A Tagmemic Description of Guahibo

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(SENTENCE TO MORPHEME)

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0. Introduction

The Guahibo language belongs to the Guahiban language family.
It is spoken by approximately 15,000 to 20,000 Guahibos who live
in the Eastern Llanos of Colombia between the Meta and Guaviare
Rivers, and in Venezuela. The Guahibos are semiacculturated,
though some are monolingual. They live widely scattered over
a large area, in fairly permanent villages of from one to twenty
houses. They prefer to build their houses in the plains, not far
from the jungle where they have their fields. Some, however, live
in cleared patches of jungle. They plant a wide variety of crops,
the most important of which is the bitter yuca.

The data for this description were gathered in Barranco
Colorado, a Guahibo village which existed until 1969 south of
the town of Orocué, located on the Meta River. The field work
for this grammar description was done under the auspices of the
Summer Institute of Linguistics between April, 1963 and July,
1967. The principal language helpers were Eutimio Vargas and
Manuel Granados.

Grateful acknowledgment is made to the people of Barranco
Colorado for their help in learning their language, to the col-
leagues of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for their help
in this analysis, and to others also who helped with the typ-
ing of this manuscript.

0.1 General introduction

This description presents the grammatical structure of the
Guahibo language using the tagmemic model. The format followed
in this presentation follows very closely that used in Gramáticas
Estructurales de Lenguas Bolivianas (ed. Esther Matteson) (1965:
Instituto Lingüístico de Verano, Riberalta, Bolivia). The in-
troduction to that publication explains the symbolism used in
this grammar.

Throughout this grammar, all Guahibo forms are written
phonemically. The phonemes of Guahibo are described in "Fonemas
del Guahibo", Sistemas Fonológicas de Idiomas Colombianos, Tomo
I, pp 93-102 (1972: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano). Some dia-
lect differences exist. The examples which are included in this
grammar are from the dialect spoken on the upper Muco River area.

This grammar begins with a description of the sentence and proceeds through the clause, phrase and word levels. Affixes are described in each section where they occur, or a cross reference to the relevant section is given.

In citations from the Guahibo, morphophonemic variations are indicated only at the lowest level in which the form appears.

All tagmemic slots and fillers of the phrase level and above are capitalized.

0.2 Abbreviations and Symbols

Ac	accompaniment		Imper	impersonal
Ad	additive		Impv	imperative
Adjl	adjectival		Indir	indirect
Adv	adverb		Info	information
Advl	adverbial		Instr	instrumental
Aff	affirmative		Inton	intonation
Antic	anticipatory		Intr	intransitive
Ap	appositive		Intro	introducer
Approx	approximation		L	locative
A.S.	arbitrary selection		M	manner
Asp	aspect		Mar	margin
Asr	assertive		Masc	masculine
Att	attitude		Misc	miscellaneous
C	complement		N	noun
(C)	consonant		Neg	negative
Cd	coordinate		Nl	nominalizer
Cit	citation		Nuc	nucleus
Cl	clause		Num	numeral
Clar	clarification		O	object
Clas	classification		Obl	obligatory
Clos	closure		Onom	onomatopoetic
Cond	condition		Part	particle
Cons	consequence		Pers	personalizer
Corr	corroborative		Pl	plural
Cp	comparative		Pos	position
Cpd	compound		Posd	possessed
Cr	contour		Pn	pronoun
Decl	declarative		Prox	proximity
Def	definitive		Pur	purpose
Dem	demonstrative		Qual	qualifier
Desc	descriptive		Quan	quantitive
Desid	desiderative		Quot	quotative
Dim	diminutive		R	root
Dir	direction		Rad	radical
Dirl	directional		Red	reduplication
Dis	discourse		Ref	referent
Distr	distribution		Refl	reflexive
Ditr	ditransitive		Rel	relator
Enum	enumerative		Repr	reportative
Emph	emphatic		Res	restrictive
Eq	equative		S	subject
Excl	exclamatory		Sembl	semblance
Exten	extensive		Subj	subjunctive
Fem	feminine		Sent	sentence
Frag	fragment		Sg	singular
Frust	frustrative		Spec	specifier
Gen	genitive		St	stative
Gd	gender		T	time
H	head		Temp	temporal
Hab	habitual		Tr	transitive
Id	identification		(V)	vowel
Ig	interrogative		Vb	verb
			Vbl	verbalizer
			Voc	vocative

1p	first person
2p	second person
3p	third person
+	obligatory
±	optional
-	minus
/	or
:	distributes in
....	discontinuous
>	becomes

Pitch

1   low

2   mid

3   high

~   variation under stated conditions

1. The sentence

Sentence and sentence fragments are distributed into the discourse level.

1.1 Tagmemic sentence paradigm

Sentence 1 = {+Nuc: Cl 01 + Inton: Cr 1/2/4}   Decl
Sentence 2 = {+Nuc: Cl 02 + Inton: Cr 2 }   Info
Sentence 3 = {+Nuc: Cl 03 + Inton: Cr 3 }   Corr
Sentence 4 = {+Nuc: Cl 04-05 + Inton: Cr 4}   Impv

When the intonation of Sent 1 is manifested by Cr 4, the Cl manifesting the Nuc tagmeme is restricted to the future and conditional tense.

1.2 Citation sentence paradigm

Sent 1 = <u>hetsa</u>   <u>meta</u>   <u>tahadorota</u>   <u>kaponaenahë</u>
corn   perhaps   my-pocket-with   I-will-carry

'Perhaps I will take corn in my pocket'.

= <u>nexata</u>   <u>baharaxua</u>   <u>pihumenaxuabihumatabëkuene</u>
then   that-thing   the-message-that-was-not-obeyed

<u>rafaelihavabetsina</u>   <u>pevetsihumatabëkuenetsireka</u>
Rafael-to-from-below   his-having-been-waited-for-below

<u>pikani</u>   <u>ikatsia</u>   <u>piahibixae</u>   <u>nexata</u>   <u>pina</u>
was   again   absent-because   then   it-is-said

<u>matamotsiana</u>   <u>meta</u>   <u>kiniento</u>   <u>peso</u>
he-will-pay   perhaps   500   pesos

'The message that was sent to Rafael and his having been waited for and because he did not show up again he will pay 500 pesos perhaps'.

= <u>iriyo</u>   <u>raha</u>   <u>pabeyaxuabianamebeje</u>
mouse   Emph   will-kill-you-two

'Both of you will kill a mouse'.

Sent 2 = <u>detsa</u>   <u>pakuenia</u>   <u>nikabame</u>   <u>pamatakabi</u>   <u>ahibi</u>   <u>hera</u>
what   manner   cross-you   the-day   no   canoe

'How did you cross the day there was no canoe?'.

Sent 3 = <u>marano</u>   <u>tsikaena</u>   <u>haitatsibehe</u>
pigs   is-it-not-true   looked-for-we-two

'Is it not true we looked for the pigs?'.

Sent 4 = <u>tahumekuihinae</u>   <u>itsa</u>   <u>kamataenenaruka</u>   <u>pëtsa</u>
my-word-after   if   you-comes-to-greet   do-not

<u>itabaranaëkotame</u>
face-look-you

'After this if she comes out to greet you do not look at her'.

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```
= duhuainë   nerahure
  fish        me-give
```

'Give me a fish'.

1.3 Intonation

The contour of the intonation is described in terms of the pitches of the three final syllables of the sentence or fragment.

```
Contour 1  (Decl)          2-2-1↓
Contour 2  (Query, Ig-info)  2-2-3↑
Contour 3  (Ig-corr)        2-2-1~(1)-2-1  When Ig 15 occurs clause
                                                final.
Contour 4  (Impv)           2-3-1
Contour 5  Varies according to the sound imitated.
Contour 6  Exclam           1-3-1~1-3↑~
                            1-1-1
```

Note: Contour varies infrequently to 2-2-2, 3-3-3 in excited rapid
       speech especially in repetitions.

1.4 The sentence fragment

1.4.1 Tagmemic sentence fragment paradigm

```
Sent Frag 1 = {+Nuc: N 41a + Inton: Cr 4}
Sent Frag 2 = {+Nuc: Ig 31-32 + Inton: Cr 3}
Sent Frag 3 = {+Nuc: onom + Inton: Cr 5}
Sent Frag 4 = {±Voc: voc +Nuc: Excl 1-2/excl 1-2/ asr +Inton: Cr 6}
Sent Frag 5 = {±Intro: part 11 + Nuc: N 11/31/41a/ Adv 1/4 +Inton: Cr 1}
Sent Frag 6 = {+Nuc: Ig 15 + Inton: Cr 2}
```

1.4.2 Citation sentence fragment paradigm

```
Sent Frag 1 = bahara   belia
              that      toward-north-or-south
```

'Go ahead'.

```
Sent Frag 2 = naehava   tsaha
              tree       is-it
```

'Is it a tree?'.

Sent Frag 3 = hũ hũ hũ (Sound imitated when an instrument made of
                        deer-skull is blown).

```
Sent Frag 4 = hume   raha
              no      Emph
```

'No!'.

```
Sent Frag 5 = silivalidova               pina        baha
              girl-named-Silivalido   it-is-said   definitely
```

'It is said that Silivalido....'.

```
           = nexata   kaepatoyo    tsatabi   baha
             then      little-while  Asp       definitely
```

'Then after a little while'.

```
Sent Frag 6 = dera   xua
              what   thing
```

'What?'.

2. The clause

2.1 Tagmemic clause classes

	Ditr 10	Tr 20	Intr 30	Imper 40	Quot 50	Eq 60	St 70
Decl 01	11	21	31	41	51	61	71
Ig - info 02	12	22	32	42	52	62	72
Ig - corr 03	13	23	33	43	53	63	73
Impv - neg 04	14	24	34	44	54	64	-
Impv - positive 05	15	25	35	-	55	65	-

2.2 The independent clause

2.2.1 Tagmemic independent clause paradigm

Cl 01/03-05 = {$\pm$ Mar: Mar A + Nuc: Cl nuc 01/03-05}
Cl 02   = {$\pm$ Mar: Mar B + Nuc: Cl nuc 02}

2.2.2 Citation independent clause paradigm

Cl 01 = baha   pina   -- baharapomonae -- pihanamutohava
        definitely it-is-said   they   his-path-via

        itsaxuaya   ponabiaba   metsaha -- methe
        the-way   go-repeatedly   tapir   pit

        pina   kueyabuata
        it-is-said dug-left

        'where the tapir always passed by, they dug a pit'.

      = ahena   pina   pekaevarekepaya   baha
        just-as   it-is-said out-of-sight-they-went   definitely

        pina   hota --   pitsapaina   nevethe   hane
        it-is-said there   came-out   tiger   really

        baha
        definitely

        'just as they were out of sight, there came out a tiger'.

= bahayamatakabi   pamonae   itsa   naruhaita   unuabelia
  long-ago   they   if   hunt   in-the-forest

itsa   beyaxuaba   metsaha   nexata   pethabivahenaeya   --
if   they-killed   tapir   then   before-butchering-it

peyapetaene   pematavahibihava   matavahiba
he-who-knows   the-chants   chants-over-it

'long ago if they hunted and killed a tapir in the forest,
then he who knew the chants, chanted over it before they
butchered it'.

= baja   pina   bajara   belia -- methe   tsicuatsi
  definitely   it-is-said   that   there   pit   for-was-dug

metsaha
tapir

'it is said that there a pit was dug for the tapir'.

Cl 02 = tamoho   -- detsa   xua   exanekame   --   no
        brother-in-law   what   thing   do-sitting-you   Clos

'friend, what are you doing?'.

Cl 03 = marano   tsikaena   -- ma   pakuenia -- haitatsibehe
        pig   is-it-not-true   this   way   searched-we-two

'is it not true that we looked for the pigs thus?'.

Cl 04 = aekonoxae   bitso -- petsa   nahematame
        in-a-little-while   much   do-not   delay-you

'in a while, no not delay much!'.

Cl 05   nekuibovohotota   baitsi -- rure -- bo
        your-mouth-in   that-is   put-it   Clos

'put it to your mouth!'.

2.2.3   Independent clause margin

2.2.3.1 Tagmemic independent clause margin paradigm

    The tagmemes of the margin generally occur interspersed among
the tagmemes of the nucleus. Generally more of the marginal tag-
memes occur simultaneously with Cl nuc 10-30 than with Cl nuc
40-70. Although there is no restriction as to the number of tag-
memes of the margin which may occur, the maximum number of tagmemes
of the margin occurring in text is 4. The usual frequency of tag-
memes of the margin in approximately one per clause. When Intro
occurs in Cl nuc 03-05 it is manifested by intro particle 11.
Instr is optionally manifested by n 1101 only when the instrument
prefix 1510 ka- is included in the predicate.

    The tagmeme L is optionally manifested by n 1101 only when the
indirector prefix 1552 vekua- occurs in the predicate. Pur is
optionally manifested by n 1101 only when the indirector prefix

1551 to- occurs in the predicate. The noun 1101 is restricted to one occurrence per margin.

Vb 03 does not simultaneously occur in Cl 01 and in a stipulation included clause 301.

The relative order of the tagmemes is free with the following exceptions: Voc occurs initially or finally in the clause; Intro occurs in the second position following Voc, or initially in the clause; Clos occurs finally in the clause or in the next to the last position followed by Voc; and Clar occurs final in the clause.

Mar A = {+(+Voc: voc ±Intro: Intro +M^2:M 1 +T^2:T 1 +Cir^2: Cir 1 +L^2: L 1 ±Onam:onam.... +Cp:Cp 1 + Instr:Instr 1 ± Pur:Pur 1 ±Ac:Ac 1 +Clos:clos 1-3/5/Clar:part 40)}

Mar B = {+(± Voc:voc + Intro:part 11 +M:M 1/Ig 1 + T:T 2 +Cir^2:Cir 1 + L:L 1/Ig 4-6 + Onam:onam + Cp:Cp 1 + Instr: Instr 1/Ig 7-8 + Pur:Pur 1/Ig 9-10 ± Ac: Ac 1/Ig 7-8/11 ± Clos:Clos/ clos 2-4/Clar:part 40)}

Inventory of tagmemes

