) \pm Lim:lim 4/Asv:part
 4}
- Vb 33 = {+H:vb 33-34 \pm Aux:vb 53b-54b \pm Lim:lim 4/
 Asv:part 4}

- Vb 34 = {+H:vb 35 ±Aux:vb 55b ±Past prog:part 18
 +Ob:part 19 ±Lim:lim 4/Asv:part 4}
 Vb 35 = {+Abil:part 2 . . . +H:vb 35 +Ob:part 19
 . . . ±Aux:vb 51c}

Impersonal

- Vb 41 = {+H:vb 41 ±Abil 1:part 2/Comp:part 17/Past
 prog 1:part 18 ±Lim 1:lim 4/Asv 1:part 4
 . . . +(±Aux:vb 51b ±-/Abil 2:part 2/Past
 prog 2:part 18 ±Lim 2:lim 4/Asv 2:part 4)}
 Vb 42 = {+H:vb 42 ±Aux:vb 52b ±Lim:lim 4/Asv:part
 4}
 Vb 45 = {+Abil:part 2 . . . +H:vb 45 +Ob:part 19 . .
 . ±Aux:vb 51c}

Auxiliary transitive

- Vb 51a = {+Dep O:part 4 +H:vb 51a ±Abil:part 2/
 Comp:part 17/Past prog:part 18 ±Lim:lim
 4/Asv:part 4}
 Vb 53a = {+H:vb 53a-54a ±Lim:lim 4/Asv:part 4}
 Vb 54a = {+H:vb 55a +Ob:part 19 ±Lim:lim 4/Asv:
 part 4}
 Vb 55a = {+Abil:part 2 +H:vb 55a +Ob:part 19 . . .
 ±Aux:vb 51c}

Auxiliary intransitive

- Vb 51b = {+H:vb 51b ±Abil:part 2/Comp:part 17/Past
 prog:part 18 ±Lim:lim 4/Asv:part 4}
 Vb 52b = {+H:vb 52b ±Lim:lim 4/Asv:part 4}
 Vb 53b = {+H:vb 53b-54b ±Lim:lim 4/Asv:part 4}
 Vb 54b = {+H:vb 55b +Ob:part 19 ±Lim:lim 4/Asv:
 part 4}
 Vb 55b = {+Abil:part 2 . . . +H:vb 55b +Ob:part 19
 ±Lim:lim 4/Asv:part 4 . . . ±Aux:vb 51c}

Perceptive

The Vb 70/170 is a distribution class arbitrarily selected from Vb 10/110. It consists of a limited number of phrases whose head tagmeme is manifested by a form of verb -ba- 'see', -id?aba- 'hear', bave 'know'.

The digit of the numerical symbol of the perspective phrase is that of the identical Vb 10/110.

Appellative

Vb 81 = {+H:vb 81 ±Aux:vb 51b}

3. 2. 3. 2. Citation independent verb phrase paradigm

Transitive

Vb 11y = čapisa yainia 'killing-in-vain is' (is killing in vain).

Vb 12y = padadia--be 'that-may-eat--only' (that . . . may eat).

Vb 13y = čaku--akie 'look-for-it--do' (look for it).

Vb 14y = kaču --tahi--epu--mane 'chew--have-to--do--past-prog' (had to chew it).

Vb 15y = kua--čama--tahi 'can--look--have-to' (can look).

Vb 11z = babe--puha 'know--do-wants-to' (wants to know).

Vb 12z = babe--papu 'know--that-may-do' (that . . . may know).

Vb 13z = babe--pukie 'know--do' (know).

Vb 14z = bue--puba--pu--tahi 'know--try-to-do--do--ought-to' (ought to try to know).

Vb 15z = kua--bue--pu--tahi 'can--know--do--ought-to' (can know).

Intransitive

Vb 21y = baunaitia--da 'grew--asv' (grew).

Vb 22y = asease--paputi--ce 'hunt--that-may-go--dual' (that . . . may go to hunt).

Vb 23y = haidebatikie--be 'laugh--only' (laugh).

Vb 24y = nubi--puti--tahi 'enter--go-to--ought-to' (ought to go and enter).

Vb 25y = kua--netiana--tahi 'can--stand-up--ought-to' (can get up).

Vb 21z = esia--puha--puitia 'fish--want-to-do--did' (wanted to fish).

Vb 22z = esia--papu--be 'fish--may-do--only' (that . . . may fish).

Vb 23z = esia--meputi 'fish--do-go-pl' (let's go fish).

Vb 24z = kisakisa--pu--tahi 'converse--do--ought-to'
(ought to converse).

Vb 25z = kua--esia--pu--tahi 'can--fish--do--ought-to'
(can fish).

Stative

Vb 31 = neti--epuani--da 'stand--does--asv' (is standing).

Vb 32 = pabade--be 'that-may-hang--only' (that . . .
may hang).

Vb 33 = casa--pukie 'lie-in-vain--do' (lie in vain).

Vb 34 = ani--tahi--be 'stay--ought-to--only' (ought to
stay).

Vb 35 = kua--ani--tahi--ebainia 'can--stay--ought-to--
see' (can stay).

Impersonal

Vb 41 = cahapasasa . . . --puitia--be 'clear--did--
only' (the day cleared).

Vb 42 = pad?ati--da 'that-may-sunshine--asv' (that it
may sunshine).

Vb 45 = kua--wena--tahi 'can--dawn--ought-to' (can
dawn).

Transitive auxiliary

Vb 51a = da--ataitia--be 'it--did--only' (did it).

Vb 53a = akie--da 'do-it--asv' (do it).

Vb 54a = a--tahi--be 'do--ought-to--only' (ought to do
it).

Vb 55a = kua--a--tahi 'can--do--ought-to' (can do).

Intransitive auxiliary

Vb 51b = epuani--da 'is-doing--asv' (is doing).

Vb 52b = papu--be 'that-may-do--only' (that . . .
may do).

Vb 53b = pukie 'do'.

Vb 54b = pu--tahi 'do--ought-to' (ought to do).

Vb 55b = kua--pu--tahi 'can--do--ought-to' (can do).

Perceptive

Vb 71 = baitia--be 'saw--only' (saw).

Appellative

Vb 81 = banime--puitia 'named--was' (was named).

3. 2. 4. The dependent verb phrase**3. 2. 4. 1. Tagmemic dependent verb phrase paradigm****Transitive**

Vb 111 = {+H:vb 111 ±Abil:part 2/Comp:part 17
 ±Dep S 1:pro 10 ±(+Aux:vb 151a-151b
 ±/-Dep S 2:pro 10)}

Vb 112 = {±Dep O 1:part 4 +H:vb 112 ±Abil:part 2/
 Comp:part 17/Past prog:part 18 ±Dep S 1:
 pro 10 ±(±/-Dep O 2:part 4 +Aux:vb 152a-
 152b ±/-Dep S 2:pro 10)}

Vb 113 = {±Dep O 1:part 4 +H:vb 113 ±Abil:part 2/
 Comp:part 17 ±Dep S 1:pro 10 ±(±/-Dep O
 2:part 4 +Aux:vb 153a-153b ±/-Dep S 2:
 pro 10)}

Intransitive

Vb 121 = {+H:vb 121 ±Abil:part 2/Comp:part 17
 ±Dep S 1:pro 10 ±(+Aux:vb 151b ±/-Dep S
 2:pro 10)}

Vb 122 = {+H:vb 122 ±Abil:part 2/Comp:part 17/Past
 prog 1:part 18 ±Dep S 1:pro 10 ±(+Aux:vb
 152b ±/-Past prog 2:part 18 ±/-Dep S 2:
 pro 10)}

Vb 123 = {+H:vb 123 ±Abil:part 2/Comp:part 17
 ±Dep S 1:pro 10 ±(+Aux:vb 153b ±/-Dep S
 2:pro 10)}

Stative

Vb 131 = {+H:vb 131 ±Abil:part 2/Comp:part 17
 ±Dep S 1:pro 10 ±(+Aux:vb 151b ±/-Dep S
 2:pro 10)}

Vb 132 = {+H:vb 132 ±Abil:part 2/Comp:part 17
 ±Dep S 1:pro 10 ±(+Aux:vb 152b ±/-Dep S
 2:pro 10)}

Vb 133 = {+H:vb 133 ±Abil:part 2/Comp:part 17

\pm Dep S 1:pro 10 \pm (+Aux:vb 153b \pm /-Dep S 2:pro 10)}

Impersonal

Vb 141 = {+H:vb 141 \pm Abil:part 2/Comp:part 17 \pm Aux :vb 151b}

Vb 142 = {+H:vb 142 \pm Abil:part 2/Comp:part 17/Past prog 1:part 18 \pm (+Aux:vb 152b \pm /-Past prog 2:part 18)}

Vb 143 = {+H:vb 143 \pm Abil:part 2/Comp:part 17 \pm Aux:vb 153b}

Transitive auxiliary

Vb 151a = {+H:vb 151a \pm Abil:part 2/Comp:part 17}

Vb 152a = { \pm Dep O:part 4 +H:vb 152a \pm Abil:part 2/ Comp:part 17}

Vb 153a = { \pm Dep O:part 4 +H:vb 153a \pm Abil:part 2/ Comp:part 17}

Intransitive auxiliary

Vb 151b = {+H:vb 151b \pm Abil:part 2/Comp:part 17}

Vb 152b = {+H:vb 152b \pm Abil:part 2/Comp:part 17}

Vb 153b = {+H:vb 153b \pm Abil:part 2/Comp:part 17}

3. 2. 4. 2. Citation dependent verb phrase paradigm

Transitive

Vb 111y = diadia--eputi 'eat--will-go-to' (will go to eat it).

Vb 112y = pirara--ya--mane 'stretch-out--will-do--was' (was stretching out).

Vb 113y = emanuametani 'he-is-killing' (he is killing it).

Vb 111z = bue--epu 'know--will-do' (will know).

Vb 112z = bue--puitia 'know--did' (knew).

Vb 113z = bue--pu--kua 'know--do--can' (able to know).

Intransitive

Vb 121y = nave--bue--epu 'bathe--know--will-do' (will know how to bathe).

Vb 122y = mudumuduha--puitia 'want-to-work--did'
(wanted to work).

Vb 123y = piba--kua--epuani 'think--can--do' (can think).

Vb 121z = kisakisa--epu 'converse--will-do' (will converse).

Vb 122z = kisakisa--pusiu 'converse--do-coming'
(coming conversing).

Vb 123z = esia--epubani 'fish--is-trying-to-do' (is trying to fish).

Stative

Vb 131 = ebade 'will-hang'.

Vb 132 = sa--bue 'lie--know' (knows how to lie).

Vb 133 = enetitani--kuana 'are-standing--they' (they are standing).

Impersonal

Vb 141 = wenaha--epu 'wants-to-dawn--will-do' (will want to dawn).

Vb 142 = apuna--epu--mane 'darken--will-do--was'
(was darkening).

Vb 143 = had? iatiha--epuani 'wants-to-sunshine--do'
(wants to sunshine).

Transitive auxiliary

Vb 151a = ya 'will-do' (will do it).

Vb 152a = aitia 'did' (did it).

Vb 153a = yainia 'doing' (doing it).

Intransitive auxiliary

Vb 151b = apu--kua 'will-do--can' (can do).

Vb 152b = puha 'want-to-do' (want to do).

Vb 153b = epuani--bue 'do--know' (knows how to do).

Perceptive

Vb 171 = eid?aba 'will-hear' (will hear).

3.2.5. The participial verb phrase

3.2.5.1. Tagmemic participial verb phrase paradigm

Transitive pretense

Vb 211 = {+H:vb 16/211 ±Pret:n (bid ?u) }

Intransitive pretense

Vb 221 = {+H:vb 26/221 ±Pret:n (bid ?u) }

3. 2. 5. 2. Citation participial verb phrase paradigm

Transitive pretense

Vb 211 = diadiaha--bid ?u 'want-to-eat--pret' (pretends to want to eat).

Intransitive pretense

Vb 221 = emudumudusa--bid ?u 'working--pret' (pretending to work).

3. 3. The noun phrase

3. 3. 1. Tagmemic noun phrase paradigm

N 1 = {±Sat A:Mar A +Nuc 1:N nuc 1-2 +Sat B:Mar B
1}

N 2 = {±Sat A:Mar A +Nuc 1:N nuc 1-2 ±Sat B:Mar B
20 ±Sat C:Mar C}

N 3 = {+Nuc 2:N nuc 3-4 ±Sat B:Mar B 20 ±Sat C:Mar
C}

N 4 = {±Sat A:Mar A +Nuc 1:N nuc 1-2 ±Sat B:Mar B
30 ±Sat C:Mar C}

N 5 = {+Nuc 2:N nuc 3-4 ±Sat B:Mar B 30 ±Sat C:
Mar C}

N 6 = {+Nuc 3:N nuc 6 +Sat B:Mar B 10}

N 7 = {+Nuc 3:N nuc 6 ±Sat B:Mar B 30}

N 8 = {±Mod:N 3-4/adj +H:n (bid ?u) }

N 9 = {±Sat A:Mar A +H:N nuc 1-2 ±Sat B:Mar B 30
+Foc:part 3}

3. 3. 2. Citation noun phrase paradigm

N 1 = hiču kiema--ebakua--čidi sa 'that my--son--
dear poss' (my dear son's).

N 2 = auna deha--tučeda ha--be 'bear man--strong
actor--only' (strong bear-man, only).

- N 3 = tusa awa edue awa eperehi--babí 'his either brother either friend--also' (his friend or brother also).
- N 4 = pamapa--tumu--aida kuana--da mu 'all--rock--big pl--asv foc' (all big rocks).
- N 5 = awa uči awa miši 'either dog either cat' (either dog or cat).
- N 6 = ai sa uči--ceida dece ha 'what poss dog--fat dual actor' (whose two fat dogs).
- N 7 = aide sa--tata--kuana 'who poss--father--pl' whose father).
- N 8 = nedahi--bid?u 'sick--pret' (pretense of being sick).
- N 9 = kiema--yanana--čidi dece--mu 'my--child--dear dual--foc' (my two dear children).

3.3.3. The noun phrase nucleus

3.3.3.1. Tagmemic noun phrase nucleus paradigm

- N nuc 1 = {+Gen:pro 16-18/23/Pro 6 +H:n 1-11}
- N nuc 2 = {±Gen:pro 16-18/23/Pro 6 +H:n 12-31/N
nuc 5}
- N nuc 3 = {±Gen:pro 16-18/23/Pro 6/N ±/-Advs 1:q 8
+H:n 1-11 ±(±Advs 2:q 8 +Cd:n 1-31)²}
- N nuc 4 = {±Gen:pro 16-18/23/Pro 6/N 1 ±/-Advs 1:q 8
+H:n 12-31/N nuc 5 ±(±Advs 2:q 8 +Cd:
n 12-31/N nuc 5)}

The symbol ±/- indicates that if the tagmeme Advs 2 occurs, Advs 1 is optional; if Advs 2 does not occur, Advs 1 does not occur.

- N nuc 5 = {±Att:n 12-31 +H:n 12-31}
- N nuc 6 = {+Gen:Q 7 +H:n 1-31}

3.3.3.2. Citation noun phrase nucleus paradigm

- N nuc 1 = kiema--kuara 'my--mother' (my mother).
- N nuc 2 = tuace sa--uči 'they poss--dog' (their dog).
- N nuc 3 = hiču kiema kuara sa dudu--awa--kunu 'that

my mother poss sister--or--brother' (my mother's sister or brother).

N nuc 4 = tuna sa--awa--d ?ihe--awa--kuabe 'they poss--either--corn--or--yuca' (either their corn or yuca).

N nuc 5 = tumu--ete 'rock--house' (rock house).

N nuc 6 = ai sa--edue 'what poss--brother' (whose brother).

3.4. The pronoun phrase

3.4.1. Tagmemic pronoun phrase paradigm

Pro 1 = {+H:pro 1/3/5 ±Lim:lim 3 ±Sat C:Mar C}

Pro 2 = {+H:pro 2/4/6 ±Lim:lim 3 ±Sat C:Mar C}

Pro 3 = {+H:pro 7-9/15 ±Lim:lim 3 ±Sat C:Mar C}

Pro 4 = {+H:pro 11-14 +Gen:part 10 +Asv:part 4
±Lim:lim 3 ±Sat C:Mar C}

Pro 5 = {+H:pro 16/18 +Asv:part 4 ±Lim:lim 3 ±Sat C:Mar C}

Pro 6 = {+H:pro 11-15/19-20 +Gen:part 10}

Pro 7 = {+H:pro 15/19-20 +Gen:part 10 ±Lim:lim 3
±Sat C:Mar C}

Pro 8 = {+H:pro 19-20 ±Num:part 7-8 ±Lim:lim 3
±Sat C:Mar C}

Pro 9 = {+H:pro 19-20 ±Num:part 7-8 +A:part 9
±Lim:lim 3 ±Sat C:Mar C}

Pro 10 = {+H:pro 1/3/5/7-9/15 +Foc:part 3}

3.4.2. Citation pronoun phrase paradigm

Pro 1 = ema--di--da mu 'I--also--asv foc' (I also).

Pro 2 = miada--biame 'you--even' (even you).

Pro 3 = ekuanau--babí 'we--also' 'we also).

Pro 4 = tune--se--da--be 'they--poss--asv--only'
(theirs only).

Pro 5 = mikie--da--mu 'your--asv--foc' (yours).

Pro 6 = tuna--sa 'they--poss' (theirs).

Pro 7 = ekuanau--sa--be 'we--poss--only' (ours
only).

Pro 8 = hiču--kuana--di--da mu 'that--pl--also--asv foc' (those also).

Pro 9 = ye--kuana--ha 'this--pl--actor' (these).

Pro 10 = ema--mu 'I--foc' (I).

3.5. The adjective phrase

3.5.1. Tagmemic adjective phrase paradigm

Adj 1 = {+H:adj ±Deg:part 22 ±Sat C:Mar C}

Adj 2 = {+H:adj +Pret:n (bid ?u) ±Sat C:Mar C}

3.5.2. Citation adjective phrase paradigm

Adj 1 = saida--pad ?i 'good--intens' (moderately good).

Adj 2 = nedahi--bid ?u--be 'sick--pret--only' (pretending sickness).

3.6. The modifier phrase

3.6.1. Tagmemic modifier phrase paradigm

Mod 1 = {+H:N 5/pro 1/11-14/22 +Posn:postpos 4/7-10 ±Lim:lim 3 ±Sat C:Mar C}

Mod 2 = {+H:N 5 ±Posn 1:postpos 1-3 +Posn 2:postpos 5/12 ±Lim:lim 3 ±Sat C:Mar C}

Mod 3 = {+H:pro 1/11-14/22 +Posn 1:postpos 1-3 +Posn 2:postpos 5/11 ±Lim:lim 3 ±Sat C:Mar C}

Mod 4 = {+H:adv 3 +Posn:postpos 4/8 ±Lim:lim 3 ±Sat C:Mar C}

Mod 5 = {+H:adv 1-2/4-6 ±Lim:lim 3 ±Sat C:Mar C}

Mod 6 = {+H:part 4 +Posn:postpos 9-10 ±Lim:lim 3 ±Sat C: Mar C}

Mod 7 = {+H:postpos 1-4 +Posn:postpos 5 ±Sat C: Mar C}

Mod 8 = {+H:N 5/pro 1/11-15/22 +Posn:postpos 6 ±Sat C:Mar C}

3.6.2. Citation modifier phrase paradigm

- Mod 1 = ete-kuana-bene-be 'house--pl--next-to--only' (next to the house only).
- Mod 2 = deha sa edue-ebuce su-da mu 'man poss brother--in-front-of to--asv foc' (in front of the man's brother).
- emata-dede-henetia 'mountain--inside--from' (from inside the mountain).
- Mod 3 = mi-etibeini su-babi 'you--behind to--also' (behind you also).
- Mod 4 = ēu--bene 'there--next-to' (that side).
- Mod 5 = dapia-be da mu 'there--only asv foc' (there only).
- Mod 6 = da-nehe 'asv--with' (with it).
- Mod 7 = ebia-su 'on-top--at' (on top).
- Mod 8 = deha-pehesu 'man--to' (to the man).

3.7. The question phrase

3.7.1. Tagmemic question phrase paradigm

- Q 1 = {+H:q 2 ±Num:part 7-8 ±Lim:lim 3 ±Q mk:part 6 ±Sat C:Mar C}
- Q 2 = {+H:q 1/3/5 ±Num:part 7-8 +A:part 9 ±Lim:lim 3 ±Q mk:part 6 ±Sat C:Mar C}
- Q 3 = {+H:q 1/3/5 ±Num:part 7-8 ±Lim:lim 3 ±Q mk:part 6 ±Sat C:Mar C}
- Q 4 = {+H:q 1/3/5 ±Num:part 7-8 +Posn:postpos 4/7-9 ±Lim:lim 3 ±Q mk:part 6 ±Sat C:Mar C}
- Q 5 = {+H:q 3 ±Num:part 7-8 +Posn:postpos 6 ±Lim:lim 3 ±Q mk:part 6 ±Sat C:Mar C}
- Q 6 = {+H:q 4-7 ±Lim:lim 3 ±Q mk:part 6 ±Sat C:Mar C}
- Q 7 = {+H:q 1/3/5 ±Num:part 7-8 +Gen:part 10 ±Q mk:part 6}
- Q 8 = {+H:q 1/3/5 ±Num:part 7-8 +Gen:part 10 +A:part 9}
- Q 9 = {+H:q 9 +/-Asv:part 4}

The symbol +/- indicates that the Asv tagmeme

does not occur when the Q 9 is distributed in Cl 02 preceding a clause tagmeme S which is manifested by pro 21; it is obligatory elsewhere.

Q 10 = {+H:q 1/3/5 +Posn 1:postpos 1-3 +Posn 2:
postpos 5 ±Lim:lim 3 ±Q mk:part 6 ±Sat
C:Mar C}

3.7.2. Citation question phrase paradigm

Q 1 = aiya--kuana--da 'who--pl--asv' (who).

aiya--di--ni--da mu 'who--also--q-mk--asv
foc' (who also).

Q 2 = kiebata--ha 'which--actor' (which).

aide--ha--be da 'who--actor--only asv' (who
only).

Q 3 = ai--kuana--di--da 'what--pl--also--asv' (what
things also).

aide--ni 'who--q-mk' (who).

kiebata--dece 'which--dual' (which two).

Q 4 = ai--nime--da 'thing--like--asv' (like what).

ai--puhi--be 'thing--for--only' (for what).

aide--kuana--henetia 'whom--pl--from' (from
whom only).

kiebata--nehe 'which--with' (with which).

Q 5 = aide--pehesu--mu 'whom--to--foc' (to whom).

Q 6 = hukie--be 'where--only' (where).

kiehenetia--ni da 'from--where--q-mk--asv'
(where from).

kiepia--da 'where--asv' (where).

Q 7 = ai--kuana--sa--be 'thing--pl--poss--only'
(whose only).

Q 8 = aide--sa--ha 'who--poss--actor' (whose).

Q 9 = a--da 'ig-corr--asv'.

Q 10 = ai--bia--su--ni--da 'thing--on-top--at--q-mk--
asv' (on what).

kiebata--buce--su 'which--in-front--at' (in
front of which).

3.8. The limiter phrase

3.8.1. Tagmemic limiter phrase paradigm

- Lim 1 = {+Lim:lim 1-2 +H:lim 5}
 Lim 2 = {+Lim 1:lim 1-2 +H:lim 5 +Lim 2:lim 1-2
 +Posn:vb core tr (haitiana)}
 Lim 3 = {+H:lim 6 ±Sat C:Mar C}
 Lim 4 = {+H:lim 7 ±Sat C:Mar C}

3.8.2. Citation limiter phrase paradigm

- Lim 1 = piada--tunka 'one--ten' (ten).
 Lim 2 = piada--tunka--kimisa--haitiana 'one--ten--
 three--pass' (thirteen).
 Lim 3 = tupu--be 'enough--only' (only enough).
 kama 'only'.
 Lim 4 = biame--da 'even--asv' (even).

3.9. The postpositive phrase

3.9.1. Tagmemic postpositive phrase paradigm

- Postpos 1 = {+H:postpos 9 ±Sat C:Mar C}
 Postpos 2 = {+H:postpos 6/11 ±Sat C:Mar C}
 Postpos 3 = {+H:postpos 5 ±Sat C:Mar C}
 Postpos 4 = {+H:postpos 7-8 ±Sat C:Mar C}

3.9.2. Citation postpositive phrase paradigm

- Postpos 1 = nime 'like'.
 Postpos 2 = pehesu--be 'to--only'.
 he 'by'.
 Postpos 3 = su--da mu 'to--asv foc' (to).
 Postpos 4 = puhi 'for'.

3.10. The particle phrase

3.10.1. Tagmemic particle phrase paradigm

- Part 1 = {+H:part 5 ±Asv:part 4}
 Part 2 = {+H:part 16 ±Asv:part 4}
 Part 3 = {+H:part 20 ±Sat C:Mar C}

Part 4 = {+H:part 21 ±Sat C:Mar C}
 Part 5 = {+H:part 23 ±Sat C:Mar C}

3.10.2. Citation particle phrase paradigm

Part 1 = pa--da 'it-is-said--asv' (it is said).

Part 2 = hia--da 'maybe--asv' (maybe).

Part 3 = pepe 'think'.

Part 4 = pucu--be 'doing--only'.

Part 5 = su 'when'.

4. The word

4.1. The verb

4.1.1. The inflected verb

4.1.1.1. Emic verb classes

	Tr 10	Intr 20	St 30	Imper 40	Auxiliary 50a	50b	50c	Apv 80
Independent 00			31a					
Decl	01	11	21	31b	41	51a	51b	51c 81
	02	12	22	32	42		52b	
Impv	03	13	23	33		53a	53b	
	04	14	24	34		54a	54b	
Ob	05	15	25	35	45	55a	55b	
Pret	06	16	26					
Dependent 100								
Pur	101	111	121	131	141	151a	151b	
Seq	102	112	122	132	142	152a	152b	
Conc	103	113	123	133	143	153a	153b	
Participial 200								
Ptcl	201	211	221					

Chart IV. Emic verb classes

4.1.1.1.1. The independent verb

4.1.1.1.1.1. Tagmemic independent verb paradigm

The symbol $+/-\text{Incom}$ indicates that the tagmeme Incom is obligatory when the Base is manifested by vb stem 26 or when the state tagmeme occurs; it does not occur when the tense tagmeme is manifested by affixes 1124-1128; it is otherwise optional.

Transitive

vb 11 = $\{+/-\text{Incom}:1101/\text{Frust}:1102 +\text{Base}:vb \text{ stem } 11-12$
 $\quad \pm\text{Deg}:1104-1107 \pm\text{Mot}:1108-1111$
 $\quad \pm\text{Person}:1112 \pm\text{Desid}:1115/\text{Dir}:1113-1114/$
 $\quad (+\text{State}:1116-1119 \pm\text{Indef}:1120)/ (\pm\text{Indef}:1120$
 $\quad +\text{Perf}:1121)/(\pm\text{Dur}:1122 +\text{Tense}:1123-1128)\}$

vb 12 = $\{\text{Opt}:1103/\text{Frust}:1102 +\text{Base}:vb \text{ stem } 11-12$
 $\quad \pm\text{Deg}:1104-1107 \pm\text{Mot}:1108-1111 \pm\text{Person}:1112$
 $\quad \pm\text{State}:1116-1119 \pm\text{Indef}:1120\}$

vb 13 = $\{\pm\text{Pl}:1129/\text{Frust}:1102 +\text{Base}:vb \text{ stem } 11-12$
 $\quad \pm\text{Deg}:1104/1106 \pm\text{Mot}:1108-1111 \pm\text{Indef}:1120$
 $\quad +\text{Impv}:1130-1131\}$

vb 14 = $\{\pm\text{Pl}:1128 +\text{Base}:vb \text{ stem } 11-12 \pm\text{Desid}:1115\}$

vb 15 = $\{\pm\text{Frust}:1102 +\text{Base}:vb \text{ stem } 11-12 \pm\text{Deg}:1104-1107$
 $\quad \pm\text{Mot}:1108-1111\}$

vb 16 = $\{\pm\text{Incom}:1101 +\text{Base}:vb \text{ stem } 11-12 \pm\text{Desid}:1115/\text{Tense}:1123\}$

Intransitive

The symbol $+/-$ indicates that a selection of one of the tagmemes or sets of tagmemes following the symbol is optional with the following collocational restrictions: (1) If the base is manifested by vb stem 24, the Desid tagmeme is obligatory, and the tense tagmeme does not occur. (2) If the base is manifested by vb stem 25, either the Perf or the tense tagmeme is obligatory.

vb 21 = $\{+/-\text{Incom}:1101/\text{Frust}:1102 +\text{Base}:vb \text{ stem } 21-22/24-26$
 $\quad \pm\text{Deg}:1104-1107 \pm\text{Mot}:1108-$

- 1111 ±Person:1112 +/±-/Desid:1115/Dir:
 1113-1114/(+State:1116-1119 ±Indef:1120)/
 {±Indef:1120 +Perf:1121}/(±Dur:1122
 +Tense:1124-1128)}
- vb 22 = {+Opt:1103/Frust:1102 +Base:vb stem 21-22
 /26 ±Deg:1104-1107 ±Person:1112 ±Mot:
 1108-1111/State:1116-1119 ±Indef:1120}
- vb 23 = {±Pl:1129/Frust:1102 +Base:vb stem 21-22/
 24 ±Deg:1104/1106 ±Mot:1108-1111
 ±Indef:1120 +Impv:1130-1131}
- vb 24 = {±Pl:1129 +Base:vb 21-22/26 ±Desid:1115}
- vb 25 = {+Frust:1102 +Base:vb stem 21-22/26 ±Deg:
 1104-1107 ±Mot:1108-1111}
- vb 26 = {±Incom:1101 +Base:vb stem 21-22/26 ±De-
 sid:1115/Tense:1123}

Stative

- vb 31a = {+/±/-Incom:1101/Frust:1102 +Base:vb
 stem 30 ±Deg:1104-1107 ±Person:1112
 ±Desid:1115/State:1116-1119/(±Dur:1122
 +Tense:1124-1128)}
- vb 31b = {+Base:vb r 30 (-anti-) +Tense:1124}
- vb 32 = {+Opt:1103/Frust:1102 +Base:vb stem 30
 ±Deg:1104/1106 ±Person:1112 ±Indef:
 1120}
- vb 33 = {±Pl:1129/Frust:1102 +Base:vb stem 30
 ±Deg:1104/1106 ±Indef:1120 +Imp:1130-
 1131}
- vb 34 = {±Pl:1129 +Base:vb stem 30 +Desid:1115}
- vb 35 = {±Frust:1102 +Base:vb stem 30 ±Deg:1104-
 1107}

Impersonal

(See note preceding formulas of the intransitive
 verb.)

- vb 41 = {+/±/-Incom:1101/Frust:1102 +Base:vb stem
 41-44 ±Deg:1104-1107 +/±-/Desid:1115/(+
 State:1116-1119 ±Indef:1120)/(±Dur:1122
 +Tense:1124-1128)/Perf:1121}

vb 42 = {+Opt:1103/Frust:1102 +Base:vb stem 41-44
 ±Deg:1104/1106 ±Indef:1120}

vb 45 = {+Frust:1102 +Base:vb stem 41/44 ±Deg:1104
 /1106}

Transitive auxiliary

vb 51a = {+/±/-Incom:1101 +Base:vb r 50a ±Deg:1104-
 1107 ±Person:1112 ±Desid:1115/(+State:
 1116-1119 ±Indef:1120)/(±Dur:1122 +Tense:
 1123-1128)}

vb 53a = {±Pl:1129 +Base:vb r 50a ±Deg:1104/1106
 +Impv:1130-1131}

vb 54a = {+Pl:1129 +Base:vb r 50a +Desid:1115}

vb 55a = {+Base:vb r 50a ±Deg:1104/1106}

Intransitive auxiliary

vb 51b = {+/±/-Incom:1101 +Base:vb r 50b ±Deg:1104-
 1107 ±Mot:1110-1111 ±Person:1112
 ±Desid:1115/Dir:1113-1114/(+State:1116-
 1119 ±Indef:1120)/(±Dur:1122 +Tense:1124-
 1128)}

vb 52b = {+Opt:1103/Frust:1102 +Base:vb r 50b
 ±Person:1112 ±State:1116-1119}

vb 53b = {±Pl:1129 +Base:vb r 50b ±Deg:1104/1106
 +Imp:1130-1131}

vb 54b = {+Pl:1129 +Base:vb r 50b +Desid:1115}

vb 55b = {±Incom:1101 +Base:vb r 50b ±Deg:1104/
 1106}

Negative abilitative auxiliary

vb 51c = {+/±/-Incom:1101 +Base:vb r 50c ±Person:
 1112 ±State:1116/(±Dur:1122 +Tense:1123
 -1128)}

Appellative

vb 81 = {+Base:vb core 81}

4.1.1.1.2. Citation independent verb paradigm

Transitive

vb 11 = manuame-kue-ta-i-tia 'cause-to-die -almost -he
 -dur -immediate-past' (he almost killed it),

e-dia-ba-ti-ta-ni-yu 'incom -eat -try -went-to
 -he -sit -indef' (he goes to try to eat it).
 ča-duse-siu 'frust -carry-toward -direction-
 toward' (comes bringing in vain).
 kuarara-hihi 'fry -perf' (is fried).
 iče-be-ha 'hit -motion-away-from -want' (want
 to go hitting).

vb 12 = pa-dia-ta-ni-yu 'that-may -eat -he -sit -indef'
 (that he may eat).

vb 13 = me-dusu-ba-kie 'pl -carry-away -try -impv'
 (try to carry it away).

iča-ti-hi 'put -go-to-not' (don't go to put it).

vb 14 = me-dia-ha 'pl -eat -want' (let's eat).

vb 15 = čaku-?eni-ti 'search-for -well -go-to' (go and
 search well).

Intransitive

vb 21 = e-mudumudu-ba-ta-sa 'incom -work -try -they
 -lie' (they are trying to work).

hududu-be-ta-yu-hihi 'run -motion-away-from
 -they -indef -perfect' (they went running).

duinini-kue-i-tiba 'get-angry -almost -dur
 -past' (almost got angry).

habuecuati-ha 'is-learning -desid' (wants to
 learn).

vb 22 = pa-kuinana-yu 'that-may -leave -indef' (that
 . . . may leave).

vb 23 = mé-pa-yu-hi 'pl -cry -indef -not' (don't cry).

vb 24 = me-badu-ha 'pl -make-thread -want' (let's
 make thread).

vb 25 = bauna-kue 'grow-tall -almost' (almost grow
 tall).

Stative

vb 31a = y-ani-ani 'incom -sit -sit' (is sitting).
 bade-?eni-ta-i-tia 'hang -well -they -dur
 -immediate- past' (they were always hanging).

vb 31b = ani-tia 'sit -past' (there was).

vb 32 = pa-ni-yu 'that-may -sit -indef' (that . . . may
 sit).

- vb 33 = ani-?eni-kie 'sit -well -impv' (stay seated).
 me-ani-hi 'pl -sit -not' (don't stay seated).
 vb 34 = me-bade-ha 'pl -hang -want' (let's swing in a
 hammock).
 vb 35 = ani-?eni 'sit -well' (stay well).

Impersonal

- vb 41 = e-wena-ni-yu 'incom -dawn -sit -indef' (it's
 dawning).
 apuna-?eni-na 'darken -well -remote-past' (it
 darkened well).
 had?iati-ha 'sunshine -want' (it wants to sun-
 shine).
 ča-wena 'in-vain -dawn' (dawning in vain).
 vb 42 = pa-wena-ni-yu 'that-may -dawn -sit -indef'
 (that . . . may dawn).
 vb 45 = cahapasasa 'clear-and-brighten' (clear and
 brighten).

Transitive auxiliary

- vb 51a y-a-?eni-ta-ni 'incom -says -well -he -sit'
 (he is saying for always).
 a-i-tia 'says -dur -immediate-past' (said).
 vb 53a = me-a-kie 'pl -say -impv' (say).
 vb 54a = me-a-ha 'pl -say -want' (let's say).
 vb 55a = a-ba 'say -try' (try to say).

Intransitive auxiliary

- vb 51b = e-pu-ani 'incom -says -sit' (says).
 pu-ba-ta-i-tia 'say -try -they -dur -immediate-
 past' (they tried to say).
 vb 52b = pa-pu-ta-ni 'that-may -do -they -sit' (that
 they may do).
 vb 53b = me-pu-hi 'pl -say -not' (don't say).
 vb 54b = me-pu-ha 'pl -says -want' (let's say).
 vb 55b = pu-?eni 'says -well' (say for always).

Negative abilitative auxiliary

- vb 51c = e-ba-i-nia 'incom -do -dur -present' (is
 doing).

Appellative

vb 81 = banime 'is-named' (is named).

4.1.1.1.2. The dependent verb

4.1.1.1.2.1. Tagmemic dependent verb paradigm

vb 111, 121, 131, 141, 151a, 151b

Obtain formulas of verbs 101 by multiplication of the formulas of corresponding verbs 01 as follows:

For the tagmemes $+/\pm/-\text{Incom}:1101/\text{Frust}:1102$ substitute $+\text{Incom}:1101/\text{Frust}:1102/\text{Opt}:1103$; delete the tagmemes $\pm\text{Person}$, $\pm\text{Dir}$, $\pm\text{State}$, $\pm\text{Dur}$, $\pm\text{Tense}$; in verb 121, for the tagmeme Base:vb stem 21-22/24-26 substitute Base:vb stem 21-22/26.

vb 112, 122, 132, 142, 152a, 152b

Obtain formulas of verbs 102 by multiplication of the formulas of corresponding verbs 01 as follows:

Delete the tagmeme $+/\pm/-\text{Incom}$; for the tagmeme $\pm\text{Tense}:1123-1128$ substitute $\pm\text{Tense}:1124-1128$; in verb 122, for the tagmeme Base:vb stem 21-22/24-26 substitute Base:vb stem 21-25.

vb 113, 123, 133, 143, 153a, 153b

Obtain formulas of verbs 103 by multiplication of the formulas of corresponding verbs 01 as follows:

For the tagmemes $+/\pm/-\text{Incom}:1101/\text{Frust}:1102$ substitute $+\text{Incom}:1101/\pm\text{Frust}:1102$; for the tagmeme $\pm\text{Tense}:1123-1128$ substitute $\pm\text{Tense}:1123$; in verb 123 for the tagmeme Base:vb stem 21-22/24-26 substitute Base:vb stem 21-22/24/26.

4.1.1.1.2.2. Citation dependent verb paradigm

Transitive

vb 111 = e-turu-?eni 'incom -strike -well' (strike well).

vb 112 = bana-na 'plant -motion-away-from' (go planting).

vb 113 = e-teri-nia 'incom -close -present-tense' (is closing).

Intransitive

- vb 121 = ča-puwe 'in-vain -come' (come in vain).
 vb 122 = puti-ta-i-tia 'go -they -dur -immediate-past'
 (the they went).
 vb 123 = y-asease-ni 'incom -walk -is' (is walking).

Stative

- vb 131 = y-ani 'incom -sit' (is sitting).
 vb 132 = sa-i-tia 'lie -dur -immediate-past' (was
 lying).
 vb 133 = e-neti-ani 'incom -stand -sit' (is standing).

Impersonal

- vb 141 = e-wena-ha 'incom -dawn -want' (want to
 dawn).
 vb 142 = had?iati 'sunshine'.
 vb 143 = y-apuna-kue-ni 'incom -darken -almost -sit'
 (is almost darkening).

Transitive auxiliary

- vb 151a = y-a 'incom -say' (will say to him).
 vb 152a = a-ta-i-tia 'say -he -dur -immediate-past'
 (he said to him).
 vb 153a = y-a-i-nia 'incom -say -dur -present-tense'
 (am saying to him).

Intransitive auxiliary

- vb 151b = e-pu 'incom -say' (will say).
 vb 152b = pu-ta-i-tia 'say -they -dur -immediate-past'
 (the they said).
 vb 153b = e-pu-ani 'incom -say -sit' (is saying).

4.1.1.1.3. The participial verb4.1.1.1.3.1. Tagmemic participial verb paradigm

Transitive participial

- vb 211 = {+Incom:1101 +Base:vb core 10}

Intransitive participial

- vb 221 = {+Incom:1101 +Base:vb core 20}

4.1.1.3.2. Citation participial verb paradigm

Transitive participial

vb 211 = e-kuarara 'incom -fry' (fried).

Intransitive participial

vb 221 = e-manu 'incom -die' (dead).

