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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

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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

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).

Cl 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?).

Cl 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?).

Cl 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!).

Cl 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!).

Cl 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^we Sound of bird crying

ohoooho 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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