```
M 1 = Adv/Cl 106/part 30
T 1 = N 31-34/36-37/Cl 102/202
T 2 = N 31-32/34/36-37/Cl 102/202/Ig 2-3
Cir 1 = Cl 105/301/Cond/neg
L 1 = N 41-44/46-47/Cl 103/203/n 1101
Cp 1 = N 15/25
Instr 1 = N 21-24/26a/27a/n 1101
Pur 1 = Cl 104/204/N 51-54/56-58/n 1101
Ac 1 = N 21-25/26b/27b/28
```

2.2.3.2. Citation independent clause margin paradigm

Mar A = Intro: baha   pina   nexata -- M: pakuenia....
           definitely   it-is-said   then   this-manner

     Pur: ahena   pamatakabinexa
         today   this-day-for

     'it is said then in this manner.... for the present'.

= Intro: nexata   pina   -- L: bahara   hota....
         then   it-is-said   that   place
    Instr: kuererebota
         broad-head-arrow-with

     'then there--with a broad-head arrow'.

= Cir: itsa   baha   xuaya   ukutsiana.... Ac: xamë
         if   definitely   this-way   will-cut   you

yahava
with

     'if this way they will fence....along with you'.

= L: <u>pihumata</u>   <u>metsaha</u> .... Cir: <u>thabineheva</u>
    back-on   tapir   butcher-without

'on the tapir's back....without butchering it'.

Mar B = Voc: <u>tamoho</u>   ....   T:<u>kanivi</u>   <u>baha</u> .... Clos:<u>no</u>
          brother-in-law .   yesterday definitely   Clos

'friend....yesterday....'.

= T:<u>kanivi</u> .... L:<u>tomaratalia</u>....
  yesterday   in-town-there

'yesterday.... in town....'.

2.2.4 Independent clause nucleus

2.2.4.1 Tagmemic independent clause nucleus paradigm

In the following paradigm, in Clause 02, Ig occurs clause initial and is in a portmanteau relation with one of the other tagmemes of the clause (e.g. Ig 9 represents Ig-Pur).

The imperative is limited to the second person in Cl nuc 65. When the Ig tagmeme of Clause 03 is manifested by ig 15, it usually occurs in the second position or clause final. The clos 4 <u>re</u> occurs only once per clause; that is, it occurs either manifesting a tagmeme of the Ig 1-14 included within Cl 02, or manifesting a tagmeme of the Cl 02, but not both. The optional S tagmeme of Cl 04-05 occurs only in the third person.

The symbol $+/\pm$ occurring in Cl nuc 50 indicates that P 2 is obligatory unless P 1 occurs, in which case it is optional. P 2 occurs much more frequently than P 1.

Ditransitive

    Cl nuc 11 = $\{\underline{+}S:X + P:P\ 1\ \underline{+}0_1:Y + 0_2:X\}$
    Cl nuc 12 = $\{+Ig_1:Ig\ A \pm S:X/Ig\ \overline{B} +P:P\ 1 \pm 0_1:Y/Ig\ B$
                     $\underline{+}0_2:X/Ig2\ \pm Ig_2:ig\ 13\}$
    Cl nuc 13 = $\{+ Ig:Ig\ C\ \pm S:X + P:P\ 1 + 0_1:Y$
                $\pm 0_2:X\}$
    Cl nuc 14 = $\{\underline{+}S:X +P:vb\ 11 \pm 0_1:Y \pm 0_2:X$
                $\pm Neg\ Impv:impv\}$
    Cl nuc 15 = $\{\underline{+}S:X +P:vb\ 14\text{-}15 \underline{+}0_1:Y\underline{+}0_2:X\}$

Transitive

    Cl nuc 21 = $\{\underline{+}S:X + P:P\ 2 \underline{+}0:X\}$
    Cl nuc 22 = $\{+ Ig_1: Ig\ A/21 \underline{+}S:X/Ig\ B + P:P\ 2/Ig\ 21$
                $\pm 0:X/Ig\ B \underline{+}Ig_2:ig\ 13\}$
    Cl nuc 23 = $\{+Ig:Ig\ C\ \underline{+}S:X+P:P\ 2\underline{+}0:X\}$
    Cl nuc 24 = $\{\underline{+}S:X+P:Vb\ 84/vb\ 21\underline{+}0:X + Neg\ Impv:impv\}$

Cl nuc 25 = {±S:X+P:Vb 85/vb 24-25 +O:X}

Intransitive

Cl nuc 31 = {±S:X+P:P 3}

Cl nuc 32 = {+Ig$_1$:Ig A/22±S:X/Ig B +P:P 3/Ig 22±Ig$_2$:ig 13}

Cl nuc 33 = {+Ig:Ig C ±S:X+P:P 3}

Cl nuc 34 = {±S:X + P:Vb 94/vb 31 + Neg Impv:impv}

Cl nuc 35 = {±S:X + P:Vb 95/vb 34-35}

Impersonal

Cl nuc 41 = {±O:X +P:P 4}

Cl nuc 42 = {+Ig$_1$:Ig A ± O:X/Ig B + P:P 4±Ig$_2$:ig 13}

Cl nuc 43 ⚫ {+Ig:Ig C ±O:X + P:P 4}

Cl nuc 44 = {±O:X + P:vb 41 + Neg Impv:impv}

Quotative

Vb phrase 90 which manifests predicate tagmeme is restricted
to verbs with vb r 80 <u>humaiTSI</u>

Cl nuc 51 = {±S:X ±/+P$_1$:P 5a + Cit:Dis +/±P$_2$:P 5b}

Cl nuc 52 = {+Ig$_1$:Ig A/21±S:X/Ig B ±/+P$_1$:P 5a+Cit:Dis

+/±P$_2$:P 5b ± Ig$_2$:ig 13}

Cl nuc 53 = {+Ig:Ig C ±S:X ±/+P$_1$:P 5a + Cit:Dis

+/±P$_2$:P 5b}

Cl nuc 54 = {±S:X ±/+P$_1$:Vb 94Res + Cit:Dis +/±P$_2$:Vb 54

+Neg Impv:impv}

Cl nuc 55 = {±S:X ±/P$_1$:Vb 95Res + Cit:Dis

+/±P$_2$:Vb 55}

Equative

Cl nuc 61 = {±S:X + C:P 6}

Cl nuc 62 = {+Ig$_1$:Ig A ±S:X/Ig B+C:P 6±Ig$_2$:ig 13}

Cl nuc 63 = {+Ig:Ig C ±S:X+C:P 6}

Cl nuc 64 = {±S:X+C:Vb 64 + Neg Impv:impv}

Cl nuc 65 = {+C:Vb 65}

It would be possible to unite clauses 30 and 60, by combining the C and P tagmemes; the occurrence of all other tagmemes is potentially the same for the two. We have chosen to describe them as separate clauses because the difference in the lists of verb phrases which manifest the P tagmemes is correlated with a marked difference in the frequence of occurrence of marginal tagmemes, as noted in section 2.2.3.1.

Stative

$$Cl\ nuc\ 71 = \{+P:P\ 7\}$$

$$Cl\ nuc\ 72 = \{+Ig_1:Ig\ D + P:P\ 7\ \pm Ig_2:ig\ 13\}$$

$$Cl\ nuc\ 73 = \{+Ig:Ig\ C\ +P:P\ 7\}$$

Inventory of tagmemes

```
X     = Cl 101/201/N 11a-b/12/13a/14/16-17
Y     = N 11a-b
P 1   = Vb 11-12/16-17
P 2   = Vb 21-22/26-27/81/83/86-87
P 3   = Vb 31-32/36-37/91/93/96-97
P 4   = Vb 41-42/46-47
P 5a  = Vb (91a/93a/96/97)Res
P 5b  = Vb 51/53/56-57
P 6   = Vb 61/63/66-67/N 38
P 7   = Vb 71/73/76-77

Ig A  = Ig 1-14
Ig B  = Ig 12-14
Ig C  = Ig 31/ig 13/15
Ig D  = Ig 1-10
```

Note: Inventories of tagmeme fillers list fillers which occur repeatedly and thus simplify the formulas. In each inventory the symbols used along the left-hand column, e.g. X,Y, P 1, etc., are used only in the immediately preceeding paradigm of formulae and their corresponding value only apply to that paradigm.

2.2.4.2 Citation independent clause nucleus paradigm

Ditransitive

```
Cl nuc 11 = ....P:kuhurubatsi     pina            --
                 he-was-taught   it-is-said

            S:yamaxemonae          panakuavetsika
              the-lightning-people  this-world-from-above