4.1.2. The verb stem

4.1.2.1. Tagmemic verb stem paradigm

Transitive 10

vb stem 11 = {+Base:vb core 11-15}

vb stem 12 = {+Base:vb core 11-15/vb r 30/vb r 10
 (-wa-)/part 17/postpos 1 Res/n Res +Cpd
 1:vb core 11-15/vb core 21-24/vb r 30/n
 Res/redup 2 ±Cpd 2:vb core 11-15/vb core
 21-24/vb r 30 Res/redup 2/n Res ±Cpt 3:
 redup 2/n AS}

The formula of vb stem 12 includes two semantic types: (1) endocentric compounds which are productive; i. e. restricted only by semantic compatibility; and (2) exocentric compounds which are restricted to arbitrarily selected combinations.

vb stem 13 = {+Base:part 17}

Intransitive 20

vb stem 21 = {+Base:vb core 21-24}

vb stem 22 = {+Base:vb core 21-24/vb r 30/vb core
 11-15/n Res +Cpd 1:vb core 21-24/vb core
 11-15/redup 2/onom AS ±Cpd 2:n AS}

vb stem 23 = {+Base:vb r 20 (kisa)/n (ese) +Cpd:red-
 up 2AS/vb r 50a AS}

vb stem 24 = {+Interest:1201 +Base:vb stem 21-22
 Res/lim 1 Res/n r Res +Refl:1202}

vb stem 25 = {+Interest:1201 +Base:vb stem 21-22
 Res/lim 1 Res/n r Res}

vb stem 26 = {+Base:vb stem 21-22 Res/lim 1 Res/n r
 Res +Refl:1202}

Stative 30

vb stem 31 = {+Base:vb r 30 ±Cpd:vb r 30 ±Refl:
1202}

Impersonal 40

vb stem 41 = {+Interest:1201 +Base:vb core 41
+Refl:1202}

vb stem 42 = {+Interest:1201 +Base:vb core 41}

vb stem 43 = {+Base:vb core 41 +Refl:1202}

vb stem 44 = {+Base:n (caha) +Cpd 1:adj (pasa)
+Cpd 2:vb r 30 (sa)}

4.1.2.2. Citation verb stem paradigm

Transitive 10

vb stem 11 = dia 'eat'.

vb stem 12 = iča-nubi-a 'put -enter -do' (put inside).
iče-wana 'hit -lie-stretched-out' (kill by hit-
ting).

bue-cua-cine 'know -upward-action -day'
(teach all day).

aiki-aiki-siki-siki 'behead -behead -cut-up -cut-
up' (behead and cut up).

čuhe-tia 'price -give' (pay).

teri-iča-haitiana 'close -put -pass' (cover up
and pass by).

vb stem 13 = bué 'know'.

Intransitive 20

vb stem 21 = manu 'die'.

vb stem 22 = kuaca-wawa 'mouth -onom' (yawn).
nime-taitana 'like -get-lost' (become dismay-
ed).

sa-ute 'lie -lower' (bend down).

vb stem 23 = kisa-kisa 'talk -talk' (converse).

vb stem 24 = ha-pia-ti 'interest -change -refl'
(change into something else).

vb stem 25 = ha-jemi 'interest -take' (get married).

vb stem 26 = judi-ti 'burn -refl' (burn).

Stative 30

vb stem 31 = ani-sa 'sit -lie' (stay).

Impersonal 40

vb stem 41 = ha-id?ia-ti 'interest -sunshine -refl'
(sunshine).

vb stem 42 = ha-puna 'interest -darker' (darker).

vb stem 43 = id?ia-ti 'sunshine -refl' (sunshine).

vb stem 44 = caha-pasa-sa 'tree-trunk -white -lie'
(become clear and brighten).

4.1.3. The verb core

4.1.3.1. Tagmemic verb core paradigm

Transitive

vb core 11 = {+Base:vb r 10 Res +Cpd:redup 1
+Core fv:1305 ±Asp:1301-1304}

vb core 12 = {+Base:vb r 10 Res +Cpd:redup 1/
redup 2 ±Asp:1301-1304}

vb core 13 = {+Base:vb r 10 (-du-) +Dir:vb r 10
(-su-/se-) ±Asp:1301-1304}

vb core 14 = {+Base:n Res/vb r 10 Res +Cpd:vb
r 10 AS ±Asp:1301-1304}

vb core 15 = {+Base:n Res +Core fv:1306 ±Asp:
1301-1304}

Intransitive

vb core 21 = {+Base:vb r 20 Res ±Cpd:redup 1
AS +Core fv:1305 ±Asp:1301-1304}

vb core 22 = {+Base:vb r 20 Res +Cpd:redup 1-
2 ±Asp:1301-1304}

vb core 23 = {+Base:vb r 20 Res +Cpd:vb r 20
AS +Core fv:1305 ±Asp:1301-1304}

vb core 24 = {+Base:n Res/vb r 20 Res +Cpd:vb
r 20 AS ±Asp:1301-1304}

Impersonal

vb core 41 = {+Base:vb r 40 Res +Core:fv:1305
±Asp:1301-1304}

Appellative

vb core 81 = {+Base:vb r 80 +Asp:1304}

4.1.3.2. Citation verb core paradigm

Transitive

vb core 11 = kui-kui-na-pe 'bother -bother -core-fv
-finish' (finish bothering).

vb core 12 = wera-ra-me 'pierce -pierce -cause'
(cause to pierce).

pu-pu-piru 'wash -wash -begin' (begin to
wash).

vb core 13 = du-se-rihi 'carry -to -stop' (stop
bringing).

vb core 14 = ni-ci 'word -quiet' (quiet down).

vb core 15 = bita-da-ne 'sweet -asv -core-fv'
(sweeten).

Intransitive

vb core 21 = bau-na 'tall -core-fv' (grow).

ce-ce-na 'ferment -ferment -core-fv' (fer-
ment).

vb core 22 = hudu-du 'run -run' (run).
mi-mi 'word -word' (speak).

vb core 23 = ušuri-ta-na 'thin -do -core-fv' (become
thin).

vb core 24 = hana-wa 'food -stretch-out' (rest).

Impersonal

vb core 41 = apu-na 'darken -core-fv' (darken).

Appellative

vb core 81 = bani-me 'name -cause' (is named).

4.1.4. Citation verb root paradigm

vb r 10 = cu 'greet'; ca 'want'; pa 'bury'.

vb r 20 = mi 'speak'; raka 'snore'; wi 'whistle'.

vb r 30 = ani 'sit'; sa 'lie'; bade 'hang'; neti
'stand'.

vb r 40 = apu 'be-dark'; we 'be-light'; d?ia 'be-
sunshine'.

vb r 50a = a 'do'.

vb r 50b = pu 'do'.

vb r 50c = ba 'do'.

vb r 80 = bani 'name'.

4.1.5. The verb affix

- 1100 The inflectional verb affix
 - 1101 e- Incomplete
 - 1102 ča- Frustrative
 - 1103 pa- Optative
 - 1104 -?eni 'well'.
 - 1105 -kue 'almost'.
 - 1106 -ba 'try'.
 - 1107 -da?a 'just-barely'.
 - 1108 -be Motion toward
 - 1109 -na Motion away
 - 1110 -ti 'elsewhere'.
 - 1111 -we 'here'.
 - 1112 -ta Person
 - 1113 -siu Direction toward
 - 1114 -?u Direction away
 - 1115 -ha Desiderative
 - 1116 -ni State of sitting
 - 1117 -neti State of standing
 - 1118 -sa State of lying
 - 1119 -bade State of hanging
 - 1120 -yu Indefinite
 - 1121 -hihi Perfect
 - 1122 -i Durative
 - 1123 -nia Present transitive
 - 1124 -tia Immediate past
 - 1125 -tiba Past
 - 1126 -ba Past
 - 1127 -na Remote past
 - 1128 -da Very remote past
 - 1129 me- Imperative plural
 - 1130 -kie Imperative
 - 1131 -hi Imperative negative
- Mutual order of degree and motion tagmemes is free.
- 1200 The verb stem affix

- 1201 ha- Interest of subject
 1202 -ti Reflexive
 1300 The verb core affix
 1301 -piru 'begin'.
 1302 -rihi 'stop'.
 1303 -pe 'finish'.
 1304 -me 'cause'.
 1305 -na Core formative
 1306 -ne Core formative
 Reduplication (see 5.4)

4. 2. The noun

4. 2. 1. The inflected noun

4. 2. 1. 1. Tagmemic noun paradigm

- n 1 = {+Pers:2001 +Base;vb r tr (a) +Gd:2002}
 n 2 = {+Pers:2001 +Base;vb r tr (wa) +Gd:2003}
 n 3 = {+Pers:2001 +Base:n 7 (bakua)/n r 1 (due)}
 n 4 = {+Pers:2001 +Base:n r 1 (ba) +Cpd 1:n r 1
 (kie) +Cpd 2:n 29 (epuna)}
 n 5 = {+Base:n r 1 Res/n 11 (tata) +Cpd:n r 1 AS
 /n r 2AS}
 n 6 = {+Base:n r 1 (u) +Cpd 1:N r 1 (ce)/2003
 +Cpd 2:n r 1 (kua)}
 n 7 = {+Base:n 8 (huhu)/n r 1 (nu) /n 5 Res
 +Cpd:part 10 +Gd:2003}
 n 8 = {+Base:n 5 Res +Cpd:part 10 +Gd:2002}
 n 9 = {+Base:n 5 (kuara) +Cpd:part 4 (ce)}
 n 10 = {+Base:n r 1 (bui)}
 n 11 = {+Base:n r 1 Res +Cpd:redup 1}
 n 12 = {+Base:n r 2 Res}
 n 13 = {+Base:n r 2 Res +Cpd:redup 2}
 n 14 = {+Base:n r 2 Res +Cpd 1:n r 2 AS +Cpd
 2:n r 2 AS}
 n 15 = {+Base:n r 2 (matakiu)/vb r intr (manu)
 +Cpd:redup 1}
 n 16 = {+Base:n 3 (ebakua)/n r 2 Res +Cpd:n r
 2 AS/adj r Res AS}

- n 17 = {+Base:adv r Res +Cpd 1:postpos r 1 (ma)
 +Cpd 2:postpos 11 (he) +Cpd 3:n r 3
 (me)}
- n 18 = {+Pers:2001 ±Cpd:n r 2 (i) +Base:n r 2
 (nid?u)}
- n 19 = {+Cpd 1:2001/n r 2 Res/vb r intr (tabi)
 /vb r st (ani) +Base:n r 2 (hu) +Cpd 2:n
 r 2 (de)}
- n 20 = {+Pers:2001 +Base:vb r tr (hu)/n r 2 (he)
 +Cpd 1:n r 2 AS +Cpd 2:n r 2 AS}
- n 21 = {+Base:postpos 1 (ema) +Cpd 1:n r 2 (da)
 +Cpd 2:n 25 (ecua)}
- n 22 = {+Pers:2001 +Base:n r 2 Res +Cpd:redup 2/
 n r 2 AS}
- n 23 = {+Pers:2001 +Base:n r 1 (pu) +Cpd 1:n r 1
 (na) ±Cpd 2:n r 2 (he)}
- n 24 = {+Pers:2001 +Base:n r 2 (bu) +Cpd:part r
 (ce)}
- n 25 = {+Pers:2001 +Base:vb r tr (id?i)/n r 2 Res}
- n 26 = {+Pers:2001 +Base:vb r tr Res/vb r intr Res/
 vb stem tr Res/vb r st Res +N fv:2004}
- n 27 = {+Base:vb stem intr (aniu) +Cpd:n r 2 (de)}
- n 28 = {+Base:n r 2 (we)/vb r tr (dare) +Cpd:part
 4}
- n 29 = {+Base:vb r tr (dara) +Cpd:redup 2 +N fv:
 2004}
- n 30 = {+Pers:2001 +Base:n r 2 (bu) +Cpd 1:n r 2
 (wa) +Cpd 2:redup 1}
- n 31 = {+Pers:2001 +Base:n r 2 (di) +Cpd:vb r tr
 (a) +Gd:2002}

4. 2. 1. 2. Citation noun paradigm

n 1 = y-a-be 'person -do -male' (husband).

n 2 = e-wa-ne 'person -put -female' (wife).

n 3 = e-bakua 'person -nephew' (son).

n 4 = e-bakie-puna 'person -offspring -woman'
 (daughter).

n 5 = kua-ra 'mother -relation' (mother).

n 6 = u-ne-kua 'brother -female -mother' (niece).

- n 7 = nu-sa-ne 'brother -poss -female' (sister-in-law).
 n 8 = nene-sa-be 'aunt -poss -male' (uncle).
 n 9 = kua-ra-ce 'mother -relation -dual' (parents).
 n 10 = bui 'nephew, niece'.
 n 11 = hu-hu 'uncle -uncle' (uncle).
 n 12 = wabu 'wild-pig'
 n 13 = mi-mi 'word -word' (word).
 n 14 = bu-pe-pada 'face -side -blind' (one-eyed).
 n 15 = manu-nu 'dead -dead' (tree, sp).
 n 16 = ebakua-pača 'son -flat' (sky).
 n 17 = u-ma-he-me 'here -down -by -bank' (this bank).
 n 18 = e-nid?u 'person -spirit' (man's spirit).
 n 19 = e-hu-de 'person -place -for' (town).
 n 20 = e-hu-bu-mei 'person -cover -face -flesh' (cheek).
 n 21 = e-ma-da-čua 'person -down -leg -head' (knee).
 n 22 = e-ha-ha 'person -seed -seed' (seed).
 n 23 = e-pu-ne-he 'person -woman -woman -youth' (young girl).
 n 24 = e-bu-ce 'person -face -dual' (pair).
 n 25 = e-id?i 'person -drink' (drink).
 n 26 = e-sa-hi 'person -be--for' (nest).
 n 27 = aniu-de 'sit -for' (seat).
 n 28 = we-da 'light -asv' (light).
 n 29 = dara-dara-hi 'dart -dart -for' (dart).
 n 30 = e-bu-wa-wa 'person -face -head -head' (fore-head).
 n 31 = e-di-a-be 'person -young -do -male' (young man).

4. 2. 2. The noun root

- n r 1 = kua 'mother'; u 'brother'; d?a 'younger'.
 n r 2 = bu 'face'; hude 'place'; we 'light'.

4. 2. 3. The noun affix

2001 e- Person oriented

- 2002 -be Male gender
 2003 -ne Female gender
 2004 -hi Noun formative

4.3. The pronoun

4.3.1. Emic pronoun classes

Person	Singular			Dual	Plural
1	poss	tr	intr	ece	ekuana
	kiema	yama	ema	eceu	ekuanau
2	mikie	miada	mi	mece	mikuana
			mida	meceda	mikuanedna
3	mesa		tu	tuace	tuna
	tusa	tuaweda	tuweda	tuaceda	tunedna

Chart V. Emic pronoun classes

4.3.2. Tagmemic pronoun paradigm

- pro 1 = {+Pers:2001 +Base:pro r 1 (ma)}
- pro 2 = {+Pers:2001 +Cpd:vb r tr (a) +Base:
 pro r 1 (ma)}
- pro 3 = {+Base:pro r 1 (mi) +Cpd:part 4}
- pro 4 = {+Base:pro r 1 (mi- +Cpd 1:vb r tr (a)
 +Cpd 2:part 4)}
- pro 5 = {+Base:pro r 1 (tu) +Cpd 1:pro r 1 (we)
 +Cpd 2:part 4}
- pro 6 = {+Base:pro r 1 (tu) +Cpd 1:vb r tr (a)
 +Cpd 2:pro r 1 (we) +Cpd 3:part 4}
- pro 7 = {+Base:pro r 1 (tu) +Cpd 1:part r (na)
 +Cpd 2:part 4}
- pro 8 = {+Base:pro r 1 (tu) +Cpd 1:vb r tr (a)
 +Cpd 2:part r (ce) +Cpd 3:part 4}
- pro 9 = {+Base:pro r 1 (mi)/2001 +Cpd 1:part
 7/part r (ce) +Cpd 2:part 4}

- pro 10 = {+Base:part 7/part r (ce)}
- pro 11 = {+Base:pro r 1 (tu) +Cpd:part r (na)}
- pro 12 = {+Base:pro r 1 (tu) +Cpd:1:vb r tr (a)
+Cpd 2:part r (ce)}
- pro 13 = {+Base:pro r 1 (mi) +Cpd:part 7/part r
(ce)}
- pro 14 = {+Pers:2001 +Base:part 7/part r (ce)}
- pro 15 = {+Pers:2001 +Base:part 7/part r (ce)
+Cpd:pro r 1 (u)}
- pro 16 = {+Base:pro r 1 (tu) +Cpd:part 10}
- pro 17 = {+Base:pro r 2 (kie) +Cpd:pro 1}
- pro 18 = {+Base:pro r 1 (mi) +Cpd:pro r 2 (kie)}
- pro 19 = {+Base:pro r 3 (ye)}
- pro 20 = {+Base:pro r 3 (hi) +Cpd:adv r Res}
- pro 21 = {+Base:pro r 1 (mi)}
- pro 22 = {+Base:pro r 1 Res}
- pro 23 = {+Base:pro r 1 (me) +Cpd:part 10}

4.3.3. Citation pronoun paradigm

- pro 1 = e-me 'pers -I' (I, me).
- pro 2 = y-a-ma 'pers -do -I' (I).
- pro 3 = mi-da 'you -asv' (you).
- pro 4 = mi-a-da 'you -do -asv' (you).
- pro 5 = tu-we-da 'he -he -asv' (he, him).
- pro 6 = tu-a-we-da 'he -do -he -asv' (he).
- pro 7 = tu-ne-da 'he -pl -asv' (they all).
- pro 8 = tu-a-ce-da 'he -do -dual -asv' (they two).
- pro 9 = mi-kuane-da 'you -pl -asv' (you all).
- pro 10 = ce 'dual' (they two).
- pro 11 = tu-na 'he -pl' (they all).
- pro 12 = tu-a-ce 'he -do -dual' (they two).
- pro 13 = mi-kuana 'you -pl' (you all).
- pro 14 = e-kuana 'pers -pl' (we all).
- pro 15 = e-ce-u 'pers -dual -we' (we two).
- pro 16 = tu-sa 'he -poss' (his).
- pro 17 = kie-ma 'poss -I' (my).
- pro 18 = mi-kie 'you -poss' (your).
- pro 19 = ye 'this'.
- pro 20 = hi-ču 'that -there' (that).

- pro 21 = mi 'you'.
 pro 22 = tu 'he'.
 pro 23 = me-sa 'he -poss' (his).

4.3.4. The pronoun root

- pro r 1 = ma 'I'; mi 'you'; tu 'he'.
 pro r 2 = kie Genitive
 pro r 3 = ye 'this'; hi 'that'.

4.4. The adjective

4.4.1. Tagmemic adjective paradigm

- adj 1 = {+Base:adj r Res +Cpd 1:redup 1 +Cpd 2:adj r (ta)}
- adj 2 = {+Base:vb r tr/intr Res/adj r Res/n r 2 Res +Cpd:part 4}
- adj 3 = {+Base:adj r Res/vb r tr Res +Cpd:redup 2}
- adj 4 = {+Base:adj r Res +Cpd:adj r AS}
- adj 5 = {+Base:adj r (tua) +Cpd 1:n r 2 (we) +Cpd 2: part 4}
- adj 6 = {+Cpd 1:adj r (u) +Base:adj r Res +Cpd 2: part 11}
- adj 7 = {+Base:vb r intr (huru)}
- adj 8 = {+Base:n r 2 Res +Adj fv:3001}

4.4.2. Citation adjective paradigm

- adj 1 = pasa-sa-ta 'white -white -partial' (whitish).
 adj 2 = sai-da 'good -asv' (good).
 adj 3 = kuapi-kuapi 'soft -soft' (soft).
 adj 4 = tid ?i-na 'yellow -color' (yellow).
 adj 5 = tua-we-da 'bright -light -asv' (brilliant).
 adj 6 = u-bau-ɔidi 'this-side-of -tall -dim' (short).
 adj 7 = huru 'hoary'.
 adj 8 = neda-ji 'fever -with' (sick).

4.4.3. The adjective root

- adj r = sina 'hot'; bau 'tall'; apu 'dark'.

4. 4. 4. The adjective affix

3001 -hi Adjective formative

4. 5. The adverb

4. 5. 1. Tagmemic adverb paradigm

- adv 1 = {+Base:n 20 (mimi) +Cpd:adj 2 (saida)}
- adv 2 = {+Base:adv r (tipei) +Cpd:part 4}
- adv 3 = {+Base:adv Res}
- adv 4 = {+Base:adv 3 +Cpd:adv r (he)/lim 1 (pia)/postpos 4-5}
- adv 5 = {+Cpd 1:vb tr (a) +Base:adv r (tada) +Cpd 2:part 4}
- adv 6 = {+Base:n r 2 (yana)/postpos 1 (ema)/postpos r 1 (bia) +Cpd:adv r AS}
- adv 7 = {+Base:adv r (kue) +Cpd:part 11}

4. 5. 2. Citation adverb paradigm

- adv 1 = mimi-saida 'word -good' (slowly).
- adv 2 = piri-da 'fast -asv' (fast).
- adv 3 = ču 'there' (there).
- adv 4 = da-ha 'asv -so' (like-so).
- adv 5 = a-tada-da 'do -hard -asv' (costly).
- adv 6 = y-ana-kana 'pers -vain -vain' (in vain).
- adv 7 = kue-čidi 'almost -dim' (almost).

4. 5. 3. The adverb root

adv r = tipei 'fast'; tada 'difficult'; ču 'there'.

4. 6. The question word

4. 6. 1. Tagmemic question word paradigm

- q 1 = {+Base:n 19 (ai)}
- q 2 = {+Base:q 1 +Pers:2001 +Cpd:vb r tr (a)}
- q 3 = {+Base:q 1 +Cpd:q r (de)}
- q 4 = {+Base:q r (kie) +Cpd:vb r intr (kunu)/postpos 12 (henetia)/postpos 11 (he)/lim Res}

- q 5 = {+Base:q r (kie) +Cpd:q r (bata)}
 q 6 = {+Cpd:q r (hu) +Base:q r (kie)}
 q 7 = {+Base:part 2 +Cpd:postpos 5}
 q 8 = {+Base:q 9 +Cpd:q r (wa)}
 q 9 = {+Base:q r (a)}

4.6.2. Citation question paradigm

- q 1 = ai 'what-thing' (what).
 q 2 = ai-y-a 'what -pers -to-do' (who).
 q 3 = ai-de 'what -who' (who).
 q 4 = kie-pia 'q -other' (where).
 q 5 = kie-bata 'q -which' (which).
 q 6 = hu-kie 'place -q' (where).
 q 7 = kua-su 'how -at' (why).
 q 8 = a-wa 'ig-corr -q' Interrogative corroborative
 q 9 = a 'ig-corr' Interrogative corroborative

4.6.3. The question root

- q r = ai 'thing'; a 'ig-corr'; cua 'how'.

4.7. The limiter

4.7.1. Tagmemic limiter paradigm

- lim 1 = {+Base:lim r 1 Res}
 lim 2 = {+Base:lim 1 (pia) +Cpd:part 4}
 lim 3 = {+Base:lim r 2 Res}
 lim 4 = {+Base:lim r 3}
 lim 5 = {+Base:lim r 1 (tunka)}
 lim 6 = {+Base:lim r 2 Res}
 lim 7 = {+Base:lim r 2 (biame)}

4.7.2. Citation limiter paradigm

- lim 1 = beta 'two'.
 lim 2 = pia-da 'other -asv' (one).
 lim 3 = babi 'also'.

lim 4 = **be** 'only'.
 lim 5 = **tunka** 'ten'.
 lim 6 = **tupu** 'enough'.
 lim 7 = **biame** 'even'.

4.7.3. The limiter root

lim r 1 = **pamapa** 'all'; **pusi** 'four'; **pia** 'other';
 tunka 'ten'.
 lim r 2 = **di** 'also'; **biame** 'even'; **tupu** 'enough';
 mewa 'alone'.
 lim r 3 = **be** 'only'.

4.8. The postpositive

4.8.1. Tagmemic postpositive paradigm

postpos 1 = {±Pers:2001 +Base:postpos r 1 Res}
 postpos 2 = {±Pers:2001 +Base:postpos r 1 Res
 +Cpd:postpos r 1 AS}
 postpos 3 = {±Pers:2001 +Base:n r 2 (bu) +Cpd:post-
 pos r 1 (ce)}
 postpos 4 = {+Base:postpos r 2 Res +Cpd:postpos r 2
 AS}
 postpos 5 = {+Base:postpos r 2 (su)}
 postpos 6 = {+Base:postpos r 3 (pe) +Cpd 1:postpos
 11 (he) +Cpd 2:postpos 5}
 postpos 7 = {+Base:aux vb r 50b +Cpd:3001}
 postpos 8 = {+Base:postpos r 2 (te) +Cpd:postpos 11
 (he)}
 postpos 9 = {+Base:postpos r 2 (nime)}
 postpos 10 = {+Base:postpos r 2 (ne) ±Cpd:postpos 11
 (he)}
 postpos 11 = {+Base:postpos r 2 (he)}
 postpos 12 = {+Base:postpos r 2 (henetia)}

4.8.2. Citation postpositive paradigm

postpos 1 = **e-ma** 'pers -down' (under).
 postpos 2 = **e-ti-pe** 'pers -behind -side' (behind).
 postpos 3 = **e-bu-ce** 'pers -face -front' (in front of).

- postpos 4 = be-ne 'side -with' (next to).
 postpos 5 = su 'at'.
 postpos 6 = pe-he-su 'personality -by -at' (to).
 postpos 7 = pu-hi 'do -for' (in order to).
 postpos 8 = te-he 'up-to -by' (until, up to).
 postpos 9 = nime 'like'.
 postpos 10 = ne-he 'with -by' (with).
 postpos 11 = he 'by-way-of'.
 postpos 12 = henetia 'from'.

4. 8. 3. The postpositive root

- postpos r 1 = ma 'down'; ti 'behind'; ba 'up'.
 postpos r 2 = su 'at'; he 'by-way-of'; ne 'with'.
 postpos r 3 = pe 'personality'.

4. 1. The particle

4. 9. 1. The particle inventory

- part 1 = ce Abilitative
 part 2 = kua Abilitative
 part 3 = mu Focus
 part 4 = da Assertive
 part 5 = pa Reportative
 part 6 = ni Question marker
 part 7 = kuana Plural
 part 8 = dece Dual
 part 9 = ha Actor
 part 10 = sa Genitive
 part 11 = čidi Diminutive
 part 12 = be Negative
 part 13 = aimabe Negative
 part 14 = mabe Negative
 part 15 = beHu Hesitation
 part 16 = hia Dubitative
 part 17 = babe Comprehension
 part 18 = mane Past progressive
 part 19 = tahi Obligatory
 part 20 = pepe Probability

- part 21 = pucu Sequence
 part 22 = pad[?]i, kita Degree
 part 23 = su Conditional
 part 24 = hadé Agreement

4. 9. 2. Tagmemic particle paradigm

- part a = {+Base:part r Res}
 part b = {+Base:part r Res/n 16 +Cpd:part r AS}
 part a includes particles 1-6/9-12/14-20/22-23.
 part b includes particles 7-8/13/21.

4. 9. 3. The particle root citation

- part r = ce Abilitative; mu Focus; ha Actor; be Negative; na Plural.

4. 10. The onomatopoetic word

4. 10. 1. The onomatopoetic word citation

- onom = rail. Sound of an arrow flying
 buU Sound of striking an object

5. The morphophonemics

5. 1. Phonologically determined variation

- Ani 'is' and -Ana 'was' = -ni and -na respectively following -e and -a ~ -ani and -ana elsewhere: ediadiani 'eating'; diadiana 'ate'.
 E = y- word initial and preceding a vowel ~ e- elsewhere: yama 'I'.

5. 2. Free variation

- mABe part 14 Negative = mabe ~ mue.
 bABe part 17 'know' = babe ~ bue.
 mEWA adj 7 'alone' = mewa ~ mea.
 baBi lim 3 'only' = babi ~ bai.
 H = -ø- ~ -h-: behu ~ beu.

5.3. Grammatically determined variation

Neti vb r st = -neti; Ani vb r st = -ani; Bade vb r st = -bade; Sa vb r st = -sa, unstressed when manifesting tagmeme State in the verb inflection ~ néti, áni, báde, sá, elsewhere. tuWE-, tunE- = tuwe-, tune- respectively in a compound ~ tu, tuna elsewhere: tuweda 'he'; tuneda 'they'.

Bute vb st tr = -ute in a compound ~ bute elsewhere; tiautekie 'hand it down'.

tunA pro 11 'they' = tune in tuneda pro 7 'they' and tune se da Pro 4 'theirs' ~ tuna elsewhere.

tumA sA pro 6 'their' = tune se in tune se da Pro 4 'theirs'.

mikuAnA pro 13 'you' = mikuane in mikuAneda pro 9 'you' and mikuane se da Pro 4 'yours' ~ mikuana elsewhere.

mikuAnA sA Pro 6 'your' = mikuane se in mikuane se da Pro 4 'yours' ~ mikuana sa elsewhere.

tusA pro 16 "his" = tuse in tuse da Pro 5 'his' ~ tusa elsewhere.

tuace sA Pro 6 'their' = tuace se in tuace se da Pro 4 'theirs' ~ tuače sa elsewhere.

etse sA Pro 6 'our' = ece se in ece se da Pro 4 'ours' ~ ece sa elsewhere.

ekuanA pro 14 'we' = ekuane in ekuAneda pro 9 'we' ~ ekuana elsewhere.

ekuanA sA Pro 6 'our' = ekuane se in ekuane se da Pro 4 'ours' ~ ekuana sa elsewhere.

metse sA Pro 6 'your' = mece se in mece se da Pro 4 'yours' ~ mece sa elsewhere.

miItse pro 13 'you' = mece in mece sa Pro 6 'your' and mece se da Pro 4 'yours' ~ mice elsewhere.

mi pro 22 'you' = me in mece pro 13 'you' mece sa Pro 6 'your' and mece se da Pro 4 'yours' ~ mi elsewhere.

5. 4. Lexically determined variation

peNE n r 2 = pe- preceding -pada ~ pene elsewhere.

5. 5. Reduplication

redup 1 = progressive reduplication of the final syllable.

redup 2 = complete progressive reduplication of the filler of the preceding slot.

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Eseejja

by Jack S. and Nola K. Shoemaker

Eseejja¹, Tacanan, 1,000 speakers, located on the Beni, Madre de Dios, Madidi, and Heath rivers of the Department of Beni, Bolivia.

1. The sentence
2. The clause
 - 2.1. The independent clause
 - 2.2. The included clause
3. The phrase
 - 3.1. The verb phrase
 - 3.1.4. The auxiliary verb phrase
 - 3.2. The adjective phrase
 - 3.3. The noun phrase
 - 3.4. The interrogative phrase
 - 3.5. The numeral phrase
 - 3.6. The particle phrase
4. The word
 - 4.1. The verb
 - 4.1.6. The auxiliary verb
 - 4.2. The adjective
 - 4.3. The noun
 - 4.4. The pronoun
 - 4.5. The numeral
 - 4.6. The demonstrative

¹The phonemes of Eseejja are: p, t, č, k, ?, b, d, kʷ, s, š, x, h, m, n, ñ, w, y, i, o, e, a.

- 4.7. The interrogative
- 4.8. The prepositive
- 4.9. The postpositive
- 4.10. The particle
- 4.11. The onomatopoetic word
5. The morphophonemics

1. The sentence

1.1. Tagmemic sentence paradigm

Sent 1 = {+Nuc:Cl 01-02/06-07 +Inton:Contour 1/3
+(Clar:N +Inton:Contour 1)}

Sent 2 = {+Nuc:Cl 02 +Inton:Contour 2}

Sent 3 = {+Nuc:Cl 03 +Inton:Contour 1-3}

Sent 4 = {+Nuc:Cl 04-05 +Inton:Contour 3}

1.2. Citation sentence paradigm

Sent 1 = meheyo šawi xakek^waki kahe ixia ma xe--
meheyo de 'Smooth-Hand tapir kill he-will eat
that because--Smooth-Hand indeed' (Indeed
Smooth-Hand will kill a tapir after eating).
kawi ma xe oya ka pokи awa 'sleep that because
he wants go may' (he wants to go after sleeping).

Sent 2 = a?a miya sowahе šanei kek^wa a 'will you
travel-up crocodile kill for' (Will you travel up-
river to kill crocodile?).

Sent 3 = ače ho be?o pokihе dok^we kek^wa a 'which in
Buzzard will-go deer kill for' (Where will
Buzzard go to kill deer?).

Sent 4 = a?a po xi 'do-not go not' (Do not go!).

1.3. The intonation

The intonation contours are described in terms of the relative pitches of the ultimate and penultimate syllable of the clause.

Contour 1 = Ascending pitch without glide

Contour 2 = Ascending pitch with rising glide

Contour 3 = Descending pitch

Contour 4 = Varies according to sound imitated

1.4. The sentence fragment

1.4.1. Tagmemic sentence fragment paradigm

Sent frag 1 = {+Nuc:Part 80/C1 100 +Inton:Contour 1-3}

Sent frag 2 = {+Nuc:onom +Inton:Contour 4}

1.4.2. Citation sentence fragment paradigm

Sent frag 1 = čo xa de 'no really indeed' (of course not).

eki iya ma xe 'house build that because' (after building a house).

Sent frag 2 = k^wek^wék^we Noise of toucan crying.

2. The clause

2.1. The independent clause

2.1.1. Emic independent clause classes

	Ditr	Tr	Intr	Quot		St	Eq
	10	20	30	40	50	60	70
Decl 01	11	21	31	41	51	61	71
Ig corr 02	12	22	32	42	52	62	72
Ig info 03	13	23	33	43	53	63	73
Impv aff 04	14	24	34	44	54	64	74
Impv neg 05	15	25	35	45	55	65	75
Perm 06	16	26	36	46	56	66	76
Hort 07	17	27	37	47	57	67	

Chart I. Emic independent clause classes

2.1.2. Tagmemic independent clause paradigm

Ditransitive

- Cl 11 = {+S 2 +IO +O +P 11-12}
 Cl 12 = {+Ig 02 +S 2 +IO +O +P 11-12}
 Cl 13 = {+Ig 03 +S 2 +IO +O +P 11-12}
 Cl 14 = {+IO +O +P 13}
 Cl 15 = {+Impv neg +IO +O +P 14}
 Cl 16 = {+S 2 +IO +O +P 15}
 Cl 17 = {+IO +O +P n 11a}

Transitive

- Cl 21 = {+S 2 +O +P 21-22}
 Cl 22 = {+Ig 02 +S 2 +O +P 21-22}
 Cl 23 = {+Ig 03 +S 2 +O +P 21-22}
 Cl 24 = {+O +P 23}
 Cl 25 = {+Impv neg +O +P 24}
 Cl 26 = {+S 2 +O +P 25}
 Cl 27 = {+O +P n 11b}

Intransitive

- Cl 31 = {+S 1 +P 31-32}
 Cl 32 = {+Ig 02 +S 1 +P 31-32}
 Cl 33 = {+Ig 03 +S 1 +P 31-32}
 Cl 34 = {+P 33}
 Cl 35 = {+Impv neg +P 34}
 Cl 36 = {+S 1 +P 35}
 Cl 37 = {+P N 44/46}

Quotative transitive

- Cl 41 = {+S 2 +O +P 41-42 +Cit}
 Cl 42 = {+Ig 02 +S 2 +O +P 41-42 +Cit}
 Cl 43 = {+Ig 03 +S 2 +O +P 44 +Cit}
 Cl 44 = {+O +P 43 +Cit}
 Cl 45 = {+Impv neg +O +P 44 +Cit}
 Cl 46 = {+S 2 +O +P 45 +Cit}
 Cl 47 = {+O +P n 11c +Cit}

Quotative intransitive

- Cl 51 = {+S 1 +P 51-52 +Cit}

- C1 52 = {+Ig 02 +S 1 +P 51-52 +Cit}
 C1 53 = {+Ig 03 +S 1 +P 51-52 +Cit}
 C1 54 = {+P 53 +Cit}
 C1 55 = {+Impv neg +P 54 +Cit}
 C1 56 = {+S 1 +P 55 +Cit}
 C1 57 = {+P N 45 +Cit}

Stative

- C1 61 = {+S 1 +P 61-62 +C}
 C1 62 = {+Ig 02 +S 1 +P 61-62 +C}
 C1 63 = {+Ig 03 +S 1 +P 61-62 +C}
 C1 64 = {+P 63 +C}
 C1 65 = {+Impv neg +P 64 +C}
 C1 66 = {+S 1 +P 65 +C}
 C1 67 = {+P n 31c +C}

Equative

- C1 71 = {+S 1 +P eq +Aux 71}
 C1 72 = {+Ig 02 +S 1 +P eq +Aux 72}
 C1 73 = {+Ig 03 +S 1 +P eq +Aux 73}
 C1 74 = {+P eq +Aux 74}
 C1 75 = {+Impv neg +P eq +Aux 75}
 C1 76 = {+S 1 +P eq +Aux 76}

2.1.3. Tagmatic independent clause paradigm

In the following formulas the order of the tagmemes is free, with the following exceptions: The Ev tagmeme occurs either clause-initial or clause final; the Q tagmeme is preceded only by the Voc.

In Cl 03 some other tagmeme occurs in portmanteau relationship with the Q tagmeme in clause-initial position.

The subject of the Permissive Cl 06 is limited to first person singular or third person. This is treated as semantic agreement with the verb affixes.