            pamonae      --  O₁:pihakuene
            these people      their ways
```

'....he was taught by the lightning people, they who are from above, their ways'.

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Cl nuc 11 = S:hose -- P:rahuta -- O_1:tsikirivayo -- O_2:bentesentavo
         José   gave   little-girl   twenty-cents

      'Joe gave the little girl twenty-cents'.

      = S:bahara poně -- O_1:akueyabi paderebëbehe   --
          that   fellow   three   gourds-number-of

      P:věnuta -- O_2:pëbë
        filled   ants

      'that fellow filled three gourds with ants'.

Cl nuc 12 =....Ig_1:detsa hota -- P:karahuta -- O_1:xuata
              where place   to-you-give   arrow-shafts

      '....where were the arrow shafts given to you?'.

Cl nuc 13 = Ig:baha   tsikaena   -- O_1:dunusi....
         definitely is-it-not-true   pineapple

      P:rahutatsibehe
        was-given-to-them-two

      'is it not true that pineapples....were given to them both?'

Cl nuc 14 = O_1:bahara poně -- Neg Impv:pětsa--P:rahutame   --
           that   fellow   do-not   you-give

      itsakuenehavayoata
      other-thing-even

      'do not give that fellow anything!'.

Cl nuc 15 = O_1:duhuainë -- P:nerahure
          fish   to-me-give

      'give me a fish!'.

Transitive

Cl nuc 21 =,...O:vahamarue -- P:kaponatsi
           our-food   carry-we

      '....we take along our food'.

      = P:apopitsi tsane--S:bahara poně-- O:aro
        not-take   will   that   fellow   rice

      'that fellow will not take the rice'.

Cl nuc 22 = Ig_1:detsa poněbeje--S:marano--P:exananuka
           how   many   pig   make-standing
      'how many pigs did the sow give birth to?'.

Cl nuc 23 = O:marano -- Ig:tsikaena   -- P:haitatsibehe
          pig   is-it-not-true   look-we-two

      'is it not true that we two looked for the pigs?'.

Cl nuc 24 = P:pakasinebehe -- Neg Impv:pětsa
         Pl-you-bite-two   do-not

      'do not let him bite the both of you!'.

Cl nuc 25 = O:naehava -- P:nevekuatixire
     tree   me-from-move

    'lift the tree off of me!'.

Intransitive

Cl nuc 31 = S:daxitahivi penaruhaitsivi .... P:nubena
     all-people the-hunters   stand

    'all of the hunters....stood'.

    = ...P:tsianë   tsane
      I-go-to-the-west will

    '....I will go'.

Cl nuc 32 = Ig:detsa meta ponëbeje   -- P:naexanaena
     how perhaps fellows-number-of   will-be-born

    'how many little ones will be born?'.

CL nuc 33 = ...Ig:tsikaena   .... P:ponatsibehe
     is-it-not-true   go-we-two

    '....is it not true....the two of us went....?'.

Cl nuc 34 = ...Neg Impv:pëtsa -- P:nahumatabëhematame
        do-not   delay-you

    '....do not delay!'.

Cl nuc 35 = ...P:renamëre
      come-from-there

    '....come!'.

Impersonal

Cl nuc 41 = ...P:neromaeba
      to-me-fever

    '....I have a fever, I am sick'.

Cl nuc 42 = Ig_1:detsa pakuenia ... P:kakototovinaba   ---
      how manner   you-abdominal-worms

    'how did you....get infested with intestinal worms?'.

Cl nuc 43 = Ig:baha   tsikaena -- O:nexënatoyo
     definitely is-it-not-true   your-daughter

    P:katoromaebatsi
     for-you-fever-was

    'is it not true, that your daughter got sick?'.

Cl nuc 44 = Neg Impv:pëtsa -- P:karomaeba
       do-not   to-you-fever

    'do not get sick!'.

Quotative

Cl nuc 51 = ...S:pihamonae -- P_1:humaitsi -- Cit:baha
      their-family   said   definitely

    meta kahena pamona beyaxuabatsibehe   ---
    perhaps already their-husband has-killed-them-both

    P_2:hai pina
     said it-is-said

    '....their family said, "Perhaps their husband has already killed both of them"'.

Cl nuc 52 = Ig$_1$:<u>detsa</u> <u>xuahitsia</u> -- P$_1$:<u>nehumaitsimë</u>   Cit:<u>tomarabelia</u>
         what   for   to-me-say-you   town-there

    <u>ponatsibehe</u>
    go-us-two

    'why did you say to me, "Let us to to town"?'.

Cl nuc 53 = Ig:<u>baha</u>   <u>tsikaena</u>....   P:<u>nehumaitsimë</u>   --
         definitely is-it-not-true   to-me-say-you

    Cit:<u>karahutsianatsi</u> <u>tahayorai</u> -- <u>nehamë</u>
        to-you-give-I   my-hat   to-me-say-you

    'is it not true....that you said to me, "I will give you
    my hat"?'.

Cl nuc 54 = Neg Impv:<u>pëtsa</u> -- P$_1$:<u>humaitsimë</u> -- Cit:<u>apoyavenonaenë</u>
               do-not   say-you   not-help-I

    <u>tsane</u>
    will

    'do not say, "I will not help"!'.

Cl nuc 55 = Cit:<u>kopiaya</u>   <u>panekuhurubarehehe</u> -- P$_2$:<u>pahamërebehe</u>
            first   us-teach-two   Pl-say-you-two

    'both of you say, "You teach us first!"'.

Equative

Cl nuc 61 = ...S:<u>daxitahivi</u> -- C:<u>ahibi</u> <u>tsekae</u>
               all-people   absent is-setting

          '....everyone was gone'.

       = S:<u>sinkopeso</u>.... C:<u>yahava</u>   <u>tsaponae</u>
            five-pesos   accompany continue

    'five-peso bills.... continue multiplying'.

Cl nuc 62 = Ig$_1$:<u>detsa</u> <u>xuahitsia</u> -- S:<u>duhuai</u> -- C:<u>ahibi</u>
              what   for   fish   none
    'why are there not any fish?'.

Cl nuc 63 = S:<u>duhuai</u> -- Ig:<u>tsaha</u>   -- C:<u>apaaxayo</u>....
            fish   is-it-not   lots

    'is there not a lot of fish....?'

Cl nuc 64 = Neg Impv:<u>pëtsa</u> -- C:<u>ahibimë</u>   <u>tsarukae</u>
               do-not   absent-you   be-standing

    'do not be absent!'.

Cl nuc 65 = C:<u>barëyamëre</u>....
            content-you

    'be content....!'.

Stative

Cl nuc 71 = ...P:<u>binibinihai</u> <u>tsanukae</u>
     lightning is-standing

   '....there was lightning'.

Cl nuc 72 = Ig$_1$:<u>detsa</u>   <u>hota</u> --- P:<u>ema</u> <u>tsanukae</u> ---
     what   place   rain is-standing

   'where is it raining?'.

Cl nuc 73 = Ig:<u>baha</u> <u>tsikaena</u>.... P:<u>ema</u>
     definitely is-it-not-true rain

   'is it not true... it rained?'.

2.3 The included clause

2.3.1 Tagmemic relative included clause classes

		Ditr 10	Tr 20	Intr 30	Imper 40	Quot 50	Eq 60	St 70
S - 0	101	111	121	131	-	151	161	-
T	102	112	122	132	-	152	162	-
L	103	113	123	133	-	153	163	-
Pur	104	114	124	134	-	154	164	-
Cond	105	115	125	135	-	155	165	-
M	106	116	126	136	-	156	166	-

The distribution of the clause 101-106 are as follows:

 Cl 101: S/O of Cl 01-05; Cl 121:Gen of N 13a;
 Cl 102: T of Mar A-C; Cl 122: Ap of N 36;
 Cl 103: L of Mar A-C; Cl 133: Ap of N 46;
 Cl 104: Pur of Mar A-B;
 Cl 105: Cir of Mar A-B;
 Cl 106: M of Mar A-C; H of Adv 3.

The nominalized included clause

		Tr 20		Intr 30		Intr 50		
S - 0	201	-	221	231	-	251	-	-
T	202	-	222	232	-	252	-	-
L	203	-	223	233	-	-	-	-
Pur	204	-	224	234	-	254	-	-

The distribution of the clause 201-204 are as follows:

    Cl 201: S/O of Cl nuc 01-05/100/300; H of Vb 61/N 15; Cl 221/231:
        H/Ap of N 16;
    Cl 202: T of Mar A-C; Cl 222:Ap of N 36; Cl 232:H/Ap of N 36;
    Cl 203: L of Mar A-C; H/Ap of N 46;
    Cl 204: Pur of Mar A-B; H of N 57-58; Ap of N 57.

The stipulation included clause

	Ditr 10	Tr 20	Intr 30	Imper 40	Quot 50	Eq 60	St 70
301	311	321	331	341	351	361	371

Distribution of clause 301 is in Cir of Mar A-B.

2.3.2 The relative included clause

    Inasmuch as we have not found any examples from text of Imper or Stat relative included clauses these have not been added to the matrix, although elicited materials show that they may occur. It is assumed that the lack of data accounts for this, in that Imper and Stat independent clauses are infrequent.

2.3.2.1 Tagmemic relative included clause paradigm

    Cl 101-106 = {±Mar:Mar C +Nuc:Cl nuc 101-106}

2.3.2.2 Citation relative included clause paradigm

    In the examples included it appears that there are more than the 2 tagmemes shown in the formula. This is due to the fact that the marginal tagmemes are interspersed among the nuclear tagmemes.

Cl 101 = Nuc:poné   huka -- Mar:kanivi
        this-fellow dug   yesterday

    'the fellow that dug yesterday'.

  = Nuc:pamonae -- Mar:bitso -- Nuc:apohumekovénétsi
      they   much   not-believe

    'they that do not believe it very much'.

Cl 102 = Nuc:pomatakabi -- Mar:ikatsia -- Nuc:tahamonae
      this-day   again   my-family

  humatabénahinahé
  thought-I

    'the time I thought again of my family'.

Cl 103 = Nuc:itsahota humatabémahitatsi -- Mar:xaniavaetsia
      the-place we-want-to-sleep   well

    'where we want to sleep well'.

Cl 104 = Nuc:tsipahi   yapétane --- Mar:bitso --- Nuc:bahara pamonae
          because   they-know   much   that   people

  'because those people are very intelligent'.

Cl 105 = Nuc:itsa   naruhaita -- Mar:unuabelia
            if   hunt   through-the-forest

  'if they hunt through the forest'.

Cl 106 = Nuc:pakuenia pina   hivi   bayavahiba   ---
            as   it-is-said people customarily-dance

        Mar:bahaya
            long-ago

  'in the manner that the people long-ago danced'.

2.3.2.3 Formula of the relative included clause margin C

Mar C = {+ (+M:Adv 1-3/Cl 106/Rel 106 +T:Cl 202/102/rel 102/t 1 ±L:
        N 41a/Cl 103/Rel 103 ±Instr:N 1102 +Cp:N 15)}

   Although there is no restriction as to the number of relative
included clause margin tagmemes that may occur, not more than two
were found in text to occur at any one time.

2.3.2.4 Relative included clause nucleus

2.3.2.4.1 Tagmemic relative included clause nucleus paradigm

   In the following paradigm Rel of the clauses 101-103/106
occurs in portmanteau relationship with one of the other tagmemes
of the clause, e.g. Rel 102 represents Rel-T. The phrases which
manifest the tagmemes of the relative included clause are usually
short. The maximum number of tagmemes manifested by phrases in
text is three.

Cl nuc 111-116 = {+ Rel:Rel 101-106 ± O_1:X 1 ± O_2:X 1 + P:Vb 11-12/
                    vb 13/18 ±S:X 2 }
Cl nuc 121-126 = {+ Rel:Rel 101-106 + O:X 3 + P:Vb 21-22/
                    81/83/88/vb 23/28 ±S:X 4 }
Cl nuc 131-136 = {+ Rel:101-106±S:X 5+P:Vb 31-32/91/93/98/
                    vb 33/38 }
Cl nuc 151-156 = {+Rel:101-106±S:X 6±/+P_1:Vb (91a/93a/98a)Res
                    +Cit:Dis +/±P_2:Vb 51/53/58}
Cl nuc 161 = {±Rel:Rel 101 ±S:X 6 + C:Vb 61/63/68}
Cl nuc 162-166 = {+Rel:Rel 102-106±S:X 6+C:Vb 61/63/68}

Inventory of tagmemes

      X 1 = n 1101/Rel 101
      X 2 = N 11a/Rel 101
      X 3 = N 12/13a/16/Rel 101/Cl 201
      X 4 = N 12/13a/16/Rel 101
      X 5 = N 11a-b/Rel 101/Cl 201
      X 6 = N 11a-b/Rel 101

2.3.2.4.2 Citation relative included clause nucleus paradigm

Cl nuc 111 = Rel:ponë   --   P:karahuta   -- O_1:aviri
            this-fellow   to-you-gave   dog

'he that gave you the dog'.

Cl nuc 112 = Rel:pamatakabi -- O_1:daxita -- P:rahutahë -- O_2:pevi
            this-day   all   give-I   meat

'the day I gave meat to everyone'.

Cl nuc 113 = Rel:itsahota -- O_1:doro -- P:vënuta -- O_2:hetsaxu
            where   bag   fill   corn-seed

'where he filled the bag with corn'.

Cl nuc 114 = Rel:tsipahi -- O_1:palata -- P:nematamotabiaba
            because   money   me-pay-repeatedly

'because he repeatedly paid me money'.

Cl nuc 115 = Rel:itsa -- P:amoneyaba -- O_1:bitsabi
            if   owe   bow

'if he owes a bow'.

Cl nuc 116 = Rel:tsiboko -- O_1:tahahume   -- P:kuhurubabiabahë   --
            as   my-language   teach-repeatedly-I

O_2:bahara   pamonae
     that   people

'as I teach them my language'.

Cl nuc 122 = Rel:ahena   -- P:xaeyenaehitsia   pina
            just-as   eat-sitting-going-to   it-is-said

'just as they were going to eat'.

Cl nuc 131 = Rel:pahiviyo   -- P:humatabëpona ....
            this-person   thinks-go

'he that wants to go....'.

Cl nuc 133 = Rel:itsabelia -- S:tsavalivalinë   pina   --
            where   serpent   it-is-said

P:boka ....
  lies

'where the serpent lies....'.

Cl nuc 136 = Rel:pakuenia   pina   -- S:hivi   --
            as   it-is-said   people

P:bayavahiba   ....
  customarily-danced

'the manner that the people always danced....'.

Cl nuc 154 = Rel:tsipahi -- S:nihava   -- P_1:nehumaitsi --
            because   your-woman   to-me-said

Cit:hetsa   karahutatsi
    corn   I-give-you

'because your wife said to me, "I give you corn"'.

Cl nuc 165 = Rel:<u>itsa</u> -- C:<u>paavonotanenë</u>   <u>tsabobenae</u>
             if   Pl-tooth-ache-I   to-lie-down

    'if we have tooth-aches'.

2.3.3 The nominalized included clause

    Although we are able to elicit examples of Cl 210/240/270 nominalized included clauses only Cl 220-230/250 are found in text. Additional data will no doubt show the occurence of the other included clauses.

2.3.3.1 Tagmemic nominalized included clause paradigm

Cl 221-224/231-234 = {±Mar:Mar D +Nuc:Cl nuc 221-224/231-234}
Cl 251-252/254   = {+Nuc:Cl nuc 251-252/254}

    The margin tagmemes of Mar D occur interspersed among the nuclear tagmemes.

2.3.3.2 Citation nominalized included clause paradigm

Cl 224 = Mar:<u>tahë</u> -- Nuc:<u>pekaponaenexa</u>
              far   to-carry-for

    'in order to carrying it far'.

Cl 231 = Mar:<u>pairata</u>   -- Nuc:<u>pehinavanapaevimë</u>
              this-world-in   live-people-formerly

    'the people that formerly lived in this world'.

Cl 232 = Mar:<u>xaniavaetsia</u> -- Nuc:<u>taponaponaekuihinae</u>
              well   I-lived-after

    'after I lived well'.

Cl 234 = Mar:<u>bihiata</u> -- S:<u>bahara</u> <u>ponë</u>   -- Nuc:<u>pehumaitsixae</u>
              poorly   that   fellow   he-said-because

    'because that fellow said it poorly'.

2.3.3.3 Formula of the nominalized included clause margin D

Mar D = {+ (±T:t_1 ±L:N 42-43/dir 1-4 ±M:Adv 1/adv 1-3 ±Instr:n 1102
              ±Pur:N 52)}

2.3.3.4 Nominalized included clause nucleus

2.3.3.4.1 Tagmemic nominalized included clause nucleus paradigm
Transitive

    Cl 221 = {±S:Y ±O:Y +P:n 3121}
    Cl 222 = {±S:X +P:n 3123 ±O:n 1101}
    Cl 223 = {±S:X +P:n 3124 ±O:n 1101}
    Cl 224 = {±O:n 1101 ±S:X +P:n 3125}

Intransitive

    Cl 231 = {±S:X +P:n 3131}
    Cl 232 = {±S:X +P:n 3133}
    Cl 233 = {±S:X +P:n 3134}
    Cl 234 = {±S:X +P:n 3135}

Quotative

Cl 251 = {+Cit:Dis +P:n 3151}
Cl 252 = {+Cit:Dis +P:n 3153}
Cl 254 = {+Cit:Dis +P:n 3155}

Inventory of tagmemes

X = N 11a-b
Y = N 12

2.3.3.4.2 Citation nominalized included clause paradigm

Cl nuc 221 = O:metsaha pina -- P:pevahënaeevetsivi
             tapir   it-is-said   arrival-waiting-people

'the people that awaited the arrival of the tapir'.

= O:hivi -- P:pebetsavikuli
  people   curse-that-kills

'a curse that kills people'.

= P:peyapëtaenë -- O:pematavahibihava
  he-that-knows   chant-thing

'he that knows the chant'.

Cl nuc 222 = S:kutsikutsi -- P:petanakekaehavata   --
             monkey   in-the-moment-of-picking

O:dunusito
  pineapple

'the moment the monkey picked the pineapple'.

Cl nuc 223 = O:mera -- P:pepuanabiabihavatsia
             water   dipped-out-always-place

'the place where he always got water'.

Cl nuc 224 = S:pebi -- P:pekaponaenexa
             man   to-carry-for

'for the man to carry it'.

Cl nuc 231 = S:hivi -- P:pehinavanapaehava
             people   living-thing

'the life of the people'.

Cl nuc 232 = S:bahara ponë -- P:peponaekuihinae
             that   fellow   went-after

'after that fellow went'.

Cl nuc 233 = P:penukaehavabelia -- S:kaliavirianae
             its-standing-place   tree-species

'where the tree is'.

Cl nuc 234 = S:kaehivi   -- P:pehunaenexatsia
             one-person   climb-for-up

'for one person to climb up'.

Cl nuc 251 = Cit:tã tã   -- pehaitsabiabivi
             bang bang   say-repeatedly-people

'the people that always say, "bang, bang"'.

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Cl nuc 252 = Cit:<u>he</u>   -- P:<u>pehaikuihinae</u>
                 all-right   he-said-after

         'after he agreed'.

Cl nuc 254 = Cit:<u>matahemabatsi</u> <u>bahara</u>   <u>poné</u>   --
                  crazy   that   fellow

         P:<u>pehaixae</u>
           he-said-because

         'because he said,"that fellow is crazy"'.

2.3.4 The stipulation included clause

2.3.4.1 Formula of the stipulation included clause

Cl 301 = {±Mar:Mar E ±Nuc:Cl nuc 301}

2.3.4.2 Example of the stipulation included clause

Cl 301 = Nuc:<u>xamé</u> <u>naponaponabokaeatamé</u> -- Mar:<u>ma</u> <u>hota</u> <u>he</u>
              you   live-even-though-you   this   place CIos

         'even though you live here'.

       = Nuc:<u>hetsa</u> <u>ubihitsiané</u>   -- Mar:<u>tahapabitalia</u>
              corn   plant-going-to-I   my-field-in

         'I am going to plant corn in my field'.

2.3.4.3 Stipulation included clause margin

2.3.4.3.1 Formula of stipulation included clause margin

Mar:E = {+(±M:adv 1-3 ±T:N 33-34/t 1/n 1101 Res ±L:N 41/dir 2
         ±Instr:n 1102)}

     Although there is no restriction as to the number of stipu-
lation included clause margin tagmemes that may occur, not more
than 2 were found at any time.

2.3.4.3.2 Example of stipulation included clause margin

Mar D = M:<u>xaniavaetsia</u> .... L:<u>bahara</u> <u>hotalia</u>
          well   that   place-to-the-north

         'well....that place'.

2.3.4.4 Stipulation included clause nucleus

2.3.4.4.1 Tagmemic stipulation included clause nucleus paradigm

Cl nuc 311 = {±O$_1$:X +O$_2$:X +P:vb 13/18-19 ±S:X}
Cl nuc 321 = {±O:X +P:Vb 83a/83b/88/vb 23/28/29/89 ±S:X}
Cl nuc 331 = {±S:X +P:Vb 93a/93b/98/vb 33/38/39/99}
Cl nuc 341 = {±O:X +P:vb 43/48/49}
Cl nuc 351 = {+Cit:Dis +P:Vb 53/58/vb 59 ±S:X}
Cl nuc 361 = {±S:Y +C:Vb 63/68/vb 69}
Cl nuc 371 = {+P:Vb 73/78/vb 79}

Inventory of tagmemes

    X = N 11a-b
    Y = Cl 20/N 11a-b

2.3.4.4.2 Citation stipulation included clause paradigm

Cl nuc 311 = O₁:<u>bahara</u> <u>ponë</u> -- O₂:<u>ayehava</u> <u>palata</u> --
            that   fellow   a-lot   money

   P:<u>rahutsiatanë</u>
   give-enough--though--I

   'even though I give that fellow a lot of money'.

Cl nuc 321 = O:<u>naehava</u> -- P:<u>nikatsiatamë</u>
            tree   cut-down-even-though-you

   'even though you cut down a tree'.

   = P:<u>xaehitsiatsi</u>   -- S:<u>turepamatabokotonëbehe</u>
     going-to-be-eaten   fellow-with-the-three-heads

   'in order to be eaten by the three-headed monster'.

   = O:<u>panitabarahuira</u> -- P:<u>kanotsihitsia</u>
     your-faces'-dirt   clean-going-to

   'in order to clean the dirt from your faces'.

   = P:<u>pihataehitsia</u> -- O:<u>paxa</u>
     his-seeing-for   his-father

   'for him to see his father'.

Cl nuc 331 = S:<u>xamë</u> -- P:<u>naponaponabokaeatamë</u>
            you   live-even-through-you

   'even though you live'.

Cl nuc 341 = P:<u>karomaebiatamë</u>
            fever-even-though-you

   'even though you are sick'.

Cl nuc 351 = Cit:<u>ponaehitsianë</u> -- P:<u>haiatanë</u>
             go-going-to-I   say-even-though-I

   'even though I say, "I am going"'.

Cl nuc 361 = C:<u>ayapëbeheata</u>   -- S:<u>penakuenebihava</u>
             difficult-even-though   work-thing

   'even though the work is difficult'.

   = C:<u>atahahitsia</u>
     hard-going-to

   'in order to make it strong'.

Cl nuc 371 = P:<u>ema</u> <u>tsanukaeata</u>
             rain   is-standing-even-though

   'even though it is raining'.

3. The phrase

3.1 The verb phrase

3.1.1. Emic independent verb phrase classes

	A				B				
	Ditr 10	Tr A 20	Intr A 30	Imper 40	Quot 50	Eq 60	Stat 70	Tr B 80	Intr B 90
Complete 01	11	21	31	41	51	61	71	81a 81b 81c	91a 91b 91c
Neg 02	12	22	32	42	-	-	-	- - -	- - -
Antic 03	-	-	-	-	53	63	73	83a 83b 83c	93a 93b 93c
Impv neg 04	-	-	-	-	54	64	-	84	94
Impv positive 05	-	-	-	-	55	65	-	85	95
Approx 06	16	26	36	46	56	66	76	86	96
Sembl 07	17	27	37	47	57	67	77	87	97
Subj 08	-	-	-	-	58	68	78	88	98

The distribution for the various phrase, word, theme, stem, core, and root types are explicitly indicated when they are not implied by the numbering or even though implied by the numbering do not distribute into the succeeding level, i.e. the distribution of Vb 11 in P of Cl 10/100 may be obtained by means of multiplication so is not stated, but the exceptions are indicated, e.g. the distribution of Vb 81 in P of Cl 21/23/121-126 and the distribution of vb 15 in P of Cl 15.

The following distribution of Vb 01-08 which may not be obtained by multiplication also occurs:

Vb 81: P of Cl 21/23/121-126; Vb 81a/81c: H of Ig 21;
Vb 83: P of Cl 21/23/121-126; Vb 83a: P of Cl 321; H of Ig 21;
    Vb 83b: P of Cl 321; Vb 83c: H of Ig 21;
Vb 84: P of Cl 24
Vb 85: P of Cl 25

Vb 86-87: P of Cl 21/23; H of Ig 21;
Vb 88: P of Cl 121-126/321;
Vb 91: P of Cl 31/33/131-136; Vb 91c: H of Ig 22;
Vb 93a: P of Cl 31/33/331;
Vb 93b/96/97: P of Cl 31/33;
Vb 93c: P of Cl 31/33; H of Ig 22;
Vb 94: P of Cl 34/54;
Vb 95: P of Cl 35/55;
Vb 98: P of Cl 131-136/331.

3.1.2 Tagmemic verb phrase paradigm

Verb phrases and the corresponding verb are divided into two arbitrary grammatical classes: A comprising verb phrases 10-40, and B comprising verb phrases 50-90. Tense and Aspect are phrase-level tagmemes in Class B whereas they are word-level tagmemes manifested by affixes in Class A. The verbs of the two classes differ further in composition.