Ditransitive

- Cl 11 = [+Ev:part 80 +Voc:n 1/pro 22 +S:N 21 +IO:N

- 11/14-17/dem 4 +O:N 11/14-17 +Mod⁴:N 30/
Cl 100/Part 20 +P:Vb 11-12]
- Cl 12 = [+Voc:n 1/pro 22 +Ig:part 83 +S:N 21 +IO:N 11/
14-17/dem 4 +O:N 11/14-17 +Mod⁴:N 30/Cl
100/Part 20 +P:Vb 11-12]
- Cl 13 = [+Voc:n 1/pro 22 +Ig:Ig 2-10/ig 1 +S:N 21/Ig
2-4/ig 1 +IO:N 11/14-17/dem 4/Ig 3-5 +O:N
11/14-17/Ig 3-6 +Mod⁴:Ig 6-10/N 30/Cl 100/
Part 20 +P:Vb 11-12]
- Cl 14 = [+Ev:Part 80 +Voc:n 1/pro 22 +IO:N 11/14-17/
dem 4 +O:N 11/14-17 +Mod³:N 30/Cl 100/
Part 20 +P:Vb 13]
- Cl 15 = [+Voc:n 1/pro 22 +Impv neg:part 83 +IO:N 11/
14-17/dem 4 +O:N 11/14-17 +Mod³:N 30/Cl
100/Part 20 +P:Vb 14]
- Cl 16 = [+Ev:Part 80 +Voc:n 1/pro 22 +S:N 21 +IO:N
11/14-17/dem 4 +O:N 11/14-17 +Mod⁴:N 30/
Cl 100/Part 20 +P:Vb 15]
- Cl 17 = [+Ev:Part 80 +Voc:n 1/pro 22 +IO:N 11/14-17/
dem 4 +O:N 11/14-17 +Mod⁴:N 30/Cl 100/Part
20 +P:n 11a]

Transitive

- Cl 21 = [+Ev:Part 80 +Voc:n 1/pro 22 +S:N 21 +O:N
11/14-17/dem 4 +Ap:N 11-16/Num 1-5 +Mod⁴:
N 30/Cl 100/Part 20 +P:Vb 21-22]
- Cl 22 = [+Voc:n 1/pro 22 +Ig:part 83 +S:N 21 +O:N 11/
14-17/dem 4 +Ap:N 11-16/Num 1-5 +Mod⁴:N
30/Cl 100/Part 20 +P:Vb 21-22]
- Cl 23 = [+Voc:n 1/pro 22 +Ig:Ig 2-10/ig 1 +S:N 21/
Ig 2-4/ig 1 +O:N 11/14-21/Ig 3-5 +Ap:N 11-
16/Num 1-5 +Mod⁴:N 30/Cl 100/Part 20/Ig 6-10
+P:Vb 21-22]
- Cl 24 = [+Ev:Part 80 +Voc:n 1/pro 22 +Impv neg:part
83 +O:N 11/14-17/dem 4 +Ap:N 11-16/Num
1-5 +Mod³:N 30/Cl 100/Part 20 +P:Vb 23]
- Cl 25 = [+Voc:n 1/pro 22 +Impv neg:part 83 +O:N 11/

- 14-17/dem 4 +Ap:N 11-16/Num 1-5 +Mod³:N
30/Cl 100/Part 20 +P:Vb 24]
- Cl 26 = [+Ev: Part 80 +Voc:n 1/pro 22 +S:N 21 +O:N
11/14-17/dem 4 +Ap:N 11-16/Num 1-5 +Mod⁴:
N 30/Cl 100/Part 20 +P:Vb 25]
- Cl 27 = [+Ev: Part 80 +Voc:n 1/pro 22 +O:N 11/14-17/
dem 4 +Ap:N 11-16/Num 1-5 +Mod⁴:N 30/Cl
100/Part 20 +P:n 11b]

Intransitive

- Cl 31 = +Ev: Part 80 +Voc:n 1/pro 22 +S:N 11-17/dem
4-5 +Ap:N 11-16/Num 1-5 +Mod⁴:N 30/Cl 100/
Part 20 +P:Vb 31-32]
- Cl 32 = +Voc:n 1/pro 22 +Ig:part 83 +S:N 11-17/dem 4-
5 +Ap:N 11-16/Num 1-5 +Mod⁴:N 30/Cl 100/
Part 20 +P:Vb 31-32]
- Cl 33 = +Voc:n 1/pro 22 +Ig:Ig 2-4/6-10/ig 1 +S:N 11-
17/dem 4-5/Ig 2-4/ig 1 +Ap:N 11-16/Num 1-5
+Mod⁴:Ig 6-10/N 30/Cl 100/Part 20 +P:Vb 31-
32]
- Cl 34 = [+Ev: Part 80 +Voc:n 1/pro 22 +Mod³:N 30/Cl
100/Part 20 +P:Vb 33]
- Cl 35 = +Voc:n 1/pro 22 +Impv neg:part 83 +Mod³:N 30/
Cl 100/Part 20 +P:Vb 34]
- Cl 36 = +Voc:n 1/pro 22 +S:N 11-17/dem 4-5 +Ap:N
11-16/Num 1-5 +Mod⁴:N 30/Cl 100/Part 20 +P:
Vb 35]
- Cl 37 = [+Ev: Part 80 +Voc:n 1/pro 22 +Mod⁴:N 30/Cl
100/Part 20 +P:N 44/46]

Quotative transitive

- Cl 41 = [+Ev: Part 80 +Voc:n 1/pro 22 +S:N 21 +O:N
11/14-17/dem 4 +Mod⁴:N 30/Cl 100/Part 20
+P:Vb 41-42 +Cit:Dis/n 4 (sowi)]
- Cl 42 = [+Voc:n 1/pro 22 +Ig:part 83 +S:N 21 +O:N
11/14-17/dem 4 +Mod⁴:N 30/Cl 100/Part 20
+P:Vb 41-42 +Cit:Dis/n 4 (sowi)]
- Cl 43 = [+Voc:n 1/pro 22 +Ig:Ig 2-10/ig 1 +S:N 21/Ig

2-4/ig 1 +O:N 11/14-17/Ig 3-5 +Mod⁴: Ig 6-10/
 N 30/Cl 100/Part 20 +P:Vb 41-42 +Cit:Dis/n
 4 (sowi)]

Cl 44 = [+Ev:Part 80 +Voc:n 1/pro 22 +O:N 11/14-17
 +Mod³: N 30/Cl 100/Part 20 +P:Vb 43 +Cit:Dis/
 n 4 (sowi)]

Cl 45 = [+Voc:n 1/pro 22 +Impv neg:part 83 +O:N 11/14-
 17 +Mod³: N 30/Cl 100/Part 20 +P:Vb 44 +Cit:
 Dis/n 4 (sowi)]

Cl 46 = [+Ev:Part 80 +Voc:n 1/pro 22 +S:N 21 +O:N
 11/14-17 +Mod⁴: N 30/Cl 100/Part 20 +P:Vb
 45 +Cit:Dis/n 4 (sowi)]

Cl 47 = [+Ev:Part 80 +Voc:n 1/pro 22 +Mod⁴: N 30/Cl
 100/Part 20 +O:N 11/14-17 +P:n 11c +Cit:
 Dis/n 4 (sowi)]

Quotative intransitive

Cl 51 = [+Ev:Part 80 +Voc:n 1/pro 22 +S:N 11-17/dem
 4-5 +Mod⁴: N 30/Cl 100/Part 20 +P:Vb 51-52
 +Cit:Dis/n 4 (sowi)]

Cl 52 = [+Voc:n 1/pro 22 +Ig:part 83 +S:N 11-17/dem
 4-5 +Mod⁴: N 30/Cl 100/Part 20 +P:Vb 51-52
 +Cit:Dis/n 4 (sowi)]

Cl 53 = [+Voc:n 1/pro 22 +Ig:Ig 2-4/6-10/ig 1 +S:N 11-
 17/dem 4-5/Ig 2-4/ig 1 +Mod⁴: Ig 6-10/N 30/Cl
 100/Part 20 +P:Vb 51-52 +Cit:Dis/n 4 (sowi)]

Cl 54 = [+Ev:Part 80 +Voc:n 1/pro 22 +Mod³: N 30/Cl
 100/Part 20 +P:Vb 53 +Cit:Dis/n 4 (sowi)]

Cl 55 = [+Voc:n 1/pro 22 +Impv neg:part 83 +Mod³: N 30/
 Cl 100/Part 20 +P:Vb 54 +Cit:Dis/n 4 (sowi)]

Cl 56 = [+Ev:Part 80 +Voc:n 1/pro 22 +S:N 11-17/dem
 4-5 +Mod⁴: N 30/Cl 100/Part 20 +P:Vb 55
 +Cit:Dis/n 4 (sowi)]

Cl 57 = [+Ev:Part 80 +Voc:n 1/pro 22 +Mod⁴: N 30/Cl
 100/Part 20 +P:N 45 +Cit:Dis/n 4 (sowi)]

Stative

Cl 61 = [+Ev:Part 80 +Voc:n 1/pro 22 +S:N 11-17/dem

- 4-5 +Ap:N 11-16 +Mod⁴:N 30/C1 100/Part 20
+P:Vb 61-62 +C:Adj 3]
- C1 62 = [+Voc:n 1/pro 22 +Ig:part 83 +S:N 11-17/dem
4-5 +Ap:N 11-16 +Mod⁴:N 30/C1 100/Part 20
+P:Vb 61-62 +C:Adj 3]
- C1 63 = [+Voc:n 1/pro 22 +Ig:Ig 2-4/6-10/ig 1 +S:N 11-17/dem 4-5/Ig 2-4/ig 1 +Ap:N 11-16 +Mod⁴:Ig 6-10/N 30/C1 100/Part 20 +P:Vb 61-62 +C:Adj 3]
- C1 64 = [+Ev:Part 80 +Voc:n 1/pro 22 +Mod³:N 30/C1 100/Part 20 +P:Vb 63 +C:Adj 3]
- C1 65 = [+Voc:n 1/pro 22 +Impv neg:part 83 +Mod³:N 30/C1 100/Part 20 +P:Vb 64 +C:Adj 3]
- C1 66 = [+Ev:Part 80 +Voc:n 1/pro 22 +S:N 11-17/dem 4-5 +Ap:N 11-16 +Mod⁴:N 30/C1 100/Part 20 +P:Vb 65 +C:Adj 3]
- C1 67 = [+Ev:Part 80 +Voc:n 1/pro 22 +Mod⁴:N 30/C1 100/Part 20 +P:n 31c +C:Adj 3]

Equative

In C1 70 there is a collocational restriction of one negative (whether included in phrases or not) per clause.

- C1 71 = [+Ev:Part 80 +Voc:n 1/pro 22 +S:N 11-17 +Ap:N 11-17 +Mod⁴:N 30/C1 100/Part 20 +P:N 11-17/34/47/Part 21-26/Adj 2-4/ +Aux:Aux 3/5/Part 71 +Neg:Part 71]
- C1 72 = [+Voc:n 1/pro 22 +Ig:part 83 +S:N 11-17 +Ap:N 11-17 +Mod⁴:N 30/C1 100/Part 20 +P:N 11-17/34/37/Part 21-26/Adj 2-4 +Aux:Aux 3/Part 71 +Neg:Part 71]
- C1 73 = [+Voc:n 1/pro 22 +Ig:Ig 1-10/ig 1 +S:N 11-17/Ig 2-4/ig 1 +Ap:N 11-17 +Mod⁴:N 30/C1 100/Part 20/Ig 6-10 +P:Ig 1-10/N 11-17/34/47/Part 21-26 +Aux:Aux 3]
- C1 74 = [+Ev:Part 80 +Voc:n 1/pro 22 +Mod³:N 30/C1 100/Part 20 +P:N 11/14/34/Adj 2-4 +Aux:Aux 6]

Cl 75 = [+Voc:n 1/pro 22 +Impv neg:part 83 +Mod⁴:N
 30/Cl 100/Part 20 +P:N 11/14/34/Adj 2-4
 +Aux:Aux 7]

Cl 76 = [+Ev:Part 80 +Voc:n 1/pro 22 +S:N 11-17
 +Mod⁴:N 30/Cl 100/Part 20 +P:N 11/14/34/
 Part 21-26/Adj 2-4 +Aux:Aux 8]

2.1.4. Citation independent clause paradigm

Ditransitive

Cl 11 = mewo?o ya--don wani--chewi xi--kia kanahe
 'Red-Hand foc--don Juan--scrape for--gave he -
 did' (Red Hand gave don Juan the knife).

biša wa--nona a--eya--akiana--kia kani 'near deg
 --Nola foc--me--thing--give she-is' (Nola is
 almost giving the thing to me).

mewo?o--ehewi xi--xezi kanahe--pašatewe ya
 'Red-Hand--scrape for--bring she-did--Black-
 Braids foc' (Black-Braids brought the knife to
 Red-Hand).

e?e--ki xe--enabai ka pa ka--somono ya--ekowi
 xi--kia kahe--hikio ho 'yes--under because--
 Moon-in-The-Water truly say truly--Romulo foc--
 shoot for--give he-will--this in' (yes, later
 Romulo will give the bow to Moon-In-The-Water
 here).

Cl 12 = a?a--ya wa ho--cuiima ya ka pa ka--wani--daki--
 kia ka yonahe--hikio ho 'did--foc deg in--No-
 Twig foc truly say truly--Juan--clothes--gave he
 permn--this in' (did No-Twig give the bow to
 John here before?).

biša wa--huno--nasishok^waya a--noe--kia kanahe
 'near deg--Julio--Born-On-An-Island foc--meat--
 give he-did' (Born-On-An-Island almost gave the
 meat to Julio).

Cl 13 = ače šono--eya--owa ya--emehe--kia kanahe--ňo--
 kek^wa a 'which time--me--he foc--arrow--give

he-did--pig--kill for' (when did he give the arrow to me to kill the wild pigs?).

ya xa ho--mo--owa ya--hikia xa--kia kanahe 'foc really in--me--he foc--this indeed--give he-did' (why did he give it to me like this?).

ăče wiso--pea dexa--be?o a--kia kanahe--bia k^wa 'which many--other man--Buzzard foc--give he-did--up place' (how many did Buzzard give the other man upriver?).

Cl 14 = bobí--ešoi--kia k^we poa 'food--boy--give do do' (give the boy food!).

exi powi--mo--kia k^we--hama tii 'manioc bread--me--give do--thus indeed' (just give me some manioc bread!).

e?e--hea--eya--biše--kia k^we--hikio ho--pea dexa ni xe 'yes--now--me--canoe--give do--this in--another man person because' (yes, give me and another man a canoe here and now).

Cl 15 = a?a--šoi--bia k^wa--yokise k^wana--išama--kia xi 'do-not--boy--up place--mat plural--Tacanas--give not' (do not give the mats to the Tacanas up-river, boy!).

a?a--meheyó--xeki xi--hea 'do-not--Smooth-Hand--bring not--now' (do not bring Smooth-Hand now!).

a?a--wisoxi hama--kia xi 'do-not--opossum like--give not' (do not give it like an opossum!).

Cl 16 = čonono--comesati--sadido--ka kia wa--ehewi xi--sose xe 'Chonono--trader--watermelon--may give may--scrape for--exchange because' (Chonono may give the trader the watermelons in exchange for the knife!).

hikio ho--ki xe--enabai--ecaai ya ka pa ka--anoso--ka kia wa--po xa?a--pea dexa ni xe 'this in--under because--Water-Moon--Tall-Cane foc truly say truly--rice--may give may--do really--other man person because' (Tall-Cane

may give the rice to Moon-In-The-Water and another man here a little later, perhaps!).

- C1 17 = e?e--sok^We k^Wana--ewi peha--exakiakiki--hea
'yes--tucan pl--bill light--let-us-go-give--now'
(yes, let us go and give the tucans lighter bills now).

Transitive

- C1 21 = e?e de--owa ya--šawi--kek^Wa kanahe 'yes indeed --he foc--tapir--kill he-did' (truly he killed tapir).

me ka wa xe--ba ka yonahe--sepone ya--ona jo neki--e?iflatanoxahea 'there truly deg because--saw she permn--Grass foc--kettle in stand--doubled' (in the morning Grass saw it doubled up in the kettle).

pašatewe--ak^Wimak^Wa a--heo xi--ta ka poa 'Black-Braids--worm foc--walk for--sting he did' (a stinging worm stung Black-Braid's foot).

- C1 22 = a?a ak^We pa xaxa--mi--ešawa--bana 'did indeed say really--you--evil-spirit--saw' (you did indeed see an evil spirit?).

a?a--oxaña--a kaninahe 'did--all--do they-did'
(did everyone do it?).

hikio--wipok^Wa--kek^Wa ka nekia ka poa ya 'this--tojo-bird--kill he standing he did foc' (was this tojo bird killed in standing position?).

- C1 23 = ača xa--iya mee--miya 'how really--make cause--you' (how did you make it?).

a?ya--mo--k^Weaxa kanahe 'who--me--hit he-did'
(who hit me?).

ače xe--šo kahe mee 'which because--discolor it cause' (from where did the discoloration come?).

- C1 24 = me ka wa xe oi--meheyo--heaoikiaki k^We 'there truly deg because exclam--Smooth-Hand--bring down do' (early in the morning bring Smooth-Hand!).

heo k^We--yoso ja bak^Wa ni xe 'walk do--God poss
son person because' (walk with God's son!).

baa--sose xe--wi--ka yo k^We 'machete--excahnge
for--point--tie permn do' (tie on the point in
exchange for a machete).

C1 25 = a?a--dok^We--headoho xi 'do-not--deer--carry
not' (do not carry off the deer!).

a?a--sonene hama--k^Wia xi--o ni xe 'do-not--
Sonene like--fight not--him person because' (do
not fight with him like the Sonene clan!).

a?a--hea--bia k^Wa--kek^Wa xi 'do-not--earlier--up
place--pierce not' (do not fight up-river now!).

C1 26 = hikio tii ka--šawa--ka ba awa--mo--poaxanahe
'this indeed truly--spirit--may see may--I--may--
have--done' (here indeed I must have come to see
the spirit).

hea wa--ke--ka hahaki awa--pea dexa ni xe
'earlier deg--planted-field--must cut may--other
man person because' (let him and another man
clear the field to be planted).

somono ya--biše--ka pexaki awa--waka--sose xe
'Somono foc--canoe--must hollow may--cow--
exchange because' (Somono may make a canoe in
exchange for a cow).

C1 27 = kačina xa--exaćičakiki--o ni xe 'chicken egg--let--
us-go-gather--he person because' (let's go
gather chicken eggs with him).

hanobaxima--exayoyoki 'quickly--let-us-go-row'
(let us row rapidly).

ena poa xima wa ho--k^Waki--exadohokiki 'rain do
not-yet deg in--fire-wood--let-us-go-carry'
(let us go carry fire wood before it rains).

Intransitive

C1 31 = k^Wana ya--pona--besa poa--oxaňa 'pl foc--woman
--bathe did--all' (also all of the women bathed).

meheyō ahe heaokea a--posowaki ya--biše xe
'Smooth-Hand indeed bring-down for--ascend al--

ready--canoe by-means-of' (we went up river to bring Smooth-Hand down in a canoe).

C1 32 = a?a ak^we--šexe xima poahe 'did some--swell not-yet will-do' (will he not swell up yet?).

a?a--mi--pokihe--o ni xe--ñohi kek^wa a 'did--you--will-go--he person because--wild-pig kill for' (will you go with him to hunt wild pigs?).

mano ma xe pome k^wa--ese ya ka oi--bañakihe 'die that because dub perhaps--he foc indeed exclam--will-arrive' (after dying perhaps, will the Indian folks arrive?).

C1 33 = ače ho ak^we--nekiokea ya poa 'which in some--stay already do' (where will I live?).

ača k^wa ak^we--se--pokihe yo--dok^we kek^wa a which place some--we--will-go permn--deer kill for' (where will we go to kill deer?).

apio xi ak^we--nawe kani 'reason for some--greedy he-is' (why is he being greedy?).

C1 34 = mimi ma xe--poki yo k^we 'speak that because--go-away permn do' (after speaking go away!).

šope--poe k^we 'Shope--come do' (Shope, come!).

hama--botik^wahik^wahi yo k^we 'thus--think-quickly permn do' (so think quickly!).

C1 35 = a?a--miya--poki xi 'do-not--you--go not' (do not go away, you!).

ěšoi hama--a?a--dobi xi--ena ho 'young-one like--do-not--enter not--water in' (do not enter into the water like a child!).

hea wa--e ni xe--a?a--sowa xi 'earlier deg--I person because--do-not--ascend not' (do not travel up river with me now!).

C1 36 = hea--oya--ka pokí awa--e ni xe--ke haha ma xe 'earlier--he--may go may--I person because--field chop that because' (today he wants to go with me after cutting down a field).

ebak^wa hama--ka kawiki awa--o ni xe 'baby like--

may sleep may--he person because' (like a baby
he wants to sleep with him).

Cl 37 = hea nee--ek^we epoki 'earlier very--let-us going'
(let us go right now).

bia k^wa--ek^we epokiki 'up place--let-us going'
(let us go up river).

dexa tli haiyo xa--ek^we ekawikiki--eki ho 'man
old like really--let-us go-sleeping--house in'
(like old men let us go sleep in the house).

Quotative transitive

Cl 41 = xaxa e k^wana--wowi kanahe--xezi ya poa 'indeed
I pl--tell he-did--bring for say' (he told us to
bring).

pašatewe ya--wowiaxa ka poa--ya xa a mi hose
'Black-Braids foc--asked she did--foc really do
you Joe' (Black-Braids asked, "what happened to
you, Joe?").

Cl 42 = a?a--madi ho ya--taaa ka poa 'did--Madidi in
surely--call he did' (was it on the Madidi that he
called?).

a?a--hea nee--miya ya--sowi--wowinahe--akiana
eba a 'did--earlier very--you foc--words--told--
things knowledge for' (did you teach now in order
for them to know?).

Cl 43 = a?ya ak^we--hama--wowinahe 'who some--thus--told
told' (who indeed taught thus?).

apio xi--wipok^wa a--oya--wowinahe--ak^wi ao ao
asi xe baesowa k^we 'reason for--tojo-bird foc--
him--told--tree tall tall into because fly do' (why
did the tojo-bird tell him, "fly into the tallest
tree"?).

Cl 44 = hikio pa xa oi--hama--wowi mee ya a k^we 'this
say really indeed--thus--tell cause already do do'
(indeed say it to him like this!).

šoi pa xaxa oi--hama--a k^we ba?a--a?a yekaneki
xi 'Boy say really indeed--thus--say do indeed--

do-not descend-stand not' (thus tell Boy indeed,
"do not come downriver to live!").

- C1 45 = a?a--miya ya--sowi--wowi xi 'do-not--you foc--
word--tell not' (don't you teach words!).
etii hama--a?a--wowi xi 'old-one thus--do-not--tell
not' (do not teach like the ancestors!).
- C1 46 = oya ya--esowi--ka wowiki awa poanahe 'he foc--
words--may tell-to may did' (may he have wanted
to teach!).
etii ya--hama--ka wowiki awa--sonene--a?a
yekaneki xi 'old-ones foc--thus--may tell may--
sonene--do-not descend not' (may the old ones tell
the Sonenes, thus, "don't come down-river to
live!").

- C1 47 = tewe--exawowikiki--hea wa 'Black-One--let-us-go--
tell--earlier deg' (Black-One, let us go tell now).
eki asi xe--bak^Wa k^Wana--exawowikiki--esowi eba a
'house into cause--child pl--let-us-go-tell--word
know for' (let us teach the children to read books
at the house).

Quotative intransitive

- C1 51 = ho ma me ka xe--ešik^Wi xi kia xi--e ni xe--
panahe--hikio ixia k^We 'in that then really be--
cause--apply for give for--I person because--
apply for give for--I person because--said--
this eat do' (yesterday the doctor said to me,
"eat this").
oya--pa--eki ho xaaxaki mee yonahé 'he--say--
house in heal cause did' (he says, "in the house I
was made well").
- C1 52 = a?a--eki ho--paninahe k^Wa--ek^We doe mano
yonaje... 'did--house in--cried they--my
brother sick permn-was' (did they chant in the
house, "my brother died...?").
hea wa--hama ya--oya--pa--mi ni xe 'earlier deg--
thus surely--he--say--you person because' (did
he talk with you like this today?).

- C1 53 = ače šono--hikia xa--miminahe 'which time--this
really--said' (when did he say that?).
ače ho--miya--panahe 'which in--you--said' (where
did you speak?).
- C1 54 = mimi kʷe oi 'speak do indeed' (speak!).
hikia xa--mimi kʷe--o ni xe--hea wa--eya
bikiabikia sa poani 'this really--speak do--he
person because--earlier deg--I sweet want doing'
(speak like this with him now, "I want some
candy"!).
šoi ni xe ya--mi--mimi kʷe--ehaa mo akʷe 'Boy
person because surely--you--speak do--lying I
some' (you, tell Boy, "I'm sick"!).
- C1 55 = a?a--eki ho--mimi xi--hikia xa--ešawa ho 'do--
not--house in--speak not--this really--spirit be--
cause' (because of the evil spirit, do not speak
like that in the house!).
a?a--mimi xi--mo kia kʷe pani 'do-not--speak
not--me give do bread' (do not say, "give me
bread"!).
- C1 56 = tewe--oya--ka mimiki awa--o ni xe 'Black-One--
he--may speak may--he person because' (Black--
One, may he go speak with him!).
bia kʷa--ka mimiki awa--hea wa 'up place--may
speak may--earlier deg' (may he go speak up--
river now!).
- C1 57 = hea wa--o ni xe--okʷe emimikiki--ke ho--a?a
exawi sosekia xi 'earlier deg--he person be--
cause--let-us go-speaking--field in--did plantation
exchange for' (now let us go say to him in the
field, "will you trade plantions?"').
šope--dexa nee hama--okʷe emimikiki--esowi eba
a 'Shope--men very like--let-us go-speaking--
words know for' (Shope, let us go speak that we
might learn like the Bolivians).

Stative

C1 61 = e?e--don wani--ena ki pa ho--haa--šanei 'yes--

don Juan--water under say in--lies--crocodile'
(yes, don Juan, the crocodile is lying beneath the water).

baa hama--haanahe 'machete like--lie' (like the machete, it was lying).

esak^Wi--eya--hea kaka--nekinahē 'wife--I--earlier indeed--stood' (I stayed at that time to look for a wife).

C1 62 = a?a--čamatewe--nekiaxa 'did--Black-Chama--stand' (did Black-Chama live here?).

a?a--čamatewe--bia k^Wa--neki yonahe--o ha čii ni xe 'did--Black-Chama--up place--stand permn--did--he poss father person because' (did Black-Chama stay up river with his father?).

C1 63 = ače k^Wei ho--haanahe--etii ni xe 'which river in--lie--old-ones person because' (on which river did he live with the old people?).

ača k^Wa šai--bae yo 'which place might--live permn' (where might he have gone to live?).

šope--ače ho--pokinahe--paša 'Shope--which in--went--Braids' (Shope, where did Braids go?).

C1 64 = miya--hama tii--haa yo k^We--o ni xe 'you--thus indeed--lie permn do--him person because' 'you, lie down thus with him!).

hikio ho tii ya oi--neki yo k^We--ebae ya 'this in indeed foc exclam--stand permn do--live for' (stay right here to live!).

esoi--miya--eki ho--haawa k^We 'young-man--you--house in--come-lie do' (you, Young-Man, come stay in the house).

C1 65 = hikio ho--a?a--neki xi--o ni xe 'this in--do-not--stand not--him person because' 'do not stay in here with him!).

tewe--epona emano hama--a?a--bae xi 'Black-One--woman sick like--do-not--live not' (Black-One, do not live like a sick woman!).

hea wa--ibia kek^Wa a--a?a--ak^Wi ho--neki xi

'earlier deg--jaguar pierce for--do-not--tree in
--stand not' (now to kill a jaguar do not stand on
a log!).

C1 66 = ka nekiki awa--mo--ebae xi 'may stand may--ben
--live for' (I want to stay there to live).

e?e--tewe--hikio ho--ka nekiki awa--ese ni xe
'yes--Black-One--this in--may stand may--us--
Indians person because' (yes, Black-One wants
to live here with us).

C1 67 = e?e--ma ho ya--ok^we ebaeki--o ni xe 'yes--
that-one in surely--let-us go-living--him person
because' (yes, let us go live there with him).
sonene hama--ok^we ebaekiki--o ni xe 'Sonene
like--let-us go-living--he person because' (like
the Sonene, let us go live with him).

ok^we yaniki--ak^wi ho--ibia kek^wa a 'let-us go--
sitting--tree in--jaguar kill for' (let us go sit
in a tree to kill a jaguar).

Equative

C1 71 = dok^we--seesee ho--kea xaha 'deer--wild-cat be--
cause--char afraid' (the deer fears the wild
cat).

doxawa daki xi ya--ese ha baba k^wana 'bark
clothes having foc--we-Indians poss grandfather
pl' (our grandfathers had bark clothing).

čo xa--don wani--sonene--oxaña--daki xi--hea
'no really--don Juan--Sonene--all--clothes having
--earlier' (no, don Juan, the Sonene clan, all of
them, have clothes now).

C1 72 = a?a--enabae--eneki--sonene hama 'did--Water--
Moon--living--Sonene like' (is Moon-in-the--
Water living there like the Sonene?).

a?a--mike ya biše--po xi ama 'did--your foc canoe
--do for without' (is it not your canoe?).

meheyoo--a?a--yani--eki ho--o ni xe 'Smooth-Hand
--did--sitting--house in--him person because'
(is Smooth-Hand living in the house with him?).

C1 73 = ače mixihi ak^We xaxa--sonene 'which side some
really--Sonene' (on which side is the Sonene
clan?).

ae k^We--pona ma ya 'what place--woman that
foc' (where is that woman?).

ahea wana 'whose care-for' (whose is it?).

C1 74 = kea niñe ca?a oi--po k^We--kiana 'char memory
hard exclam--do do--thing' (think hard about
this!).

e haiyo xa--po k^We 'me resemble really--do do'
(be like me!).

kea baba boti yo--po k^We--hea wa 'char grand-
father like permn--do do--earlier deg' (respect
your father-in-law now!).

C1 75 = a?a--kea mimiši--po xi 'do-not--char bad--do
not' (do not be bad!).

miya--ki xe--a?a--kea nawe--po xi--hikio ho
'you--under because--do-not--char selfish--do
not--this in' (later you must not be selfish here!).

ibia kek^Wa a--a?a--kea bičo--po xi 'jaguar pierce
for--do-not--char timid--do not' (in order to
kill a jaguar do not be timid!).

C1 76 = hea--oya--kea nawe--ka po awa 'earlier--he--
char selfish--may do may (now may he be selfish)
or (now he wants to be selfish).

iñapade hama--kea pame--ka po awa 'Iñapade thus
--char nice--may do may' (like the Iñapade clan,
may I or he be good).

e?e--enabae--oya--kea tai--ka po awa 'yes--
Water-Moon--he--char bad--may do may' (yes,
Moon-in-the-Water, let him be bad).

2.2. The included clause

2.2.1. Tagmemic included clause paradigm

C1 111 = {+S +IO +O +P 110}

Cl 121 = {+S +O +P 120}

Cl 131 = {+S +P 130}

Cl 141 = {+S +P eq +Aux 141}

2.2.2. Tagmatic included clause paradigm

Cl 111 = [+Ev:Part 80 +S:N 11/14-17 +IO:N 11/14-17 +O:N 11/14-17 +Mod:N 30 +P:Vb 110]

Cl 121 = [+Ev:Part 80 +S:N 21 +O:N 11/14-17 +Ap:n 1 +Mod:N 30 +P:Vb 120/116]

Cl 131 = [+Ev:Part 80 +S:N 11/14-17 +Mod:N 30 +P:Vb 130/136/N 51-53]

Cl 141 = [+Ev:Part 80 +S:N 11/14-17 +Mod:N 30 +P:N 11/14-17/47/Adj 2-4 +Aux:Aus 11-12]

2.2.3. Citation included clause paradigm

Cl 111 = dixa tii ya--eya--emexe--kia ho 'man old foc--me--arrow--give when' (when the old man gives me the arrow).

šiwixaxa--kia ka yonahe ho 'brazil-nuts--give he permn-did when' (when he gave the brazil nuts).

bia kʷa--owa ya--o ha čii--ešíkwí xi--kia a 'up place--he foc--he poss father--anoint for--give for' (in order to give his father the medicine upriver).

Cl 121 = ho ma ho--oya ya--ešawi--kekʷa ma xe 'in place in--he foc--tapir--pierce that because' (after he killed the tapir over there).

edosikia--kekʷa a 'evil-spirit--pierce for' (in order to kill the evil spirit).

oya ya--akiana--doho ka poa xoxemo 'he foc--thing--take he do if-had' (if he had taken the thing).

Cl 131 = mi--poe xima wa ho 'you--come not-yet deg in' (before you came).

etii--kawi xoxemo 'old-one--sleep if-had' (if the old ones were sleeping).

eya--hikio ho--kea hahi hoho 'I--this in--char
happy because' (if I were happy here).

Cl 141 = miya--kea mano--po ma xe 'you--char sick--
do that because' (after you were sick).

bia kʷa--tewe--kea xexe--po ma xe 'up place--
Black-One--char full--do that because' (up
river after Black-One was full).

e?e--oya--kea pame--poa xoxemo 'yes--he--
char good--do if-had' (yes, if he were nice).

3. The phrase

The Cert tagmeme occurs only once per phrase; that is, if it occurs in an included phrase, it is not repeated in the main phrase.

3.1. The verb phrase

3.1.1. Emic verb phrase classes

		Ditr	Tr	Intr	Quot		St
					Tr	Intr	
		10	20	30	40	50	60
Ind							
Decl aff	Indic	11a	21a	31a	41a	51a	61a
	Desid	11b	21b	31b-c	41b	51b	61b
Decl neg	Indic	12a	22a	32a	42a	52a	62a
	Desid	12b	22b	32b	42b	52b	62b
Impv aff		13	23	33	43	53	63
Impv neg		14	24	34	44	54	64
Perm		15	25	35	45	55	65
Dep	Indic	111	121a-b	131			
T	Desid	112	122	132			
L		113	123a-b	133			
Pur		114	124a-b	134			
Ctf/Dir		115	125	135			
Eq time/Caus		116	126	136			

Chart II. Emic verb phrase classes

3.1.2. The independent verb phrase

3.1.2.1. Tagmemic independent verb phrase paradigm

No phrase-level or affixal tagmeme occurs more than once per Vb except for the following tagmemes, which are optionally included simultaneously in the Vb nuc and Aux: Com, Pl, Tense when manifested by affix 1161 and Dir when manifested by affix 1131. The verb phrase is optionally discontinuous, as indicated by dots.

Ditransitive

- Vb 11a = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 11a... +Aux a: Aux 1-4 +Aux b: Aux 1-2 +Aux c: Aux 3}
- Vb 11b = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 11b +Aux: Aux 3}
- Vb 12a = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 12... +Aux a: Aux 2-3 +Aux b: Aux 3}
- Vb 12b = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 11b +Aux: Aux 5}
- Vb 13 = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 13... +Aux: Aux 10}
- Vb 14 = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 14... +Aux: Aux 10}
- Vb 15 = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 15... +Aux: Aux 1/10}

Transitive

- Vb 21a = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 21a-b... +Aux a: Aux 1-4/9 +Aux b: Aux 1-2 +Aux c: Aux 3}
- Vb 21b = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 21c +Aux: Aux 3}
- Vb 22a = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 22... +Aux a: Aux 2-3 +Aux b: Aux 3}
- Vb 22b = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 21c +Aux: Aux 5}
- Vb 23 = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 23... +Aux: Aux 10}
- Vb 24 = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 24... +Aux: Aux 10}
- Vb 25 = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 25... m +Aux: Aux 1/10}

Intransitive

- Vb 31a = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 31a... +Aux a: Aux 1-4 +Aux b: Aux 1-2 +Aux c: Aux 3}
- Vb 31b = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 31b +Aux: Aux 3}
- Vb 31c = {+Cd: N 11-15 +H: postpos r 13 +Aux: Aux 3/5}

Vb 32a = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 32... +Aux a: Aux 2-3 +Aux b:
Aux 3}

Vb 32b = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 31b +Aux: Aux 5}

Vb 33 = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 33... +Aux: Aux 10}

Vb 34 = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 34... +Aux: Aux 10}

Vb 35 = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 35... +Aux: Aux 1/10}

Quotative transitive

Vb 41a = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 41a... +Aux a: Aux 1-4 +Aux b:
Aux 1-2 +Aux c: Aux 3}

Vb 41b = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 41b-c +Aux: Aux 3}

Vb 42a = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 42... +Aux a: Aux 2-3 +Aux b:
Aux 3}

Vb 42b = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 41b-c +Aux: Aux 3/5}

Vb 43 = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 43... +Aux: Aux 6/10}

Vb 44 = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 44... +Aux: Aux 10}

Vb 45 = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 45... +Aux: Aux 1/10}

Quotative intransitive

Vb 51a = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 51a... +Aux a: Aux 1-4 +Aux b:
Aux 1-2 +Aux c: Aux 3}

Vb 51b = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 51b +Aux: Aux 3}

Vb 52a = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 52... +Aux a: Aux 2-3 +Aux b:
Aux 3}

Vb 52b = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 51b +Aux: Aux 5}

Vb 53 = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 53... +Aux: Aux 6/10}

Vb 54 = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 54... +Aux: Aux 10}

Vb 55 = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 55... +Aux: Aux 1/10}

Stative

Vb 61a = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 61a... +Aux a: Aux 9 +Aux b:
Aux 1-3}

Vb 61b = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 61b +Aux: Aux 3}

Vb 62a = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 62... +Aux: Aux 1-3}

Vb 62b = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 61b +Aux: Aux 5}

Vb 63 = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 63... +Aux: Aux 10}

Vb 64 = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 64... +Aux: Aux 10}

Vb 65 = {+Nuc: Vb nuc 65... +Aux: Aux 1/10}

3.1.2.2. Citation independent verb phrase paradigm

Ditransitive

Vb 11a = kia ka yonahe--pa--poa 'gave he permn--say--do--do' (it is said he gave it away).

xeiki--a kaninahe 'bring--do he-was" (he was bringing it).

xeiki yo--poanahe 'bring permn--did' (brought).

Vb 11b = kia sa--poani 'give want--doing' (wants to give).

xeiki sa 'bring want' (wants to bring).

Vb 12a = xeki yo xima--pa--poa de 'bring permn not-yet--say--do indeed' (indeed it is said you did not yet bring).

kiahea xima nee--poanahe 'give-away not-yet very--was' (had not yet given away, indeed).

Vb 12b = kia sa--po axa 'give want--do not' (doesn't want to sell).

Vb 13 = kia k^We--pa 'give do--say' (give or sell, I say).

Vb 14 = kia xi--pa oi 'give do-not--say indeed' (do not give, I say).

Vb 15 = ka kia awa--poaxanahe de 'let give may--was-able-to-do indeed' (indeed he might allow to give).

Transitive

Vb 21a = kek^Wa mee ya ka mi ka--a kahe 'pierce cause already indeed you indeed--do he-will' (he will surely kill).

kek^Waheanaki ahe--pa--poaxa--poa 'kill-quickly-first indeed--say--can--do' (it is said one can go kill quickly).

kek^Wa--a poa--poanahe 'pierce--do do--did' (finished killing).

Vb 21b = ba sa--poani 'know want--does' (wants to see or know).

Vb 22a = doho ka yo xima--pa--poanahe de 'carry he

permn not-yet--say--had indeed' (indeed it is said he had not yet carried it away).

haha xima kaka oi--poaninahe 'chop not-yet indeed indeed--was-doing' (indeed was not yet chopping).

Vb 22b = kek^wa sa--po axa 'pierce want--do not' (doesn't want to kill).

ixia sa--po axa 'eat want--do not' (doesn't want to eat).

Vb 23 = kek^wa k^we 'pierce do' (kill!).

axa so k^we--pa oi 'do a-bit do--say indeed' (I say do it).

Vb 24 = iši xi--pa oi 'drink do-not--say indeed' (I say, do not drink).

Vb 25 = ka baaxa sa wa--poa 'let know want may--do (may help to see or know).

Intransitive

Vb 31a = čii yo ka--pa--pa--poa 'extinguished permn he --say--say--do (he extinguished it, it is said). sowa--poaxa--poa 'ascend--can--do' (can ascend).

Vb 31b = poki sa--poanahe 'go want--did' (wanted to go). kawi sa--poani 'sleep want--does' (wants to sleep).

Vb 31c = sani--sa--poanahe 'salt--want--did' (wanted salt). ena woi--sa--po axa 'water cold--want--do not' (does not want ice).

Vb 32a = oke yo xima--pa--poa de 'fall permn not-yet--say--do indeed' (it is said, it did not yet fall indeed).

xamehoki axa--pa ka--poa 'habitually-grow not--says he--do' (they say she does not have young).

Vb 32b = k^waya sa--po axa 'come-out want--do not' (does not want to come out).

dobi sa--po axa 'enter want--does not' (does not want to enter).

Vb 33 = yeka k^We--pa oi 'descend do--say indeed' (come down river, I say).

Vb 34 = yeka xi--pa oi 'descend do-not--say indeed' (do not descend, I say).

Vb 35 = ka xawanaki awa--poa 'let marry may--do' (let marry).

ka owaheaki awa--paaxa 'let bury may--can-say' (let bury, I say).

Quotative transitive

Vb 41a = taa ka--pa--poa 'call he--say--say' (he calls, it is said).

wowi kanahe...poanahe 'tell he-did...said' (he told...he said).

Vb 41b = wowi sa--poa 'tell want--does' (wants to tell or teach).

Vb 42a = wowi xima--poa ya--poa 'tell not-yet--do already --do' (does not tell yet).

wowi ka yo xima...poanahe 'tell he permn not-yet ...said' (he didn't teach yet...he said).

Vb 42b = wowi sa--po axa 'tell want--does not' (does not want to tell).

Vb 43 = wowi mee k^We...ak^We 'tell cause do...say' (make him tell...say).

Vb 44 = wowi xi--pa 'tell do-not--say' (do not tell, I say!).

Vb 45 = ka wowi kaki awa--poa 'may teach he may--do' (may he teach, I say).

Quotative intransitive

Vb 51a = niñeba ka ya nee--poa...poa 'think he already really--do...do' (he really is thinking).

xašawabakiani...pa 'is-dreaming...say' (is dreaming...they say).

Vb 51b = mimi sa--poani 'speak want--does' (wants to say).

Vb 52a = mimi xima...poa de 'speak not-yet...do indeed' (didn't yet say...indeed).

mimi axa--pa...poanahe 'say not--say...did'
(did not say).

Vb 52b = mimi sa--po axa 'speak want--does not' (does not want to speak or say).

Vb 53 = mimi o?oya k^We--pa oi 'speak again do--say indeed' (say again, I say indeed).

Vb 54 = pa xi--pa oi 'say do-not--say indeed' (do-not cry, I say!).

Vb 55 = ka mimiki awa--poa 'may speak may--do' (let him or me say).

Stative

Vb 61a = nekiaxa neki--a poa ya 'stand stand--do do already' (could live there already).

haa--pa oi 'lay--say indeed' (lay, it is indeed said).

haa--a poa--po yonahe 'lay--do do--do permn'
(was healed or recovered).

Vb 61b = bae sa--poanahe 'reside want--did' (wanted to reside).

neki sa 'stand want' (want to live).

Vb 62a = ani axa--pa 'sit not--say' (will not stay, it is said).

neki yo xima--poanahe de 'stand permn not-yet--did indeed' (did not stay yet, indeed).

Vb 62b = bae sa--po axa 'reside want--do not' (does not want to reside).

Vb 63 = bae k^We--pa oi 'reside do--say indeed' (reside, I say!).

Vb 64 = neki xi--pa 'stand do-not--say' (do not stay, I say!).

Vb 65 = ka nekiki awa--poa 'may stand may--do' (let him or me stay).

3.1.2.3. The verb phrase nucleus

3.1.2.3.1. Tagmemic verb phrase nucleus paradigm

Ditransitive

- Vb nuc 11a = {+H:vb 11 +Mar:Vb mar 1-2}
 Vb nuc 11b = {+H:vb 12 +Mar:Vb mar 10}
 Vb nuc 12 = {+H:vb 13 +Mar:Vb mar 3-4}
 Vb nuc 13 = {+H:vb 13 +Mar:Vb mar 5-6}
 Vb nuc 14 = {+H:vb 12 +Mar:Vb mar 7-8}
 Vb nuc 15 = {+Perm:prepos 1 +H:vb 13 +Mar:Vb mar 9}

Transitive

- Vb nuc 21a = {+H:vb 21 +Mar:Vb mar 1-2}
 Vb nuc 21b = {+H:vb 31 +Mar:Vb mar 2}
 Vb nuc 21c = {+H:vb 22 +Mar:Vb mar 10}
 Vb nuc 22a = {+H:vb 23 +Mar:Vb mar 3-4}
 Vb nuc 22b = {+H:vb 33 +Mar:Vb mar 4}
 Vb nuc 23a = {+H:vb 23 +Mar:Vb mar 5-6}
 Vb nuc 23b = {+H:vb 33 +Mar:Vb mar 6}
 Vb nuc 23c = {+H:vb 23 +Person:postpos r 2 +Warn:
 postpos 14}
 Vb nuc 24a = {+H:vb 22 +Mar:Vb mar 7-8}
 Vb nuc 24b = {+H:vb 32 +Mar:Vb mar 8}
 Vb nuc 25 = {+Perm:prepos 1 +H:vb 23 +Mar:Vb mar 9}

Intransitive

- Vb nuc 31a = {+H:vb 31 +Mar:Vb mar 1}
 Vb nuc 31b = {+H:vb 32 +Mar:Vb mar 10}
 Vb nuc 32 = {+H:vb 33 +Mar:Vb mar 3}
 Vb nuc 33a = {+H:vb 33 +Mar:Vb mar 5}
 Vb nuc 33b = {+H:vb 33 +Person:postpos r 2 +Warn:
 postpos 14}
 Vb nuc 34 = {+H:vb 32 +Mar:Vb mar 7}
 Vb nuc 35 = {+Perm:prepos 1 +H:vb 33 +Mar:Vb mar 9}

Quotative transitive

- Vb nuc 41a = {+H:vb 41 +Mar:Vb mar 1-2}
 Vb nuc 41b = {+H:vb 51 +Mar:Vb mar 2}
 Vb nuc 41c = {+H:vb 42 +Mar:Vb mar 10}
 Vb nuc 42a = {+H:vb 43 +Mar:Vb mar 3-4}
 Vb nuc 42b = {+H:vb 53 +Mar:Vb mar 4}
 Vb nuc 43a = {+H:vb 43 +Mar:Vb mar 5-6}

- Vb nuc 43b = {+H:vb 53 +Mar:Vb mar 6}
 Vb nuc 44a = {+H:vb 42 +Mar:Vb mar 7-8}
 Vb nuc 44b = {+H:vb 52 +Mar:Vb mar 8}
 Vb nuc 45 = {+Perm:prepos 1 +H:vb 43 +Mar:Vb mar 9}

Quotative intransitive

- Vb nuc 51a = {+H:vb 51 +Mar:Vb mar 1}
 Vb nuc 51b = {+H:vb 52 +Mar:Vb mar 10}
 Vb nuc 52 = {+H:vb 53 +Mar:Vb mar 3}
 Vb nuc 53 = {+H:vb 52 +Mar:Vb mar 5}
 Vb nuc 54 = {+H:vb 53 +Mar:Vb mar 7}
 Vb nuc 55 = {+Perm:prepos 1 +H:vb 53 +Mar:Vb mar 9}

Stative

- Vb nuc 61a = {+H:vb 61 +Mar:Vb mar 1}
 Vb nuc 61b = {+H:vb 62 +Mar:Vb mar 10}
 Vb nuc 62 = {+H:vb 63 +Mar:Vb mar 3}
 Vb nuc 63 = {+H:vb 63 +Mar:Vb mar 5}
 Vb nuc 64 = {+H:vb 62 +Mar:Vb mar 7}
 Vb nuc 65 = {+Perm:prepos 1 +H:vb 63 +Mar:Vb mar 9}

3.1.2.3.2. Citation verb phrase nucleus paradigm

Ditransitive

Vb nuc 11a = kia--ka yonahe 'give--third-person permn-past' (he gave).

xeiki--ya k^Wa pa xa 'bring--already they say indeed' (they already brought, for sure).

xeiki--mee kani 'bring--case third-person' (he is making him bring).

Vb nuc 11b = kia--sa ya 'give--want already' (wants to give already).

xeiki--yo--sa 'bring--permn--want' (wants to bring).

Vb nuc 12 = kia--ka yo axa 'give--third-person permn not' (he did not give away).

xeiki--mee xima ya oi 'bring--cause not-yet already indeed' (indeed did not cause to bring yet).

Vb nuc 13 = kia--k^We ya 'give--do already' (give now!).
 xeki--mee so k^We 'bring--cause a-bit do' (make
 bring a short distance).

Vb nuc 14 = kia--yo mee xi 'give--permn cause not' (do
 not let or make give!).
 xeki--xi ya 'bring--not already' (do not bring
 now!).

Vb nuc 15 = ka--xekikia--yaki sa wa ya 'may--bring-to--
 give--already want may already' (may he already
 want to bring to sell).

Transitive

Vb nuc 21a = woohea--ka k^Wa 'send--third-person they'
 (they send).
 a--kaninahe ya k^Wa 'do--third-person-past already
 they' (they already did).

Vb nuc 21b = dobi--mee kani 'enter--cause third-person'
 (he made...go in).

Vb nuc 21c = kek^Wa--sa 'pierce--want' (wants to kill).

Vb nuc 22a = ba--meeki axa 'see--cause not' (did not
 make...see).

ixia--neenee ka axa 'eat--very-very third-person
 not' (he did not eat and eat).

Vb nuc 22b = kawi--mee xima ya 'sleep--cause not-yet
 already' (has not yet caused to sleep).

dohoka--mee axa 'be-carried--cause not' (did not
 cause to go downriver).

Vb nuc 23a = čiča--yo ya k^We 'gather--permn already do'
 (now gather!).

Vb nuc 23b = po--mee k^We 'go--cause do' (make go!).
 mano--yo mee k^We ya 'sick--permn cause do
 already' (cause to die already!).

Vb nuc 23c = ixia--ka--čana 'eat--third-person--beware'
 (beware lest it bite you).

Vb nuc 24a = pahea--yo xi 'forget--permn not' (do not
 forget!).

ye--mee xi 'bring--cause not' (do not make bring!).

Vb nuc 24b = ye ka--mee xi 'be-brought--cause not' (do not cause to come down river!).

mano--yo mee xi 'sick-permn cause do-not' (do not make die!).

Vb nuc 25 = ka--baxaki--yo sa wa 'may--can-see--permn desire may' (may help to know).

ka--k^Wihe a--ya wa 'may--clean--already may' (clean me now, would you).

Intransitive

Vb nuc 31a = mano--neeneeaxa yonahe 'sick--very permn-past' (very nearly died).

po--yokihe so?o 'go--will-permn a-bit' (will go away a short distance).

Vb nuc 31b = pok--sa 'go--want' (wants to go).

Vb nuc 32 = ſaxaaxa--neenee yo xima oi 'listen--very permn not-yet indeed' (still did not listen well indeed).

poki--axa ya k^Wana 'go--not already they' (they did not go yet).

Vb nuc 33a = mano--yo ya k^We 'sick--permn already do' (die now!).

poki--yo o?oya so k^We 'go--permn again a-bit do' (go away again a little way!).

Vb nuc 33b = oke--ka--čana 'fall--third-person--beware' (beware lest it fall).

Vb nuc 34 = pok--yo xi 'go--permn not' (do not go away!).
ye ka--xi oi 'descend--not indeed' (do not come down river, for sure!).

Vb nuc 35 = ka--sowaki--ka wa 'may--ascend--third-person may' (let him go upriver).

ka--poki--ya wa 'may--go--already may' (may I go!) or (I wish to go).

Quotative transitive

Vb nuc 41a = wowiaxa--ka yaninahe k^Wa 'can-tell--third-person already-did they' (they already told).

mimi--mee yonahe 'say--cause permn-past' (made say).

Vb nuc 41b = pahe--mee ya 'will-cry--cause already' (will already cause to cry).

Vb nuc 41c = wowi--sa 'tell-want' (wants to tell).

Vb nuc 42a = wowi--xima 'tell--not-yet' (did not yet tell).
 wowi--mee axa 'tell--cause not' (did not make tell).

Vb nuc 42b = pa--mee axa 'cry--cause not' (did not make cry).

Vb nuc 43a = wowiani--k^We o?oya 'tell--do again' (tell it again!).

Vb nuc 43b = pa--mee k^We 'cry--cause do' (make say!).
Vb nuc 44a = wowi--yo xi 'tell--permn not' (do not tell!).
 wowi--mee xi 'tell--cause not' (do not make tell!).

Vb nuc 44b = pa--mee xi oi 'cry--cause not indeed' (do not make cry, indeed!).

Vb nuc 45 = ka--wowiki--awa 'may--tell--may' (may tell!).

Quotative intransitive

Vb nuc 51a = paninahe--ya kaka oi 'was-crying--already surely indeed' (was already really crying).
 xašawabakiani--yo--ya 'thinking-or-dreaming--permn--already' (already pondering).

Vb nuc 51b = mimi--sa 'talk--want' (wants to say).

Vb nuc 52 = mimi--xima 'talk--not-yet' (does not yet speak).

 mimi--yo xima ya k^Wana 'talk--permn not-yet already they((they do not speak yet).

Vb nuc 53 = mimi--nee k^We oi 'talk--very do indeed'
(speak a long time, indeed!).

Vb nuc 54 = pa--xi 'cry--not' (do not cry out!).

Vb nuc 55 = ka--mimiki--awa 'may--speak--may' (permit him to say).

Stative

Vb nuc 61a = ani--kawa neki 'sit--third-person-toward stand' (come to visit).

- nekihe--yo so?o 'will-stand--permn a-bit' (will live there a while).
- Vb nuc 61b = bae--sa ya 'hang--want already' (wants to live or stay).
- Vb nuc 62 = has--yo xima 'lie--permn not-yet' (has not yet died).
- xaneki--kaxaki axa 'stand--third-person-can not' (he cannot stand).
- Vb nuc 63 = neki--yo k^We 'stand--permn do' (reside!).
- Vb nuc 64 = bae--yo xi oi 'hang--permn not indeed' (do not live, indeed!).
- Vb nuc 65 = ka--ani--ya wa 'may--sit--already may' (just leave behind!).

3.1.2.3.3. The verb phrase nucleus margin

3.1.2.3.3.1. Tagmemic verb phrase nucleus margin paradigm

- Vb mar 1 = {+(_Intens:postpos 1 +Person:postpos 2
+Perm:postpos 3 +Com:postpos 5 +Posn:vb r
60 +Rep:postpos 6 +Pl:part 48 +Cert:Part
10/part 47/postpos 7)}
- Vb mar 2 = {+_Intens:postpos 1 +Person:postpos 2
+Perm:postpos 3 +Caus:postpos 4 +Com:
postpos 5 +Rep:postpos 6 +Pl:part 48 +Cert:
Part 10/part 47/postpos 7}
- Vb mar 3 = {+_Intens:postpos 1 b +Person:postpos r 2
+Perm:postpos r 3 +Neg:postpos 11-12 +Com:
postpos r 5 +Pl:part 48 +Cert:Part 10}
- Vb mar 4 = {+_Intens:postpos 1 b +Person:postpos r 2
+Perm:postpos r 3 +Caus:postpos 4 +Neg:
postpos 11-12 +Com:postpos r 5 +Pl:part 48
+Cert:Part 10}
- Vb mar 5 = {+_Intens:postpos 1 b +Perm:postpos r 3
+Rep:postpos r 6 +Depr:postpos 7/Desid:
postpos 13 +Impv:postpos 8 +Com:postpos r 5
+Cert:Part 10}

- Vb mar 6 = {+Intens:postpos 1 b +Permnn:postpos r 3
 +Rep:postpos r 6 +Caus:postpos 4 +Depr:
 postpos 7/Desid:postpos 13 +Impv:postpos 8
 +Com:postpos r 5 +Cert:Part 10}
- Vb mar 7 = {+Permnn:postpos r 3 +Impv:postpos 9 +Cert:
 Part 10}
- Vb mar 8 = {+Permnn:postpos r 3 +Caus:postpos 4 +Impv:
 postpos 9 +Cert:Part 10}
- Vb mar 9 = {+Person:postpos r 2 +Permnn:postpos r 3
 +Com 1:postpos r 5 +Desid:postpos 13 +Perm:
 postpos 10 +Com 2:postpos r 5 +Cert:Part 10}
- Vb mar 10 = {+Permnn:postpos r 3 +Desid:postpos 13
 +Com:postpos r 5}
- Vb mar 11 = {+{+Person:postpos r 2 +Permnn:postpos r 3
 +Com:postpos r 5 +Pl:part 48 +Cert:Part 10}}
- Vb mar 12 = {+Person:postpos r 2 +Permnn:postpos r 3
 +Caus:postpos 4 +Com:postpos r 5 +Pl:part
 48}

3.1.2.3.3.2. Citation verb phrase nucleus margin paradigm

- Vb mar 1 = ka--yaninahe--k^Wa--koma 'third-person--
 already-past--they--indeed' (they already had
 indeed).
 neeneeaxa--yonahe 'very-very--permnn-past' (very
 nearly did).
 kawa--neki--so?o 'third-person-toward--stand--a-
 bit' (he came a short distance standing up).
- Vb mar 2 = mee--ya--k^Wana 'cause--already--they' (they
 already caused to...).
 ka--yo--mee--oi 'third-person--permnn--cause--
 indeed' (he made...do it, indeed).
 nee--mee--o?oyanahe 'very--cause--again-past'
 (caused...to repeat).
- Vb mar 3 = neenee--ka--axa--k^Wa 'very--third-person--
 not--they' (they really did not).
 ka--yo--xima--ya--nee 'third-person--permnn--not-

yet--already--very' (he surely did not yet, indeed).

Vb mar 4 = meeki--axa--nee 'cause--not--very' (did not cause to, indeed).

mee--axa--ya--kaka oi 'cause--not--already--surely indeed' (indeed has not caused to...).

Vb mar 5 = o?oya--so--k^We--pa oi 'again--a-bit--do--say surely' (repeat some, for sure!).

neenee--yo--k^We--ya 'very--very--permn--do--already' (do it well now!).

Vb mar 6 = yo--o?oya--mee--k^We--ya 'permn--again--cause--do--already' (now allow again!).

mee--sawa--k^We--oi 'cause--help--do--indeed' (cause and help to!).

Vb mar 7 = yo--xi--pa oi 'permn--not--say indeed' (do not, indeed!).

xi 'not' (do not!).

Vb mar 8 = yo--mee--xi--oi 'permn--cause--not--indeed' (do not cause to... permanently!).

mee-xi 'cause--not' (do not make!).

Vb mar 9 = yaki--sa--wa--ya 'already--want--may--already' (may he want to already).

ka--yo--wa 'third-person--permn--may' (may he or let him).

Vb mar 10 = yo--sa--ya 'permn--want--already' (wants to permanently).

sa 'want'.

Vb mar 11 = ka--k^Wa--koma 'third-person--they--indeed' (indeed they).

ka--yo--ya 'third-person--permn--already' (he already had...).

Vb mar 12 = mee--ya--k^Wana 'cause--already--they' (they already caused to).

ka--yo--mee--k^Wana 'third-person--permn--cause--they' (they caused to permanently).

3.1.3. The dependent verb phrase

3.1.3.1. Tagmemic dependent verb phrase paradigm

Ditransitive

- Vb 111 = {+H:vb 15 +Mar:Vb mar 11-12 +Sub:Part 33/
36 +Cond:postpos 15 +Cert:Part 10 +Aux:
Aux 10}
- Vb 112 = {+H:vb 15 +Neg:postpos r 11-12 +Intens:post-
pos 1 b +Aux:Aux 11}
- Vb 113 = {+H:vb 11 +Mar:Vb mar 11-12 +Sub:part 44/
Aux 12 +Cert:Part 10}
- Vb 114 = {+H:vb 14 +Permn:postpos r 3 +Com:postpos r 5
+Sub:part 46/Part 32 +Atd:part 24 +Cert:Part
10}
- Vb 115 = {+H:vb 14 +Sub:part 52/part 34 +Cert: Part 10}
- Vb 116 = {+H:N 41 +Sub:Part 35 +Cert:Part 10}

Transitive

- Vb 121a = {+H:vb 25/45 +Mar:Vb mar 11-12 +Sub:Part
33/36 +Cond:postpos 15 +Cert:Part 10 +Aux:
Aux 10}
- Vb 121b = {+H:vb 35/55/65 +Mar:Vb mar 12 +Sub:Part
33/36 +Cond:postpos 15 +Cert:Part 10}
- Vb 122 = {+H:vb 25/45 +Neg:postpos r 11-12 +Intens:
postpos 1 b +Aux:Aux 11}
- Vb 123a = {+H:vb 21/41 +Mar:Vb mar 11-12 +Sub:part
44 Aux 12 +Cert:Part 10}
- Vb 123b = {+H:vb 31/51/61 +Mar:Vb mar 12 +Sub:part
44/Aux 12 +Cert:Part 10}
- Vb 124a = {+H:vb 24/44 +Permn:postpos r 3 +Com:
postpos r 5 +Sub:Part 32 +Atd:part 24 +Cert:
Part 10}
- Vb 124b = {+H:vb 24/44/vb r 30 (po) +Permn:postpos r 3
+Sub:part 46 +Intens:postpos 1 b +Pl:part 48
+Cert:Part 10}
- Vb 125 = {+H:vb 22/42 +Person:postpos r 2 +Aux:vb r
50 (poa) +Sub:part 52/Part 34}
- Vb 126 = {+H:vb 24/44 +Pl:part 48 +Sub:Part 31 +Cond:
postpos 15 +Cert:Part 10}

Intransitive

- Vb 131 = {+H:vb 35/55/65 +Mar:Vb mar 11 +Sub:Part
 33/36 +Cond:postpos 15 +Cert:Part 10 +Aux:
 Aux 10}
- Vb 132 = {+H:vb 35/55/65 +Neg:Postpos r 11-12 +Intens:
 postpos 1 b +Aux:Aux 11}
- Vb 133 = {+H:vb 31/51/61 +Mar:Vb mar 11 +Sub:part
 44/Aux 12 +Cert:Part 10}
- Vb 134 = {+H:vb 32/52/62 +Permn:postpos r 3 +Com:
 postpos r 5 +Sub:part 46/51 +Atd:part 24
 +Cert:Part 10}
- Vb 135 = {+H:vb 32/52/62 +Sub:part 52/Part 34 +Cert:
 Part 10}
- Vb 136 = {+H:N 42 +Sub:Part 35 +Cert:Part 10}

3.1.3.2. Citation dependent verb phrase paradigm

Ditransitive

- Vb 111 = kia--ka yo--ma xe--pome 'give--he permn--that
 because--would' (after he would give).
 kia--mee--xima wa ho--ya--poa 'give--cause--not--
 yet deg in--indeed--do' (before causing to give,
 indeed, it is said).
- Vb 112 = xeki--xima--nee--po ma xe 'bring--not-yet--very
 --do that because' (after still not bringing).
- Vb 113 = kia--mee kanahe--ho--oi 'give--cause he-did--
 when--indeed' (when he made give, indeed).
 xeiki--ka yo--poa xoxemo--oi 'bring--he permn--do
 ctf--indeed' (if he had brought, indeed).
- Vb 114 = xeki--a--nišo 'bring--for--desire' (in order to
 bring).
 kia--yo--ya--xi--oi 'give--permn--already--for--
 indeed' (in order to give away, indeed).
- Vb 115 = kia--wasi xe--oi 'give--toward because--indeed'
 (to the place of selling; to the market).
 kia--xoxemo--ya 'give--if-did--indeed' (if I or you
 would give).

Vb 116 = ekia--k^Wa wa ho--ya 'giving--place deg in--surely' (before giving).

ewowi yo--k^Wa wa ho 'teaching permn--place deg in' (before teaching).

Transitive

Vb 121a = nee--k^Wana--ma xe--pa oi 'pain--they--that because--say indeed' (after they hurt, it is said).

wowinana--ma xe--pome 'tell-enroute--that because --if-did' (if after telling along the way).

Vb 121b = pokī--meeaxa yo--ma xe--ya 'go--can-make permn--that because--indeed' (after letting go).

haa--yo--xima wa ho--pome--pa oi 'lay--permn--not-yet deg in--would--say indeed' (before dying, it is said).

Vb 122 = dawanišo--po ma xe 'roast--do that because' (after roasting).

wowi--axa--nee--po ma xe 'tell--not--very--do that because' (after not telling).

Vb 123a = kek^Wa--ka ya k^Wana--ho--ya 'pierce--third-person already they--when--indeed' (when they had killed, indeed).

kek^Wa--ka ya--poa ho--ya 'pierce--he already--do when--indeed' (when he kills, indeed).

Vb 123b = k^Waya--mee ya--poa xoxemo--oi 'come-out--cause already--do if-did--indeed' (if...had caused...to come out, indeed).

miminahe--ya--ho--koma 'spoke--already--when--surely' (when...had spoken, surely).

Vb 124a = kek^Wa--ya--a 'kill--already--for' (in order to kill now).

baaxa--yo--wa 'see--permn--for' (in order to know).

wowi--yo--wa--nišo--ya 'tell--permn--for--desire --indeed' (because he wants to teach).

Vb 124b = xakek^Waki--yo--xi--neenee--k^Wana 'habitually-kill--permn--for--very--they' (in order to really war).

po--xi--nee--oi 'do--for--very--indeed' (in order to really do or be).

Vb 125 = taxapoxa--wasi xe 'scrub--toward cause' (to the laundry place).

wowi--ka--poa--xoxemo 'tell--third-person--do--if-did' (if he would tell).

Vb 126 = ſik^w₁--k^wana--ka xe--pome 'anoint--they--truly because--if-did' (because they would anoint).

Intransitive

Vb 131 = pokiaxa--yo--ma xe 'can-go--permn--that because' (after going).

mano--ya--xima wa ho--pa 'sick--already--not-yet deg in--say' (before becoming sick, it is said).

Vb 132 = mimihahi--xima--nee--po ma xe 'talk-bad--not-yet--very--do that because' (after not sinning at all).

koxani^ho--a ma xe 'commit-adultery--do that because' (after committing adultery).

nekiki--axa--nee--po xima wa ho ya 'stand--not--very--do not-yet deg in already' (before he had refused to stay).

Vb 133 = xamehoki--ya--ho 'make-grow--already--when' (when raising young).

sowa--kaki ya--ho--ya 'ascend-third-person already--when--indeed' (when he ascends, indeed).

baenahe--yo--poa xoxemo--oi 'hung--permn--do if-did--indeed' (if he had stayed).

Vb 134 = kawiki--yo--wa--oi 'sleep--permn--for--indeed' (in order to sleep, indeed).

mimiki--yo--xi--ni^šo 'speak-to--permn--for--atd' (in order to speak or gossip with).

Vb 135 = dobi--asi xe 'enter--toward because' (to where one enters).

nekiki--xoxemo--til 'stand--if-did--indeed' (if one stays, indeed).

Vb 136 = emano yo--k^Wa wa ho 'sick permn--place deg in' (before dying).

emimi--k^Wa wa ho 'speaking--place deg in' (before speaking).

etewe--k^Wa wa ho 'black--place deg in' (before blackening).

3.1.4. The auxiliary verb phrase

3.1.4.1. Tagmemic auxiliary verb phrase paradigm

Aux 1 = {+H: aux 1 +Perm:postpos 3 +Cert:Part 10}

Aux 2 = {+H: aux 2 +Person:postpos 2 +Pl:part 48
+Cert:Part 10}

Aux 3 = {+H: aux 3 +Com:postpos 5 +Pl:part 48 +Cert:
Part 10}

Aux 4 = {+H: aux 4 +Person:postpos 2 +Com:postpos 5
+Pl:part 48 +Cert:Part 10}

Aux 5 = {+H:vb r 30 (po) +Neg:postpos 11 +Cert:Part
10}

Aux 6 = {+H:vb r 30 (po)/40 (a)/50 (pa) +Impv:postpos 8
+Cert:Part 10}

Aux 7 = {+H:vb r 30 (po)/40 (a)/50 (pa) +Neg:impv:postpos
9 +Cert:Part 10}

Aux 8 = {+Perm 1:prepos 1 +H:vb r 30 (po) +Perm 2:
postpos 10 +Com:postpos r 5 +Cert:Part 10}

Aux 9 = {+H:vb r 40 (a) +Cd:vb r 30 (poa)}

Aux 10 = {+H:vb r 50 (pa/poa) +Cert:Part 10}

Aux 11 = {+H:vb r 30 (po) +Sub:Part 33/36 +Com:postpos
r 5}

Aux 12 = {+H:vb r 50 (poa) +Sub:part 44/52 +Cert:Part
10}

3.1.4.2. Citation auxiliary verb phrase paradigm

Aux 1 = poaxa--de 'able-to-do--indeed' (can indeed do).

po--yonah--de 'do--permn-past--indeed' (did
permanently indeed).

Aux 2 = pa--koma 'say--surely' (indeed says).

pa--ka--k^Wa 'say--third-person--they' (they say).

Aux 3 = poanahe--k^Wa--koma 'did-or-said--they--surely'
(they did indeed).

poa--ya--k^Wa--oi 'do--already--they--indeed'
(they already did indeed).

poa--ya 'do-or-say--already' (already did or said).

Aux 4 = a--kaninahe--ya 'do--third-person-was--already'
(he was already doing).

a--kanahe--k^Wa--de 'do--third-person-was--they--
indeed' (indeed they did).

Aux 5 = po--axa--de 'do--not--indeed'.

Aux 6 = po--k^We--oi 'do--do--indeed' (do indeed! or be
indeed!).

a--k^We 'do-or-say--do' (do! or say!).

Aux 7 = po--xi 'do-or-be--not' (do not! or do not be!).
pa--xi--oi 'say--not--indeed' (do not say!).

Aux 8 = ka--po--awa--ya--oi 'may--be-or-do--may--
already--indeed' (may one do or be already, in-
deed!).

Aux 9 = a--poa 'do--do' (finish).

Aux 10 = pa--oi 'say--indeed' 'I say indeed, or it is
indeed said).

poa--koma 'say-or-do--indeed'.

Aux 11 = po--ma xe--ya 'do-or-be--that because--already'
(after already doing or being).

po--xima wa ho 'do-or-be--not-yet deg in' (before
doing or being).

Aux 12 = poa--ho 'do--when' (when it does).

poa--xoxemo--oi 'do--if-did--indeed' (if it does
indeed).

3.2. The adjective phrase

3.2.1. Tagmemic adjective phrase paradigm

- Adj 1 = {+Char:part 91-92/Cd:adj 1 +H:adj 1 +Cp:part
93 +Emph:postpos 1 b +Cert:Part 10/postpos 7}
- Adj 2 = {+Char:part 91 +H:adj 1 +Neg:part 71 +Permn:
postpos r 3 +Emph:postpos 1 b +Cert:Part 10/
postpos 7}
- Adj 3 = {+Char:part 91-92 +H:adj 2 +Emph 2:postpos 1
b/Cp:part 93 +Cert:Part 10}
- Adj 4 = {+Char:part 91 +I:n 2-4/vb r 30 Res +H:adj 1
+Cp:part 93 +Emph:postpos 1 b +Cert:Part 10/
postpos 7}

3.2.2. Citation adjective phrase paradigm

Adj 1 = tewe--tewe--ka pa ka 'black--black--really say
really' (the black, indeed).

kea--wo'o--pišana--nee--oi 'char--red--a-bit--
very--indeed' (the very light red only).

Adj 2 = hewi--ama--nee--ya 'dirty--without--very--
indeed' (the one not dirty, indeed).

kea--tawa--ama--ya oi 'char--green--without--
indeed indeed' (just the one not green).

boti--ama--yo--neenee 'agreeable--without--
permn--very' (not at all agreeable or nice).

Adj 3 = kea--wiso--neenee nee 'char--many--very very'
(very very many).

iy--kemo--de 'somewhat--big--very' (the rather
big one).

Adj 4 = kea--piki--ka?a--pišana--nee' 'char--neck--
tough--a-bit--very' (having the neck meat a little
bit tough).

kea--mase--neenee--so?o 'char--fierce--very--a--
bit' (indeed rather fierce).

kea--poki--kowi--nee--oi 'char--go--crooked--
very--indeed' (going very crookedly, indeed).

3.3. The noun phrase

3.3.1. Tagmemic noun phrase paradigm

Intransitive

- N 11 = {+H:N 14-15/41-43/Vb 127/dem 1-3/n +Mod 1:Adj
 1-2/Num 1-5 +Mod 2:Adj 1-2 +Pl:part 48
 +Cert:Part 10}
- N 12 = {+(H:n 1/pro 31/41/N 17)/(+Gen:pro 03 +H:n 2-3
 +Poss:part 100)}
- N 13 = {+Gen:N 12 +H:n 2-3 +Poss:part 100}
- N 14 = {+Gen:N 12-13/pro 03 +H:n 1-4 +Pl:part 48
 +Ap:n 1 +Cert:Part 10}
- N 15 = {+Cd 1:n 2-4 +Cd 2:n 2-4/adj 1 +Pl:part 48
 +H:n 2-4 +Cert:Part 10}
- N 16 = {+Add 1:Part 60 +H:N 11/15/17-18/pro 02/Adj 3/
 n 1/Num 1-3 +Add 2:Part 60 +(+(+Cd:N 11/17-
 18/n 1/pro 02/Adj 3/Num 1-3 +Add:Part 60)ⁿ
 +Clos:Num 6)}
- N 17 = {+H:pro 01 +Pl:part 48 +Cert:Part 10}
- N 18 = {+H:pro 02/N 14 Res +Ap:n 1}

Transitive

- N 21 = {+H:N 11-17/pro 02-03 +Foc:part 11 +Cert:Part 10}

Modification

- N 31 = {+H:pro 01/n 1-2/N 11 Res/18 +Pl:part 48 +Ac:
 Part 45 +Foc:part 11 +Cert:Part 13 +(+(+Cd:pro
 01/n 1-2/N 18 +Pl:part 48 +Ac:Part 45
 +Foc:part 11 +Cert:Part 13)ⁿ}
- N 32a = {+H:num/n 3-4/N 14-15 Res +Cd:num/adj 1-2
 +Ac:part 46 +Cert:part 11/18-19}
- N 32b = {+H:n 2-4 +Ac:part 70 +Cert:Part 10}
- N 33 = {+H:pro 01/n 1/N 18 +Rel:Part 41-44a}
- N 34 = {+H:pro 01/N 11/14 +Rel:Part 50/part 43}
- N 35 = {+H:n 3-4 +Rel:Part 34/part 45 +Cert:Part 10}
- N 36 = {+H:n 3-4/N 11/14 +L:Part 42-44}
- N 37 = {+H:n 3-4 +L:N 36/(L:N 33 +Rel:part 44)
 +Posn:vb r 60}

Verbal noun

- N 41 = {+H:n 15 +Person:postpos r 5 +Permn:postpos r
3 +Intens:postpos 1 b}
- N 42 = {+H:n 34 +Permn:postpos r 3 +Intens:postpos 1
b}
- N 43 = {+H:n 10 +Person:postpos r 2 +Permn:postpos r
3 +Caus:postpos 4 +Rep:postpos r 6 +Pur:
part 46 +Cert:part 11}
- N 44 = {+Impv:prepos 2 +H:n 31a}
- N 45 = {+Impv:prepos 2 +H:n 31b}
- N 46 = {+Impv:prepos 2 +H:n 41}
- N 47 = {+Ag:pro 03 +Foc:part 11 +H:n 16}

Equative noun

- N 51 = {+Char:part 91 +I:n 2-4 /vb r 30 +H:adj 1-2
+Sub:part 53 +Cert:Part 10}
- N 52 = {+H:N 32b/41-42 +Sub:part 52/44}

3.3.2. Citation noun phrase paradigm

Intransitive

- N 11 = sewa--oi po xi nee--biso nee 'salmon--one do be--
cause very--thin very' (a few little fish).
- ek^we baba k^wana--kea wiso--ya 'my grandfather
pl--char many--indeed' (many of my ancestors).
- hikio--w^o nee--ya oi 'this--red very--indeed
indeed' (this bright red one only).
- k^weatata--sisi--biso nee--k^wana 'brook--little--
thin very--pl' (little narrow brooks).
- N 12 = ek^we--o?i--ha 'my--brother--poss' (my brother's).
dexatewe--ha 'Black-Man--poss' (Black-Man's).
o na--ha 'third-person pl--poss' (others').
- N 13 = ek^we bak^waexa ha--šaxamisi--ha 'my boy-child
poss--rabbit--poss' (my boy's rabbit's).
šope ha--wanase--ha 'Shope poss--wife--poss'
(Shope's wife's).
- N 14 = mewo?o ha--bak^wa--medi--po xaxa 'Red-Hand poss
--child--Mary--do really' (Red-Hand's child
Mary perhaps).

mike bak^Wa ha miči ha--bak^Wa--k^Wana 'your child
poss cat poss--child--pl' (your child's cat's
litter).

N 15 = bak^Wa--k^Wana--sa--po xaxa 'child--pl--bone--do
really' (children's bones, perhaps).

dexa--wi--he 'man--nose--skin' (skin on the man's
nose).

N 16 = oxaña--mewo?o--k^Wana--oya hose--k^Wana 'all--
Red-Hand--also--he Jose--also' (all, Red-Hand
and he, Joe also).

k^Wana ya--dexaoše--išameno--sete--manuelo--ek^We
oi meto--ek^We xoi yawi kamedo--oe ya 'pl in-
deed--White-Man--Ishmael--Seth--Manuel--my
brother Victor--my sister husband Carmelo--one
indeed' (also White-man, Ishmael, Seth, Manuel,
my brother Victor, my brother-in-law Carmelo,
only these).

N 17 = e--k^Wana 'I--pl' (we or us).

mi--kiana--tii 'you--pl--indeed' (you indeed).

N 18 = ek^We xoi--metoya 'my sister--Victoria'.
oya--hose 'he--Joe'.

Transitive

N 21 = eya--ya 'I--foc' (I).

dexa tai--ya 'man bad--foc' (bad man).

mi kiana--ya--ka pa ka 'you pl--foc--really say
really' (you, indeed).

Modification

N 31 = e--k^Wana--ni xe--ya--po xaxa--wanase--k^Wana--
ni xe--ya--po xaxa--pašatewe--k^Wana--ni xe
'I--also--person because--foc--do really--wife--
also--person because--foc--do really--Black-
Braids--also--person because' (perhaps also
with me, and his wife, and with Black-Braids
also).

hono--ni xe--k^Wima--ni xe--po xaxa--šope--ni xe--
ya--po xaxa 'Julio--person because--No-Twig--

person because--do really--Shope--person because--foc--do indeed' (with Julio, with No-Twig perhaps, with Shope perhaps).

N 32a = bobī--xi--tii 'food--having--indeed' (with much food).

aa--bekā--xi 'arm--two--having' (with both arms).

N 32b = bobī--ma--tii 'food--without--indeed' (without any food).

šak^wi--ma--de 'wife--without--indeed' (bachelor).

N 33 = e--ke 'I--toward' (toward me).

oya hose--pe xe ho 'he Joe--beside because in' (near him, Joe).

o--bia xe 'him--up because' (above him).

N 34 = dok^we--hama 'deer--like' (one who acts like a deer).

o ha čii--haiyo xa 'he poss father--resemble really' (one who resembles his father).

N 35 = serata--wasi xe 'Riberalta--into because' (into Riberalta).

bīse--xe--ya 'canoe--because--indeed' (by means of a canoe).

N 36 = k^weita?a sisi k^wana--ho 'river little pl--in' (on the little streams).

ekaai ha eki--pe xe ho 'Tall-Cane poss house--beside because in (near Tall-Cane's house).

N 37 = akiana--e bia xe--ho--haa 'thing--I up because--in--lie' (the thing lying above me).

šainei--ena ki pa ho--haa 'crocodile--water under say in--lie' (the alligator that is lying under the water).

Verbal noun

N 41 = epexa--yo--nee 'hollowed-one--permn--very' (the well-hollowed one).

emimi--ka--yo 'spoken--third-person--permn' (the thing spoken).

N 42 = emanō--yo--nee 'the-sick--permn--very' (the dead one).

- N 43 = emano--yo--mee--xi 'the-sick--permn--cause--for' (that which causes death).
 ek^Wiña--ka--o?oya--xi--de 'guard--third-person--again--for--very' (the succeeding chief, indeed).
- N 44 = ok^We--epokiki 'impv--going' (we must go).
- N 45 = ok^We--emimiki 'impv--speaking' (we must go and say).
- N 46 = ok^We--ekenekenekiki 'impv--anger' (we must go angrily).
- N 47 = ek^We--ya--eba 'mine--foc--knowing' (my knowledge).

Equative noun

- N 51 = kea--di--mo--hoho--ya 'char--mosquito--thick--because--surely' (because of so many mosquitoes).
- N 52 = šawa ma--xoxemo 'devil without--if-were' (if no devil).
 ekek^Wa yo--xoxemo 'killed permn--if-were' (if killed).

3.4. The interrogative phrase

3.4.1. Tagmemic interrogative phrase paradigm

- Ig 1 = {+H: ig 5 +L:part 39 +Prob:ig 8}
 Ig 2 = {+H: ig 4 +Prob:ig 8}
 Ig 3 = {+H: ig 2 +I:n 2-4 +Prob:ig 8}
 Ig 4 = {+H: ig 3 +I:n 2-4/adj 2 +Prob:ig 8 +Cert:Part 10}
 Ig 5 = {+H: ig 5 +Prob:ig 8}
 Ig 6 = {+H:part 11/ig 10 +Emph:part 14 +L:part 44 +Prob:ig 8}
 Ig 7 = {+H: ig 3 +Rel:ig 9 /(+I:n 2-4 +Rel:part 44-45) +Prob:ig 8}
 Ig 8 = {+H: ig 7 +Pur:part 46 +Prob:ig 8}
 Ig 9 = {+H: ig 6 +L:part 45 +Prob:ig 8}
 Ig 10 = {+H: ig 10 +Posn:part 39 +Prob:ig 8}

3.4.2. Citation interrogative phrase paradigm

- Ig 1 = ae--^Wk'e--šai 'who--place--might' (where might?).
 Ig 2 = aya--šai 'who--might' (who might?).
 Ig 3 = ahea--šai 'whose--might' (whose might?).
 ahea--ebak^Wa--šai 'whose--child--might' (whose child might?).
 Ig 4 = ače--wiso--šai 'which--many--might' (how many might?).
 ače--biše--šai--ak^We 'which--canoe--might--some' (which canoe might?).
 Ig 5 = ae--šai 'what--might' (what might?).
 Ig 6 = ya--xa--šai 'surely--really--might' (how might?).
 ya--xa--ho--šai 'foc--really--in--might' (why might?).
 ača--xa--šai 'place--really--might' (where might?).
 Ig 7 = ače--šono--šai 'which--time--might' (when might?).
 ače--k^Wei--ho--šai 'which--river--in--might' (on which river might?).
 Ig 8 = apio--xi--šai 'which--for--might' (why might?).
 Ig 9 = ani--xe--šai 'who--because--might' (with whom?).
 Ig 10 = ača--^Wk'a--šai 'which--place--might' (where might?).

3.5. The numeral phrase

3.5.1. Tagmemic numeral phrase paradigm

- Num 1 = {+Lim:dem 2 +H:num 2 +Neg:Vb 32a (pee xima)}
- Num 2 = {+Person:2000 +H:num 2 +Lim:dem 2 +Mod:
 Part 62}
- Num 3 = {+H:n 4 (me) +I:num +Lim:part 46}
- Num 4 = {+H:num 1 +Caus:vb r 30 (po) +Foc:part 46
 +Intens:postpos 1 b}
- Num 5 = {+H:dem 3/part 91 +Mod:adj 2 (wiso) +Foc:
 part 11}
- Num 6 = {+H:num 1 +Foc:part 11}

3.5.2. Citation numeral phrase paradigm

Num 1 = pea--beka--pee xima 'other--two--unite not-yet'
(three).

Num 2 = e--beka--pea--pea ai 'nom--two--other--other
large' (four).

Num 3 = me--oe--xi 'hand--one--having' (five).

Num 4 = oe--po--xi--nee 'one--do--having--very' (a very
few).

Num 5 = ma--wiso--ya 'this--many--surely' (this many).
kea--wiso--ya 'char--many--surely' (many).

Num 6 = oe--ya 'one--surely' (that only).