The Vb 01/03/06 include not more than one occurrence Focus, Subj, S. Dual or Antic. Vb phrases 54/64/84/94 which differ only in distribution and in the filler of the Head slot are represented in one composite formula with the Vb phrase and its vb marked by corresponding capital letters in parenthesis.

In Vb 06, Repr of the margin follows +Approx and precedes ±Approx.

Vb 11 = {+H:vb 11/13 +Mar 1}
Vb 21 = {+H:vb 21/23 +Mar 1}
Vb 31 = {+H:vb 31/33 +Mar 1}
Vb 41 = {+H:vb 41/43 +Mar 1}
Vb 51 = {+H:vb 51 +Mar 2}
Vb 61 = {+H:Cl 201/N 13/14b/n 3161/vb 61/n 1301 (pijaepato)/
          2101/dir 1 +Mar 2}
Vb 71 = {+H:vb 71 +Mar 3}
Vb 81a-b/91a-b = {+H:vb 81a-b/91a-b +Mar 2}
Vb 81c/91c = {+H:vb 81c/91c +Mar 4}
Vb 12/22/32/42 = {+H:vb 12/22/32/42 +Mar 1}
Vb 53/83b/93b = {+H:vb 53/83b/93b +Mar 5}
Vb 63 = {+H:vb 63 +Mar 6}
Vb 73 = {+H:vb 73 +Mar 7}
Vb 83a/93a = {+H:vb 83a/93a +Mar 8}
Vb 83c/93c = {+H:vb 83c/93c +Mar 9}
Vb (A)54, (B)64, (C)84, (D)94 = {+H:vb (A)51, (B)61, (C)81a/81b,
                                 (D)91a/91b +Mar 10}
Vb 55/65/85/95 = {+H:vb 55/65/85/95 +Mar 10}
Vb 16/26/36/46 = {+Approx:prox +H:vb 16/26/36/46 +Mar 11}
Vb 56/66/86/96 = {+Approx:prox +H:vb 56/66/86/96 +Mar 12}
Vb 76 = {+Approx:prox +H:vb 76 +Mar 13}
Vb 17/27/37/47/57/67/87/97 = {±Sembl:part 30 ±Approx:prox
                              +H:vb 17/27/37/47/57/67/87/97
                              +Mar 14}
Vb 77 = {±Sembl:part 30 ±Approx:prox +H:vb 77 +Mar 15}
Vb 58/68/88/98 = {+H:vb 58/68/88/98 +Mar 16}
Vb 78 = {+H:vb 78 +Mar 17}

Inventory of tagmemes

	±Repr:	±Asr²:asr	±Asp:	±Tense:	±Def: part 12	±Spec clos: part 20
Mar 1	repr 1-3		-	tense 5		
2	"		asp 2	tense 2/5		
3	"		-	tense 1/5		
4	"		asp 1	"		
5	"		asp 5	tense 5		
6	"		asp 2	"		
7	"		asp 6	"		
8	"		asp 5	"	-	-
9	"		asp 5	"		-
10	"		asp 1	-	-	-
11	repr 1-2	-	-	tense 5	-	-
12	"	-	asp 2	"	-	-
13	"	-	asp 1	"	-	-
14	"	-	-	tense 2/5	-	-
15	"	-	-	tense 1/5	-	-
16	repr 1-3		asp 4	tense 4/5		-
17	"		asp 3	tense 3/5		-

3.1.3 Citation verb phrase paradigm

Vb 11 = H:<u>kuhuruba</u> -- Tense:<u>pikani</u> -- Asr:<u>hane</u> -- Def:<u>baha</u>
teach   was   really   definitely

'he really was teaching'.

Vb 12 = H:<u>aporahutsitsi</u> -- Asr:<u>meta</u> -- Def:<u>baha</u>
not-given   perhaps   definitely

'perhaps it was not given to him'.

Vb 16 = Approx:<u>imoxo</u> -- Repr:<u>pina</u> -- H:<u>perhutsi</u>
nearly   it-is-said   he-gave

'he nearly gave it'.

Vb 17 = Sembl:<u>itahara</u> -- Repr:<u>pina</u> -- Approx:<u>imoxo</u> --
it-seemed   it-is-said   nearly

H:<u>beperahutsi</u>
like-he-gave

'it seemed as though he nearly gave it'.

Vb 21 = H:<u>exana</u> -- Asr:<u>hane</u> -- Def:<u>baha</u>
make   really   definitely

'he really made it'.

$$= \text{H:}\underset{\text{do}}{\underline{\text{itsi}}} \text{ -- Spec clos:}\underset{\text{Clos}}{\underline{\text{he}}}$$

'he did it'.

Vb 22 $= \text{H:}\underset{\text{not-see-I}}{\underline{\text{apotaenë}}} \text{ -- Asr}^2\text{:}\underset{\text{Emph}}{\underline{\text{raha}}} \quad \underset{\text{already}}{\underline{\text{kahena}}}$

'I do not see it'.

Vb 26 $= \text{Approx:}\underset{\text{nearly}}{\underline{\text{imoxo}}} \text{ -- Asr:}\underset{\text{perhaps}}{\underline{\text{meta}}} \text{ -- H:}\underset{\text{I-cut}}{\underline{\text{taukutsi}}}$

'perhaps I nearly cut it'.

Vb 27 $= \text{Sembl:}\underset{\text{is-seemed}}{\underline{\text{itahara}}} \text{ -- H:}\underset{\text{he-was-grabbed}}{\underline{\text{pevaetabitsi}}}$

'it seemed as though he was grabbed'.

Vb 31 $= \text{H:}\underset{\text{sleep}}{\underline{\text{mahita}}} \text{ -- Repr:}\underset{\text{it-is-said}}{\underline{\text{pina}}} \text{ -- Asr:}\underset{\text{perhaps}}{\underline{\text{meta}}} \text{ -- Def:}\underset{\text{definitely}}{\underline{\text{baha}}}$

'perhaps he slept'.

Vb 32 $= \text{H:}\underset{\text{not-self-show-you}}{\underline{\text{aponaitahëtsimë}}} \text{ -- Tense:}\underset{\text{will}}{\underline{\text{tsane}}}$

'do not reveal yourself'.

Vb 36 $= \text{Approx:}\underset{\text{nearly}}{\underline{\text{imoxo}}} \text{ -- H:}\underset{\text{he-fell}}{\underline{\text{pehopae}}}$

'he nearly fell'.

Vb 37 $= \text{Sembl:}\underset{\text{it-seemed}}{\underline{\text{itahara}}} \text{ -- H:}\underset{\text{as-though-he-fell}}{\underline{\text{bepehopae}}}$

'it seemed as though he fell'.

Vb 41 $= \text{H:}\underset{\text{me-fever}}{\underline{\text{neromaeba}}} \text{ -- Tense:}\underset{\text{was}}{\underline{\text{pikani}}} \text{ -- Def:}\underset{\text{definitely}}{\underline{\text{baha}}}$

'I was sick'.

Vb 42 $= \text{H:}\underset{\text{not-you-fever}}{\underline{\text{apokaromaebi}}} \text{ -- Tense:}\underset{\text{will}}{\underline{\text{tsane}}}$

'you will not be sick'.

Vb 46 $= \text{Approx:}\underset{\text{nearly}}{\underline{\text{imoxo}}} \text{ -- H:}\underset{\text{I-me-sneeze}}{\underline{\text{taneathivi}}}$

'I nearly sneezed'.

Vb 47 $= \text{Sembl:}\underset{\text{it-seemed}}{\underline{\text{itahara}}} \text{ -- H:}\underset{\text{as-though-he-has-worms}}{\underline{\text{bepetovinabitsi}}}$

'it seemed as though he is infested with worms'.

Vb 51 $= \text{H:}\underset{\text{say}}{\underline{\text{hai}}} \text{ -- Repr:}\underset{\text{it-is-said}}{\underline{\text{pina}}} \text{ -- Asp:}\underset{\text{is-going}}{\underline{\text{tsarukaponae}}}$

'said as he went, continued saying'.

Vb 53 $= \text{H:}\underset{\text{say-going-we}}{\underline{\text{haihitsiatsi}}} \text{ -- Asp:}\underset{\text{is-going}}{\underline{\text{tsaponae}}}$

'we are going to continue to say'.

Vb 54 = H:<u>hamë</u>   -- Asp:<u>tsabiabi</u>
        say-you   repeatedly

      'you repeatedly say it'.

Vb 55 = H:<u>hamëre</u> -- Asp:<u>tsabiabi</u>
        say-you   repeatedly

      'repeatedly say it!'.

Vb 56 = Approx:<u>imoxo</u> -- H:<u>apopehai</u>
             nearly   not-he-say

      'he nearly did not say it'.

Vb 57 = Sembl:<u>itahara</u>   -- H:<u>benehai</u>
            it-seemed   as-though-you-say

      'it seemed as though you said it'.

Vb 58 = H:<u>kahaiata</u>   --   Asp:<u>tsabiabitsi</u>
        even-though-say-to-you   repeatedly-I

      'even though I repeatedly say it to you'.

     = H:<u>kahaineheva</u>   --   Asp:<u>tsabiabi</u>
        without-saying-to-you   repeatedly

      'without repeatedly saying to you'.

Vb 61 = H:<u>tahë</u> -- Asp:<u>tsarëkëpae</u> -- <u>he</u>
        far   are-fleeing   Clos

      'were fleeing far away'.

     = H:<u>pexanianëyo</u>   -- Asp:<u>tsekae</u>
        good-boy-little   is-sitting

      'he is a good little boy'.

     = H:<u>saliva</u>   <u>raha</u> <u>pihaira</u>   -- Asp:<u>tsaponae</u>
        Saliva-Indian Emph their-land   is-going

      'it is getting to be the land of the Saliva Indians'.

     = H:<u>pamonae</u>   <u>kanivi</u>   <u>pata</u>   -- Asr:<u>raha</u>
        those-who yesterday arrived   Emph

      'it is the people that arrived yesterday'.

Vb 63 = H:<u>hamatehemahitsia</u> -- Asp:<u>tsaponae</u>
        getting-better   is-going

      'he is getting better'.

Vb 64 = H:<u>amaxëtanemë</u> -- Asp:<u>tsarukae</u>
        arm-hurt-you   is-hanging

      'your arm is hurting'.

Vb 65 = H:<u>hamatehemamëre</u> -- Asp:<u>tsabiabi</u>
        well-you   repeatedly

      'be well always!'.

Vb 66 = Approx:<u>imoxo</u> -- H:<u>piahibihitsia</u>   -- Asp:<u>tsarukae</u>
            nearly   he-absent-going   is-hanging

      'he was nearly going to be absent'.

Vb 67 = Sembl:<u>itahara</u> -- H:<u>bepiahibi</u> -- Asp:<u>tsarukae</u>
     it-seemed as-though-he-absent is-hanging

   'it seemed as though he was absent'.

Vb 68 = H:<u>ataneneheva</u> -- Asp:<u>tsabiabi</u>
    pain-without   repeatedly

   'always without pain'.

Vb 71 = H:<u>ema</u> -- Asp:<u>tsanukae</u> -- Asr:<u>meta</u> -- Tense:<u>tsane</u>
    rain   is-standing   perhaps   will

   'perhaps it will rain'.

Vb 73 = H:<u>emahitsia</u> -- Asp:<u>tsabiabi</u>
    rain-going   repeatedly

   'its continually going to rain'.

Vb 76 = Approx:<u>imoxo</u> -- H:<u>peema</u>
      nearly   rain

   'it nearly rained'

Vb 77 = Sembl:<u>itahara</u> -- H:<u>bepeemahitsia</u>
     it-seemed   as-though-rain-going-to

   'it seemed as though it is going to rain'.

Vb 78 = H:<u>ema</u> -- Asp:<u>tsanukaeata</u>
    rain   is-standing-even-though

   'even though it is raining'.

Vb 81a = H:<u>bapatoitsimë</u> -- Asp:<u>tsabiabi</u>
    customarily-Pl-do-for-you   repeatedly

   'all of you always do this for him'.

Vb 81b = H:<u>kaliamë</u> -- Asp:<u>tsabiabi</u> -- Tense:<u>tsane</u>
    carry-you   repeatedly   will
   'you will repeatedly carry it'.

Vb 81c = H:<u>pavekarenamë</u> -- Asp:<u>tsabiabi</u>
    Pl-from-carry-you   repeatedly

   'all of you bring it here repeatedly'.

Vb 83a = H:<u>tomataitsihitsia</u> -- Tense:<u>pikani</u>
    for-him-stir-going-to   was

   'was going to stir it for him'.

Vb 83b = H:<u>kaliahitsia</u> -- Repr:<u>pina</u> -- Asp:<u>tsabiabi</u>
    carry-going-to   it-is-said   repeatedly

   'he is going to carry it repeatedly'.

Vb 83c = H:<u>pabekaliahitsiamë</u> -- Asp:<u>tsatabi</u>
    Pl-carry-going-to-you   momentarily

   'all of you are going to carry it a short distance'.

Vb 84 = H:<u>kalia</u> -- Asp:<u>tsaponae</u>
    carry   is-going

   'he is carrying it away'.

Vb 85 = H:<u>katsiamëre</u>   -- Asp:<u>tsabiabi</u>
           carry-you-Impv   repeatedly

       'carry it repeatedly!'.

Vb 86 = Approx:<u>imoxo</u> -- Repr:<u>pina</u> --   H:<u>apopekatsia</u>
              nearly   it-is-said   not-he-carry

       'he nearly did not carry it'.

Vb 87 = Sembl:<u>itahara</u>   -- H:<u>berekareka</u>
              it-seemed   as-though-you-carried

       'it seemed as though you carried it'.

Vb 88 = H:<u>netokaliaata</u>   --   Asp:<u>tsabiabi</u>
           for-me-carried-even-though   repeatedly

       'even though he repeatedly carried it for me'.

Vb 91a = H:<u>apohehai</u>   -- Asp:<u>tsabiabi</u>
            not-yes-say   repeatedly

       'he always says, "no"'.

Vb 91b = H:<u>aporena</u> -- Tense:<u>tsipae</u>
            not-come   would

       'would not have come'.

Vb 91c = H:<u>pabeliamë</u> -- Tense:<u>tsane</u>
            Pl-go-you   will

       'all of you will go'.

Vb 93a = H:<u>aëaëhaihitsia</u> -- Tense:<u>pikani</u>
            cry-going-to   was

       'he was going to cry'.