3.6. The particle phrase

3.6.1. Tagmemic particle phrase paradigm

Certification

Part 11 = {+Agm:part 12 +Aff 1:part 13 +Report:vb r
50 (pa) +Emph:part 14 +Recp:pro 21/41 +Aff
2:part 13 +Exclam:part 15 +Depr:part 16-17}

Part 12 = {+Aff:part 13 +Report:vb r 50 (pa) +Foc:part
11 +Exclam:part 15}

Part 13 = {+Aux:vb r 30 (po) +Emph:part 14 +Depr:part
18}

Part 14 = {+(+I:part 22 +Rel:part 44/Part 34 +Foc:part
21)/Foc:part 21}

Part 15 = {+H:part 19-24 +Foc:part 11}

Modification

Part 21 = {+Rel:part 44 +L:part 39 +H:part 32 +Cert:
Part 10}

Part 22 = {+H:part 31-32 +L:part 39 +Rel:Part 34
+Intens:postpos 1 b/Cert:Part 10}

Part 23 = {+H:part 41 +Cert:part 13 +(Deg:part 37
+Caus:part 45)/T:Part 24 +Cert:Part 10}

Part 24 = {+H:part 36/49 +Deg:part 37 +Intens:postpos
1 b +Cert:Part 10}

Part 25 = {+Deg:part 37 +H:vb r 50 (pa)}

Part 26 = {+H:part 11 +Deg:part 37 +Rel:part 44
+Intens:postpos 1 b}

Part 27 = {+H:part 38/adj 3 +Intens:postpos 1 b +Cert:
Part 10}

Part 28 = {+H:part 43 +Cd:part 45 +Foc:part 11}

Part 29 = {+H:part 33 +Rel:part 45 +Intens:postpos 1 b}

Subordination

Part 31 = {+Cert:part 13 +H:part 45-46}

Part 32 = {+H:part 51}

Part 33 = {+Neg:postpos 12 +Deg:part 37 +H:part 44}

Part 34 = {+H:part 54 +Rel:part 45}

Part 35 = {+L:part 39 +Deg:part 37 +H:part 44}

Part 36 = {+H:part 32 +Rel:part 45}

Relator

Part 41 = {+H:part 61}

Part 42 = {+Posn:part 33 +L:part 41 +H:part 62}

Part 43 = {+H:part 31 +Rel:part 45}

Part 44a = {+(+Posn:part 34 +Caus:part 45) +H:part 44}

Part 44b = {+(+Posn:part 33 +L:vb r 50 (pa))/(+Posn:
part 35 +Deg:part 37) +H:part 44}

Part 45 = {+Rel:part 63 +H:part 45}

Comparative

Part 50 = {+H:part 42 +Cert:part 14}

Connective

Part 61 = {+H:part 48 +Foc:part 11}

Part 62 = {+H:dem 2 +Mod:adj 2 +Foc:part 11}

Negative

Part 71 = {+H:vb r 30 (po) +Cd:part 46 +Neg:part 71
+Cert:part 18}

Evaluative

Part 81 = {+H:part 81-82/Part 83 +Mod:part 14 +Cert:
part 18}

Part 82 = {+Dub:part 83 +H:part 81}

Part 83 = {+H:part 47 +Neg:part 71}

3.6.2. Citation particle phrase paradigm

Certification

- Part 11 = ahe--ka--pa--xaxa--mi--ka--oi--ak^we 'assent--truly--say--really--you--truly--indeed--some'
(assuredly say to you indeed).
- Part 12 = ka--pa--ya--oi 'truly--say--indeed--indeed'
(assuredly say indeed).
- Part 13 = po--xaxa--de 'do--really--some' (probably or possibly).
- Part 14 = yowa--ho--ba?a 'there--in--indeed' (there indeed).
ba?a 'indeed' (these here or thus).
yowa--wasi xe--ba?a 'there--into because--indeed'
(to there, indeed).
- Part 15 = tli 'very' (indeed or the very one).
koma--ya 'certainly--indeed' (certainly).

Modification

- Part 21 = ho--k^wa--ma--ya oi 'in--place--down--indeed
indeed' (over there, indeed).
- Part 22 = bia--k^wa 'up--place' (up river).
bia--k^wa--wasi xe--nee 'up--place--toward be-cause--very' (clear into the headwaters).
- Part 23 = me--ka--wa--xe 'then--truly--deg--because'
(yesterday or tomorrow).
me--ka--xe--tii 'then--truly--because--very' (in the middle of the night).
me--ka--hea--wa 'then--truly--earlier--deg'
(early morning).
- Part 24 = hea--wa--nee 'earlier--deg--very' (today,
right now).
biša--wa--nee--oi 'near--deg--very--indeed'
(very nearly).
- Part 25 = wa--pa 'deg--say-or-do' (across, another place).
- Part 26 = ya--wa--ho--neenee 'really--deg--in--very'
(long ago).

Part 27 = hoam-nee 'far--very' (very far away).
 ebio-nee 'first--very' (the very first).

Part 28 = hama--xe--ya 'thus--because--indeed' (therefore).
 hama--ya 'thus--indeed' (thus).

Part 29 = ki--xe--nee 'under--because--very' (much later).

Subordination

Part 31 = ka--xe 'truly--because' (because of)

Part 32 = Wa 'pur' (in order to).

Part 33 = xima--wa--ho (not-yet--deg--in' (before)).

Part 34 = wasi--xe 'into--because' (into).

Part 35 = k^Wa--wa--ho 'place--deg--in' (before).

Part 36 = ma--xe 'below--because' (after).

Relator

Part 41 = ke 'beside'.

Part 42 = ki--me--xexe 'under--then--because' (underneath).

Part 43 = bia--xe 'up--because' (above).

Part 44a = pe--xe--ho 'beside--because--in' (near).

Part 44b = ki--pa--ho 'under--say--in' (beneath and within).

sa--wa--ho 'edge--deg--in' (the edge).

Part 45 = ni--xe 'person--because' (with).

Comparative

Part 50 = haiyo--xa 'like--really' (resemble).

Connective

Part 61 = k^Wana--ya 'pl--surely' (also).

Part 62 = pea--ai--ya 'other--big--surely' (also).

Negative

Part 71 = po--xi--ama--de 'do--for--without--indeed'
 (not indeed).

Evaluative

Part 81 = e?e--de 'yes--indeed'.

čo--xa--de 'no--really--indeed' (no indeed).

Part 82 = a?a--e?e 'doubt--yes' (doubtful).

Part 83 = cha--ma 'state--without' (none).

4. The word

4.1. The verb

4.1.1. Emic verb classes

	Ditr	Tr	Intr	Quot		St	
				Tr	Intr		
Decl	01	11	21	31	41	51	61
Impv Neg	02	12	22	32	42	52	62
Perm	03	13	23	33	43	53	63
Hort	04	14	24	34	44	54	64
Dep T	05	15	25	35	45	55	65

Chart III. Emic verb classes

4.1.2. The inflected verb

4.1.2.1. Tagmemic inflected verb paradigm

Ditransitive

vb 11 = {+Base:vb stem 11 +Abil:1110 +Punc:1120
+Dir:1130 +Prog:1150 +Tense:1160}

vb 12 = {+Base:vb stem 11}

vb 13 = {+Base:vb stem 11 +Abil:1110 +Dir:1130}

vb 14 = {+Base:vb stem 12 +Dir:1131 +Redup:1131}

vb 15 = {+Base:vb stem 11 +Abil:1110 +Dir:1130 +L:
1140 +Prog:1150}

Transitive

vb 21 = {+Base:vb stem 21-24 +Abil:1110 +Punc:1120
+Dir:1130 +Prog:1150 +Tense:1160}

vb 22 = {+Base:vb stem 21-24}

vb 23 = {+Base:vb stem 21-24 +Abil:1110 +Dir:1131
+L:1140}

vb 24 = {+Base:vb stem 25 +Dir:1131 +Redup:1131}
 vb 25 = {+Base:vb stem 21-24 +Abil:1110 +Dir:1130
 +L:1140 +Prog:1150}

Intransitive

vb 31 = {+Base:vb stem 30 +Abil:1110 +Punc:1120
 +Dir:1130 +L:1140 +Prog:1150 +Tense:1160}
 vb 32 = {+Base:vb stem 30 +Dir:1131}
 vb 33 = {+Base:vb stem 30 +Abil:1110 +Dir:1131 +L:
 1140}
 vb 34 = {+Base:vb stem 31/33 +Dir:1131 +Redup:1131}
 vb 35 = {+Base:vb stem 30 +Abil:1110 +Dir:1130 +L:
 1140 +Prog:1150}

Quotative transitive

vb 41 = {+Base:vb stem 41-44 +Abil:1110 +Dir:1130
 +L:1140 +Prog:1150 +Tense:1160}
 vb 42 = {+Base:vb stem 41-44 +Dir:1131}
 vb 43 = {+Base:vb stem 41-44 +Dir:1131 +Prog:1150}
 vb 44 = {+Base:vb stem 45 +Dir:1131 +Redup:1131}
 vb 45 = {+Base:vb stem 41-44 +Abil:1110 +Dir:1130
 +L:1140 +Prog:1150}

Quotative intransitive

vb 51 = {+Base:vb stem 51-53 +Abil:1110 +Dir:1130
 +Prog:1150 +Tense:1160}
 vb 52 = {+Base:vb stem 51-53 +Dir:1130}
 vb 53 = {+Base:vb stem 51-53 +Abil:1110 +Dir:1131}
 vb 54 = {+Base:vb stem 54 +Dir:1131 +Redup:1131}
 vb 55 = {+Base:vb stem 51-53 +Abil:1110 +Dir:1130
 +L:1140 +Prog:1150}

Stative

vb 61 = {+Base:vb stem 60 +Abil:1110 +Punc:1120
 +Dir:1130 +Prog:1150 +Tense:1160}
 vb 62 = {+Base:vb stem 60}
 vb 63 = {+Base:vb stem 60 +Abil:1110 +Dir:1130}
 vb 64 = {+Base:vb stem 63 +Dir:1131 +Redup:1131}

vb 65 = {+Base:vb stem 60 +Abil:1110 +Dir:1130
+Prog:1150}

4.1.2.2. Citation inflected verb paradigm

Ditransitive

vb 11 = xeki-axa-ña-ki 'bring -able -punc -away' (can take away).

xeki-ki-he 'bring -away -will' (will take).

xeki-ani 'bring -prog' (be bringing).

vb 12 = xeki 'bring'; kia 'give'.

vb 13 = kia-ki 'give -away'.

xeki-axa 'bring -able' (be able to bring).

vb 14 = xaxeki-ki 'habitually-take -away' (always take away).

xakia-ki-ki 'habitually-give -away -away' (always give away).

vb 15 = kia-wa 'give -toward' (come give).

kia-nana 'give -enroute'.

Transitive

vb 21 = k^Wiahea-ña-ki 'hit-throw -punct -away' (hit and throw away).

haha-ni-nahe 'chop -prog -past' (were chopping).

vb 22 = išimahamaha 'drink-repeatedly'.

ixiaixiahaa 'lie-eating'.

vb 23 = ba-axa-ki 'know -able -away' (be able to know there).

iši-nana 'drink -enroute' (drink along the way).

vb 24 = xakek^Wa-ki 'habitually-kill -away' (be always killing others).

xasapayika-ki-ki 'habitually-bind-head -away -away' (be always going to bind the head up).

vb 25 = pakedohok^Waya-axa-ki-ani 'march-out -able -away -prog' (be marching out).

hea-ki-nana-ni 'throw -away -enroute -prog' (be throwing away while going).

Intransitive

- vb 31 = pee-axa-ña-ki-he 'accompany -able -punc -away -will' (will be able to accompany).
- dobi-ki-nana-ni-nahe 'enter -away -enroute -prog -past' (was going in along the way).
- haadobi-axa-ki 'slide-into -able -away' (be able to slide into).
- vb 32 = posowa-ki 'go-up -away' (ascend).
- xakak^Wayika 'habitually-bind-liver' (habitually bind something around the abdomen).
- vb 33 = dobi-axa 'enter -able' (be able to enter).
- nekisowa-ki-nana 'ascend-upright -away -enroute (ascend on the way).
- vb 34 = k^Waya-ki-ki 'go-out -away -away' (go out).
- kawi-ki-ki 'sleep -away -away' (sleep over there).
- vb 35 = xawikek^Wa-ki-ani 'habitually-nose-pierce -away -prog' (be habitually nose-piercing).

Quotative transitive

- vb 41 = a-ni 'do-or-say -prog' (be doing, being, or saying).
- šawaba-ki-ani-nahe 'think -away -prog -past' (was/were pondering).
- taaawiča?awiča?a-nana-ni 'scream-continually -enroute -prog' (be screaming continually enroute).
- vb 42 = šawaba-ki-ani 'think -away -prog' (be thinking or dreaming).
- siasiatiitii 'scream-loudly'.
- vb 43 = šawaba-ki 'think -away' (ponder).
- niňeba-ki-ani 'think -away -prog' (be thinking about).
- vb 44 = xataaa-ki-ki 'habitually-screaming -away -away' (be always screaming at).
- xašawaba-ki 'habitually-thinking -away' (habitually ponder).
- vb 45 = wowi-axa-ki 'tell -able -away' (be able to tell to others).

taaaa-ki-nana-ni 'scream -away -enroute -prog'
 (be screaming at enroute).

Quotative intransitive

- vb 51 = mimi-ani-nahe 'speak -prog -past' (were speaking).
 mimi-ki-he 'speak -away -will' (will go speak).
 vb 52 = pa-ki 'say -away' (say or cry to)
 vb 53 = mimi-axa-ki 'speak -able -away' (sit talking to).
 vb 54 = mimi-ki 'speak -away' (speak to).
 vb 55 = mimi-ki-ani 'speak -away -prog' (be speaking to).
 mimi-axa-ki 'speak -able -away' (be able to speak
 to).

Stative

- vb 61 = neki-ña-ki-ani 'stand -punc -away -prog' (be
 staying in that position).
 anibekahaa-he 'live-two-together -will' (will have
 two wives).
 bae-axa-ki-nahe 'hang -able -away -past' (was able
 to live).
 vb 62 = neki 'stand' (stay); ani 'sit' (do or be);
 baeanihea 'living'.
 vb 63 = haa-wa 'lie -toward' (come lie).
 ani-axa-ki 'sit -able -away' (be able to sit or stay
 over there).
 vb 64 = xaneki-ki-ki 'habitually-stand -away -away' (be
 habitually living over there).
 vb 65 = neki-axa 'stand -able' (be able to stay or stand).
 ani-axa-ki-ani 'sit -able -away -prog' (be staying).

4.1.3. The verb stem

4.1.3.1. Tagmemic verb stem paradigm

Ditransitive

- vb stem 11 = {+Base:vb r 10 +Asp:1200}
 vb stem 12 = {+Hab:1300 +Base:vb r 10}

Transitive

vb stem 21 = {+Base:vb r 20 +M 1:1210 +Cpd:vb r
+M 2:1210}

The base optionally occurs in the third position and the Cpd in the first position.

vb stem 22 = {+Base:vb r 20 +Asp:1220 +Redup:1220}

vb stem 23 = {+Cpd 1:vb r 30 AS +Base:vb r 20 Res
+Cpd 2:vb r 30 AS}

vb stem 24 = {+Base:vb r 20 (ixia) +Cpd 1:redup +Cpd
2:vb r 60 (haa)}

vb stem 25 = {+Hab:1300 +Cpd:n r 2-4 Res +Base:vb r
20 +M:1210}

Intransitive

vb stem 31 = {+Cpd 1:vb r 60/30 +M:1210/1131 +Base:
vb r 30 +Cpd 2:vb r 30 +Asp:1200}

vb stem 32 = {+Hab:1300 +Cpd 1:n r 2-4 AS +Base:vb
r 20/30/adj r 1/Part 83 +M:1210 +Cpd 2:vb
r +Asp:1220}

vb stem 33 = {+Base:vb r 30}

Quotative transitive

vb stem 41 = {+Base:vb r 40 +M:1210/(+Asp:1220
+Emph:redup)}

vb stem 42 = {+Base:vb r 40 (sia) +Cpd:redup +M:1210/
(+Asp:1220 +Emph:redup)}

vb stem 43 = {+Hab:1300 +Base:n r 3 (šawa) +Cpd:vb r
20 (ba)}

vb stem 44 = {+Base:vb r 40 (niňe) +Cpd:vb r 20 (ba)}

vb stem 45 = {+Hab:1300 +Base:vb r 40}

Quotative intransitive

vb stem 51 = {+Base:vb r 50 +Asp:1200/part 24}

vb stem 52 = {+Base:vb r 52 +Cpd:vb r 60 (neki)}

vb stem 53 = {+Hab:1300 +Base:vb r 52}

vb stem 54 = {+Base:vb r 52}

Stative

vb stem 61 = {+Base:vb r 60 +Cpd:vb r 60 +Asp:1200}

vb stem 62 = {+Base:vb r 60 (ani) +Cpd 1:num 2 +Cpd 2:
vb r 60 (haa)}

vb stem 63 = {+Hab:1300 +Base:vb r 60}

4.1.3.2. Citation verb stem paradigm

Ditransitive

vb stem 11 = xeki-hea 'bring -once' (bring to give).
xeiki-pahea 'bring -stop' (stop bringing).

vb stem 12 = xa-kia 'hab -give' (always give).

Transitive

vb stem 21 = k^Wia-hea-poho-hea 'hit -once -split -once'
(break open).

wana-ka-wana-ka 'keep -tightly -keep -tightly'
(guard well).

vb stem 22 = kek^Wa-hoyo-heyo 'pierce -all -all' (kill
everything or everyone).

kek^Wa-wiča?a-wiča-wiča?a 'pierce -cont -cont'
(continuously kill).

vb stem 23 = pake-doho-k^Waya 'march -take -come-out'
(march in procession).

vb stem 24 = ixia-ixia-haa 'eat -eat -lie' (eat while re-
clining).

vb stem 25 = xa-sapa-yi-ka 'habitually -head -bind
-tightly' (always tightly bind the head).

Intransitive

vb stem 31 = haa-owa-hea 'lie -inter -once' (bury).

dobi-ki-paki-paki-tii 'enter -away -march -march
-indeed' (go dancing or marching into energeti-
cally).

vb stem 32 = xa-haha-hea-biča-hea 'habitually -chop -once
-fell -once' (always fight hard).

xa-sapa-k^Wia-sexa-hea 'habitually -head -hit -sever
-once' (always chop off and leave the head).

xa-tewe-tii 'habitually -black -indeed' (turn
really black).

vb stem 33 = sowa 'ascend'.

Quotative transitive

vb stem 41 = *wowi-hea* 'tell -once' (tell).

wowi-wiča?a-wiča?a 'tell -cont -cont' (be telling continuously).

vb stem 42 = *sia-sia-tii-tii* 'scream -scream -indeed -indeed' (scream loudly).

vb stem 43 = *xa-šawa-ba* 'habitually -spirit -see' (think or dream).

vb stem 44 = *niňe-ba* 'remember -see' (think or remember).

vb stem 45 = *xa-wowi* 'habitually -tell' (always tell).

Quotative intransitive

vb stem 51 = *pa* 'say-or-cry'; *mimi-kʷahi* 'speak -quickly'; *pa-nišo* 'say -some' (gossip about).

vb stem 52 = *mimi-nekl* 'speak -stand' (stand or stay speaking).

vb stem 53 = *xa-mimi* 'habitually -speak' (always speak).

vb stem 54 = *mimi* 'speak'.

Stative

vb stem 61 = *bae-ani-hea* 'hang -sit -once' (be living).
ani-ani 'sit -sit' (visit).

vb stem 62 = *ani-beka-haa* 'sit -two -lie' (be living with two wives).

vb stem 63 = *xa-nekl* 'habitually -stand' (live or stay).

4.1.4. The verb root

4.1.4.1. Citation verb root paradigm

Ditransitive

vb r 10 = *xeki* 'bring'; *kia* 'give'.

Transitive

vb r 20 = *kekʷa* 'pierce'; *kʷia* 'hit'; *doho* 'carry';
ixia 'eat'; *wana* 'keep'.

Intransitive

vb r 30 = dobi 'enter'; poe 'come'; po 'go'; sowa
 'ascend'; kawi 'sleep'.

Quotative transitive

vb r 40 = wowi 'tell-or-teach'; taaa 'call'; sia 'scream'.

Quotative intransitive

vb r 51 = pa 'say'.

vb r 52 = mimi 'speak'.

Stative

vb r 60 = haa 'lie'; neki 'stand'; bae 'hang'; ani 'sit'.

4.1.5. The verb affix

1100 The inflectional verb affix

1110 -axa Abilitative

1120 -ña Punctiliar

1130 Direction

1131 -ki Direction away

1132 -wa Direction toward

1140 -nana Location

1150 -Ani Progressive

1160 Tense

1161 -he Future tense

1162 -nahe Past tense

1200 The verb stem affix

1210 Manner

1211 -hea 'once'

1212 -ka 'tightly'

1213 -k^wahi 'quickly'

1220 Aspect

1221 -wiča?a Continuity

1222 -maha Repetitive

1223 -heyo Conclusive

1224 -pahea Stopped action

1225 -tii Intensifier

1300 The verb stem prefix

xa- Habitual

4.1.6. The auxiliary verb

4.1.6.1. Tagmemic auxiliary verb paradigm

aux 1 = {+Base:vb r 30 (po) +Abil:1110 +Tense:1160}

aux 2 = {+Base:vb r 50 (pa) +Abil:1110/Prog:1150
+Tense:1160}

aux 3 = {+Base:vb r 50 (poa) +Prog:1150 +Tense:1160}

aux 4 = {+Base:vb r 40 (a) +Prog:1150 +Tense:1260}

4.1.6.2. Citation auxiliary verb paradigm

aux 1 = po-axa-nahe 'do -able -past' (could do).

aux 2 = pa-axa 'say -able' (can say).

pa-ni-nahe 'say -prog -past' (has said or done).

aux 3 = poa-nahe 'do-or-be -past' (was or did).

poa-ni-he 'do-or-be -prog -fut' (will be doing).

aux 4 = a-ni-nahe 'do -prog -past' (had done or said).

a-he 'do -fut' (will do or say).

4.2. The adjective

4.2.1. Tagmemic adjective paradigm

adj 1-2 = {+Base:adj r 1-2}

adj 3 = {+Nom:2000 +Base:adj r 3}

4.2.2. Citation adjective paradigm

adj 1-2 = wo?o 'red'; wiso 'many'.

adj 3 = e-bio 'nom -first' (first).

4.2.3. Citation adjective root paradigm

adj r 1 = mo 'thick'; pexa 'light'; wo?o 'red'; ka?a
'hard'; kowi 'crooked'; ai 'big'; bikia
'sweet'.

adj r 2 = kemo 'wide'; wiso 'many'; mata 'much'.

adj r 3 = bio 'first'.

4.3. The noun

4.3.1. Tagmemic noun paradigm

Transitive verbal noun

- n 11a = {+Nom: 2000 +Base: vb 14}
 n 11b = {+Nom: 2000 +Base: vb 24}
 n 11c = {+Nom: 2000 +Base: vb 44}
 n 12 = {+Nom: 2000 +Cpd: n r AS/vb 02 AS +Base: vb r
 13/23/43}
 n 13 = {+Nom: 2000 +Cpd: vb 13/23/43 AS +Base: vb 03
 Res}
 n 14 = {+Nom: 2000 +Cpd 1:n r AS +Cpd 2:n r AS +Cpd
 3:n r AS +Base: vb 22 (ka)}
 n 15 = {+Nom: 2000 +Base: vb 13/23/43}

Intransitive verbal noun

- n 31a = {+Nom: 2000 +Base: vb 34}
 n 31b = {+Nom: 2000 +Base: vb 54}
 n 31c = {+Nom: 2000 +Base: vb 64}
 n 32 = {+Nom: 2000 +Cpd: n r AS/vb 33/53/63 +Base: vb
 33/53/63/adj 1 AS}
 n 33 = {+Nom: 2000 +Cpd 1:vb 33 +Cpd. 2:part 31
 Base: n r AS}
 n 34 = {+Nom: 2000 +Base: vb 33/53/63/adj 1}

Adjectival noun

- n 41 = {+Nom: 2000 +Base: adj r 1 +Redup: adj r 1 +Dir:
 1131 +Redup: 1131}

Simple noun

- n 101 = {+Person: 2000 +Base: n r Res}
 n 102 = {+Base: n r Res/n Res +Cpd: n r AS/part r AS/n
 As/adj 1 AS}
 n 103 = {+Base: n r Res/vb r AS +Cpd 1:n r AS/vb r AS/
 adj r AS +Cpd 2:n r AS/adj 1 AS/vb AS}
 n 104 = {+Base: n r Res +Cpd 1:n r AS +Cpd 2:n r AS
 +Cpd 3:n r AS}
 n 105 = {+Nom: 2000 +Base: n r +Cpd: n r (mese)}

The classes n 100 are composition classes. They are divided into distribution classes n 1 - n 4, which are not correlated with the composition classes. Semantically n 1 refers to proper nouns, n 2 to human beings, n 3 to animals, and n 4 to inanimate objects.

4.3.2. Citation noun paradigm

Transitive verbal noun

- n 11a = e-xeki 'nom -bring' (the thing brought).
- n 11b = e-haha 'nom -cut' (the thing chopped).
- n 11c = e-wowi 'nom -tell' (the one taught).
- n 12 = e-se-kek^Wa 'nom -tooth -pierce' (the thing hammered together).
- e-xawi-kia 'nom -banana -give' (the given banana).
- n 13 = e-k^Wia-kia 'nom -hit -give' (the beaten one).
- e-kek^Wa-hea 'nom -pierce -throw' (one left pierced).
- n 14 = e-wi-sa-xa-ka 'nom -point -support -round -tighten' (the brace support on a roof).
- n 15 = e-kek^Waki 'nom -pierce' (the one gone to kill).
- e-wowiki 'nom -tell-to' (the one who tells).

Intransitive verbal noun

- n 31a = e-po 'nom -go' (the one gone).
- e-mano 'nom -sick' (the sick one).
- n 31b = e-mimi 'nom -speak' (the one speaking).
- n 31c = e-bae 'nom -hang' (the one hanging or living).
- n 32 = e-xawi-bae 'nom -banana -hang' (the banana hanging).
- e-šoši-ka?a 'nom -roof -hard' (a roof support).
- e-niñe-dobipahea 'nom -spirit -deter' (stop thoughts from entering).
- n 33 = e-šeki-bia-koxa 'nom -sun -above -eye' (mid-day).
- n 34 = e-sowaki 'nom -ascend' (one gone up).
- e-nekiki 'nom -stand' (the one standing up).
- e-tewe 'nom -black' (the black one).

Adjectival noun

n 41 = e-kene-kene-ki-ki 'nom -anger -anger -away -away'
(one who goes angrily away).

Simple noun

n 101 = e-sa 'person -support' (bone).
e-koxa 'person -eye' (eye).

n 102 = edaa-sa 'back -support' (back bone).
exawi-peyo 'banana -snake' (snake species).
kosi-xa 'fish -egg' (fish-egg).

n 103 = koxa-ša-na 'eye -stiff-hair -hair' (eyelash).
so-sisi-wayo 'seed -little -tail' (tail that rattles).
bae-haha-na 'hang -chop -hair' (woodpecker).

n 104 = koxa-bi-ša-na 'eye -overhang -stiff -hair -hair'
(eyebrow).

n 105 = e-bise-mese 'nom -canoe -owner' (canoe owner).
e-doe-mese 'nom -meat -owner' (brother).

4.3.3. Citation noun root paradigm

n r = wi 'point'; so 'seed'; xa 'slightly-rounded-object';
ak^wi 'tree'; mei 'rock'; ša 'convolution'.

4.3.4. The noun affix

2000 E- Nominalization

4.4. The pronoun4.4.1. Pronoun inventory

		Person			Tribe member
Prepos	01	first	second	third	
		10	20	30	40
		e	mi	o	ese
S/O	02	11	21	31	41
		eyá	miyá	óYa	
Gen	03	12	22	32	
		ek ^w e	míke		
		13	23		

Chart IV. The pronoun

4.4.2. Tagmemic pronoun paradigm

pro 01 = {+Base:pro r 1}

pro 02 = {+Base:pro 11/21/31 +Cpd:pro r 2}

pro 03 = {+Base:pro 11/21 +Cpd:pro r 3}

The decade classes are distribution classes.

4.4.3. The pronoun root inventory

pro r 1 = e First person

mi Second person

o Third person

ese Member of tribe

pro r 2 = ya Subject, object

pro r 3 = k^we Possessive first person

ke Possessive second person

4.5. The numeral

4.5.1. The numeral (root) inventory

num 1 = oI 'one'.

num 2 = beka 'two'.

num 3 = oxaña 'all'.

4.6. The demonstrative

4.6.1. The demonstrative (root) inventory

dem 1 = hikiO 'this'.

dem 2 = pea 'other'.

dem 3 = ma 'that'.

dem 4 = mo Benefactive

dem 5 = iña Benefactive of speaker

miña Benefactive of addressee

4.7. The interrogative

4.7.1. Tagmemic interrogative paradigm

ig a = {+Base: ig r 1}

ig b = {+Ig: 3001 +Base: ig r 2/part 11}

The ig a-b are divided into distribution classes ig 1-10 which are not correlated with the composition classes.

4.7.2. The interrogative inventory

ig 1 = hai 'what'.

ig 2 = ahea 'whose'.

ig 3 = ače 'which'.

ig 4 = aya 'who'.

ig 5 = ae 'who'

ig 6 = ani 'how'.

ig 7 = apio Reason

ig 8 = šai 'might'.

ig 9 = šono Time

ig 10 = ača State

4.7.3. Citation interrogative root paradigm

ig r 1 = hai 'what'; šai 'might'.

ig r 2 = ča State; pio Reason.

4.7.4. The interrogative affix 3000

3001 a- Interrogative

4.8. The prepositive

4.8.1. The prespositive (root) inventory

prepos 1 = ka Permission

prepos 2 = ok^we Intransitive hortatory

ek^we Intransitive hortatory

4.9. The postpositive

4.9.1. Tagmemic postpositive paradigm (see verb affix, 4.1.5).

No more than three of the optional tagmemes occur simultaneously.

postpos 1 a = {+Base:postpos r 1 +Prog:1150 +Tense:
1160}
 postpos 1 b = {+Base:postpos r 1 +Emph:redup}
 postpos 2 = {+Base:postpos r 2 +Punc:1120 +Dir:1130
+L:1140 +Prog:1150 +Tense:1160}
 postpos 3 = {+Base:postpos r 3 +Dir:1131 +Prog:1150
+Tense:1160}
 postpos 4 = {+Base:postpos r 4 +Abil:1110 +Dir:1131}
 postpos 5 = {+Base:postpos r 5 +Dir:1130 +Prog:1150
+Tense:1160}
 postpos 6 = {+Base:postpos r 6 +Tense:1160}
 postpos 7 = {+Base:postpos r 7}
 postpos 8 = {+Base:postpos r 8}
 postpos 9 = {+Base:postpos r 9}
 postpos 10 = {+Base:postpos r 10}
 postpos 11 = {+Base:postpos r 11 +Tense:1160}
 postpos 12 = {+Base:postpos r 12}
 postpos 13 = {+Base:postpos r 13}
 postpos 14 = {+Base:postpos r 14}
 postpos 15 = {+Base:postpos r 15}

4.9.2. Citation postpositive paradigm

postpos 1 a = nee-ni-nahe 'very -prog -past' (was very).

postpos 1 b = nee-nee 'very -very' (very or really).

postpos 2 = ka-nana-ni-nahe 'third-person -enroute -prog
-past' (he was doing enroute).

ka-wa-he 'he -toward -fut' (he will, coming).

ka-ña 'he -punc' (he, for the first time).

postpos 3 = yo-ki-he 'permn -away -fut' (going, will).

yo-ani-nahe 'permn -prog -past' (was permanently).

postpos 4 = mee-axa-ki 'cause -able -away' (can make,
going).

postpos 5 = ya-ni-nahe 'already -prog -past' (already
was).

ya-wa 'already -toward' (already coming).

postpos 6 = o?oya-nahe 'again -past' (repeated).
 postpos 7 = so 'a-bit' (a bit of an action, or diminutive).
 so?o 'a-bit' (a bit of an action, or a little way).
 postpos 8 = k^we 'impv' (do!).
 postpos 9 = xi 'neg' (do not!).
 postpos 10 = Awa 'perm' (may or let).
 postpos 11 = axa 'not'.
 axa-nahe 'not -past' (did not).
 postpos 12 = xima 'not-yet'.
 postpos 13 = sa 'desire' (want or help).
 postpos 14 = čana 'beware' (beware lest).
 postpos 15 = pome 'if-would'.

4.9.3. The postpositive root inventory

postpos r 1 = nee Intensifier
 postpos r 2 = ka Third person
 postpos r 3 = yo Permanency
 postpos r 4 = mee Cause
 postpos r 5 = ya Completive
 postpos r 6 = o?oya 'again'.
 postpos r 7 = so?o Deprecatory
 postpos r 8 = k^we Imperative
 postpos r 9 = xi Negative imperative
 postpos r 10 = Awa Permissive
 postpos r 11 = axa 'not'.
 postpos r 12 = xima 'not-yet'.
 postpos r 13 = sawA Desiderative
 postpos r 14 = čana 'beware'.
 postpos r 15 = pome Condition

4.10. The particle

4.10.1. Tagmemic particle paradigm

part a = {+Base:part r 1-2}
 part b = {+Base:part r 2 +Cpd:redup}

The part a-b is subdivided into distribution classes part 10-100.

4.10.2. The particle inventory

Certification

- part 11 = Ya Focus
- part 12 = ahe Agreement
- part 13 = ka Affirmation
- part 14 = xaKa Emphatic
- part 15 = oi Exclamatory
- part 16 = če Deprecatory
- part 17 = ak^we Deprecatory
- part 18 = de Intensifier
- part 19 = tii Intensifier
- part 20 = koma Focus
- part 21 = ba?A Focus
- part 22 = yowa Item
- part 23 = k^wa Dubitative
- part 24 = nišo Deprecatory

Modification

- part 31 = bia Position above
- part 32 = ma Position below
- part 33 = ki Position under
- part 34 = pe Position beside
- part 35 = sa Position on edge
- part 36 = hea Time earlier
- part 37 = wa Degree
- part 38 = hoam Location away
- part 39 = k^wA Place
- part 41 = me Location
- part 42 = haiyo 'resemble'.
- part 43 = hama 'thus'.
- part 44 = ho 'in'.
- part 45 = xe 'because'.
- part 46 = xi 'in-order-to or having'.
- part 47 = ča State

part 48 = k^waNA Plural

part 49 = biša 'near'.

Subordinating

part 51 = Wa Purpose

part 52 = xoxemo Contrary to fact

part 53 = hoho Cause

part 54 = Wasi Direction into

Relator

part 61 = ke 'toward'.

part 62 = xexe Cause

part 63 = ni Person

Negative

part 71 = Ama 'without'.

Evaluative

part 81 = e[?]e 'yes'.

part 82 = čo 'no'.

part 83 = a[?]a 'doubt'

Adjective

part 91 = kea Characterizer

part 92 = iye 'a-bit'.

part 93 = pišana 'a-bit, not-worth-mentioning'.

Possessive

part 100 = ha Possessor

4.10.3. Citation particle root paradigm

part r 1 = oi Emphasis; de Intensifier

part r 2 = ho 'in'; xa 'emph'.

4.11. The onomatopoeic word

onom = tiitiitii Noise made by arrow hitting

k^wek^wek^we Sound of bird crying

ohooohooho Sound of monkey screaming

5. The morphophonemics

5.1. Phonologically determined variation

Wa part 51 Purpose = wa following o ~ ya following i ~ a
elsewhere: ixia yo wa 'in order to eat';
kek^Wa a 'in order to kill'; šik^Wi ya 'in order
to apply or anoint'.

Wasi xe part 54 'into or toward' = wasi following a or o ~
asi xe elsewhere: eki asi xe 'toward the
house'; san mako wasi xe 'toward San Marcos';
bia k^Wa wasi xe 'into the headwaters'.

Ani verb affix 1150 Progressive = ni following a ~ ani
elsewhere: ixia-ni 'eating'; šik^Wi-ani anointing'.

E - noun affix 2000 Nominalizer = y preceding a ~ e elsewhere:
e-neki 'the one standing'; y-ani 'the
one sitting'.

5.2. Free variation

oYa pro 32 Third person S/O = oya ~ owa oI num 1 'one'
= oi ~ oe

Ya part 11 Focus = ya ~ a

xaXa part 14 Emphatic = xaxa ~ xa?a

ba?A part 21 Focus = ba?a ~ ba

5.3. Grammatically determined variation

Ama Part 71 'without' = ama in adjective phrases ~ ma
elsewhere: pame ama 'without beauty, or not
pretty'; bobo ma 'without food'.

so?O postpos 7 'a bit' so in Vb 04 ~ so?o elsewhere: ixia
so k^We 'eat a bit!'; wana kahe so?o 'he will
keep it awhile'.

saWa postpos 13 'want or help' = sawa in Vb 04 ~ sa elsewhere:
heo sawa k^We 'help walk'; ixia sa
poani 'wants to eat'.

k^WaNA part 48 Plural = kiana following pro 21 and n Res

~ na following pro 31 and nouns of an arbitrary list ~ k^wa in Vb 20/40 ~ k^wana elsewhere: mi kiana 'you plural'.
 o na 'they or another'.
 kek^wa kanahe k^wa 'they pierced'.
 dexa k^wana 'men or people'.

5.4. Lexically determined variation

hikiO dem 1 'this place or thing' = hikia before part 14 xa
 Emphatic ~ hikio elsewhere:
 hikio ebak^wa 'this child'.
 hikia xa 'this very one'.
 k^wA part 39 Place = k^we following ig 5 ae 'what' ~ k^wa elsewhere: ae k^we 'where is'; bia k^wa 'up-river'.

5.5. Reduplication

redup = complete reduplication of the filler of the preceding slot:
 sia 'scream'; siasia 'scream-scream' (scream loudly); wo?o 'red'; wo?owo?o 'red-red' (bright red).

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Pp. 181-306.

Chacobo

by Gilbert R. Prost

Chácobo,^{1,2} Panoan, 155 speakers, located on the Benicito, Ivon, and Yata rivers of the Department of Beni, Province of Vaca Diez, Bolivia.

1. The paragraph
2. The sentence
3. The clause
4. The phrase
 - 4.1. The phrase periphery
 - 4.2. The verb phrase
 - 4.3. The noun phrase
 - 4.4. The manner phrase
 - 4.5. The interrogative phrase
5. The word
 - 5.1. The verb
 - 5.1.1. The independent verb
 - 5.1.2. The dependent verb
 - 5.1.3. The auxiliary verb
 - 5.1.4. The participle
 - 5.1.5. The infinitive
 - 5.2. The noun
 - 5.3. The pronoun
 - 5.4. The adjective

¹The phonemes of Chacobo are: p, t, k, ?, b, s, š, š, h, ř, tš, ts, y, w, m, n, a, i, o, ɿ.

²Prost, 1960.

- 5.5. The adverb
- 5.6. The stative
- 5.7. The aspect word
- 5.8. The interrogative
- 5.9. The locational
- 5.10. The periphery
- 5.11. The postposition
- 5.12. The equational inventory
- 5.13. The impersonal pronoun inventory
- 5.14. The demonstrative inventory
- 5.15. The conjunction
- 5.16. The question marker inventory
- 5.17. The negative inventory
- 5.18. The sentence closure inventory
- 5.19. The modal
- 5.20. The exclamatory
- 5.21. The onomatopoetic utterance
- 5.22. The answer
- 6. The morphophonemics

1. The paragraph

1.1. Paragraph = {+Topic:Sent ±Seq*:Sent}

The topic is most frequently manifested by a simple sentence. The Seq tagmeme is most frequently manifested by a complex sentence. When a complex sentence fills the Seq slot the verb stem occurring in the Sat is the same verb stem as that occurring in the Nuc of the preceding sentence. When a simple sentence fills the Seq slot its subject and time sequence agree with those of the preceding sentence.

1.2. Paragraph citation

Paragraph = 1. noté ha kanik̄. 2. notí ka ?á ci
 nipaš ha ?ošanik̄. 3. ?ošakayá wiak̄
 bakišmar̄i ha kanik̄. 4. ka ?á čimoniši
 ha ririnik̄. 5. riri?aš ha?a ha

- ?ošaniki. 6. ha? a pari ?omaka ha piki
 7. ?ošarabihaniči.
 1. 'he went in the canoe'. 2. 'having
 gone in the canoe, he slept at the half-way
 point'. 3. 'after sleeping, he went
 farther the morning of the next day'.
 4. 'having gone, he landed at Chimonishi'.
 5. 'having landed there he slept'.
 6. 'there at once he ate bass'. 7 'he slept
 a few nights'.

2. The sentence

2.1. Emic sentence classes

2.1.1. Tagmemic simple sentence class

2.1.1.1. Simple sentence = {+Nuc:C1 ind O1-07}

2.1.1.2. Citation simple sentence

Simple sentence = noti šo sani ha ?aki 'canoe tr
 fish he killed' (he shot the fish from the
 boat).

2.1.2. Tagmemic complex sentence classes

	SS			DS
	Tr	Intr	Tr/ Intr	Tr/ Intr
Affirmation	1	3	6	8
Contrary to fact	2	4	-	9
Purpose	-	5	7	10

Chart I. Tagmemic complex sentence classes

SS (same subject) indicates that the subject of
 the independent clause that fills the Nuc slot is

semantically the same as the unexpressed subject of the dependent clause that fills the Sat slot; DS (different subject) indicates that the subjects of the independent and dependent clauses are not the same.

Tr and Intr indicate the class of the independent clause.

2.1.2.1. Tagmemic complex sentence paradigm

Sent 1 = {+Sat 1 +Nuc 1}
 Sent 2 = {+Sat 2 +Nuc 2}
 Sent 3 = {+Sat 3 +Nuc 3}
 Sent 4 = {+Sat 4 +Nuc 4}
 Sent 5 = {+Sat 5 +Nuc 5}
 Sent 6 = {+Sat 6 +Nuc 6}
 Sent 7 = {+Nuc 7 +Sat 7}
 Sent 8 = {+Sat 8 +Nuc 8}
 Sent 9 = {+Sat 9 +Nuc 9}
 Sent 10 = {+Nuc 10 +Sat 10}

2.1.2.2. Tagmatic complex sentence paradigm

Sent 1 = [+Sat³:Cl dep 101 +Nuc-SS:Cl ind 10/20
 +/-Sent clos:sent clos]
 Sent 2 = [+Sat³:Cl dep 104 +Nuc-SS:Cl ind 17/27
 +/-Sent clos:sent clos]
 Sent 3 = [+Sat³:Cl dep 102 +Nuc-SS:Cl ind 31-87
 +/-Sent clos:sent clos]
 Sent 4 = [+Sat³:Cl dep 105 +Nuc-SS:Cl ind 37/47/
 57/67/77/87 +/-Sent clos:sent clos]
 Sent 5 = [+Sat³:Cl dep 106 +Nuc-SS:Cl ind 50
 +/-Sent clos:sent clos]
 Sent 6 = [+Sat³:Cl dep 103 +Nuc-SS:Cl ind +/-Sent
 clos:sent clos]
 Sent 7 = [+Nuc:SS:Cl ind +Sat²:Cl dep 107 +/-Sent
 clos:sent clos]
 Sent 8 = [+Sat³:Cl dep 108 +Nuc-DS:Cl ind +/-Sent
 clos:sent clos]
 Sent 9 = [+Sat³:Cl dep 109 +Nuc-DS:Cl ind 07 +/-Sent
 clos:sent clos]

Sent 10 = [+Nuc-DS:C1 ind +Sat²:C1 ind 06 +/-Sent clos:sent clos]

Sat tagmemes 1 and 3 optionally follow the Nuc but such occurrences are rare.

The symbol +/-Sent clos indicates that the tagmeme Sent clos is obligatory when the following constructions occur sentence final: C1 dep 101 and 102; N nuc 1200, 1300; and continuous and past participles in the included clauses.

2. 1. 2. 3. Citation complex sentence paradigm

Sent 1 = hotat̄ bišo ci--?i camaniki 'torch after-getting j-I lit-long-ago' (after getting the torch I lit it).

Sent 2 = kanat̄ yaro?ašó--?i ?aki ?aki mi baš--na 'bow had-had-if--I killed almost you for--sent-clos' (if I had a bow I would have killed it for you).

Sent 3 = ca?oca?o?áš--no niiniki šobo-no 'sit-sit-after--we stood-long-ago house-in' (after sitting we stood up in the house).

Sent 4 = yonocoyamaro?a?i ci--ha kak̄i ?aki 'work-not-were-if j--he went almost' (if he were not working he would have gone).

Sent 5 = ham̄ pistia ?ošatani--ha ?ari haw̄ kai ki ha honik̄ 'alone small after-going-to-sleep--back his mother to he came' (after going to sleep alone he came back to his mother).

Sent 6 = ?an̄?i ?ašipama ci--ha rak̄iniki 'river-in bathe-would-but j--he feared' (he would have bathed in the river but he was afraid).

Sent 7 = či?i ha mapok̄--haw̄ sani ?imaš̄na 'fire he made--his fish to-roast' (he made a fire in order to roast his fish).

Sent 8 = hiwf ca?oca?o?no ci--?iso hok̄ rá 'on-log sit-sit-I-while j--monkey came decl' (while I was sitting on the log a monkey came).

Sent 9 = ?oi ?iyamaro?ano--?i kak̄i ?aki no?o r̄k̄im̄

ya 'rain did-not-if-I went almost my brother with' (if it had not rained I would have gone with my brother).

Sent 10 = nami ?i ki ?awI-?i pino 'meat me to give-I eat' (give me meat to eat).

2.1.3. Tagmemic sentence fragment

2.1.3.1. Sent frag = {+Nuc:C1 dep/C1 ind/Phrase/Exclam/onom utterance/answer}

2.1.3.2. Sentence fragment citation

Sent frag = ni ?i ?aš ho ?aš-na 'jungle from after-coming' (after coming from the jungle).
yomaniš ka honi 'stole who man' (the man who stole).

šobo pistia-no 'house little-in' (in the little house).

mahiá 'you-don't-say'.

tititititi Sound of person or animal walking
haa 'yes'.

3. The clause

3.1. Tagmemic clause classes

	Transitive		Intransitive					Eq
	Nonref	Ref	Nonref	Ref	Mot	Exp	Quot	
10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	
Decl incom 01	11	21	31	41	51	61	71	81
Decl com 02	12a	22a	32a	42a	52a	62a	72	82
	12b	22b	32b	42b	52b	62b		
Ig incom 03	13a	23a	33a	43a	53a	63a	73	83
	13b	23b	33b	43b	53b	63b		
Ig com 04	14a	24a	34a	44a	54a	64a	74	84
	14b	24b	34b	44b	54b	64b		
Impv 05	15	25	35	45	55	65	75	--
Desid 06	16	26	36	46	56	66	76	--
Ctf 07	17	27	37	47	57	67	77	87

Chart II. Tagmemic independent clause classes

Correla- tion of S of Cl ind and dep	Cl dep compo- sition	Class of Cl ind	Transitive		Intransitive				Eq 170
			Nonref 110	Ref 120	Nonref 130	Ref 140	Exp 150	Quot 160	
SS	Aff	Tr-101	111	121	131	141	151	161	171
		Intr-102	112	122	132	142	152	162	172
		Tr/Intr- 103	113	123	133	143	153	163	173
	Ctf	Tr-104	114	124	134	144	154	164	174
		Intr-105	115	125	135	145	155	165	175
	Inten- tion	Intr-Mot- 106	116	126	136	146	156	166	176
		Tr/Intr 107	117	127	137	147	157	167	177
	Aff	Tr/Intr- 108	118	128	138	148	158	168	178
	Ctf	Tr/Intr- 109	119	129	139	149	159	169	179
DS									

Chart III. Tagmemic dependent clause classes

	Transitive		Intransitive					Eq 1080
	Nonref 1010	Ref 1020	Nonref 1030	Ref 1040	Mot 1050	Exp 1060	Quot 1070	
S ref	1011	1021	1031	1041	1051	1061	1071	1081
O, T, L ref	1012	1022	1032	1042	1052	1062	1072	----

Chart IV. Tagmemic included clause classes

3.1.1. Tagmemic clause paradigm

Independent clause

Cl 11-27 = {±Sat A:Mar A ±Sat B:Mar B 1 +Nuc 1:
 Cl nuc 11-27 ±Sat C:Mar C 1}

Cl 31-87 = {±Sat A:Mar A ±Sat B:Mar B 2 +Nuc 2:
 Cl nuc 31-87 ±Sat C:Mar C 2}

The number of tagmemes occurring in clauses 101-107 SS is usually only one or two. A maximum

of four tagmemes have been found to occur in clauses 108-109 DS.

Dependent clause

- Cl 111-129 = {±Sat A:Mar A ±Sat B:Mar B 1 +Nuc
B:Cl nuc 111-129}
Cl 131-189 = {±Sat A:Mar A ±Sat B:Mar B 2 +Nuc
4:Cl nuc 131-189}

Included clause

- Cl 1011-1022 = {±Sat B:Mar B 1 +Nuc:Cl nuc 1011-
1022}
Cl 1031-1081 = {±Sat B:Mar B 2 +Nuc:Cl nuc 1031-
1081}

3.1.2. Citation clause paradigm

Independent clause

- Cl 10 = ma?ica--noki sinoyamakaki 'in-vain-us
rubbed-not-they' (they do not rub us in
vain).
haci--hiri? awin? noki ?aros pimanik?
'then--Hiri's wife us rice to-eat-caused-
long-ago' (then Hiri's wife fed us rice).
wiaki? ia šo--sani ?aki ni papa 'tomorrow
lake tr--fish kill q-mk father' (is father
fishing at the lake tomorrow?).
- Cl 20 = haci--bakičá haw? ?awi ya šo--karo ha biki--
-šobo ki 'then--at-night his wife with tr--
firewood he brought--house to' (then at
night he brought home firewood with his
wife).
- Cl 30 = nišč ci haw? bak? ya--ha ?ošašinaki 'in-
hammock j his child with--he slept-night'
(he slept in the hammock with his child
last night).
- Cl 40 = ?i ki no?o kai kaša ?itaki--bari?an?-- 'me
at my mother angry-yesterday--at-dawn'
(yesterday morning my mother was angry
at me).
- Cl 50 = haci--?ani ki ha kakasnik?--hamino 'then--

river to he go-wanted--by-himself' (then
he wanted to go by himself to the river).

Cl 60 = bakičá--no?o šobo ?o mi bisono 'at-night--
my house exp you guard' (I want you to
guard my house at night).

Cl 70 = naama--kayamaki-a ?i no?o kai nikč 'long-
ago--go-not-I says my mother past' (long
ago my mother said, "I am not going").

Cl 80 = notč--ca ?o šo honi 'in-canoe--seated eq
man' (the man is seated in the canoe).
paó--míni ha ?inikč 'at-creek--kneeling he
was' (he was kneeling at the creek).

Dependent Clause

Cl 110 = nika ci--hiwf ha ?aki ci 'like-this--j with-
stick he when-hit j' (when he hit him with
the stick like this).

Cl 120 = haci--šobo ki--bišo ci 'then--house to--
having-brought j' (then having brought to
the house).

Cl 130 = ?ani--šita ?á ci ki ?a 'river--after-cross-
ing j report' (after crossing the river).

Cl 140 = hinč--šokobo ?ašino ci 'in-water--child-
ren while-bathing j' (while the children
bathe in the water).

Cl 150 = nika ci--hawf kai ki--ka?aš 'like-this j--his
mother to--after-going' (after going to his
mother like this).

Cl 160 = naama--ha ?a ha kif?á ci 'long-time--it he
after-wanting j' (after wanting it for a
long time).

Cl 170 = hawf ?awi ki ci--kaki-a ?išó ci 'his wife to
j--I-go after-saying j' (after saying to his
wife, "I am going").

Cl 180 = barianč--ni?i ha ?ino ci 'all-day--in-jungle
he while-was j' (while he was in the
jungle all day).

Included clause

Cl 1010 = bakišmarč--hawf wal pacá?ai ka honi 'at-

dawn--his chaco cutting who man' (the man who was cutting his chaco in the morning).

- Cl 1020 = šobo ki--karo bi?a kato 'house to--firewood wood brought that' (firewood that was brought to the house).
- Cl 1030 = pao ki m̄iri--haba?aš kato 'creek to quickly--ran one-who' (the one who ran quickly to the creek).
- Cl 1040 = bakiča--yoši ki raki?aš kato 'at-night--spirit of afraid one-who' (one who was afraid of the spirits at night).
- Cl 1050 = mia ?iki ci--hoyama?aš kato 'you because-of j--did-not-come one-who' (the one who did not come because of you).
- Cl 1060 = ?i baš--no ?o patiari biso?ai ka baki 'me for--my chickens watching who child' (the child who is watching my chickens for me).
- Cl 1070 = ?i baš--ho ?ikii ka honi 'for me--O. K. says who man' (the man who says O. K. for me).
- Cl 1080 = naama--pistia ?iniš kato 'long-ago--small was-long-ago one-that' (the one that was small long ago).

3. 2. Clause margin

3. 2. 1. Tagmemic clause margin paradigm

Mar A = {+(±Seq intro ±M 3)}

Mar B 1 = {+(±Pur ±Ben ±Rel 1 ±L 1 ±L 3 ±M 1)}

Mar B 2 = {+(±Pur ±Ben ±Rel 2 ±L 2 ±L 3 ±M 2)}

Mar C 1 = {+(±Clar 1 ±Mood ±Voc)}

Mar C 2 = {+(±Clar 2 ±Mood ±Voc)}

3. 2. 2. Tagmatic clause margin paradigm

- Mar A = [+(±Seq intro:conj ±M:M 30)]
- Mar B 1 = [+(±Pur:N nuc 1300 ±Ben:N nuc 1200
 ±Rel:N nuc 201-203 ±L 1:N nuc 301-304
 ±L 3:N nuc 1000 ±M:M 10)]
- Mar B 2 = [+(±Pur:N nuc 1300 ±Ben:N nuc 1200
 ±Rel:N nuc 201/602-603 ±L:N nuc 701/
 703-704 ±L:N nuc 1000 ±M:M 20)]
- Mar C 1 = [+(±Clar:N nuc 201-203/301-314/1000/
 1200/1300/M 10 ±Mood:modal ±Voc:N
 nuc 102-103)]
- Mar C 2 = [+(±Clar:N nuc 201/602-603/701/703-704/
 1000/1200/1300/M 20 ±Mood:modal
 ±Voc:N nuc 102-103)]

3. 2. 3. Citation clause margin paradigm

- Mar A = hama--ni^ka 'on-the-other-hand--like-this'
 (on the other hand like this).
 haska 'similarly'.
 haci 'then'.
- Mar B 1 = ?i^ka ?iki ci--wisti šo 'me because j--
 one one tr' (because of me one by one).
 no ?o ha?i baš--šobo šo 'my daughter for--
 house tr' (for my daughter in the house).
 bakišmarf--?ani ki 'morning-in--river to'
 (in the morning to the river).
 honi ya šo--mári šo 'man with tr--quickly
 tr' (quickly with the man).
- Mar B 2 = ni?i ?aš--míri 'jungle from--quickly'
 (quickly from the jungle).
 yata ci--kai baš 'afternoon j--mama for '
 (in the afternoon for mama).
 šobó--baki ya 'house-in--child with' (in
 the house with the child).
- Mar C 1 = míri--ra 'quickly--decl' (quickly).
 ?ani ki--kokó 'river to--uncle' (to the
 river, uncle).
- Mar C 2 = ?ina ya--cocó 'dog with--uncle' (with
 the dog, uncle).

hawi šobo cača--pi 'his house outside--too-bad' (outside his house too bad).

3. 3. Independent clause nucleus

3. 3. 1. Tagmemic independent clause nucleus paradigm

In the following paradigm the Q tagmeme of Ig cl 03 and 04 occurs clause-initial. One other tagmeme in the clause, whatever tagmeme corresponds to the interrogative manifesting the Q tagmeme, occurs in the clause-initial position in portmanteau relationship with the Q tagmeme.

- Cl nuc 11 = {±O ±P 11 ±S 3}
- Cl nuc 12a = {±S 1 ±O ±P 12a}
- Cl nuc 12b = {±O ±P 12b +S 1 +Asp 1}
- Cl nuc 13a = {±Q ±O ±P 13a}
- Cl nuc 13b = {±Q ±O ±P 13b ±S 3}
- Cl nuc 14a = {±Q ±S 1 ±O ±P 14a}
- Cl nuc 14b = {±Q ±O ±P 12b +S 1 +Asp 2}
- Cl nuc 15 = {±O ±P 15}
- Cl nuc 16 = {±S 1 ±O ±P 16}
- Cl nuc 17 = {±S 1 ±O ±P 17}
- Cl nuc 21 = {±Ref ±O ±P 21 ±S 3}
- Cl nuc 22a = {±S 1 ±Ref ±O ±P 22a}
- Cl nuc 22b = {±Ref ±O ±P 22b +S 1 +Asp 1}
- Cl nuc 23a = {±Q ±Ref ±O ±P 23a}
- Cl nuc 23b = {±Q ±Ref ±O ±P 23b ±S 3}
- Cl nuc 24a = {±Q ±S 1 ±Ref ±O ±P 24a}
- Cl nuc 24b = {±Q ±Ref ±O ±P 22b +S 1 +Asp 2}
- Cl nuc 25 = {±Ref ±O ±P 25}
- Cl nuc 26 = {±Ref ±S ±O ±P 26}
- Cl nuc 27 = {±Ref ±S ±O ±P 27}
- Cl nuc 31 = {±P 31 ±S 3}
- Cl nuc 32a = {±S 2 ±P 32a}
- Cl nuc 32b = {±P 32b +S 2 +Asp 1}
- Cl nuc 33a = {±Q ±P 33a}
- Cl nuc 33b = {±Q ±P 33b ±S 3}
- Cl nuc 34a = {±Q ±S 2 ±P 34a}

Cl nuc 34b = {±Q +P 32b +S 2 +Asp 2}
 Cl nuc 35 = {+P 35}
 Cl nuc 36 = {±S 2 +P 36}
 Cl nuc 37 = {±S 2 +P 37}
 Cl nuc 41 = {±Ref +P 41 ±S 3}
 Cl nuc 42a = {±Ref ±S 2 +P 42a}
 Cl nuc 42b = {±Ref +P 42b +S 2 +Asp 1}
 Cl nuc 43a = {±Q ±Ref +P 43a}
 Cl nuc 43b = {±Q ±Ref +P 43b ±S 3}
 Cl nuc 44a = {±Q ±Ref ±S 2 +P 44a}
 Cl nuc 44b = {±Q ±Ref +P 42b +S 2 +Asp 2}
 Cl nuc 45 = {±Ref +P 45}
 Cl nuc 46 = {±Ref ±S 2 +P 46}
 Cl nuc 47 = {±Ref ±S 2 +P 47}
 Cl nuc 51 = {±Ref +P 51 ±S 3}
 Cl nuc 52a = {±Ref ±S 2 +P 42a}
 Cl nuc 52b = {±Ref +P 52b +S 2 +Asp 1}
 Cl nuc 53a = {±Q ±Ref +P 53a}
 Cl nuc 53b = {±Q ±Ref +P 53b ±S 3}
 Cl nuc 54a = {±Q ±Ref ±S 2 +P 44a}
 Cl nuc 54b = {±Q ±Ref +P 52b +S 2 +Asp 2}
 Cl nuc 55 = {±Ref +P 55}
 Cl nuc 56 = {±Ref ±S 2 +P 56}
 Cl nuc 57 = {±Ref ±S 2 +P 57}
 Cl nuc 61 = {+Exp +P 61 ±S 3}
 Cl nuc 62a = {+Exp +S 2 +P 62a}
 Cl nuc 62b = {+Exp +P 62b +S 2 +Asp 1}
 Cl nuc 63a = {±Q +Exp +P 63a}
 Cl nuc 63b = {±Q +Exp +P 63b ±S 3}
 Cl nuc 64a = {±Q +Exp ±S 2 +P 64a}
 Cl nuc 64b = {±Q +Exp +P 62b +S 2 +Asp 2}
 Cl nuc 65 = {+Exp +P 65}
 Cl nuc 66 = {+Exp ±S 2 +P 66}
 Cl nuc 67 = {+Exp ±S 2 +P 67}
 Cl nuc 71 = {+Cit ±Ref +P 71 ±S 3}
 Cl nuc 72 = {+Cit ±Ref +P 72 +S 2 +Asp 1}
 Cl nuc 73 = {±Q +Cit ±Ref +P 73 ±S 1}
 Cl nuc 74 = {±Q +Cit ±Ref +P 72 +S 3 +Asp 2}
 Cl nuc 75 = {+Cit ±Ref +P 75}

- C1 nuc 76 = {+Cit ±Ref +P 72 +S 2 +Asp 3}
 C1 nuc 77 = {+Cit ±Ref +P 77 +S 2 +Asp 1 +Aux}
 C1 nuc 81 = {+PC +Eq ±S 3}
 C1 nuc 82 = {+PC +S 2 +Eq}
 C1 nuc 83 = {+Q +PC +Eq ±S 3}
 C1 nuc 84 = {+Q +PC +S 2 +Eq}
 C1 nuc 87 = {+PC +S 2 +Eq +Aux}

3.3.2. Tagmatic independent clause nucleus paradigm

In general not more than 5 tagmemes occur in the independent clause.

When a S tagmeme is manifested by a pronoun it most frequently occurs contiguous to the P tagmeme.

In the tr clauses when the S, O, and Ref tagmemes precede the P, their mutual order varies freely; in clauses 02b and 04b the O and R tagmemes optionally follow the P. Tagmemes of Margin B are optionally interspersed among the nuclear tagmemes.

Subjects of clauses 02a and 04a may also occur after the P tagmeme. When they are the only tagmemes in a sentence the order is P followed by S.

C1 nuc 11 = [±O:N nuc 401/403 +P:Vb 11 ±S:N nuc 401/403]

C1 nuc 12a = [±S:N nuc 102-103 ±O:N nuc 401/403 +P:Vb 12a]

C1 nuc 12b = [±O:N nuc 401/403 +P:Vb 12b +S:N nuc 102-103 +Asp:asp 11]

C1 nuc 13a = [±Q:Ig 10/30 ±O:N nuc 401/403 +P:Vb 13a]

C1 nuc 13b = [±Q:Ig 10/30 ±O:N nuc 401/403 +P:Vb 13b ±S:N nuc 401/903]

C1 nuc 14a = [±Q:Ig 10/30 ±S:N nuc 102-103 ±O:N nuc 401/403 +P:Vb 14]

C1 nuc 14b = [±Q:Ig 10/30 ±O:N nuc 401/403 +P:Vb 12b +S:N nuc 102-103 +Asp:asp 12-13]

C1 nuc 15 = [±O:N nuc 401/403 +P:Vb 15]

C1 nuc 16 = [±S:N nuc 102-103 ±O:N nuc 401/403 +P:Vb 16]

- C1 nuc 17 = [\pm S:N nuc 102-103 \pm O:N nuc 401/403
+P:Vb 17]
- C1 nuc 21 = [\pm Ref:N nuc 1100 \pm O:N nuc 401/403
+P:Vb 21 \pm S:N nuc 401/903]
- C1 nuc 22a = [\pm S:N nuc 102-103 \pm Ref:N nuc 1100
 \pm O:N nuc 401/403 +P:Vb 22a]
- C1 nuc 22b = [\pm Ref:N nuc 1100 \pm O:N nuc 401/403
+P:Vb 22b \pm S:N nuc 102-103 +Asp:asp 11]
- C1 nuc 23a = [\pm Q:Ig 10/30 \pm Ref:N nuc 1100 \pm O:N
nuc 401/403 +P:Vb 22a]
- C1 nuc 23b = [\pm Q:Ig 10/30 \pm Ref:N nuc 1100 \pm O:N
nuc 401/403 +P:Vb 23b \pm S:N nuc 401/
903]
- C1 nuc 24a = [\pm Q:Ig 10/30 \pm S:N nuc 102-103 \pm Ref:N
nuc 1100 \pm O:N nuc 401/403 +P:Vb 24]
- C1 nuc 24b = [\pm Q:Ig 10/30 \pm Ref:N nuc 1100 \pm O:N
nuc 401/403 +P:Vb 22b \pm S:N nuc 102-103
+Asp:asp 12-13]
- C1 nuc 25 = [\pm Ref:N nuc 1100 \pm O:N nuc 401/403 +P:
Vb 25]
- C1 nuc 26 = [\pm Ref:N nuc 1100 \pm S:N nuc 102-103 \pm O:
N nuc 401/403 +P:Vb 26]
- C1 nuc 27 = [\pm Ref:N nuc 1100 \pm S:N nuc 102-103 \pm O:
N nuc 102-103 +P:Vb 27]
- C1 nuc 31 = [+P:Vb 31 \pm S:N nuc 401/903]
- C1 nuc 32a = [\pm S:N nuc 401/503 +P:Vb 32a]
- C1 nuc 32b = [+P:Vb 32b \pm S:N nuc 401/503 +Asp:
asp 21]
- C1 nuc 33a = [\pm Q:Ig 20/30 +P:Vb 33a]
- C1 nuc 33b = [\pm Q:Ig 20/30 +P:Vb 33b \pm S:N nuc 401/
903]
- C1 nuc 34a = [\pm Q:Ig 20/30 \pm S:N nuc 401/503 +P:Vb
34]
- C1 nuc 34b = [\pm Q:Ig 20/30 +P:Vb 32b \pm S:N nuc 401/
503 +Asp:asp 22-23]
- C1 nuc 35 = [+P:Vb 35]
- C1 nuc 36 = [\pm S:N nuc 401/503 +P:Vb 36]
- C1 nuc 37 = [\pm S:N nuc 401/503 +P:Vb 37]

- C1 nuc 41 = [±Ref:N nuc 1100 +P:Vb 41 ±S:N nuc
401/903]
- C1 nuc 42a = [±Ref:N nuc 1100 ±S:N nuc 401/503
+P:Vb 42a]
- C1 nuc 42b = [±Ref:N nuc 1100 +P:Vb 42b +S:N nuc
401/503 +Asp:asp 21]
- C1 nuc 43a = [±Q:Ig 20/30 ±Ref:N nuc 1100 +P:Vb
43a]
- C1 nuc 43b = [±Q:Ig 20/30 ±Ref:N nuc 1100 +P:Vb
43b ±S:N nuc 401/903]
- C1 nuc 44a = [±Q:Ig 20/30 ±Ref:N nuc 1100 ±S:N
nuc 401/503 +P:Vb 44]
- C1 nuc 44b = [±Q:Ig 20/30 ±Ref:N nuc 1100 +P:Vb
42b +S:N nuc 401/503 +Asp:asp 22-23]
- C1 nuc 45 = [±Ref:N nuc 1100 +P:Vb 45]
- C1 nuc 46 = [±Ref:N nuc 1100 ±S:N nuc 401/503 +P:
Vb 46]
- C1 nuc 47 = [±Ref:N nuc 1100 ±S:N nuc 401/503 +P:
Vb 47]
- C1 nuc 51 = [±Ref:N nuc 1100 +P:Vb 51 ±S:N nuc
401/903]
- C1 nuc 52a = [±Ref:N nuc 1100 ±S:N nuc 401/503
+P:Vb 52a]
- C1 nuc 52b = [±Ref:N nuc 1100 +P:Vb 52b +S:N nuc
401/503 +Asp:asp 21]
- C1 nuc 53a = [±Q:Ig 20/30 ±Ref:N nuc 1100 +P:Vb
53a]
- C1 nuc 53b = [±Q:Ig 20/30 ±Ref:N nuc 1100 +P:Vb
53b ±S:N nuc 401/903]
- C1 nuc 54a = [±Q:Ig 20/30 ±Ref:N nuc 1100 ±S:N
nuc 401/503 +P:Vb 54]
- C1 nuc 54b = [±Q:Ig 20/30 ±Ref:N nuc 1100 +P:Vb
52b +S:N nuc 401/503 +Asp:asp 22-23]
- C1 nuc 55 = [±Ref:N nuc 1100 +P:Vb 55]
- C1 nuc 56 = [±Ref:N nuc 1100 ±S:N nuc 401/503
+P:Vb 56]
- C1 nuc 57 = [±Ref:N nuc 1100 ±S:N nuc 401/503
+P:Vb 57]

- C1 nuc 61 = [+Exp:N nuc 801/803-804 +P:Vb 61 ±S:
N nuc 401/903]
- C1 nuc 62a = [+Exp:N nuc 801/803-804 +S:N nuc 401/
503 +P:Vb 62a]
- C1 nuc 62b = [+Exp:N nuc 801/803-804 +P:Vb 62b
+S:N nuc 401/503 +Asp:asp 21]
- C1 nuc 63a = [±Q:Ig 20/30 +Exp:N nuc 801/803-804
+P:Vb 63a]
- C1 nuc 63b = [±Q:Ig 20/30 +Exp:N nuc 801/803-804
+P:Vb 63b ±S:N nuc 401/903]
- C1 nuc 64a = [±Q:Ig 20/30 +Exp:N nuc 801/803-804
±S:N nuc 401/503 +P:Vb 64]
- C1 nuc 64b = [±Q:Ig 20/30 +Exp:N nuc 801/803-804
+P:Vb 62b +S:N nuc 401/503 +Asp:asp
22-23]
- C1 nuc 65 = [+Exp:N nuc 801/803-804 +P:Vb 65]
- C1 nuc 66 = [+Exp:N nuc 801/803-804 ±S:N nuc 401/
503 +P:Vb 66]
- C1 nuc 67 = [+Exp:N nuc 801/803-804 ±S:N nuc 401/
503 +P:Vb 67]
- C1 nuc 71 = [+Cit:Dis ±Ref:N nuc 1100 +P:Vb 71
±S:N nuc 401/903]
- C1 nuc 72 = [+Cit:Dis ±Ref:N nuc 1100 +P:Vb 72b
+S:N nuc 401/503 +Asp:asp 21]
- C1 nuc 73 = [+Q:Ig 20/30 +Cit:Dis ±Ref:N nuc 1100
+P:Vb 73b ±S:N nuc 401/903]
- C1 nuc 74 = [+Q:Ig 20/30 +Cit:Dis ±Ref:N nuc 1100
+P:Vb 72b +S:N nuc 401/503 +Asp:asp
21-22]
- C1 nuc 75 = [+Cit:Dis ±Ref:N nuc 1100 +P:Vb 75]
- C1 nuc 76 = [+Cit:Dis ±Ref:N nuc 1100 +P:Vb 72b
+S:N nuc 401/503 +Asp:asp 24]
- C1 nuc 77 = [+Cit:Dis ±Ref:N nuc 1100 +P:Vb 72b
+S:N nuc 401/503 +Asp:asp 21 +Aux:aux
3]
- C1 nuc 81 = [+PC:N nuc 401/403/602-603/701/703-
704/1000/M 20/30 ±Neg:neg +Eq:eq
±S:N nuc 401/903]
- C1 nuc 82 = [+PC:N nuc 401/403/602-603/701/703-

704/1000/M 20/30 ±Neg:neg +S:N nuc
 401/503 +Eq:aux 1]

Cl nuc 83 = [±Q:Ig 20/30 +PC:N nuc 401/403/602-
 603/701/703-704/1000/M 20/30 ±Neg:neg
 +Eq:q mk +S:N nuc 401/903]

Cl nuc 84 = [±Q:Ig 20/30 +PC:N nuc 401/403/602-
 603/701/703-704/1000/M 20/30 ±Neg:neg
 +S:N nuc 401/503 +Eq:aux 1]

Cl nuc 87 = [+PC:N nuc 201/401/403/603/703-704/
 1000/M 20/30 ±Neg:neg +S:N nuc 401/
 503 +Eq:aux 1 +Aux:aux 2]

3.3.3. Citation independent clause nucleus paradigm

Cl nuc 11 = šiki--tima?i ki?a--kai 'corn--pound re-
 port--mother' (mother is pounding corn).

Cl nuc 12a = honi bá--yawa--?aki 'man pl--pig--kill-
 ed' (the men killed the pig).

Cl nuc 12b = pi ci ki?a--nami--papá--waki 'eat j
 report--meat--father--it-past' (it is re-
 ported that father ate the meat).

Cl nuc 13a = hinino--sani--širi?akai 'when--fish--
 cooking' (when are you cooking the fish?).

Cl nuc 13b = hawinia šo--pi?i ni--papa 'where tr--
 to-eat q-mk--father' (where is father eat-
 ing?).

Cl nuc 14a = hawišobá--papá--hawi miki--kiisa?á
 'instr--father--his hand--cut' (with what
 did father cut his hand?).

Cl nuc 14b = ?ia--mana ci--papá--wa?á 'me--wait j
 --father--past' (did father wait for me?).

Cl nuc 15 = no?o wiko--sinowé 'my leg--rub' (rub
 my leg!).

Cl nuc 16 = noki--ha--tišano 'us--he--bite' (he
 wants to bite us).

Cl nuc 17 = papá--yawa--?aki ?aniki 'father--pig--
 killed almost-long-ago' (long ago father
 almost killed the pig).

Cl nuc 21 = ?i ki--nami--?aki--baké 'me to--meat--

- gives--child' (the child gives me meat).
 Cl nuc 22a = ho ?aš cató--no ki--pani--bik̄t 'came
 one-who-us to--palm-nut--brought' (the
 one who came brought us palm nuts).
 Cl nuc 22b = ?i ki--mani--kopi ci--čamá--wak̄t 'me
 to--knife--pay j--boss--past' (the boss
 paid me a knife).
 Cl nuc 23a = hinino--?i wati ki--kibo--?aki kanai
 'when--grandmother to--turkey--to-give
 going' (when are you going to give the
 turkey to grandmother?).
 Cl nuc 23b = hinawak̄t ci--?i ki--karapi--bi?i ni--
 honi 'why j--me to--banana--to-bring q--
 mk--man' (why is the man bringing me
 bananas?).
 Cl nuc 24a = šobo ki--papá--mia--raanf 'house to--
 father--you--send' (did father send you
 home?).
 Cl nuc 24b = hinino--mi ki--?a ci--kař--wa ?á
 'when--you--to give j--mother--it-past'
 (when did mother give it to you?).
 Cl nuc 25 = ha ki--poroma--biw̄t 'him to--axe--
 bring' (bring the axe to him!).
 Cl nuc 26 = koko siri ki--no ?o mani--mi--bino
 'uncle old to--my knife--you--bring' (I
 want you to bring my knife to old uncle).
 Cl nuc 27 = ?asoka--no ki--kai--?iniakt ?aki
 'sugar--us to--mama--gave almost'
 (mama almost gave us candy).
 Cl nuc 31 = kayamaki 'not-going' (he is not going).
 Cl nuc 32a = ?ošakti--bakt 'slept--child' (the child
 slept).
 Cl nuc 32b = habapini ci--?ina--k̄t 'ran-slowly j--
 dog--past' (the dog ran slowly).
 Cl nuc 33a = hinino--?ašikanai 'when--wash-you-pl'
 (when are you washing?).
 Cl nuc 33b = pak̄t?i ni--šinó 'to-fall q-mk--monkey'
 (will the monkey fall?).
 Cl nuc 34a = hinawak̄t ci--no ?o ha ?i--?oša ?i ka ?á

'why j--my daughter--to-sleep go' (why did my daughter go to sleep?).

C1 nuc 34b = ?oriki ci--papá--?á 'eat j--father--past' (did father eat?).

C1 nuc 35 = habawí 'run!'.

C1 nuc 36 = mi--risomica 'you--die-may' (you may die).

C1 nuc 37 = baki--pakiki ?aki 'child--fell almost' (the child almost fell).

C1 nuc 41 = šobo ki--hikokaski--patiari bo 'house to --enter-want--chicken pl' (the chickens want to enter the house).

C1 nuc 42a = ?ani ki--no--ka ?iniki 'river at--we--arrived' (we arrived at the river).

C1 nuc 42b = mi ki--rakí ci--?isa--kí 'you of--afraid j--bird--past' (the bird was afraid of you).

C1 nuc 43a = no?o kai ki--kaša ?ai 'my mother at--angry' (are you angry at my mother?).

C1 nuc 43b = hini ki--hico ?i ni--kapiti 'water to--to-enter q-mk--alligator' (is the alligator entering the water?).

C1 nuc 44a = hinino--šobo ki--koya--ka ?i?á 'when--house at--Koya--arrived' (when did Koya arrive home?).

C1 nuc 44b = hinawakí ci--kama ki--rakí ci--mi--?á 'why j--tiger of--afraid j--you--past' (why were you afraid of the tiger?).

C1 nuc 45 = ?i ki--kašayamawí 'me at--do-not-be--angry' (don't be angry at me!).

C1 nuc 46 = yoši ki--rakiyamano 'spirit of--fear--not' (let's not fear the spirits).

C1 nuc 47 = no?o šobo ki--ha--hikotí ?akitakí 'my house to--he--entered almost-yesterday' (yesterday he almost entered my house).

C1 nuc 51 = ?ani ki--bokaki 'river to--go-they' (they are going to the river).

C1 nuc 52a = hoki--?ia 'came--I' (I came).

C1 nuc 52b = yaka ki--ka ci--papa--kí 'town to--go

- j--father--past' (father went to town).
 Cl nuc 53a = kac?ai 'are-you-going?'.
 Cl nuc 53b = hinino- -hotiki?i ni 'when--come-again
q-mk' (when is he coming again?).
 Cl nuc 54a = hinawakf ci--ha--bicaná 'why j--he--
come-they' (why did they come?).
 Cl nuc 54b = hinawa ?aš--ho ci--kokon--?á 'how
intr--come j--uncle--past' (how did
uncle come?).
 Cl nuc 55 = howf 'come!'.
 Cl nuc 56 = hato šobo ki--ha--bokamica 'their house
to--he--go-pl-might' (they might to their
homes).
 Cl nuc 57 = ?ani ki--ha--kaki ?aki 'river to--he--
went almost' (he almost went to the
river).
 Cl nuc 61 = mani ?o--kiiki--koko 'knife exp--wants--
uncle' (uncle wants a knife).
 Cl nuc 62a = no ?o šobo ?o--ha--bisoki 'my house
exp--he--guarded' (he guarded my house).
 Cl nuc 62b = no ?o noti ?o--bisoi ci--papa--ki 'my
canoe exp--guard j--father--past' (father
guarded my canoe).
 Cl nuc 63a = hinino--koko ?o--paso ?ai 'when--uncle
exp--expect' (when are you expecting
uncle?).
 Cl nuc 63b = ?i no ?o--paso ?i ni 'me exp--to-expect
q-mk' (is he expecting me?).
 Cl nuc 64a = ha ?a--kiikaná 'it--wanted-pl' (did they
want it?).
 Cl nuc 64b = mi no ?o--paso ci--kai--?á 'you exp--
expect j--mother--past' (did mother
expect you?).
 Cl nuc 65 = no ?o šobo ?o--bisowi 'my house exp--
guard' (guard my house!).
 Cl nuc 66 = ha ?a--mi--kiino 'it--you--like' (I want
you to like it).
 Cl nuc 67 = ha ?a--yaya--pasomica 'it--aunt--ex--
pect-might' (aunt might expect it).

- Cl nuc 71 = ?ia--?iki--koko 'me--says--uncle'
(uncle says, "me").
- Cl nuc 72 = kaki-a--?i ci--papa--ki 'I-go--say j--father--past' (father said, "I'm going").
- Cl nuc 73 = hinawakí--hoo--?iki ní--mi bafí 'why--good--to-say q-mk--your child' (why is your child saying, "good"?).
- Cl nuc 74 = yama--?i--mi--?á 'there-is-none--say--you--past' (did you say, "there is none"?).
- Cl nuc 75 = haa--?ipá 'yes--say' (say, "yes").
- Cl nuc 76 = hoyamaki-a--?i--koko--mica 'to come-not-I--say uncle--might' (uncle might say, "I am not coming").
- Cl nuc 77 = kaki-a--?i ki--?i ci--kai--ki ?aki 'I-go--me to--say j--mama--past almost' (mama almost said to me, "I'm going").
- Cl nuc 81 = honi--šo--?ia 'man--eq--I' (I am a man).
- šobó--šo--?ia 'house-in--eq--I' (I am in the house).
- Cl nuc 82 = pistia--ha--?iniki 'small--he--was' (he used to be small).
- šobó ci--?ina--?iki 'house-in j--dog--was'
(the dog was in the house).
- Cl nuc 83 = čukí ni 'dirty q-mk' (is it dirty?).
- Cl nuc 84 = šobó ci--mi--?inf 'house j--you--were-long-ago' (were you in the house?).
- honi caša--mi noma--?inf 'man bad--your brother--was-long-ago' (was your brother a bad man?).
- Cl nuc 88 = hawi ha?i ya--kai--?iki ?aniki 'her daughter with--mother--was almost'
(mother was almost with her daughter).