Vb 93b = H:<u>liahitsia</u> -- Asr:<u>meta</u>   -- Def:<u>baha</u>
            going   perhaps   definitely

       'perhaps he is going'

Vb 93c = H:<u>beliahitsiamë</u> -- Asp:<u>tsabiabi</u>
            going-you   repeatedly

       'you are always going'.

Vb 94 = H:<u>parenamëbehe</u>   -- Asp:<u>tsabiabi</u>
           Pl-come-you-two   repeatedly

       'you two always come'.

Vb 95 = H:<u>liamëre</u>   -- Asp:<u>tsatabi</u>
           go-you-Impv   momentarily

       'go for a short time!'.

Vb 96 = Approx:<u>imoxo</u> -- Repr:<u>pina</u>   --   H:<u>apoperena</u>
              nearly   it-is-said   not-he-come

       'he nearly did not come'.

Vb 97 = Sembl:<u>itahara</u>   -- Approx:<u>imoxo</u> -- H:<u>apobepetsia</u>
              it-seemed   nearly   not-as-though-he-go

       'it seemed as though he nearly did not go'.

Vb 98 = H:aëaëhaiatamë   --   Asp:tsabiabi   -- Tense:tsane
        cry-even-though-you   repeatedly   will

    'even though you will always cry'.

   = H:lianehevanë   --   Asp:tsabiabi
     without-my-going   repeatedly

    'without my going repeatedly'.

3.2 The noun phrase

3.2.1 Emic noun phrase classes

		S-O 10	Instr-Ac 20		T 30	L 40	Pur 50
Dem	01a	11a	21a		31a	41a	51a
Dem	01b	11b	21b		31b	41b	51b
Non-Dem	01c	11c	--		--	--	--
Simple	02	12	22		32	42	52
Pos	03	13a 13b	23		33	43	53
Num	04	14a 14b	24		34	44	54
Cp	05	15	25		--	--	--
			Instr	Ac			
Ap	06	16	26a	26b	36	46	56
Series	07	17	27a	27b	37	47	57
Misc	08	--	--	28	38	--	58

N 11a-b: Nuc of Sent Frag 5; S/O of Cl 01-05/100/300; S of Cl 200;
        H of N 12; Gen of N 13a-b/23/43/53;
N 11c: Nuc of Sent Frag 5; Gen of N 23/53;
N 12: S/O of Cl 01-05/100; O of Cl 221; H of N 16-17/28/Ap of N 16;
        Cd of N 17;
N 13a: S/O of Cl 01-05; H of N 12/Vb 61; Gen of N 13a/23;
        Cd of N 27b;
N 13b: H of N 12/Vb 61; Gen of N 23;
N 14a: S/O of Cl 01-05; H/Ap of N 16;
N 14b: S/O of Cl 01-05; H of Vb 61;
N 15: Cp of Mar A/B/C;
N 16: S/O of Cl 01-05/100; H of N 16/17;
N 17: S/O of Cl 01-05; H/Ap of N 16;
N 21: Instr/Ac of Mar A-B; H of N 22;
N 22/24: Instr/Ac of Mar A-B;
N 23: Instr/Ac of Mar A-B; H of N 22/26a/27a; Cd of N 27a;
N 25: Cp/Ac of Mar A-B;

N 26a/27a: Instr of Mar A-B;
N 26b/27b/28: Ac of Mar A-B;
N 31: T of Mar A-B; Nuc of Sent Frag 5; H of N 32;
N 32: T of Mar A-B; H of N 36-37; Ap of N 36;
N 33: T of Mar A/E; H of N 33;
N 34: T of Mar A-B/E; Ap of N 36;
N 36/37: T of Mar A-B;
N 38: P of Cl 61-63;
N 41a: Nuc of Sent Frag 1/5; L of Mar A-C/E; H of N 42;
N 41b: L of Mar A-B/E; H of N 42;
N 42: L of Mar A-C; H of N 46-47; Ap of N 46;
N 43: L of Mar A-C; H of N 42;
N 44/46-47: L of Mar A-B;
N 51: Pur of Mar A-B; H of N 52/57; Ap of N 57;
N 52/54/56-58: Pur of Mar A-B;
N 53: Pur of Mar A-B; H of N 52.

The optional Spec tagmeme does not occur when Spec tagmeme is manifested by Dem 4, nor when N 11 fills the H slot of N 12. When the optional Spec tagmeme of N 11 occurs, the optional Neg and Qual tagmemes occur only once in the phrase.

A non-verbal gesture with the fingers, indicating the number involved, may be substituted for the numeral which manifests the obligatory numeral tagmeme of N 04.

3.2.2   Tagmemic noun phrase paradigm

N 11a   = {±Spec:dem 3 +H:n 1201/4111 ±Spec clos:part 20}
N 21a   = {±Spec:dem 3 +H:n 1202/2202/4112 ±Spec clos:part 20}
N 31a   = {±Spec:dem 3 +H:n 1103 Res/1203/2203/4113/t 4 ±Spec clos:
           part 20}
N 41a   = {±Spec:dem 3 +H:n 1204/2204/4114/dir 1-2/5-6 ±Spec clos:
           part 20}
N 51a   = {±Spec:dem 3 +H:n 1205/2205/3105 Res/4112 ±Spec clos:
           part 20}
N 11b   = {+H:n 1101/4121/4131 ±Spec clos:part 20}
N 21b   = {+H:n 1102/2102/3102/4122/4132 ±Spec clos:part 20}
N 31b   = {+H:n 1101 Res/1103/2103/4123/4133 ±Spec clos:part 20}
N 41b   = {+H:n 1104/2104/4124/4134/dir 3-4/7 ±Spec clos:part 20}
N 51b   = {+H:n 1105/2105/4125/4135/pur 1-2 ±Spec clos:part 20}
N 11c   = {±Spec:dem 3 +H:n 2201 ±Spec clos:part 20}
N 12   = {+H:N 11a-b/13/ dem 1 ±Repr:repr 1-3 ±Asr^2:asr ±Def:part 12}
N 22   = {+H:N 21/23 ±Repr:repr 1-3 ±Asr^2:asr ±Def:part 12}
N 32   = {+H:N 31/33/t 1-2/6 ±Repr:repr 1-3 ±Asr^2:asr ±Def:part 12}
N 42   = {+H:N 41/43 ±Repr:repr 1-3 ±Asr^2:asr ±Def:part 12}
N 52   = {+H:N 51a-b/53 ±Repr:repr 1-3 ±Asr^2:asr ±Def:part 12}
N 13a   = {±Gen:Cl 121/N 11a-b/13a +H:n 1301}
N 13b   = {±Gen:N 11a-b +H:n 2301}
N 23   = {+Gen:N 11/13 +H:n 1302/2302}
N 33   = {±Gen:n 1101 +H:n 1303/2303/t 3/5}
N 43   = {+H:n 1304/2304/dir 3 +Gen:N 11a/n 1101}
N 53   = {±Gen:N 11/13 +H:n 1305/2305}
N 14a   = {+Num:num ±Repr:repr 1 +H:n 1401}
N 14b   = {+Num:num +H:n 2401}
N 24   = {+Num:num ±Repr:repr 1 +H:n 1402/2402}
N 34   = {+Num:num +H:n 1403}
N 44   = {+Num:num +H:n 1404/2404}
N 54   = {+Num:num ±Repr:repr 1 +H:n 1405/2405}

N 15 = {+H:Cl 201/n 1101/3161/4111/4121/4131 +Cp:adv 2
        (matatoxentsia, -yo/∅)}
N 25 = {+H:n 1102/3102 +Cp:adv 2 (matatoxentsia, -yo/∅)}
N 16 = {+H:Cl 221/231/N 12/14a/17/n 3161/dem 4 +Ap₁:Cl 221/231/
        N 12/17/n 3161/dem 4 ±Ap₂:Cl 231/N 14a/n 1201/n theme 2140}
N 26a = {+H:N 23 +Ap:n 1202}
N 26b = {+H:n 1101/1301 +Ap:n 1202}
N 36 = {+H:Cl 232/N 32/n 3163 +Ap₁:Cl 122/222/232/N 32/34/n 3163
        ±(Ap₂)³:Cl 122/n 1103}
N 46 = {+H:Cl 233/N 42/n 3154/3164 +Ap₁:Cl 233/133/N 42/n 3154/3164
        ±(Ap₂)²:n 1104}
N 56 = {+H:n 1101 +Ap:n 1205}
N 17 = {+H:N 12/16 +Cd₁:N 12 ±(Cd₂)⁵:N 12}
N 27a = {+H:N 23/n 1202 +Cd₁:N 23/n 1202 ±Cd₂:n 1202}
N 27b = {+Cd₁:N 13a/n 1101 ±Cd₂:n 1101 +H:n 1202}
N 37 = {+H:N 32 +Cd:n 1103}
N 47 = {+H:N 42 +Cd₁:n 1104 ±Cd₂:n 1104}
N 57 = {+H:Cl 204/N 51 +Ap₁:Cl 204/N 51 ±Ap₂:n 1105/3105}
N 28 = {+H:N 12 ±Repr:repr 1 +Ac:ac}
N 38 = {+H:n 3123ax Res/n 4113/adv 1-2 Res/t 1 Res ±Repr:repr 1
        ±Asr:asr +Tense:tense 1}
N 58 = {+H:Cl 204/n 1101 +Pur:pur 3}

3.2.3 Citation noun phrase paradigm

N 11a = Spec:bahara -- H:ponë
             that   this-fellow

       'that fellow'.

     = Spec:ma   -- H:pomonae   -- Spec clos:he
            this   this-group   Clos
       'these people'.

N 21a = Spec:bahara -- H:pomonaeta
             that   this-group-with

       'with those people'.

N 31a = Spec:ma   -- H:xuakuihinae -- Spec clos:he
            this   thing-after   Clos
       'after this'.

N 41a = Spec:bahara -- H:hota
             that   place

       'that place'.

     ≈ Spec:bahara -- H:xuayalia
            that   this-way-toward-north
       'that way'.

N 51a = Spec:bahara -- H:xuata
             that   thing-with

       'for that reason'.

     = Spec:ma   -- H:pitsixae   -- Spec clos:he
            this   done-because   Clos
       'for this reason'.

N 11b = H:<u>vaxiyo</u>   --   Spec clos:<u>he</u>
              pot-little   Clos

    'small pot'.

N 21b = H:<u>naehavata</u> -- Spec clos:<u>he</u>
              tree-with   Clos

    'with a tree'.

N 31b = H:<u>vayafokuihinae</u> -- Repr:<u>pina</u>   --   Def:<u>baha</u>
              savannah-after   it-is-said   definitely

    'beyond the savannah'.

    = H:<u>vaivahënaeya</u> -- Asr:<u>hane</u> -- Def:<u>baha</u>
              summer-before   well   definitely

    'before the summer'.

N 41b = H:<u>pukahavareka</u> -- Spec clos:<u>he</u>
              lagoon-via   Clos

    'via the lagoon'.

N 51b = H:<u>pexaniakuenenexa</u> -- Spec clos:<u>he</u>
              good-thing-for   Clos

    'for something good'.

N 11c = Spec:<u>bahara</u> -- H:<u>ponëyonë</u>
              that   this-fellow-little-I

    'I am that little fellow'.

N 12 = H:<u>iri</u> -- Asr:<u>meta</u>   -- Def:<u>baha</u>
              rats   perhaps   definitely

    'perhaps rats'.

N 22 = H:<u>bahara</u> <u>pairoyota</u>   --   Asr:<u>ra</u> -- Def:<u>baha</u>
              that   this-land-with   Emph   definitely

    'with that land'.

N 32 = H:<u>meravia</u> -- Asr:<u>meta</u>
              tomorrow   perhaps

    'perhaps tomorrow'.

N 42 = H:<u>taitabarata</u> -- Repr:<u>tsaena</u>
              my-face-at   it-seemed

    'in front of me, it seemed'.

N 52 = H:<u>bahara</u> <u>pitsixae</u>   -- Asr:<u>kahena</u> -- Def:<u>baha</u>
              that   done-because   already   definitely

    'for that reason'.

N 13a = Gen:<u>ponë</u>   <u>uba</u>   -- H:<u>pevënë</u>
              this-fellow   plant   his-name

    'the name of the fellow who is planting'.

N 13b = Gen:<u>huametova</u> -- H:<u>pamonamë</u>
              moon-woman   her-husband-formerly

    'he that was the moon's husband'.

N 23 = Gen:<u>maleva</u> -- H:<u>pihasipalita</u>
      Maleva   his-axe-with

'with Maleva's axe'.

N 33 = Gen:<u>bahara</u> <u>ponë</u>   -- H:<u>pevahënae</u>
      that   fellow   his-before

'before that fellow came'.

N 43 = H:<u>pihumata</u>   -- Gen:<u>metsaha</u>
      his-back-on   tapir

'on the tapir's back'.

N 53 = Gen:<u>bahara</u> <u>pova</u>   -- H:<u>pexënatoxae</u>
      that   this-woman   her-son-because

'because he is the son of that woman'.

N 14a = Num:<u>akueyabi</u> -- H:<u>paxuatabobehe</u>
       three   these-arrows-number-of

'three arrows'.

N 14b = Num:<u>die</u> -- H:<u>ponëbeheyahavënënë</u>
       ten   fellows-party-of-he

'he is one of the ten fellows'.

N 24 = Num:<u>akueyabi</u> -- H:<u>xuabeheta</u>
      three   thing-number-of-with

'with three things'.

N 34 = Num:<u>akueyabi</u> -- H:<u>xuabehekuihinae</u>
      three   things-number-of-after

'after the three things'.

N 44 = Num:<u>sinko</u> -- H:<u>ponëbehehavatalia</u>
      five   fellows-number-of-place-in-to-the-north

'at the place of the five fellows'.

N 54 = Num:<u>kuaturo</u> -- Repr:<u>pina</u>   -- H:<u>pohivibehenexa</u>
      four   it-is-said   people-number-of-for

'for four persons'.

N 15 = H:<u>tsapanilu</u> -- Cp:<u>matatoxentsiayo</u>
      turtle   over

'more than the turtle'.

N 25 = H:<u>kulupabota</u>   -- Cp:<u>matatoxentsiayo</u>
      fish-hook-with   over-a-little

'a little more than with a fish-hook'.

N 16 = H:<u>bahara</u> <u>pova</u>   --   Ap1:<u>perujuva</u>
      that   this-woman   old-woman

'that woman, the old-woman'.

N 26a = H:<u>pihamoyota</u>   -- Ap:<u>tsikirimoyota</u>
       his-canoe-with   small-canoe-with

'with his canoe, a small canoe'.

N 26b = H:<u>tahuyapihinë</u> -- Ap:<u>siliata</u>
           my-younger-brother   Silia-with

      'with Silia, my younger-brother'.

N 36 = H:<u>meravia</u> ... <u>pina</u> -- Ap$_1$:<u>pitsihavata</u>
           tomorrow   it-is-said   like-at-this-time

      'the following day'.

     = <u>tahumekuihinae</u> -- <u>itsa</u> <u>kamataenenaruka</u>
        my-words-after   when   you-greet