3. 4. Dependent clause nucleus

3. 4. 1. Tagmemic dependent clause nucleus paradigm

Cl nuc 111-117 = {±O +P 111-117}
 Cl nuc 118-119 = {±O +S 1 +P 118-119}
 Cl nuc 121-127 = {±Ref ±O +P 121-127}
 Cl nuc 128-129 = {±Ref ±O +S 1 +P 128-129}
 Cl nuc 131-137 = {+P 131-137}
 Cl nuc 138-139 = {+S +P 138-139}
 Cl nuc 141-147 = {±Ref +P 141-147}
 Cl nuc 148-149 = {±Ref +S 2 +P 148-149}
 Cl nuc 151-157 = {+Exp +P 151-157}
 Cl nuc 158-159 = {+Exp +S 2 +P 158-159}
 Cl nuc 161-167 = {+Cit +P 161-167}
 Cl nuc 168-169 = {+Cit +P 72 +S 2 +Asp 8-9}
 Cl nuc 171-177 = {+PC +Asp 1-7}
 Cl nuc 178-179 = {+PC +S 2 +Asp 8-9}

3.4.2. Tagmatic dependent clause nucleus paradigm

Cl nuc 111-117 = [±O:N nuc 401/403 +P:Vb 111-117]
 Cl nuc 118-119 = [±O:N nuc 401/403 +S:N nuc 102-
 103 +P:Vb 118-119]
 Cl nuc 121-127 = [±Ref:N nuc 1100 ±O:N nuc 401/403
 +P:Vb 121-127]
 Cl nuc 128-129 = [±Ref:N nuc 1100 ±O:N nuc 401/403
 +S:N nuc 102-103 +P:Vb 128-129]
 Cl nuc 131-137 = [+P:Vb 131-137]
 Cl nuc 138-139 = [+S:N nuc 401/903 +P:Vb 138-139]
 Cl nuc 141-147 = [±Ref:N nuc 1100 +P:Vb 141-147]
 Cl nuc 148-149 = [±Ref:N nuc 1100 +S:N nuc 401/903
 +P:Vb 148-149]
 Cl nuc 151-157 = [+Exp:N nuc 801/803-804 +P:Vb
 151-157]
 Cl nuc 158-159 = [+Exp:N nuc 801/803-804 +S:N nuc
 401/903 +P:Vb 158-159]
 Cl nuc 161-167 = [+Cit:Dis +P:Vb 161-167]
 Cl nuc 168-169 = [+Cit:Dis +P:Vb 72b +S:N nuc 401
 /903 +Asp:asp 108-109]
 Cl nuc 171-177 = [+PC:N nuc 401/602-603/701/703-
 704/1000/M 20/30 ±Neg:neg +Asp:asp
 101-107]

Cl nuc 178-179 = [+PC:N nuc 401/602-603/701/703-
704/1000/M 20/30 ±Neg:neg +S:N nuc
401/903 +Asp:asp 108-109]

3. 4. 3. Citation dependent clause nucleus paradigm sample

Cl nuc 111 = *hiwi--rirašó* 'tree--having-cut-tr-mk'
(having out the tree).

Cl nuc 122 = *šobo ki--hawi bakü -raa ?áš* 'house to--
his son--having-sent' (having sent his son
home).

Cl nuc 133 = *habakayani* 'run-going-away' (going
away running).

Cl nuc 144 = *kama ki--rakiyamaro ?ašó* 'tiger at--
afraid-not-was-it' (if he was not afraid of
the tiger).

Cl nuc 155 = *?i no ?o--pasoro ?a ?áš* 'me exp--expect
-had-if' (if he had expected me).

Cl nuc 166 = *howí--?itani* 'come--say-go' (going to
say, "come!").

Cl nuc 167 = *haa--?išina* 'yes--say-in-order-to' (in
order to say, "yes").

Cl nuc 178 = *šobo ?aš--honi--no ci* 'house intr--man--
-while j' (while the man was in the house).

Cl nuc 179 = *?ani--yoša--ro ?ano ci* 'river--women--
had-if j' (if the women had been by the
river).

3. 5. Included clause nucleus

3. 5. 1. Tagmemic included clause nucleus paradigm

Cl nuc 1011 = {±O +P 1011 +Sub ±S}

Cl nuc 1012 = {±O ±S +P 1012 ±Sub}

Cl nuc 1021 = {±Ref ±O +P 1021 +Sub ±S}

Cl nuc 1022 = {±Ref ±O ±S +P 1022 ±Sub}

Cl nuc 1031 = {+P 1031 +Sub +S}

Cl nuc 1032 = {±S +P 1032 ±Sub}

C1 nuc 1041 = {±Ref +P 1041 +Sub ±S}
 C1 nuc 1042 = {±Ref ±S +P 1042 +Sub}
 C1 nuc 1051 = {±Ref +P 1051 +Sub ±S}
 C1 nuc 1052 = {±Ref ±S +P 1052 +Sub}
 C1 nuc 1061 = {+Exp +P 1061 +Sub ±S}
 C1 nuc 1062 = {+Exp ±S +P 1062 +Sub}
 C1 nuc 1071 = {+Cit +P 1071 +Sub ±S}
 C1 nuc 1072 = {±S +Cit +P ±Sub}
 C1 nuc 1081 = {+PC +Sub ±S}

3.5.2. Tagmatic included clause nucleus paradigm

C1 nuc 1011 = [±O:N nuc 401/403 +P:ptc 11/14-15
 +Sub:rel pro ±S:N/pro]
 C1 nuc 1012 = [±O:N nuc 401/403 ±S:N nuc 102-103
 +P:ptc 11-13/16 ±Sub:rel pro]
 C1 nuc 1021 = [±Ref:N nuc 1100 ±O:N nuc 401/403
 +P:ptc 21/24-25 +Sub:rel pro ±S:N/pro]
 C1 nuc 1022 = [±Ref:N nuc 1100 ±O:N nuc 401/403
 ±S:N nuc 102-103 +P:ptc 21-23/26 ±Sub:
 rel pro]
 C1 nuc 1031 = [+P:ptc 31/34-35 +Sub:rel pro ±S:N/
 pro]
 C1 nuc 1032 = [±S:N nuc 401/503 +P:ptc 31-33/36
 ±Sub:rel pro]
 C1 nuc 1041 = [±Ref:N nuc 1100 +P:ptc 41/44-45 +Sub
 :rel pro ±S:N/pro]
 C1 nuc 1042 = [±Ref:N nuc 1100 ±S:N nuc 401/503
 +P:ptc 41-43/46 ±Sub:rel pro]
 C1 nuc 1051 = [±Ref:N nuc 1100 +P:ptc 51/54-55
 +Sub:rel pro ±S:N/pro]
 C1 nuc 1052 = [±Ref:N nuc 1100 ±S:N nuc 401/503
 +P:ptc 51-53/56 ±Sub:rel pro]
 C1 nuc 1061 = [+Exp:N nuc 801/803-804 +P:ptc 61/64
 -65 +Sub:rel pro ±S:N/pro]
 C1 nuc 1062 = [+Exp:N nuc 801/803-804 ±S:N nuc
 401/503 +P:ptc 61-63/66 ±Sub:rel pro]
 C1 nuc 1071 = [+Cit:Dis +P:ptc 71/74-75 +Sub:rel
 pro ±S:N/pro]

- Cl nuc 1072 = [+S:N nuc 401/503 +Cit:Dis +P:ptc
 71-73/76 ±Sub:rel pro]
 Cl nuc 1081 = [+PC:N nuc 201/401/403/602-603/701/
 703-704/M 20/30 ±Neg:neg +Sub:rel pro
 ±S:N/pro]

3. 5. 3. Citation included clause nucleus paradigm

- Cl nuc 1011 = ?aca--?ima?ai--ka--baki 'manioc--roasting--who--child' (child who is roasting manioc).
- Cl nuc 1012 = mani--ha--yoma?á--kato 'knife--he--stole--that' (knife that he stole).
- Cl nuc 1021 = mi ki--moto--?akáš--kato 'you to--grain--gave--one-who' (one who gave you grain).
- Cl nuc 1022 = ?ina--ha--pima?á--kato 'dog--he--fed--what' (what he fed the dog).
- Cl nuc 1031 = paki?áš--kato 'fell--one-who' (one who fell).
- Cl nuc 1032 = ?i--?ošatí--kato 'I--to-sleep--place' (where I will sleep).
- Cl nuc 1041 = šobo ki--hiko?ai--kato 'house to--entering--one-who' (one who is entering the house).
- Cl nuc 1042 = kama ki--ha--rakiní--kato 'tiger of--he--feared--what' (what he feared from the tiger).
- Cl nuc 1051 = ha?ari--ka?ai--ka--honi 'back--going--who--man' (man who is going back).
- Cl nuc 1052 = ?ani ki--ha--ka?á--kato 'river to--he--went--place' (where he went to the river).
- Cl nuc 1061 = šobo ?o--biso?ai--ka--?inaka 'house exp--watching--which--dog' (dog which is watching the house).
- Cl nuc 1062 = šini ?o--ha--ki?á--kato 'oil exp-he--wanted--what' (oil which he wanted).
- Cl nuc 1071 = ho--?ikii--ka--yoša 'O.K.--says--who--woman' (woman who says, "O.K.").
- Cl nuc 1072 = honi--ho--?iní--kato 'man--O.K.--

said--what' ("O. K.," which was said by the man).

C1 nuc 1081 = pistia--ma--ka--baki 'small--not--one-child' (child that is not small).

4. The phrase

4.1. The phrase periphery (common to all phrases)

4.1.1. Phrase periphery formula

Per = piri--ci--ki?a 'truly--j--report' (for sure it is reported).

4.1.2. Phrase periphery citation

piri--ci--ki?a 'truly--j--report' (for sure it is reported).

pari--ki?a 'first--report' (first, it is reported).

ro?a--ri--ci 'only--too--j' (only also).

4.2. The verb phrase

4.2.1. Tagmemic verb phrase paradigm

Vb 11-75 minus Vb 02b = {+Nuc:Vb nuc 11-75 minus Vb nuc 02b/Pur 11-75 minus Pur 02b}

Vb 02b = {+Nuc:Vb nuc 02b/Pur 02b +Per:Per}

4.2.2. Citation verb phrase paradigm sample

Vb 11b = pi?i ki?a 'to-eat report' (eats).

Vb 37 = tima?i caki 'to-pound went' (went to pound).
habaki ?aki 'ran almost' (almost ran).

Vb 12b = ci?ka--piri ci ki?a 'take-out--true j report'
(taking out for sure it is said).

Vb 22b = bi--ci 'bring--j' (bring).

Vb 32b = ?ara?i ka--ci ki?a 'to-cry go--j report'
(to be going to cry it is said).

4. 2. 3. The verb phrase nucleus

4. 2. 3. 1. Tagmemic independent verb phrase nucleus classes

		Transitive			Intransitive				
		Nonref 10	Ref 20	Nonref 30	Ref 40	Mot 50	Exp 60	Quot 70	
Incom	01a	11a	21a	31a	41a	51a	61a	71a	
Incom	01b	11b	21b	31b	41b	51b	61b	71b	
Com	02a	12a	22a	32a	42a	52a	62a	---	
Com	02b	12b	22b	32b	42b	52b	62b	72b	
Ig incom	03a	13a	23a	33a	43a	53a	63a	---	
Ig incom	03b	13b	23b	33b	43b	53b	63b	73b	
Ig com	04	14	24	34	44	54	64	---	
Impv	05	15	25	35	45	55	65	75	
Desid	06	16	26	36	46	56	66	---	
Ctf	07	17	27	37	47	57	67	---	

Chart V. Tagmemic independent verb phrase nucleus classes

Emic distribution classes 10-70 contrast in regard to the verbs which manifest the head tagmeme and in distribution. Inasmuch as these classes are not relevant to the composition of the verb phrase nucleus, formulas for only the composition classes are given in the following paradigms. The composition classes also contrast in distribution as well as in formula.

4. 2. 3. 2. Tagmemic independent verb phrase nucleus paradigm

Transitive

Vb nuc tr 01a = {+H:vb tr incom}

Vb nuc tr 01b = {+H:inf tr +Aux:report}

- Vb nuc tr 02a = {+H;vb tr com a}
 Vb nuc tr 02b = {+H;vb tr com b}
 Vb nuc ig tr 03a = {+H:ptc tr cont}
 Vb nuc ig tr 03b = {+H:inf tr +Aux:q mk}
 Vb nuc ig tr 04 = {+H:ptc tr past}
 Vb nuc tr 05 = {+H;vb tr impv}
 Vb nuc tr 06 = {+H;vb tr desid}
 Vb nuc tr 07 = {+H;vb tr ctf +Aux:aux 2}

Intransitive

- Vb nuc intr 01a = {+H;vb intr incom/st}
 Vb nuc intr 01b = {+H:inf intr +Aux:report}
 Vb nuc intr 02a = {+H;vb intr com a}
 Vb nuc intr 02b = {+H;vb intr com b}
 Vb nuc ig intr 03a = {+H:ptc intr cont}
 Vb nuc ig intr 03b = {+H:inf intr +Aux:q mk}
 Vb nuc ig intr 04 = {+H:ptc intr past}
 Vb nuc intr 05 = {+H;vb intr impv}
 Vb nuc intr 06 = {+H;vb intr desid}
 Vb nuc intr 07 = {+H;vb intr ctf +Aux:aux 3}

4. 2. 3.3. Citation verb phrase nucleus paradigm

Transitive

- Vb nuc tr 01a = wišaki 'scratches'.
 Vb nuc tr 01b = wiša?i--ki?a 'to-scratch--report'
 (scratches).
 Vb nuc tr 02a = pilk? 'ate'.
 Vb nuc tr 02b = tima 'pound'.
 Vb nuc ig tr 03a = mīra?ai 'are-you-searching?'.
 Vb nuc ig tr 03b = mīra?i--ni 'to-search--q-mk'
 (is he searching?).
 Vb nuc ig tr 04 = kīyo?á 'did-he-finish?'.
 Vb nuc tr 05 = ?awf 'do-it!'.
 Vb nuc tr 06 = ?ano 'let-us-do-it'.
 ?imamica 'might-roast'.
 Vb nuc tr 07 = bīk?--?ahawak? 'brought--almost-he
 -it-past' (he almost brought it).

Intransitive

- Vb nuc intr 01a = habaki 'runs'.

- Vb nuc intr 01b = haba?i--ki?a 'run--report'
 (runs).
- Vb nuc intr 02a = kaki 'went'.
- Vb nuc intr 02b = ?oša 'sleeping'.
- Vb nuc ig intr 03a = ?ara?ai 'are-you-crying?'.
- Vb nuc ig intro 03b = ho?i--ní 'to-come-q-mk' (is he coming?).
- Vb nuc ig intr 04 = paki?á 'did-he-fall?'.
- Vb nuc intr 05 = niiwí 'stand!'.
- Vb nuc intr 06 = kano 'let's-go'.
 habamica 'might-run'.
- Vb nuc intr 07 = pakiki--?aki 'fell--almost'
 (almost fell).

4. 2. 4. Tagmemic independent purpose phrase

4. 2. 4. 1. Tagmemic purpose phrase paradigm

Formulas of the purpose phrases are obtained by multiplication as follows: Pur = {+H:inf +Aux:
 Vb 50}.

To obtain the formulas of the Pur phrases, replace the fillers of the H slot with each of the infinitives (5. 1. 5, Chart XII), and for each infinitive replace the filler of the Aux slot with each of the phrases from column Vb Mot 50 (4. 2. 1, Chart V).

The numerical symbol of the Pur phrase corresponds in decade to that of the infinitives filling the H slot, and in digit to that of the Vb Mot filling the Aux slot.

4. 2. 4. 2. Citation purpose phrase paradigm sample

- Pur 11 = m̄ira?i--kaki 'to-search--goes' (he goes to search).
- Pur 22a = bi?i--kaki 'to-bring--went' (he went to bring).
- Pur 32b = ?ara?i--ka 'to-cry--go' (go to cry).
- Pur 43a = ka?i?i--bokanai 'to-arrive--going-pl'
 (are you going to arrive?).

Pur 53b = ho ?i- -ka ?i ni 'to-come--to-go q-mk'
(is he going to come?).

Pur 64 = biso ?i- -ka ?á 'to-guard- -did-go' (did he
go to guard?).

Pur 75 = ?iki- -kapá 'to-say--go' (go tell!).

4. 2. 5. Emic dependent verb phrase classes

Correla- tion of S of Ind and Dep cl	Dep phrase compo- sition	Class of correlated Ind cl	Transitive		Intransitive			
			Nonref 10	Ref 20	Nonref 30	Ref 40	Exp 50	Quot 60
SS	Aff	Tr-101	111	121	131	141	151	161
		Intr-102	112	122	132	142	152	162
		Tr/Intr-103	113	123	133	143	153	163
	Ctf	Tr-104	114	124	134	144	154	164
		Intr-105	115	125	135	145	155	165
	Inten- tion	Intr mot- 106	116	126	136	146	156	166
		Tr/Intr- 107	117	127	137	147	157	167
	Aff	Tr/Intr- 108	118	128	138	148	158	
	Ctf	Tr/Intr- 109	119	129	139	149	159	

Chart VI. Emic dependent verb phrase classes

4. 2. 5. 1. Emic dependent verb phrase formula

Vb 111-167 = {+Nuc:vb 111-167/Pur 111-167 +Per:
Per}

4. 2. 5. 2. Citation dependent verb phrase sample

Vb 111 = pišo--pari ci 'eat-having--first j' (after
first eating).

Vb 122 = bi?á--ro?á ri ci 'brought-having--only also
j' (just after bringing).

Vb 133 = ?ašipama--ci ki?a 'wash-would-but--j re-
port' (would have washed but).

Vb 144 = rakiyamaro ?akí-ci 'feared-not-had-if--j'
(if he had not feared).

Vb 168 = *kiihaki--piri ci* 'wanted-he-when--truly j'
(when he wanted for sure).

4. 2. 6. Emic dependent purpose phrase

4. 2. 6. 1. Emic dependent purpose phrase paradigm

Formulas for the Dep Pur phrases are obtained by multiplication as follows: Pur 100 = {+H:inf +Aux :vb 150}

To obtain the formulas of the Pur 100 phrases, replace the fillers of the H slot with each of the infinitives (5. 1. 5), and for each infinitive replace the filler of the Aux slot with each dep mot vb 151-159. See 5. 1. 2.

The numerical symbol of the dependent purpose phrase corresponds in decade to that of the infinitive filling the H slot, and in century and digit to that of the vb mot filling the Aux slot.

4. 2. 6. 2. Citation dependent purpose paradigm sample

Pur 111 = *kiisa?i--kašó* 'to-cut--going-after' (after going to cut).

Pur 133 = *?oša?i--kapama* 'to-sleep--go-would-but' (would have gone to sleep but).

Pur 155 = *biso?i--horo?a?i* 'to-watch--come-had-if' (if he had come to watch).

Pur 178 = *?iki--hohano* 'to-say--come-he while'
(when he came to say).

4. 3. The noun phrase

4. 3. 1. The complex noun phrase

4. 3. 1. 1. Complex noun phrase classes and their distribution by clause-level slots

	Transitive				Intransitive				Neutral				
	S 1	Rel 2	L 1	O	S 2	Rel 2	L 2	Exp	S 3	L 3	Ref	Ben	Pur
Inan a	---	201				201	701	801	401	1000	1100	1200	1300
An b	102	202			301	401	401		602				
Pro	103	203	303-	403	503	603	703-	803-	903				
			304				704	804					

Chart VII. Complex noun phrase classes and their distribution by clause-level slots

See 4.3.2. The included phrases referred to in the headings of the rows manifest either the H tagmeme of the complex noun phrase, or the S tagmeme of the included clause which manifests the H tagmeme. Such included clauses are labeled a (inanimate) or b (animate) according to the etic class of the the phrase manifesting the S tagmeme.

4.3.1.2. Tagmemic complex noun phrase paradigm

N 100-1300 minus N 103/503/903 = {+Nuc:N nuc 100-1300 minus N nuc 103/503/903 +Per:Per}

N 103/503/903 = {+Nuc:N nuc 103/503/903}

N 103/503/903 are phrases which manifest the clause-level S tagmeme and whose heads are manifested by pronouns. These do not occur with the Per tagmeme.

4.3.1.3. Citation complex noun phrase sample

N 301 = šobo šo--ci 'house at--j' (at the house).

N 401 = no?o ha?i--piři ci 'my daughter--truly j'
(my daughter for sure).

N 603 = ?i bita--ro? a ri ci ki? a 'me with--only too
j report' (only with me, it is said).

N 103 = no 'we'. See 4.1. Phrase periphery

4.3.1.4. Tagmemic noun phrase nucleus

4.3.1.4.1. Tagmemic noun phrase nucleus paradigm

- N nuc 102 = {+H:N 1-10b/Incl cl b +S tr:postpos 101}
- N nuc 103 = {+H:pro A +S tr:postpos 101}
- N nuc 201 = {+H:N 2/4-11a/Incl cl a +T Instr:postpos 102}
- N nuc 202 = {+H:N 1-10b/Incl cl b +Acc:postpos 105/
107 +Tr:postpos 103}
- N nuc 203 = {+H:pro A +Acc:postpos 106/108 +Tr:
postpos 103}
- N nuc 301 = {+H:N/Incl cl ±L:loc 1-3 +Tr:postpos
103}
- N nuc 303 = {+H:pro A +L:loc 3 +Tr:postpos 103}
- N nuc 304 = {+H:pro C ±L:loc 1-2 +Tr:postpos 103}
- N nuc 401 = {+H:N 1-10/Incl cl}
- N nuc 403 = {+H:pro C}
- N nuc 503 = {+H:pro A}
- N nuc 602 = {+H:N 1-10b/Incl cl b +Acc:postpos 105/
107}
- N nuc 603 = {+H:pro A +Acc:postpos 106/108}
- N nuc 701 = {+H:N/Incl cl ±L:loc 1-3 +Intr:postpos
102/104}
- N nuc 703 = {+H:pro A +L:loc 3 +Intr:postpos 102/
104}
- N nuc 704 = {+H:pro C ±L:loc 1-2 +Intr:postpos 102/
104}
- N nuc 801 = {+H:N 1-10/Incl cl +Exp:postpos 107}
- N nuc 803 = {+H:pro A +Exp:postpos 108}
- N nuc 804 = {+H:3 sg pro C}
- N nuc 903 = {+H:pro B}
- N nuc 1000 = {+H:N/Incl cl +L:loc 1-3}
- N nuc 1100 = {+H:N/Incl cl/pro A +Ref:postpos 109}
- N nuc 1200 = {+H:N/Incl cl/pro A +Ben:postpos 110}
- N nuc 1300 = {+H:N/Incl cl/Ind cl 06/pro C +Pur:
postpos 111}

4.3.1.4.2. Citation noun phrase nucleus paradigm

N nuc 102 = honi pistia bá 'men small pl' (the small men).

ho?ita?áš kató 'came-yesterday one' (the one who came yesterday).

- N nuc 103 = nó 'we'.
- N nuc 201 = bara wistitá 'bullet one' (by one bullet).
no?o saipi pistia--no 'my machete small--with'
(with my small machete).
- Šini cikt?ai kató 'stars come-out one' (at the time of coming out of the stars).
- N nuc 202 = hawi papa--ya--šo 'his father--with--tr'
(with his father).
- N nuc 301 = mi šobo siri--ta ?i--šo 'your house old--next-to--tr' (next to your old house).
niá--šo 'here--tr' (here).
- N nuc 302 = no?o papa--?o--šo 'my father--by--tr'
(by my father).
- N nuc 303 = ?i--no?o--šo 'me--by--tr' (by me).
- N nuc 304 = ?ia--ta ?i--šo 'me--next-to--tr' (next to me).
- N nuc 401 = nokf 'us'.
- N nuc 503 = ?i 'I'.
- N nuc 602 = ?iwati wiši--ya 'grandmother Wiši--with'
(with grandmother Wiši).
?isi?ai ka honi--ya 'sick one man--with'
(with the man who is sick).
- N nuc 603 = no--bitá 'us--with' (with us).
- N nuc 701 = mi šobo--kačá 'your house--outside'
(outside your house).
niá 'here'.
- N nuc 703 = ?i--no?o 'me--by' (by me).
- N nuc 704 = ?ia--ta ?i 'me--next-to' (next to me).
- N nuc 801 = no?o šobo--?o 'my house--exp' (my house).
- N nuc 803 = mi--no?o 'you--exp' (you).
- N nuc 804 = ha?a 'it'.
- N nuc 903 = noa 'we'.
mia 'you-sg' (you).
- N nuc 1000 = noti--šara 'canoe--inside' (inside the canoe).
- N nuc 1100 = kama pistia--ki 'tiger small--of/to'
(of, to the small tiger).

pa ?išini ka bina--ki 'hurt one bee--of, to'
(of, to the bee that hurt).

N nuc 1200 = ?i--baš 'me--for' (for me).

ho ?ita ?áš ka--baš 'came-yesterday one-who--for' (for the one who came yesterday).

N nuc 1300 = ?ia--?iki 'me--because-of' (because of me).

ha homica--?ikf 'he might-come--because'
(because he might come).

4.3.2. The simple noun phrase

4.3.2.1. Tagmemic simple noun phrase paradigm

- N 1 = {+Gen 1 +H 1}
- N 2 = {+Gen 1 ±Desc +H 2}
- N 3 = {+Gen 2/Honorific +H 3}
- N 4 = {+Gen 1 +H 4}
- N 5 = {+Gen 3 +H 5}
- N 6 = {+Gen 3 +H 6}
- N 7 = {+Gen 2 +Id +H 7}
- N 8 = {+H 8 +Cd ±Cd}
- N 9 = {+H 9 ±Dem +Ap}
- N 10 = {+H 10}
- N 11 = {+H 11}
- N 12 = {+H 12}

4.3.2.2. Tagmatic simple noun phrase paradigm

- N 1 = [+Gen 1:pro D/N 1-3 +H 1:n A ±Att:adj ±Quant :n G ±Pl:pl (bo)]
- N 2 = [±Gen 1:pro D/N 1-3 ±Desc:n B/ptc 06 +H 2:n B ±Att:adj ±Quant:n G ±Pl:pl (bo)]
- N 3 = [±Gen 2:pro D/Honorific:n D +H 3:n C ±Att:adj ±Quant:n G]

The Quant tagmeme has also been found to occur phrase initial.

- N 4 = [+Gen 1:pro D/N 1-3 +H 4:poss (na)]
- N 5 = [+Gen 3:N 4 +H 5:pl/Incl cl]
- N 6 = [+Gen 3:N 4 +H 6:Incl cl 1081]

- N 7 = [+Gen 2:pro D +Id:N 6 +H 7:N 1-2]
 N 8 = [+H 8:pro C/N 1-5 +Cd 1:pro C/N 1-5 ±(Cd 2:
 pro C/N 1-5)² ±Cd 3:n G (ti?i)]
 N 9 = [+H:pro D/N 1-6 ±Dem:dem (naa) +App:N 1-6]
 N 10 = [+H:n G]
 N 11 = [+H:n F]
 N 12 = [+H:n E}

4. 3. 2. 3. Citation simple noun phrase paradigm

- N 1 = hawf-noma--pistia 'his--brother--younger'
 (his younger brother).
 no?ó-ha?i--wistima 'my--daughter--many'
 (my many daughters).
 N 2 = ti?iria--hawf-mapotí-karo 'much--his--for-
 burning--firewood' (his much firewood for
 burning).
 mi--pia--síbo--?iwi--bo 'your--arrow--bun-
 dle--heavy--pl' (your heavy bundle of
 arrows).
 N 3 = hawf-maro--pistia 'his--Maro--small' (his
 small Maro).
 taita--rabi 'Mr.--Rabi'.
 N 4 = no?ó-na 'my--possession' (mine).
 no?o koko siri--na 'my uncle old--posses-
 sion' (that which belongs to my old uncle).
 N 5 = papá na--bo 'father possession--pl' (those that
 belong to father).
 maró na--čoši?á kato 'Maro--possession
 broken one' (the broken one that belongs to
 Maro).
 N 6 = no?ó na--haska kato 'my possession--same
 one' (the same kind that belongs to me).
 N 7 = hawf-no?ó na haska kato--hawf tootf 'his--my
 possession same one--his gun' (his gun,
 the same kind that belongs to me).
 N 8 = ?ia--papa--no?o ?inaka--ti?i 'I--father--my
 dog--many' (my dog, father and I).
 N 9 = kai raiti--naa--šini kato 'mother cloth--this-

-red one' (mother's cloth, the red one).

yoša--naa--maro ?awini 'woman--this--Maro
wife' (the woman, Maro's wife).

N 10 = wistita 'one'.

N 11 = bakišmari 'morning'.

N 12 = nia 'here'.

4. 4. The manner phrase

4. 4. 1. Tagmemic manner phrase paradigm

M 10 = {+Nuc:M nuc 11-13 ±Per:Per}

M 20 = {+Nuc:M nuc 21-22 ±Per:Per}

M 30 = {+Nuc:M nuc 30 ±Per:Per}

4. 4. 2. Citation manner phrase paradigm

M 10 = nii šo--ci 'standing tr--j' (standing).

M 20 = ca?o--ro?a ri ci ki? a 'seated--only also j
report' (only seated it is reported).

hami--piri ci 'alone--truly j' (truly alone).

M 30 = nika--ci ki? a 'like-this--j report' (like this,
it is reported).

For Phrase Periphery see 4. 1.

4. 4. 3. The manner phrase nucleus

4. 4. 3. 1. Tagmemic manner phrase nucleus paradigm

M nuc 11 = {+H 1 +Tr}

M nuc 12 = {+H 2 ±Tr}

M nuc 13 = {+H 3 +Dup +Tr}

M nuc 21 = {+H 4 ±Intr}

M nuc 22 = {+H 3 +Dup}

M nuc 30 = {+H 5}

4. 4. 3. 2. Tagmatic manner phrase nucleus paradigm

M nuc 11 = [+H 1:st/adv 2 ±Att:adj (pistia) +Tr:post-
pos 103]

- M nuc 12 = [+H 2:adj ±Att:adj (pistia) ±Tr:postpos
103]
 M nuc 13 = [+H 3:n 9G +Dup:n 9G +Tr:postpos 103]
 M nuc 21 = [+H:st/adj/adv 2 ±Att:adj (pistia)
±Intr:postpos 104]
 M nuc 22 = [+H:n 9G +Dup:n 9G]
 M nuc 30 = [+H:adv 1]

The number manifesting the Dup tagmeme is identical with the numeral manifesting the H tagmeme.

4. 4. 3.3. Citation manner phrase nucleus paradigm

- M nuc 11 = nii--šo 'stand--tr' (standing).
 hamī--pistia--šo 'alone--small--tr' (by himself).
 M nuc 12 = kowi--pistia--šo 'sad--small--tr' (sadly).
 M nuc 13 = wisti--wisti--šo 'one--one--tr' (one by one).
 M nuc 21 = nii 'standing'.
 hamī--pistia 'alone--small' (by himself).
 rani--?aš 'happy--intr' (happily).
 M nuc 22 = wisti--wisti 'one--one' (one by one).
 M nuc 30 = nika 'like-this'.

4. 5. The interrogative phrase

4. 5. 1. Tagmemic interrogative phrase paradigm

- Ig 10 = {+Nuc:Ig nuc 10 ±Per:Per}
 Ig 20 = {+Nuc:Ig nuc 20 ±Per:Per}
 Ig 30 = {+Nuc:Ig nuc 30 ±Per:Per}

4. 5. 2. Citation interrogative phrase paradigm

- Ig 10 = hawinia šo--ci 'where tr--j' (where?).
 Ig 20 = cowi ya--piri ci 'whom with--truly j' 'with whom surely').

Ig 30 = cowi baš--píri ci 'whom for--truly j' (for whom surely).

For Phrase Periphery see 4.1.

4.5.3. The interrogative phrase nucleus

4.5.3.1. Tagmemic interrogative phrase nucleus paradigm

Ig nuc 11 = {+H:ig 1 +S tr:postpos 101}

Ig nuc 12 = {+H:ig 1 +Acc:postpos 105/107 +Tr:postpos 103}

Ig nuc 13 = {+H:ig 1-2 +L:loc 1-3 +Tr:Postpos 103}

Ig nuc 14 = {+H:ig 3/5-6 +Tr:postpos 103}

Ig nuc 21 = {+H:ig 1 +Acc:postpos 105/107}

Ig nuc 22 = {+H:ig 1-2 +Exp:postpos 107}

Ig nuc 23 = {+H:ig 1-2 +L:loc 1-3 +Intr:postpos 102/104}

Ig nuc 24 = {+H:ig 3/5-6 +Intr:postpos 104}

Ig nuc 31 = {+H:ig 1-2 +Mod:postpos 109-111}

Ig nuc 32 = {+H:ig 1-8}

4.5.3.2. Citation interrogative phrase nucleus paradigm

Ig nuc 11 = cowi 'who?'.

Ig nuc 12 = cowi--ya--šo 'who--with--tr' (with whom?).

Ig nuc 13 = hawi--ta?i--šo 'what--next-to--tr' (next to what?).

Ig nuc 14 = hawinia--šo 'where--tr' (where?).
hinawa--šo 'how--tr' (how?).

hini--šo 'why--tr' (why?).

Ig nuc 21 = cowi--ya 'who--with' (with, by whom?).

Ig nuc 22 = hawi--?o 'what--exp' (what?).

Ig nuc 23 = hawi--nama--?aš 'what--under--intr'
(under what?).

Ig nuc 24 = hawinia--?aš 'where--intr' (where?).

hinawa--?aš 'how--intr' (how?).

hini--?aš 'why--intr' (why?).

- Ig nuc 31 = hawi-ki 'what--for' (for what?).
 cowi-?iki 'whom--because' (because of whom?).
 cowi-baš 'whom--for' (on behalf of whom?).
 Ig nuc 32 = hawišobá 'by-what-means' (by what means?).
 hinino 'when?'.
 hinawaki 'why?'.

5. The word

5.1. The verb

5.1.1. The independent verb

5.1.1.1. The inflected independent verb

5.1.1.1.1. Emic independent verb classes

	Transitive		Intransitive				
	Nonref	Ref	Nonref	Ref	Mot	Exp	Quot
	10	20	30	40	50	60	70
Incom	11	21	31	41	51	61	71
Com a	12a	22a	32a	42a	52a	62a	---
Com b	12b	22b	32b	42b	52b	62b	72b
Impv	15	25	35	45	55	65	75
Desid	16	26	36	46	56	66	76
Ctf	17	27	37	47	57	67	77

Chart VIII. Emic independent verb classes

Transitive and Intransitive verbs are divided into distribution subclasses corresponding to the root distribution classes. See 5.1.1.5. These distribution subclasses, not being relevant to the composition of

the verb, have not been shown in the morphological paradigms.

5.1.1.1.2. Tagmemic independent verb paradigm

Transitive

- vb tr incom = {+Base tr a +Asp 1}
- vb tr com a = {+Base tr a +Asp 2}
- vb tr com b = {+Base tr b }
- vb tr impv = {+Base tr a +(±Mot ±Asp 3)}
- vb tr desid = {+Base tr a +Asp 4}
- vb tr ctf = {+Base tr b +Asp 2 }

Intransitive

- vb intr incom = {+Base intr a +Asp 1}
- vb intr com a = {+Base intr a +Asp 2}
- vb intr com b = {+Base intr b }
- vb intr impv = {+Base intr a +(±Mot ±Asp 3)}
- vb intr desid = {+Base intr a +Asp 4}
- vb intr ctf = {+Base intr b +Asp 2 }

5.1.1.1.3. Tagmatic independent verb paradigm

Transitive

- vb tr incom = [+Base:vb theme 10a ±Mot:8001 +Asp: 9001]
- vb tr com a = [+Base:vb theme 10a ±Mot:8001 +Asp: 9002]
- vb tr impv = [+Base:vb theme 10a +(±Mot:8001 ±Asp: 9003-9005)]
- vb tr desid = [+Base:vb theme 10a ±Mot:8001 +Asp: 9006-9007]
- vb tr ctf = [+Base:vb theme 10b +Asp:9002]

Intransitive

- vb intr incom = [+Base:vb theme 20a ±Mot:8001 +Asp:9001]
- vb intr com a = [+Base:vb theme 20a ±Mot:8001 +Asp:9002]
- vb intr com b = [+Base:vb theme 20b]

vb intr impv = [+Base:vb theme 20a +(±Mot:8001
±Asp:9003-9005)]

vb intr desid = [+Base:vb theme 20a +Asp:9006-
9007]

vb intr ctf = [+Base:vb theme 20b +Asp:9002]

5.1.1.4. Citation independent verb paradigm

Transitive

vb tr incom = pitikikas-ki 'eat-again-wants -incom'
(wants to eat again).

vb tr com a = manahawani-ki 'wait-he-him-long-ago
-com' (long ago he waited for him).

vb tr com b = ?abona 'do-going' (to do while going).

vb tr impv = tikapari-wi 'break-first -impv' (break
it first!).

vb tr desid = bišari-no 'bring-tomorrow -desid' (let
us bring it tomorrow).

vb tr ctf = čoša-ki 'smash -com' (smashed).

Intransitive

vb intr incom = hošaritiari-ki 'come-tomorrow-per-
haps -incom' (will perhaps come to-
morrow).

vb intr com a = niiba?ina?ita-ki 'stand-all-day-yester-
day -com' (stood all day yesterday).

vb intr com b = ?ošayama 'sleep-not' (did not
sleep).

vb intr impv = hikoci-na 'enter-now -impv' (come
in!).

vb intr desid = ka-no 'go -desid' (let us go).

vb intr ctf = pak-ki 'fall -com' (fell).

5.1.1.2. The verb theme

5.1.1.2.1. Tagmemic verb theme paradigm

vb theme 10a = {+Base tr ±/-(+S ref +O ref) ±T 1}

vb theme 10ax = {+Base tr ±/-(+S ref +O ref) ±T 2}

vb theme 10ay = {+Base tr ±/-(+S ref +O ref) +T 3}

vb theme 10az = {+Base tr ±/-(+S ref +O ref)}

vb theme 10b = {+Base tr}

±/- See Tagmatic verb theme paradigm

vb theme 20a = {+Base intr ±S ref ±T 1}

vb theme 20ax = {+Base intr ±S ref ±T 2}

vb theme 20ay = {+Base intr ±S ref ±T 3}

vb theme 20az = {+Base intr ±S ref}

vb theme 20b = {+Base intr}

5.1.1.2.2. Tagmatic verb theme paradigm

vb theme 10a = [+Base:stem 10 ±/-(+S ref:4010 +O ref:5001) ±/-Pl:6000 ±T:7000]

vb theme 10ax = [+Base:stem 10 ±/-(+S ref:4010 +O ref:5001) ±/-Pl:6000 ±T:7001-7003]

vb theme 10ay = [+Base:stem 10 ±/-(+S ref:4010 +O ref:5001) ±/-Pl:6000 ±T:7004-7005]

vb theme 10az = [+Base:stem 10 ±/-(+S ref:4010 +O ref:5001) ±/-Pl:6000]

vb theme 10b = [+Base:stem 10]

The symbol ±/- before parenthesis indicates that the S and O ref tagmemes occur only when the object referent is third person. The symbol ±/- before the Pl indicates that it occurs concomitantly with the S and O ref only when a subject referent is third person singular.

vb theme 20a = [+Base:stem 20 ±S ref:4020 ±/-Pl:6000 ±T:7000]

vb theme 20ax = [+Base:stem 20 ±S ref:4020 ±/-Pl:6000 ±T:7001-7003]

vb theme 20ay = [+Base:stem 20 ±S ref:4020 ±/-Pl:6000 ±T:7004-7005]

vb theme 20az = [+Base:stem 20 ±S ref:4020 ±/-Pl:6000]

vb theme 20b = [+Base:stem 20]

The symbol ±/- before Pl indicates that the Pl tagmeme occurs concomitantly with the S only when a third person S suffix 4003 fills the S slot.

5.1.1.2.3. Citation verb theme paradigm

vb theme 10a = ?akas-?i-wa-?ita- 'do-want -I -O-ref
-yesterday' (yesterday I wanted to do it).

vb theme 10ax = mirayo-ha-wa-ka-yami- 'search-all
-he -O-ref -pl -sometime-ago' (some time
ago they all looked for it).

vb theme 10ay = caka-ka-ni 'pierce -they -long-ago'
(long ago they pierced).

vb theme 10az = pihawaka- 'eat-he-it-they' (they eat
it).

vb theme 10b = hamabona- 'step-on-coming' (to step
on while coming).

vb theme 20a = biisiyo-ka- 'jump-all -pl' (they all
jump).

vb theme 20ax = habašina-ha-?ita- 'run-night -he
-yesterday' (yesterday he ran at night).

vb theme 20ay = ca?o-ha-ka-ni 'sit -he -they -long
-ago' (long ago they sat).

vb theme 20az = pakihaka 'fall-he-they' (they fell).

vb theme 20b = kašari- 'go-tomorrow' (go tomorrow).

5.1.1.3. The verb stem

5.1.1.3.1. Tagmemic verb stem paradigm

vb stem 10a = {+Base tr ±Stem fv tr}

vb stem 10b = {+Base intr +Stem fv tr}

vb stem 20 = {+Base intr ±Stem fv intr}

5.1.1.3.2. Tagmatic verb stem paradigm

vb stem 10a = [+Base:vb core 10 ±Stem fv 1:1000
±Stem Mod³:2000 (except 2220 and 2520)
Stem fv 2:1000 ±Col:3000]

The same suffix of class 1000 does not occur twice in a construction. Suffixes 2000 have been found preceding and following suffix 1000.

~ [(+Base:vb core 10 ±Stem fv:1000)² ±Stem

Mod³:2000 (except 2220 and 2520) ±Col:
3000]

vb stem 10b = [+Base:vb core 20 +/- Stem fv 1:1101
±Stem Mod³:2000 (except 2220 and 2520)
±Stem fv 2:1000 ±Col:3000]

The symbol +/- indicates that the Stem fv suffix 1101 obligatorily fills one of the Stem fv slots; suffix 1201-1202 optionally fills the other Stem fv slot.