      'after this, when (she) greets you'.

N 46 = H:<u>pepatsihavabelia</u> -- Ap$_1$:<u>penukaehavabelia</u> <u>kaliavirianae</u>
           he-arrived-place   it-stands-place   tree-species

      'he arrived there, where the kaliaviria tree stands'.

N 56 = H:<u>ahena</u> -- Ap:<u>pamatakabinexa</u>
           today   this-day-for

      'for this day'.

N 17 = H:<u>iri</u> <u>meta</u> <u>baha</u> -- Cd$_1$:<u>dokobë</u> <u>meta</u>
           rats   perhaps   definitely   lizards   perhaps

     <u>baha</u> -- Cd$_2$:<u>baratsui</u> <u>meta</u> <u>baha</u>
     definitely   birds   perhaps   definitely

      'perhaps rats, lizards, or birds'.

N 27a = H:<u>sipalita</u> -- Cd$_1$:<u>palata</u> -- Cd$_2$:<u>kasibarëtota</u>
           axe-with   shovel-with   pick-with

      'with an axe, shovel, and pick'.

N 27b = Cd$_1$:<u>karlo</u> -- Cd$_2$:<u>samueli</u> -- H:<u>manuelita</u>
           Carl   Samuel   Manuel-with

      'with Carl, Samuel, Manuel'.

N 37 = H:<u>daxitamatakabi</u> -- Cd:<u>meravihebi</u>
           all-day   night-through-out

      'all day and all night'.

N 47 = H:<u>biyaohavabelia</u> -- -- Cd$_1$:<u>vobotayabelia</u>
           Villavicencio-place-there   Bogotá-through-there

      'Villavicencio and Bogotá'.

N 57 = H:<u>pevaetabinexatsi</u> -- Ap$_1$:<u>pesininexatsi</u>
           in-order-to-be-grabbed   in-order-to-be-bitten

      'in order to be grabbed and bitten'.

N 28 = H:<u>nonohi</u> -- Repr:<u>pina</u> -- Ac:<u>yahava</u>
           hot-pepper   it-is-said   with

      'with hot pepper'.

N 38 = H:<u>xuakuihinae</u> -- Asr:<u>meta</u> --- Tense:<u>tsane</u>
           this-after   perhaps   will

      'perhaps it will be after this'.

N 58 = H:<u>ira</u> -- Pur:<u>yabara</u>
           land   because-of

      'because of the land'.

= H:<u>petiriva</u>   <u>apopehitsipaexaetsi</u>   -- Pur:<u>yabara</u>
   girl   not-liked-by-because   because-of

'because he was not liked by the girl'.

3.3 The introductory phrase

The introductory phrase distributes into Mar A.

3.3.1 Tagmemic introductory phrase paradigm

Intro 1 = {+H:part 12 +(Repr:repr 1-2 +Cd:part 11
          ±Def:part 12)/(±Repr:repr 1-2 ±Asr:asr)}

Intro 2 = {+H:part 11 ±(+Repr:repr 1-2 ±Asr:asr
          ±Def:part 12)/(±Cd:part 12 ±Repr:repr 1▾2)}

3.3.2 Citation introductory phrase paradigm

Intro 1 = H:<u>baha</u>   --   Repr:<u>pina</u>   --   Cd:<u>nexata</u>   --
        definitely   it-is-said   then

       Def:<u>baha</u>
          definitely

       'then'.

Intro 2 = H:<u>nexata</u> -- Repr:<u>pina</u>   --   Def:<u>baha</u>
         then   it-is-said   definitely

       'then'.

3.4 The exclamatory phrase

The exclamatory phrase distributes into Nuc of Sentence Frag 4.

3.4.1 Tagmemic exclamatory phrase paradigm

Excl 1 = {+H:excl 1 (hume) ±Asr:asr ±Def:part 12}
Excl 2 = {+H:excl r 1 Res ±Asr:asr (hane) / part 11}

3.4.2 Citation exclamatory phrase paradigm

Excl 1 = H:<u>hume</u> -- Asr:<u>ra</u>   -- Def:<u>baha</u>
         no   Emph   definitely

       'no!'.

Excl 2 = H:<u>ica</u>   --- Asr:<u>hane</u>
        how-is-it   really

       'how did it go!'.

3.5 The relator phrase

The relator phrase distributes as follows:

Rel 101:   Rel of Cl 101-106; S/O of Cl 100;
Rel 102:   T of Mar C; Rel of Cl 101-106;
Rel 103:   L of Mar C; Rel of Cl 101-106;
Rel 104-105: Rel of Cl 101-106;
Rel 106:   M of Mar C; Rel of Cl 101-106.

3.5.1 Tagmemic relator phrase paradigm

Rel 101 = {±Dem:dem 1 +H:n 1201 ±Repr:repr 1-3}
Rel 102a = {+H:rel 1/6 / t 1 (<u>matapania</u>) ±Repr:repr 1-3}

Rel 102b = {±Dem:dem 1 +H:(n 1101/1103) Res ±Repr:repr 1-3}
Rel 103a = {+H:rel 4-5 ±Repr:repr 1-3}
Rel 103b = {±Dem:dem 1 +H:n 1201 (pAepato(yo)) ±Repr:repr 1-3}
Rel 104 = {+H:rel 2 ±Repr:repr 1-3}
Rel 105 = {+H:rel 3 ±Repr:repr 1-3 ±Asr:asr:asr ±Def:part 12}
Rel 106 = {±Dem:dem 1 +H:adv 5 (pAkueneya)/ rel 7 ±Repr:repr 1-3}

3.5.2 Citation relator phrase paradigm

Rel 101 = Dem:<u>ma</u>   -- H:<u>ponë</u>   --   Repr:<u>pina</u>
                this   this-fellow   it-is-said

         'this fellow'.

Rel 102a = H:<u>ahena</u>   -- Repr:<u>pina</u>
               just-as   it-is-said

         'just as'.

Rel 102b = Dem:<u>ma</u>   -- H:<u>pamatakabita</u> -- Repr:<u>pina</u>
                this   this-day-in   it-is-said

         'in this day'.

Rel 103a = H:<u>itsahota</u> -- Repr:<u>pina</u>
               where   it-is-said

         'where'.

Rel 103b = Dem:<u>ma</u>   -- H:<u>paepatoyo</u> -- Repr:<u>pina</u>
                this   this-piece   it-is-said

         'this distance'.

Rel 104 = H:<u>tsipahi</u> -- Repr:<u>pina</u>
               because   it-is-said

         'because'.

Rel 105 = H:<u>itsa</u>   --   Repr:<u>tsaena</u>   --   Def:<u>baha</u>
               when, if   it-seemed   definitely

         'when, if'.

Rel 106 = Dem:<u>ma</u>   -- H:<u>pakuenia</u>   -- Repr:<u>pina</u>
                this   this-manner   it-is-said

         'this manner, this way'.

3.6 The adverb phrase

The adverb phrase distributes as follows:

Adv 1: Nuc of Sent Frag 5; M of Mar A-D; H of Adv 2-3;
       Ap of Adv 3;
Adv 2: M of Mar A-C; H of Adv 3;
Adv 3: M of Mar A-C;
Adv 4: Nuc of Sent Frag 5; M of Mar A-B.

3.6.1 Tagmemic adverb phrase paradigm

Adv 1 = {+Dem:dem 2 +H:adv 5}
Adv 2 = {+H:Adv 1/adv 1-4/7 ±Repr:repr 1-3 ±Asr^2:asr ±Def:part 12}
Adv 3 = {+H:Cl 106/Adv 1-2 +Ap$_1$:Adv 1/adv 1-3 ±Ap$_2$:adv 1-3}
Adv 4 = {+H:adv 6 ±Asr:asr }

3.6.2 Citation adverb phrase paradigm

Adv 1 = Dem:<u>bahara</u> -- H:<u>pakuenia</u>
              that   this-manner

        'in that manner'.

Adv 2 = H:<u>ikatsia</u> -- Asr:<u>hane</u> -- Def:<u>baha</u>
              again   well   definitely

        'again'.

Adv 3 = H:<u>saya</u> <u>raha</u> -- Ap$_1$:<u>xaniavaetsia</u>
              only   Emph   carefully

        'only carefully'.

      = H:<u>pakuenia</u> <u>nakuenebahẽ</u> -- Ap$_1$:<u>bahara</u> <u>pakuenia</u>
              this-way   work-I   that   this-way

        'the way I work, in that way'.

Adv 4 = H:<u>apopakuenia</u> -- Asr:<u>raha</u>
              not-this-way   Emph

        'not this way'.

3.7 The conditional phrase
     The conditional phrase distributes in Cir of Mar A-B.

3.7.1 Conditional phrase formula
       Cond = {+H:rel 3 +Neg:excl r 1 (<u>hume</u>)}

3.7.2 Example of conditional phrase
       Cond = H:<u>itsa</u> -- +Neg:<u>hume</u>
                    if   no

            'if not'.

3.8 The closure phrase
     The closure phrase distributes in Clos of Mar B.

3.8.1 Closure phrase formula
       Clos = {±Spec:dem 1 +H:clos 4 ±Spec clos:part 20}

3.8.2 Example of the closure phrase
       Clos = Spec:<u>ma</u>   -- H:<u>rë</u>
                    this   Clos

            'this'.

3.9 The interrogative phrase
     The interrogative phrase distributes as follows:
Ig 1/13-14: Ig of Cl 02;
Ig 2: T of Mar B; O of Cl 12; Ig of Cl 02;
Ig 3: T of Mar B; Ig of Cl 02;
Ig 4-6: L of Mar B; Ig of Cl 02;
Ig 7-8: Instr of Mar B; Ig of Cl 02;
Ig 9-10: Pur of Mar B; Ig of Cl 02;

Ig 11: Ac of Mar B;
Ig 12: S/O/Ig of Cl 02;
Ig 15: Nuc of Sent Frag 6;
Ig 21: P/Ig of Cl 22; Ig of Cl 52;
Ig 22: P/Ig of Cl 32;
Ig 31: Nuc of Sent Frag 2; Ig of Cl 03;
Ig 32: Nuc of Sent Frag 2.

3.9.1 Tagmemic interrogative phrase paradigm

When the H tagmeme of the Ig phrase is manifested by a noun
read minus Neg and Qual. The Att tagmeme of Ig 31 should be read
minus when H:ig 13-14. The Att tagmeme of Ig 1-5/7/13/21-22 follows
Ig.

Ig 1 = {+Ig:ig 11 +H:adv 5 +Mar 1}
Ig 2 = {+Ig:ig 11 +H:t 4 +Mar 1}
Ig 3 = {+Ig:ig 11 +H:n 4113 +Mar 1}
Ig 4 = {+Ig:ig 11 +H:n 1201 Res/4114/dir 5-6/dir stem 2 +Mar 1}
Ig 5 = {+Ig:ig 12 +H:n 1304/2304 +Mar 1}
Ig 6 = {+H:ig 23 +Mar 1}
Ig 7 = {+Ig:ig 11 +H:n 1202/2202/4112 +Mar 1}
Ig 8 = {+Ig:ig 12 +H:n 1302/2302 +Mar 1}
Ig 9 = {+Ig:ig 11 +H:n 1205/2205/4115 +Mar 1}
Ig 10 = {+H:ig 25 +Mar 1}
Ig 11 = {+H:ig 22 +Mar 1}
Ig 12 = {+H:ig 12/21/24 +Mar 1}
Ig 13 = {+Ig:ig 11 +H:n 1201 Res/3121 Res/pn 4 +Mar 1}
Ig 14 = {+Ig:ig 12 +H:n 1301/2301 +Mar 1}
Ig 15 = {+Ig:ig 16 +H:pn 4 +Mar 1}
Ig 21 = {+Ig:ig 11 +H:Vb 81a/81c/83a/83c/86/87 +Mar 1}
Ig 22 = {+Ig:ig 11 +H:Vb 91c/93c +Mar 1}
Ig 31 = {±Def:part 12 +H:ig 13-15 +Mar 2}
Ig 32 = {+Spec:n 1101 +H:ig 15}

Inventory of tagmeme
   Mar 1 = $\pm$Att^2:part 11/asr ±Clos:clos 4
   Mar 2 = -/±Att:asr

3.9.2 Citation interrogative phrase paradigm

Ig 1 = Ig:detsa -- Att:bihi   --   H:pakuenia ---- Clos:rë
          how   on-the-contrary   this-manner   Clos

       'how, on the contrary?'.

Ig 2 = Ig:detsa -- H:paepatohebi   --   Clos:rë
          how   this-part-duration   Clos

       'how long?'.

Ig 3 = Ig:detsa -- H:xuayota
          what   thing-little-in

       'what time is it?'.

Ig 4 = Ig:detsa -- Att:meta   -- H:hota -- Clos:rë
          what   perhaps   place   Clos

       'where?'.

Ig 5 = Ig:<u>hipatsa</u> -- H:<u>pihabohavatalia</u>
       who   his-house-place-in-to-the-north
      'in whose house?'.

Ig 6 = H:<u>hipatsahavatalia</u>   --   Att:<u>nexata</u>
      who-place-in-to-the-north   then
      'in whose place then?'.

Ig 7 = Ig:<u>detsa</u> -- H:<u>pitsihavata</u>
      what   do-thing-with
      'with what kind of thing?'.

Ig 8 = Ig:<u>hipatsa</u> -- H:<u>pexёnatota</u>
      who   his-son-with
      'with whose son?'.

Ig 9 = Ig:<u>detsa</u> -- H:<u>xuanexa</u>
      what   thing-for
      'what for?'.

Ig 10 = H:<u>hipatsanexa</u> -- Att:<u>meta</u>
      who-for   perhaps
      'who for?'.

Ig 11 = H:<u>hipatsata</u> -- Att:<u>meta</u>   --   Clos:<u>rё</u>
      who-with   perhaps   Clos
      'with whom?'.

Ig 12 = H:<u>hipatsa</u> -- Att:<u>bihi</u>
      who   on-the-contrary
      'who on the contrary?'.

     = H:<u>hipatsamё</u> -- Att:<u>meta</u> --   Clos:<u>rё</u>
      who-you   perhaps   Clos
      'who are you?'.

Ig 13 = Ig:<u>detsa</u> -- H:<u>pitsinё</u>
      what   do-person
      'what kind of person?'.

     = Ig:<u>detsa</u> -- H:<u>pahume</u>
      what   word
      'what language?, what word?'.

     = Ig:<u>detsa</u> -- H:<u>ponёbehe</u>
      Ig   fellows-number-of
      'how many fellows?'.

Ig 14 = Ig:<u>hipatsa</u> -- H:<u>pihahava</u>
      who   their-thing
      'whose is it?'.

Ig 15 = Ig:<u>dera</u> -- H:<u>xua</u>
      what   thing
      'what?'.

Ig 21 = Ig:<u>detsa</u> -- H:<u>itahara</u>   <u>bepehumaitsi</u>   -- Clos:<u>rĕ</u>
           what   it-seemed-as-though-he-said   Clos

     'what did it seem as though he said?'.