Suffixes 2000 have been found both preceding and following suffix 1000.

~[(+Base:vb core 20 +Stem fv:1101)² ±Stem
Mod³:2000 (except 2220 and 2520) ±Col:
3000]

vb stem 20 = [+(Base:vb core 20 ±Stem fv:1201-1202)²
±Stem Mod³:2000 (except 2210 and 2510)
±Col:3000]

The mutual order of the Stem fv and Stem Mod is optional when reduplication does not occur.

5.1.1.3.3. Citation verb stem paradigm

vb stem 10a = pi-ma-tikikas- 'eat -caus -again-want'
(again want to cause to eat).

pi-tikikas-ma- 'eat -again-want -caus' (cause
to want to eat again).

?a-ria-?a-ria- 'do -intens -do -intens' (do
energetically).

tisa-ma-tisa-ma-šina- 'break-rope -caus
-break-rope -caus -night' (break rope ener-
getically at night).

tima-pini- 'pound -slowly' (pound slowly).

čoša-yo 'smash -all' (smash all).

vb stem 10b = ?oša-ma-ba ?ina- 'sleep -caus -day'
(during the day causes to sleep).

?oša-šari-ma- 'sleep -tomorrow -caus' (cause
to sleep tomorrow).

haba-ria-haba-ria-yama- 'run -intens -run -in-
tens-not' (to not run energetically).

ka-parici- 'go -at-once-now' (go at once).
 vb stem 20 = kaša-ro?a-pi- 'angry -always -feel'
 (always feel angry).

čani-ka-ria- 'speak -want -intens' (really want
 to speak).

Šišo-kara- 'visit -believe' (believe will visit).
 ?ara-honayo- 'cry -come-all' (all return cry-
 ing).

ho-piniyama- 'come -slowly-not' (not come
 slowly).

5.1.1.4. The verb core

5.1.1.4.1. Tagmemic verb core classes

Core formation tr/ intr	Simple core with Base tag-meme manifested by						Complex core and pref 10		
	vb r tr x	vb r intr x	vb r tr y	vb intr x	vb r neu x	adj/ noun	vb r tr z	vb r intr z	vb r neu y
tr 10	11	---	11	12	13	14	15	16	16
intr 20	---	21	22	21	23	24	---	26	27

Chart IX. Tagmemic verb core classes

5.1.1.4.2. Tagmemic verb core paradigm

- vb core 11 = {±Pos:10 +Base:vb r tr x/y}
 vb core 12 = {±Pos:10 +Base:vb r intr y +Trz:21}
 vb core 13 = {±Pos:10 +Base:vb r neu x +Trz:22}
 vb core 14 = {+Base:adj/n +Trz:24}
 vb core 15 = {+Pos:10 +Base:vb r tr 2}
 vb core 16 = {+Pos:10 +Base:vb r intr z/vb r neu y
 +Trz:23}

Prefix 10 is semantically restricted in cores 11-13, 21-23.

vb core 21 = {±Pos:10 +Base:vb r intr x/y/st r
 ±Recip/Hab:25/27}

vb core 22 = {±Pos:10 +Base:vb r tr +Intrz:25/27-28}

vb core 23 = {±Pos:10 +Base:vb r neu x +Intrz:26}

vb core 24 = {+Base:n/adj ±St:27}

vb core 26 = {+Pos:10 +Base:vb r intr z}

vb core 27 = {+Pos:10 +Base:vb r neu y +Intrz:25}

5.1.1.4.3. Citation verb core paradigm

Transitive

vb core 11 = ka ?i- 'to-know'.

bi- 'to-bring'.

kopi- 'to-buy'.

pi- 'to-eat'.

vb core 12 = šina ?a 'to-think-trz' (to raise a child).

širi ?a- 'cook -trz' (to cook).

čoko ?a- 'to-wash-one's-self -trz' (to wash).

vb core 13 = rob-a- 'roll -trz' (to roll).

na-čik-a- 'inside -come-out -trz' (to take out from inside).

man-a- 'wait -trz' (to wait).

vb core 14 = pi ?i-wa- 'feather -trz' (to feather).

kini-wa- 'hole -trz' (to make a hole).

čiki-wa- 'black -trz' (to blacken).

vb core 15 = ti-mos- 'neck -squeeze' (to choke).

pa-stia- 'ear -cut-off' (to cut off ear).

vb core 16 = ka-čiš-ka- 'back -break -trz' (to break one's back).

bi-pi-ka 'eyes -open -trz' (to open one's eyes).

Intransitive

vb core 21 = ka- 'to-go'.

riso- 'to-die'.

na-ko- 'inside -travel' (to go through).

ši-yih- 'tooth -break-off'.

?oša- 'sleep'.

čani-na 'speak -recip' (to converse).

vb core 22 = nini-ki- 'pull -intrz' (to stretch).

hapa-ki- 'spill -intrz' (to spill).

- yon-a-mis- 'command -hab' (to boss).
 Šiko-na- 'to-put-arm-around -recip' (to wrestle).
 vb core 23 = ?ač-i- 'grab -intrz' (to get caught).
 man-i- 'wait -intrz' (to wait).
 na-cik-i- 'inside -come-out -intrz' (to come out from inside).
 vb core 24 = Šini- 'to-redden, to-ripen'.
 bimi- 'to-bear-fruit'.
 pistia-na- 'small -become' (to become small).
 vb core 26 = ka-čiš- 'back -break' (to break one's back).
 mi-toš- 'hand -hit' (to be hit on hand).
 vb core 27 = bi-pi-ki- 'eyes -open -intrz' (to open eyes).

5.1.1.5. The verb root

5.1.1.5.1. Emic verb root distribution classes

Root	Transitive		Intransitive					Neutral
	Nonref	Ref	Nonref	Ref	Mot	Exp	Quot	
10	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80
x	10x	20x	30x	40x	50x	60x	70x	80x
y	10y		30y					80y
z	10z		30z					

Chart X. Emic verb root distribution classes

5.1.1.5.2. Citation verb root paradigm

- 10x = bana- 'to-plant'; ?a- 'to-do'; pi- 'to-eat'.
 10y = nini- 'to-pull'; hapa- 'to-spill'.
 10z = -miš- 'to-pluck'; -hoa- 'to-sing'; -taš- 'to-bite'.
 20x = bi- 'to-bring'; ?a- 'to-give'.

- 30x = haba- 'to-run'; čani- 'to-speak'; nika- 'to-hear'.
- 30y = roo- 'to-cave-in'; širi- 'to-cook'; riri- 'to-beach-canoe'.
- 30z = -piš- 'to-open'; -čiš- 'to-break'; -toš- 'to-be-hit'.
- 40x = raki- 'to-fear'; hiko- 'to-enter'; rabi- 'to-be-ashamed'.
- 50x = ka- 'to-go'; ho- 'to-come'.
- 60x = ?oki- 'to-desire'; paso- 'to-expect'; biso- 'to-watch'.
- 70x = ?i- 'to-say'.
- 80x = cik- 'to-break'; rob- 'to-roll'; man- 'to-wait'.
- 80y = -pi- 'to-open'; -biš- 'to-expose'.

5.1.1.6. The verb affixes

Inflectional prefix class 10

This class consists of the initial syllable of noun roots, referring in general to body parts: baš- 'elbow, upper-arm'; bi- 'face, eyes, surface'; ha- 'mouth, tongue'; hi- 'water'; ho- 'ankle'; ka- 'back'; ki- 'lips, edge'; ma- 'head, top'; mi- 'hand'; na- 'inside'; po- 'arm'; pi- 'leaf'; ra- 'knee'; ri- 'nose, point, small end'; ši- 'tooth'; ta- 'cheek, foot'; ti- 'neck, shaft'.

Inflectional suffix class 20

- 21 -?a- Transitivizer
- 22 -a- Transitivizer
- 23 -ka- Transitivizer
- 24 -wa- Transitivizer with the meaning 'to cause to have the quality of'.
- 25 -ki- ~ -ki- Intransitivizer
- 26 -i- ~ -i- Intransitivizer
- 27 -na- Reciprocal/intransitivizing/stative 'to become'.
- 28 -mis- Habitual/intransitivizing

Stem suffix class 1000

- 1101 -ma- Causative

- 1201 -ria- Intensive
 1202 -ro?a- 'always'.

Stem suffix class 2000

Class 2010 Repetitive

2011 -tiki- 'again'.

2012 -rabi- 'couple-of-times'.

Class 2100 Mode

2101 -kara- Appears to denote 'that which is believed to be true by the speaker'.

2102 -pi- 'to-feel'.

Class 2200 Direction

2211 -bona- Motion away (tr)

2212 -bina- Motion returning (tr)

2221 -kana- Motion away (intr)

2222 -hona- Motion returning (intr)

Class 2300 Durative

2301 -ba?ina- 'during-the-day'.

2302 -šina- 'during-the-night'.

Class 2400 Time

2401 -šari- 'tomorrow'.

2402 -pari- 'first, at-once'.

Class 2500 Immediate

2511 -ca- 'now'.

2521 -ci- 'now'.

Class 2600 Manner

2601 -wini- 'quickly'.

2602 -pini- 'slowly'.

Class 2700 Potential

2701 -tiari- 'probably, most-likely'.

Class 2800 Desiderative

2801 -kas- 'want-to'.

Class 2900 Negative

2901 -yama- Negative

2902 -pistiyama- 'never'.

Theme suffix class 3000 Collective

3000 -yo- Collective

Theme suffix class 4000 Subject referent

4011 -?f- 'I'.

- 4012 -mí- 'you'.
 4013 -há- 'he, she, it'.
 4014 -nó- 'we'.
 4021 -?‡- 'I'.
 4022 -mi- 'you'.
 4023 -ha- 'he, she, it'.
 4024 -no- 'we'.

Theme suffix class 5000 - Object referent

- 5001 -wa- Third person object referent

Theme suffix class 6000 Plural

- 6000 -ka- 'you, they'.

Theme suffix class 7000 Time

- 7001 -ya- 'just-now'.
 7002 -?ita- 'yesterday'.
 7003 -yami- 'short-time-ago'.
 7004 -ni- 'long-ago'.
 7005 -paoni- 'used-to-long-ago'.
 7006 -ši- Benefactive, future

Inflectional suffix class 8000 Motion

- 8001 -ta/-ta- 'to-go-and'.

Inflectional suffix class 9000 Aspect; Mode

- 9001 -ki Incomplete
 9002 -k‡ Complete
 9003 -w‡ Imperative
 9004 -na Soft imperative
 9005 -pá Appears to be a polite imperative
 9006 -no Desiderative
 9007 -mica 'might'.

5.1.2. The dependent verb

The dependent verbs exactly correspond in classes and in labels to the Dependent verb phrase. See matrix chart VI, 4.2.5. The transitive and intransitive dependent verbs are divided into distribution classes corresponding to the root distribution classes. These distribution classes have not been

shown in the paradigms since they are not relevant to the composition of the dependent verb.

5.1.2.1. The inflected dependent verb

5.1.2.1.1. Tagmemic dependent verb paradigm

Transitive

```

dep vb tr 101 = {+Base:vb theme 10b +Asp:11001/
                  11003}
dep vb tr 102 = {+Base:vb theme 10b +Asp:11002/
                  11004}
dep vb tr 103 = {+Base:vb theme 10b +Asp:11005-
                  11008}
dep vb tr 104 = {+Base:vb theme 10b +Cond:10000
                  +Asp:11001/11003}
dep vb tr 105 = {+Base:vb theme 10b +Cond:10000
                  +Asp:11002/11004}
dep vb tr 106 = {+Base:vb theme 10b +Asp:11011}
dep vb tr 107 = {+Base:vb theme 10b +Asp:11012}
dep vb tr 108 = {+Base:vb theme 10az +Asp:11013-
                  11015}
dep vb tr 109 = {+Base:vb theme 10az +Cond:10000
                  +Asp:11014}

```

Intransitive

```

dep vb intr 101 = {+Base:vb theme 20b +Asp:11001/
                  11003}
dep vb intr 102 = {+Base:vb theme 20b +Asp:11002/
                  11004}
dep vb intr 103 = {+Base:vb theme 20b +Asp:11005-
                  11006/11009-11010}
dep vb intr 104 = {+Base:vb theme 20b +Cond:10000
                  +Asp:11001/11003}
dep vb intr 105 = {+Base:vb theme 20b +Cond:10000
                  +Asp:11002/11004}
dep vb intr 106 = {+Base:vb theme 20b +Asp:11011}
dep vb intr 107 = {+Base:vb theme 20b +Asp:11012}
dep vb intr 108 = {+Base:vb theme 20az +Asp:11013-
                  11015}

```

dep vb intr 109 = {+Base:vb theme 20az +Cond:10000
+Asp:11014}

5.1.2.1.2. Citation dependent verb paradigm

Transitive

- dep vb tr 101 = pi-šo 'having -eaten'.
 dep vb tr 102 = ?abona-?aš 'to-do-going -after'
 (having gone along doing).
 dep vb tr 103 = mana-pama 'waited -would-have-but'
 (would have waited but).
 dep vb tr 104 = caka-ro?a-šo 'pierced -had -if' (if
 he had pierced).
 dep vb tr 105 = biyama-ro?a-?aš 'brought-not -had
 -if' (if he had not brought).
 dep vb tr 106 = bi-tani 'get -go-and' (go get and).
 dep vb tr 107 = ?ima-šina 'roast -in-order-to' (in
 order to roast).
 dep vb tr 108 = ?ačahawa--kif 'grabbed-he-it -when'
 (when he grabbed it).
 dep vb tr 109 = rašahawa-ro?a-no 'spanked-he-him
 -would-have -if' (if he would have spanked
 him).

Intransitive

- dep vb intr 101 = nii-šó 'stand -after' (after stand-
 ing).
 dep vb intr 102 = čani-?i 'speak -if' (if speaking).
 dep vb intr 103 = ?oša-bayani 'sleep -going-after'
 (going after sleeping).
 dep vb intr 104 = pakiyama-ro?a-šó 'fall-not -had
 -if' (if he had not fallen).
 dep vb intr 105 = haba-ro?a-?aš 'run -had -if' (if he
 had run).
 dep vb intr 106 = ?oša-tani 'sleep -go-and' (go to
 sleep and).
 dep vb intr 107 = šoa-šina 'fatten -in-order-to' (in
 order to get fat).
 dep vb intr 108 = habaka-no 'run-they -if' (if they
 run).

dep vb intr 109 = ho-ro?a-no 'come -had -if' (if he had come).

5.1.2.2. Dependent verb affixes

Suffix class 10000 Conditional

10000 -ro?a- Conditional; Contrary to fact

Suffix class 11000 Aspect, Mode

11001 -šo 'after'. Action precedes that of principle transitive verb.

11002 -?aš ~ -?a 'after'. Action precedes that of principle intransitive verb.

11003 -ki 'if, when'. Indicates conditional or simultaneous action.

11004 -?i 'if, when'. Indicates conditional or simultaneous action.

11005 -noš 'before'.

11006 -pama 'would-have-but' Indicates action that would have occurred but did not due to the action of the independent verb.

11007 -baya ~ -bayani Motion away after the transitive action is completed.

11008 -biria ~ -biriani Motion back after the transitive action is completed.

11009 -caya ~ -cayani Motion away after the intransitive action is completed.

11010 -kiria ~ -kiriani Motion back after the intransitive action is completed.

11011 -tani Indicates purpose and motion to.

11012 -šina 'in-order-to'. Purpose

11013 -kf 'when'. Indicates completed action.

11014 -no 'if, while, when'. Indicates conditional or contemporary action.

11015 -?ai?i 'would-have-but'. Indicates action that would have occurred but did not due to the action of the independent verb.

5.1.3. The auxiliary verb

5.1.3.1. The inflected auxiliary verb

5.1.3.1.1. Tagmemic auxiliary verb paradigm

- aux vb 1 = {+Base:vb r aux 1 ±S ref:4020 ±/-Pl:
6000 ±T:7000 +Asp:9002}
 aux vb 2 = {+Base:vb r aux 2 ±(+S ref:4010 +O:
ref:5001) ±/-Pl:6000 ±T:7000
+Asp:9002}
 aux vb 3 = {+Base:vb r aux 2 ±S ref:4020 ±/-Pl:
6000 ±T:7000 +Asp:9002}

The symbol ±/- before Pl indicates that it occurs only concomitantly with the S ref when the S ref is manifested by a third person singular pronoun.

5.1.3.1.2. Citation auxiliary verb paradigm

- aux vb 1 = ?i-ha-ni-ki 'be -he -long-ago -past' (he was long ago).
 aux vb 2 = ?a-ha-wa-ni-ki 'almost -he -it -long-ago -past' (long ago he almost . . . it).
 aux vb 3 = ?a-?i-ni-ki 'almost -I -long-ago -past'
(long ago I almost . . .).

5.1.3.2. The auxiliary verb root

- aux vb r 1 = ?i- 'be'.
 aux vb r 2 = ?a- 'almost . . . '.

For affixes see 5.1.1.6.

5.1.4. The participle

5.1.4.1. The inflected participle

5.1.4.1.1. Emic participle classes

	Transitive		Intransitive				
	Nonref	Ref	Nonref	Ref	Mot	Exp	Quot
Cont	11	21	31	41	51	61	71
Recent past o	12	22	32	42	52	62	72
Remote past o	13	23	33	43	53	63	73
Recent past s	14	24	34	44	54	64	74
Remote past s	15	25	35	45	55	65	75
Future	16	26	36	46	56	66	76

Chart XI. Emic participle classes

Transitive and intransitive participles are divided into distribution subclasses corresponding to the verb root distribution classes. See 5.1.1.5. These distribution subclasses, not being relevant to the composition of the participle, have not been shown in the morphological paradigms.

5.1.4.1.2. Tagmemic participle paradigm

Transitive

ptc tr cont = {+Base:vb theme 10a +Asp:13001}

ptc tr recent past objective = {+Base:vb theme 10ax
+Asp:13002}

ptc tr remote past objective = {+Base:vb theme 10ay}

ptc tr recent past subjective = {+Base:vb theme 10ax
+Asp:13002 +S mk:13011}

ptc tr remote past subjective = {+Base:vb theme 10ay
+S mk:13011}

ptc tr future = {+Base:vb theme 10a +Asp:13003}

Intransitive

ptc intr cont = {+Base:vb theme 20a +Asp:13001}

ptc intr recent past = {+Base:vb theme 20ax +Asp:
13002}

ptc intr remote past = {+Base:vb theme 20ay}

ptc intr recent past subjective = {+Base:vb theme 20
ax +Asp:13002 +S mk:13011}

ptc intr remote past subjective = {+Base:vb theme 20
 ay +S mk:13011}
 ptc intr future = {+Base:vb theme 20a +Asp:13003}

5.1.4.1.3. Citation participle paradigm

Transitive

ptc tr cont = pitiki-nai 'to-eat-again -cont' (eating again).

ptc tr recent past objective = bi?ita-?á 'brought-yesterday -past' (what was brought yesterday).

ptc tr remote past objective = matošn̄ 'to-split-long-ago' (what was split long ago).

ptc tr recent past subjective = kiyopini-?a-š 'to-finish-slowly -past -s-mk' (one who finished slowly).

ptc tr remote past subjective = nišani-š 'to-tie-long-ago -s-mk' (one who tied long ago).

ptc tr future = ?ašari-ti 'to-do-tomorrow -to-be' (what is to be done tomorrow).

Intransitive

ptc intr cont = pabišinaka-nai 'to-dance-night-they -cont' (those dancing at night).

ptc intr recent past objective = ?oša-?a 'to-sleep -past' (where he slept, slept).

ptc intr remote past objective = kan̄ 'to-go-long-ago' (where he went long ago/he went long ago).

ptc intr recent past subjective = nii-?a-š 'stand -past -s-mk' (one who stood).

ptc intr remote past subjective = honi-š 'come-long-ago-s-mk' (one who came long ago).

ptc intr future = ?oša-ti 'sleep -to-be' (bed).

5.1.4.2. Participle suffix class 13000

13001 -?ai ~ -kai ~ -nai Continuous action

13002 -?a ~ -ka ~ -na ~ -ta Past action

13003 -ti Future action

13011 -š Subject marker

5.1.5. The infinitive

5.1.5.1. The inflected infinitive

5.1.5.1.1. Emic infinitive classes

	Transitive		Intransitive				
	Nonref	Ref	Nonref	Ref	Mot	Exp	Quot
Infinitive	10	20	30	40	50	60	70

Chart XII. Emic infinitive classes

5.1.5.1.2. Tagmemic infinitive paradigm

tr inf = {+Base:vb theme 10a +Asp:14000}

intr inf = {+Base:vb theme 20a +Asp: 14000}

5.1.5.1.3. Citation infinitive paradigm

tr inf = timakaska-ni 'pound-want-they -to' (their wanting to pound).

intr inf = rakšina-?i 'fear-night -to' (to fear at night).

5.1.5.2. Infinitive suffix 14000

14000 -?i ~ -ki ~ -ni Action to be performed

5.2. The noun

5.2.1. The inflected noun

5.2.1.1. Emic noun classes

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
A. Obligatorily possessed	1A													
B. Optionally possessed	1B	2B	3B	4B	5B	6B	7B			11B				14B
C. Names	1C													
D. Titles	1D													
E. Location	1E			4E				8E		10E				13E
F. Time	1F			4F										
G. Quantifiers	1G								9G			12G		

Chart XIII. Emic noun classes

Classes A-G are distribution classes, not relevant to the composition of the nouns, and are therefore not shown in the following paradigm.

5.2.1.2. Noun composition class paradigm

Probably more than 95% of the nouns belong to class 1. Classes 2-7 are productive; i. e., the base tagmeme is manifested by any of an entire morphological class. Classes 8-14 are small, being limited by arbitrary selection of fillers of all slots.

- n 1 = {+Base:n r 1 +Intens:21-22}
- n 2 = {+Base:n r 1 +Affinitive:26 +Intens:21-22}
- n 3 = {+Base:n r 1 +Cpd:redup +Intens:22}
- n 4 = {+Base:vb core/n r 1 +Payment:23/1-T:23}
- n 5 = {+Base:vb core +Intens:21-22}
- n 6 = {+Base:ptc fut +Neg:neg +Intens:21}
- n 7 = {+Pos:10 +Base:n r 2/adj}
- n 8 = {+Pos:10 +Base:n r 2 Res +L:n E (ho)}
- n 9 = {+Base:n r 1-3 +Mod:24-25}
- n 10 = {+Base:pro (ha) +L:loc 2}
- n 11 = {+Base:accom (ya) +Neg:neg +Pl:pl}
- n 12 = {+Base:n r 1 Res +Intens:22 +Neg:neg}
- n 13 = {+Base:loc/n r 3 +Neg:neg}
- n 14 = {+Base:n r 1 +Size:27}

5.2.1.3. Citation noun paradigm

- n 1 = honi 'man'; noti-šini 'canoe -old' (old canoe).

- n 2 = nami-na-šini 'meat -likes -very' (one who likes to eat meat).
- n 3 = šobo-šobo-ria 'house -house -intens' (a large house).
- n 4 = šiki-kišpi 'corn -payment' (payment for corn).
?oi-tiyá 'rain -season-of' (rainy season).
- n 5 = haba-šina 'to-run -intens' (one who likes to run).
- n 6 = piti-ma-šini 'to-eat -not -intens' (one who cannot eat).
- n 7 = ma-payo 'head -soft' (papaya).
- n 8 = bi-so-hó 'face -loc -by' (in front of).
- n 9 = wísti-ta 'one -num' (one).
ni?i-ča 'jungle -density' (jungle).
- n 10 = ha-šara 'it -inside' (inside).
- n 11 = ya-ma-bo 'have -not -pl' (deceased one).
- n 12 = ?iča-ria-ma 'many -intens -not' (few).
- n 13 = nia--ma 'here -not' (far away).
- n 14 = rono-a 'snake -large' (boa constrictor).

5.2.2. The noun root

5.2.2.1. Noun root classes

- n r 1 = free
 n r 2 = bound
 n r 3 = numerals

5.2.2.2. Citation noun root

- n r 1 = pia 'arrow'.
 n r 2 = bakiš- 'night'.
 n r 3 = rabi 'two'.

5.2.3. Noun affixes

5.2.3.1. Prefix class 10

See verb affixes 5.1.1.6.

5.2.3.2. Suffix class 20

- 21 -šini Intensive/Nominalizer; also has meaning 'to-be-old'.
- 22 -ria Intensive/Nominalizer
- 23 -kišpi Payment for/Nominalizer
- 24 -ča Density
- 25 -ta Numeral
- 26 -na- Affinitive; denotes desire
- 27 -a 'large'.
- 28 -tiyá Location/Time

5.3. The pronoun

5.3.1. Allomorph classes of the personal pronoun

	Allomorph class			
	A	B	C	D
1 sg	?t ~ a	?ta ~ a	?ta ~ a	no ?o
2 sg	mi	mia	mia	mi
3 sg	ha	ha	ha ?a	hawí
1 pl	no	noa	nokí	noba
2 pl	ma	mató	mató	mató
3 pl			ható	ható

Chart XIV. Allomorph classes of the personal pronoun

For distribution of the allomorph classes, see
6.3.2.

5.4. The adjective

5.4.1. The inflected adjective

5.4.1.1. Tagmemic inflected adjective paradigm

adj 1 = {+Pos:10 +Base:adj r 1 +Intens:9001}
 adj 2 = {+Pos:10 +Base:adj r 2 +Intens:9001}
 adj 3 = {+Base:adj r 3}
 adj 4 = {+Base:vb stem +Adjz:9002-9003}

5.4.1.2. Citation inflected adjective paradigm

adj 1 = šini 'red'; ma-bará 'head -bare' (baldheaded); titika-šini 'tall -intens' (very tall).
 adj 2 = ho-rišto 'ankle -cut-off' (cut off at ankle).
 ri-piši-šini 'nose -red -very' (very red nose).
 adj 3 = pistia 'small'; winó 'excessive'.
 adj 4 = šita-mí 'to-cross -adj' (across).
 ko-biná 'born -recently' (recently born).

5.4.2. The adjective root

5.4.2.1. Adjective root class citation

adj r 1 = šini 'red'.
 adj r 2 = -rišto 'cut-off'.
 adj r 3 = pistia 'small'.

5.4.3. Adjective affixes

Prefix class 10

See verb affixes 5.1.1.6.

Suffixes

9001 -šini 'very'.
 9002 -bina Action recently done
 9003 -mí Adjectivizer

5.5. The adverb

5.5.1. The inflected adverb

5.5.1.1. Tagmemic adverb paradigm

adv 1 = {+Base:adv r 1 +Sub:rel pro}
 adv 2 = {+Base:adv r 2}

5.5.1.2. Citation adverb paradigm

adv 1 = ni-ka 'this -rel-pro' (like this).

to-ka 'that -rel-pro' (like that).

adv 2 = ma?ica 'in-vain' (in vain).

hamino 'alone'.

5.5.2. Emic adverb root classes

adv r 1 = bound

adv r 2 = free

5.5.2.1. Adverb root citation

adv r 1 = ni- 'this'.

adv r 2 = ma?ica 'in-vain'.

5.6. The stative

5.6.1. The inflected stative

5.6.1.1. Tagmemic stative word paradigm

st 1 = {+Base:st r}

st 2 = {+Base:vb core +Desid:vb suffix 2801 +Neg:
vb suffix 2901 ±Pl:ka}

st 3 = {+Base:vb core +Inactive:1001-1002}

5.6.1.2. Citation stative word paradigm

st 1 = nii 'standing'.

st 2 = ka-kas-yama 'go -to-want -not' (not want to
go).

st 3 = ?oša-paima 'sleep -about-to' (about to sleep).
pi-noma 'eat -unable' (unable to eat).

5.6.2. Stative root

st r = nii 'be-standing'; oša 'be-asleep'; mini 'be-
kneeling'; ca?o 'be-seated'.

5.6.3. Stative suffixes

- 1001 -paima Action to be or about to be done
 1002 -noma 'unable-to'.

5.7. The aspect word

5.7.1. The independent aspect word

5.7.1.1. The inflected independent aspect word

5.7.1.1.1. Tagmemic independent aspect word paradigm

asp 11 = {+O ref ±/-Pl ±T 1 +Base 1}

asp 12 = {+O ref ±/-Pl ±T 2 +Base 2}

asp 13 = {+O ref ±/-Pl +Base 3}

The symbol ±/- before the Pl indicates that it occurs only concomitantly with the Clause tagmeme S when the S is manifested by a third person singular pronoun

asp 21 = {±/-Pl ±T 1 +Base 1}

asp 22 = {±/-Pl ±T 2 +Base 2}

asp 23 = {±/-Pl +Base 3}

asp 24 = {±/-Pl +Base 4}

5.7.1.1.2. Tagmatic independent aspect word paradigm

asp 11 = [+O ref:5001 ±/-Pl:6000 ±T 1:7001-7004
 +Base:asp r 1]

asp 12 = [+O ref:5001 ±/-Pl:6000 ±T 2:7001-7003
 +Base:asp r 2]

asp 13 = [+O:ref:5001 ±/-Pl:6000 +Base:asp r 3]

asp 21 = {±/-Pl:6000 ±T:7001-7004 +Base:asp r 1]

asp 22 = {±/-Pl:6000 ±T:7001-7003 +Base:asp r 2]

asp 23 = {±/-Pl:6000 +Base:asp r 3]

asp 24 = {±/-Pl:6000 +Base:asp r 4-5]

The prefixes of the aspect words are vb suffixes which precede the aspect suffixes which are allo-

morphs of the aspect words. See 5.1.1.6, 5.1.1.1. 2, and 6.

5.7.1.1.3. Citation independent aspect word paradigm

- asp 11 = wa-ka-ni-ki 'it -pl -long-ago -com' Indicates transitive action completed long ago.
- asp 12 = wa-?ita-?a 'it -yesterday -com' Asks if transitive action was completed yesterday.
- asp 13 = wa-ka-ni 'it -they -long-ago' Asks if transitive action was completed long ago.
- asp 21 = yami-ki 'recent-past -com' Indicates in-transitive action completed recently.
- asp 22 = yami-tá 'recent-past -com' Asks if intransitive action was completed.
- asp 23 = ní 'long-ago' Asks if intransitive action was completed long ago.
- asp 24 = no Indicates desire of speaker.
mica 'ought-to-be, may'.

5.7.1.2. The aspect root

- asp r 1 = ki ~ -ki Completed action
- asp r 2 = (?á ~ ta - ka ~ na) ~ (-?a ~ -ta ~ -ka ~ -na)

Recent past question

- asp r 3 = ni ~ -ni Remote past question
- asp r 4 = no Desiderative
- asp r 5 = mica 'may'.

See 5.1.1.6, verb suffixes 7004, 9002, 9006-9007 and 5.1.4.2, suffix 1302, of which these aspect words are free allomorphs.

5.7.2. The dependent aspect word

5.7.2.1. The inflected dependent aspect word

5.7.2.1.1. Tagmemic dependent aspect word paradigm

- asp 101 = {±Mod:2000 ±Col:3000 +Base:vb affix 11001
/11003}
 asp 102 = {±Mod:2000 ±Col:3000 +Base:vb affix 11002
/11004}
 asp 103 = {±Mod:2000 ±Col:3000 +Base:vb affix 11005-
11006/11008/11010}
 asp 104 = {±Mod:2000 ±Col:3000 +Cond:10000 +Base:
vb affix 11001/11003}
 asp 105 = {±Mod:2000 ±Col:3000 +Cond:10000 +Base:
vb affix 11002/11004}
 asp 106 = {±Mod:2000 ±Col:3000 +Base:vb affix
11011}
 asp 107 = {±Mod:2000 ±Col:3000 +Base:vb affix
11012}
 asp 108 = {±Mod:2000 ±Col:3000 ±/-Pl:6000 +Base:
vb affix 11013-11014}
 asp 109 = {±Mod:2000 ±Col:3000 ±/-Pl:6000 +Cond:
10000 +Base:vb affix 11014}

The prefixes of the aspect words are verb suffixes which precede the aspect suffixes which are allo-morphs of the aspect words. Cp. 5.7.1.1.2.

5.7.2.1.2. Citation dependent aspect word paradigm

- asp 101 = Šina-šó 'night -having-been' (having been all night).
 asp 102 = ba ?ina-?i 'day -if' (if being all day).
 asp 103 = pama 'would-have-been-but'.
 asp 104 = yama-ro ?a-ki 'not -had -if' (if he had not).
 asp 105 = kas-ro ?a-?á 'wanted -had -if' (if he had wanted).
 asp 106 = tani 'go-and'.
 asp 107 = yama-šina 'not -in-order-to' (in order not
• to be).
 asp 108 = tiki-ha-ki 'again -he -when' (when he was again).

asp 109 = ka-ro? a-no 'they -had -if' (if they would have).

5.7.2.2. Dependent aspect root

Aspect roots are free allomorphs corresponding in number, symbol, and phonemic sequence to the dependent verb affixes, 5.1.2.2.

5.8. The interrogative

5.8.1. The inflected interrogative

5.8.1.1. Tagmemic interrogative word paradigm

- ig 1 = {+Base:ig r 1}
- ig 2 = {+Base:ig r 2}
- ig 3 = {+Base:ig r 2 +L:11}
- ig 4 = {+Base:ig r 2 +Instr:12}
- ig 5 = {+Base:ig r 3 +Cpd:q mk}
- ig 6 = {+Base:ig r 3 +Cpd:13}
- ig 7 = {+Base:ig 5 +Mod:14/rel pro}
- ig 8 = {+Base:ig 6 +Cpd:postpos 109}

5.8.1.2. Citation interrogative word paradigm

- ig 1 = cowi 'who?'.
- ig 2 = hawi 'what?'.
- ig 3 = hawi-nia 'what -loc' (where?).
- ig 4 = hawi-šobá 'what -instr' (by what means?).
- ig 5 = hi-ni 'why -q-mk' (why, what?).
- ig 6 = hi-nawa 'what -action' (how?).
- ig 7 = hin-i-no 'what -time' (when).
 hini-ka 'what -which' (which?).
- ig 8 = hinawa-ki 'how -ref' (why?).

5.8.2. Interrogative roots

5.8.2.1. Interrogative root-class citation

- ig r 1 = cowi 'who?'.

ig r 2 = haw̄i 'what?'.
ig r 3 = hi- 'what, how, why, when?'.

5.8.3. Interrogative affixes

- 11 -nia Location
- 12 -šobá Instrument
- 13 -nawa Action
- 14 -no Time

5.9. The locational

5.9.1. Locational (root) citation

loc 1 = kača 'on-top'; rík̄i 'ahead'.
loc 2 = šara 'inside'; nama 'under'.
loc 3 = čoo 'behind'.

5.10. The periphery

5.10.1. Periphery (root) inventory

per 11 = ro?a 'only'.
per 12 = pír̄i 'truly'.
per 13 = pari 'first'.
per 14 = ri 'also'.
per 15 = ci Juncture
per 16 = ki?a Report 'it-is-said'.

5.11. The postposition

5.11.1. Postposition (root) inventory

postpos 101 = '(high pitch) Marks transitive subject.
postpos 102 = ~ no Marks time, instrument, location of intransitive actor.
postpos 103 = šo Marks transitive action or location of transitive actor.
postpos 104 = ?aš Marks intransitive action or previous location of intransitive actor.

- postpos 105 = ya Accompaniment 'with'.
 postpos 106 = bitá Accompaniment 'with'.
 postpos 107 = ?o Accompaniment 'by'; marks expectation slot.
 postpos 108 = no?o Accompaniment 'by'; marks expectation slot.
 postpos 109 = ki Referent 'to, at, of'.
 postpos 110 = baš Benefactive 'for, on-behalf-of'.
 postpos 111 = ?iki Purpose 'on-account-of, because-of'.

5.12. The equational (root) inventory

eq = šo

5.13. The impersonal pronoun (root) inventory

rel pro = kato ~ ka 'who, what, which'. See 6.3.1.
 poss pro = na 'that-which-belongs-to'.
 pl = bo Plural

5.14. The demonstrative (root)inventory

dem = naa 'this'; toa 'that'.

5.15. The conjunction

5.15.1. Conjunction citation

conj = haci 'then'; hama 'on-the-other-hand'; haska 'likewise'; hakiríki 'afterwards'; hapi appears to mean 'because'; habi 'uncertain'.

The initial syllable ha- of the conjunctions appears to be a recurrent morpheme; however, since the remaining syllables of the words have not been identified, derivational formulas have not been given.

5.16. The question marker (root) inventory

q mk = ni

5.17. The negative (root) inventory

neg = ma

5.18. The sentence closure (root) inventory

sent clos = na

5.19. The modal

5.19.1. Modal (root) citation

modal = ra Declarative; pi Disgust; sa Surprise;
ri Important.

5.20. The exclamatory

5.20.1. Exclamatory (root) citation

exclam = mahia 'you-don't-say'; hisa 'hey'; hai
'what-did-you-say?'.

5.21. The onomatopoetic utterance

5.21.1. Onomatopoetic citation

onom = titititi Sound of person or animal walking
piškipiškipiški Impression of wiggling

5.22. The answer (root) inventory

answer = ja 'yes'; jo 'O. K.'.

6. The morphophonemics

6.1. Phonologically determined variations

6.1.1. Sibilants

s, š, š ~ φ before c: ka?áš 'after-going'; ka?áci
'after-going-j' (after going).

6.1.2. Word-final unaccented vowel ~ φ preceding

another word: tipasa 'shelter'; tipas
 ?aki-a 'shelter-make I' (I make a shelter).

6.1.3. bO Plural = bo in unstressed position ~ ba
in stressed position: joni bo 'men'; joni
bá man tr-s' (men).

6.1.4. I- and -kI Intransitivizing verb suffixes 26
and 25 = -i- and -ki- following noncontiguous -i- ~ -i- and -ki- elsewhere: cíki-
'to-come-out-intrz' (to come out); mani-
'to-wait-intrz' (to wait).

6.2. Free variation

The following alternate freely: -bayá 'motion away from' in dep vb ~ -bayani; -kayá 'motion away from' in dep vb ~ Kayani; biriá 'motion back' in dep vb ~ biriani; kiriá 'motion back' in dep vb ~ kiriani.

6.3. Grammatically determined variation

6.3.1. Morphophonemic noun and relative pronoun classes

Class I consists of the relative pronoun and of nouns of three syllables whose final syllable is elided, (1) when the noun or pronoun occurs phrase final in N nuc, manifesting S of Intr cl or O of Tr cl; (2) when the noun or pronoun occurs non-phrase-final in a phrase not manifesting a S or O tagmeme: (1) ?inaka 'dog'; ?ani ki ?ina kaki 'river-to-dog-went' (the dog went to the river); ?ina name piki 'dog-meat-ate' (the dog ate the meat); kato 'who'; ho ?ita ?aš ka kaki 'come-yesterday-s-mk-one-went' (the one who came yesterday went); (2) ?awini 'wife'; hawi ?awi ya 'his wife with' (with his wife); ?ianí 'lake'; ?ia ki ha kaki 'lake to he went' (he went to the lake).

Class II consists of all nouns not included in class I.

6.3.2. Allomorph classes of personal pronouns
(5.3.1.) are distributed as follows:

Class A in S slot preceding P in all clauses.

Class B in S slot following P in all clauses.

Class C in O slot in all clauses.

Class D in Gen in noun phrase.

no 'we'; no kaki 'we went'; noa 'we'; kaki
 noa 'go we' (we go); noki 'us'; noki ?aki
 'us hits' (he hits us); noba 'ours'; noba
 koko 'our uncle').

Pro 1st sg of class B has the following allo-morphs: a 'I' following incomplete verb ~ ?ia elsewhere.

kaki-a 'go-I' (I go).

kaki ?ia 'went-I' (I went).

6.3.3. - 'No Time, instrument, loc = - ' no sentence-final ~ ' elsewhere: šobó ?ošaki 'house-in sleeps' (he sleeps in the house); ?ošaki šobo-no 'sleeps house-in' (he sleeps in the house).

6.3.4. Lexically determined variation

Participle and infinitive aspect allomorphs occur as follows:

	A	B	C	D
Cont ptc asp	-?ai	-nai		-kai
Past ptc asp	-?á	-ná	-tá	-ka
Inf asp	-?i	-ni		-ki

Chart XV. Participle allomorph classes

The distribution is as follows:

Class B occurs following -tiki 'again' and -ka- 'pl'.

habatikinaf 'run-again-ptc' (running again).

šitakaná 'cross-they-ptc' (their having crossed).

pikani 'eat-they-inf' (their eating).

Class C occurs following -yamí- 'recent past'.

hoyamítá 'came-recent-past-ptc' (having come some time ago).

Class D occurs following vb core ?a- 'to-do'.

?akai 'to-do-ptc' (doing).

Class A occurs elsewhere.

- kašari?ai 'go-tomorrow-ptc' (going to-morrow).

ka?ita?á 'go-yesterday-ptc' (went yesterday).

ka?i 'go-inf' (to go).

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