  = Ig:<u>detsa</u> -- H:<u>bitsimĕ</u>   <u>tsabiabi</u>
          what   feel-you repeatedly

     'how do you feel?'.

Ig 21 = Ig:<u>detsa</u> -- H:<u>beliamĕ</u>   -- Clos:<u>rĕ</u>
           what   going-you   Clos

     'where are you going?'.

Ig 31 = Def:<u>baha</u>   -- H:<u>tsikaena</u>
          definitely   is-it-not-true

     'is it not true?'.

  = Def:<u>baha</u>   -- H:<u>tsa</u>   -- Att:<u>hane</u>
          definitely   is-it-not   well

     'is it not so?'.

Ig 32 = Spec:<u>naehava</u> -- H:<u>tsaha</u>
           tree   is-it

     'is it a tree?'.

4. The word

The root-affix dichotomy does not appear to be as significant in Guahibo as it appears to be in many languages. We have maintained the distinction loosely in this presentation. Notice, however, the dual status posited for the following morphemes:

verb radicals 90 are the same morphemes as affixes 2360; noun root 8 are the same morphemes as affixes 2140; noun root 12 are the same morphemes as affixes 2112, 2121, 2124; dir r 8 is the same morpheme as 2352; pur r is the same morpheme as 1555; pn 5 is the same morpheme as 2246.

The dual status of these morphemes is demonstrated in the word-border phenomena:

(1) misaelkuíhinae réka/réka misaelkuíhinae
   Misael-after go-toward-the-east

   'he went there after Misael did'.

(2) misaelkuihináereka
   Misael-after-to-the-east

   'that place below Misael's place'.

(3) misaél kuihináereka/kuihináereka misaél
   Misael ran-to-the-east

   'Misael ran toward the east'.

Phonologically no division is warranted in (2) because only one word stress occurs in the sequence and no word-boundary phenomena are found internally. Furthermore informant reaction favors only the word divisions shown in (1), (2), and (3).

Grammatically the word boundaries shown above are favored by the fact that (2) has fixed order, whereas the order of the words in (1) and (3) may be reversed.

A related feature is the formation of strings of affixes such as those listed in section 4.2.6.1. These manifest the L tagmeme of certain nouns, direction words, and interrogative words. Elsewhere listed among the affixes are a few sequences of two morphemes each: the affixes 2210 are sequences of Possessor affixes 2220 followed by the morpheme ha- 'non-intimate'; affix 2150 consists of the Possessor affix 2224 followed by the morpheme -hi 'inanimate'.

Affixes 2360 consist of affixes 1120 followed by arbitrarily selected affixes 1140. These sequences which form complex affixes 2360 also occur as verb radical 90 manifesting the Base tagmeme in verb core 93. The term radical here is used of a polymorphemic unit with distribution similiar to that of a root.

4.1 The verb

Regarding classes A and B, see note in Section 3.1.

4.1.1 The emic verb classes

	A				B								
	Ditr. 10	Tr A 20	Intr A 30	Impr 40	Quot 50	Eq 60	St 70	Tr B 80 a	80 b	80 c	Intr B 90 a	90 b	90 c
Aff 01	11	21	31	41	51	61a 61b	71	81 a	81 b	81 c	91 a	91 b	91 c
Neg 02	12	22	32	42	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Antic 03	13	23	33	43	53	63a 63b	73	83 a	83 b	83 c	93 a	93 b	93 c
Impr indirect 04	14	24	34	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Impv direct 05	15	25	35	-	55	65a 65b	-	85 a	85 b	-	95 a	95 b	-
Approx 06	16	26	36	46	56	66a 66b	76	86 a	86 b	-	96 a	96 b	-
Sembl 07	17	27	37	47	57	67a 67b	77	87 a	87 b	-	97 a	97 b	-
Subj 08	18	28	38	48	58	68a 68b	78	88 a	88 b	88 c	98 a	98 b	98 c
Frust 09	19	29	39	49	59	69a 69b	79	89 a	89 b	89 c	99 a	99 b	99 c

The following distribution of vb 10-90 which cannot be obtained
by multiplication or does not occur in the succeeding level also
occurs:

    vb 11:P of Cl 14;
    vb 13/18:P of Cl 111-116/311;
    vb 14-15:P of Cl 15;
    vb 19:P of Cl 311;
    vb 21:P of Cl 24;
    vb 23/28:P of Cl 121-126/321;
    vb 24-25:P of Cl 25;
    vb 31:P of Cl 34;
    vb 33/38:P of Cl 131-136/331;
    vb 41:P of Cl 44;
    vb 43/48-49:P of Cl 341;
    vb 51:H of Vb 54;
    vb 59:P of Cl 351;
    vb 61:H of Vb 64;
    vb 69:P of Cl 361;
    vb 79:P of Cl 371;
    vb 81a-b:H of Vb 84;
    vb 89:P of Cl 321;
    vb 91a-b:H of Vb 94;
    vb 99:P of Cl 331.

4.1.2 Tagmemic verb paradigm

The sequence of the Dual and Ad tagmemes may be reversed. The
vb 80b-80c/90b-90c is limited to singular or dual subject and the
symbol +/±Dual is to be read obligatory Dual when the Pl tagmeme
occurs; otherwise optional Dual. In vb 10-90 the affix 1580 may
occur at only one level. It manifests the Desid tagmeme of the vb
or the Info tagmeme of the vb stem. In vb 31 the S tagmeme mani-
fested by 1154 does not occur.

In vb 83b, 83c, 93b, 93c the Antic tagmeme manifested by 1230
may occur following any tagmeme that occurs after the Base.

The optional Focus tagmeme is obligatory in vb 40 if in vb
stem 40 either the Ref tagmeme is manifested by 1564 or Indir
tagmeme occurs; otherwise it reads minus.

In vb 11/21/31 the affixes -RE 1121 Directional and -a 1142
'to the west/upwards' do not co-occur. Also the sequence of affixes
-TSI 1122 Directional, -me 1130 Subject -2p, -lia 1144 'to the north
or south' does not occur.

In vb 06, 07 the affix 1222 manifesting the S tagmeme does not
occur unless the prefix 1561 occurs in the vb stem. The Pl tag-
meme of Mar A is proceded by Sembl and Adjl tagmemes respectively.
In vb 41-42/46-47/66a/66b/67a the Focus tagmeme follows Dir. In
vb 16-17/26-27/36-37/86a/87a/96a/97a the Focus/S tagmeme follows Dir.

The affirmative verb

    vb 11/21/31 = {+Mar Al +Base:vb stem 10/20/30 +Tense:1110
            +(+S:1130/1150/1223-1224)/+Dir₁:1120 +S:1130
            +Dir₂:1140)/(+Dir₁:1120 +Dir₂:1140 +S:1150/1223-
            1224) +Mar B1}

    vb 41 = {+Mar Al +Base:vb stem 40 +Tense:1110 ±Focus:1152 ±Mar B2}

vb 51 = {+Mar A2 +Base:vb stem 50 +S:1220/Focus:1152 +Mar B2}

vb 61a = {+Mar A2 +Base:vb stem 60x/adv stem 3-5/7-8 +S:1220/
       Focus:1152 +Mar B3}

vb 61b = {+Mar A2 +Adjl:1592 +Base:vb stem 60y +S:1220/Focus:1152
       +Mar B3}

vb 71 = {+Mar A3 +Base:vb stem 70 +Mar B4}

vb 81a/91a = {+Mar A2 +Base:vb stem 80a/90a +S:1220/Focus:1152
       +Mar B2}

vb 81b/91b = {+Mar A4 +Base:vb stem 80b/90b +S:1220/Focus:1152
       +Mar B5}

vb 81c/91c = {+Mar A5 +L-D:2340 +Base:vb stem 80c/90c +S:1220
       +Mar B5}

The negative verb

vb 12/22/32 = {+Mar A6 +Base:vb stem 10/20/30 +S:1220/Focus:1152
       +Mar B2}

vb 42 = {+Mar A6 +Base:vb stem 40 ±Focus:1152 +Mar B2}

The anticipatory verb

vb 13/23/33 = {+Mar A4 +Base:vb stem 10/20/30 +Antic:1230
       +S:1220/Focus:1152 +Mar B2}

vb 43 = {+Mar A4 +Base:vb stem 40 +Antic:1230 ±Focus:1152 +Mar B2}

vb 53 = {+Mar A4 +Base:vb stem 50 +S:1220/Focus:1152 +Antic:1230
       +Mar B2}

vb 63a = {+Mar A4 +Base:vb stem 60x/adv stem 3-5/7-8 +S:1220/
       Focus:1152 +Antic:1230 +Mar B2}

vb 63b = {+Mar A4 ±Adjl:1592 +Base:vb stem 60y +S:1220/Focus:1152
       +Antic:1230 +Mar B2}

vb 73 = {+Mar A3 +Base:vb stem 70 +Antic:1230 +Mar B4}

vb 83a/93a = {+Mar A4 +Base:vb stem 80a/90a +S:1220/Focus:1152
       +Antic:1230 +Mar B2}

vb 83b/93b = {+Mar A4 +Base:vb stem 80b/90b +Antic:1230
       +S:1220/Focus:1152 +Mar B5}

vb 83c/93c = {+Mar A4 +L-D:2340 +Base:vb stem 80c/90c +Antic:1230
       +S:1220 +Mar B5}

The imperative indirect verb

vb 14/24/34 = {+Mar A7 +Base:vb stem 10/20/30 +Impv:1242 +Mar B2}

The imperative direct verb

vb 15/25/35 = {+Mar A7 +Base:vb stem 10/20/30 +Impv:1241 +Mar B1}

vb 55 = {+Mar A7 +Base:vb stem 50 +S:1222 +Impv:1241 +Mar B2}

vb 65a = {+Mar A7 +Base:vb stem 60x/adv stem 3-5/7-8 +S:1222
       +Impv:1241 +Mar B2}

vb 65b = {+Mar A7 ±Adjl:1592 +Base:vb stem 60y +Impv:1241 +Mar B2}

vb 85a/95a = {+Mar A7 +Base:vb stem 80a/90a +S:1222 +Impv:1241
       +Mar B2}

vb 85b/95b = {+Mar A7 +Base:vb stem 80b/90b +S:1222 +Impv:1241
      +Mar B5}

The approximative verb

vb 16/26/36/56/86a/96a = {+Mar A8 +Posd:2220 +Base:vb stem
      10/20/30/50/80a/90a $\pm$Antic:1230
      $\pm$Focus:1152/S:1222 +Mar B2}

vb 46 = {+Mar A8 +Posd:2220 +Base:vb stem 40 $\pm$Antic:1230
      $\pm$Focus:1152 +Mar B2}

vb 66a = {+Mar A8 +Posd:2220 +Base:vb stem 60x/adv stem 3-5/7-8
      $\pm$Antic:1230 $\pm$Focus:1152 +Mar B2}

vb 66b = {+Mar A8 +Adjl:1592 +Posd:2220 +Base:60y $\pm$Antic:1230
      $\pm$Focus:1152 +Mar B2}

vb 76 = {+Mar A9 +Posd:2224 +Base:vb stem 70 $\pm$Antic:1230 +Mar B4}

For vb 86a,96a, see formula of vb 16.

vb 86b/96b = {+Mar A8 +Posd:2220 +Base:vb stem 80b/90b $\pm$Antic:1230
      $\pm$Focus:1152/S:1222 +Mar B5}

The semblative verb

vb 17/27/37/57/87a/97a = {+Mar A8 +Sembl:2252 +Posd:2220
      +Base:vb stem 10/20/30/50/80a/90a
      $\pm$Antic:1230 $\pm$Focus:1152/S:1222 +Mar B2}

vb 47 = {+Mar A8 +Sembl:2252 +Posd:2220 +Base:vb stem 40
      $\pm$Antic:1230 $\pm$Focus:1152 +Mar B2}

vb 67a = {+Mar A8 +Sembl:2252 +Posd:2220 +Base:vb stem 60x/adv
      stem 3-5/7-8 $\pm$Antic:1230 $\pm$Focus:1152 +Mar B2}

vb 67b = {+Mar A8 +Sembl:2252 $\pm$Adjl:1592 +Posd:2220 +Base:vb stem
      60y $\pm$Antic:1230 +Mar B2}

vb 77 = {+Mar A9 +Sembl:2252 +Posd:2224 +Base:vb stem 70
      $\pm$Antic:1230 +Mar B4}

For vb 87a, 97a, see formula of vb 17.

vb 87b/97b = {+Mar A8 +Sembl:2252 +Posd:2220 +Base:vb stem
      80b/90b $\pm$Antic:1230 $\pm$Focus:1152/S:1222 +Mar B5}

The subjunctive verb

vb 18/28/38/58/88a/98a = {+Mar A10 +Base:vb stem 10/20/30/50/80a/90a
      $\pm$Antic:1230 +Subj:1171/2325 +Focus:
      1152/S:1220 +Mar B4}

vb 48 = {+Mar A10 +Base:vb stem 40 $\pm$Antic:1230 +Subj:1171/2325
      $\pm$Focus:1152 +Mar B2}

vb 68a = {+Mar A10 +Base:vb stem 60x/adv stem 3-5/7-8/ n theme 2140
      $\pm$Antic:1230 +Subj:1171/2325 +Focus:1152/S:1220 +Mar B2}

vb 68b = {+Mar A10 +Adjl:1592 +Base:vb stem 60y $\pm$Antic:1230
      +Subj:1171/2325 +S:1220 +Mar B2}

vb 78 = {+Mar A8 +Base:vb stem 70 $\pm$Antic:1230 +Subj:1171/2325
      +Mar B6}

For vb 88a, 98a, see formula of vb 18.

vb 88b/98b = {+Mar A10 +Base:vb stem 80b/90b +Antic:1230
            +Subj:1171/2325 +Focus:1152/S:1$\overline{2}$20 +Mar B5}

vb 88c/98c = {+Mar A7 +L-D:2340 +Base:vb stem 80c/90c +Antic:1230
            +Subj:1171/2325 +S:1220 +Mar B5}

The frustrative verb

vb 19/29/39/59/89a/99a = {+Mar A7 +Posd:2210 +Base:vb stem
                        10/20/30/50/80a/90a +Frust:2324/2326
                        +Mar B1}

vb 49 = {+Mar A7 +Posd:2210 +Base:vb stem 40 +Frust:2324/2326
        +Mar B7}

vb 69a = {+Mar A7 +Posd:2210 +Base:vb stem 60x/ adv stem 3-5/7-8
        +Frust:2324/2326 +Mar B7}

vb 69b = {+Mar A7 +Adjl:1592 +Posd:2210 +Base:vb stem 60y
        +Frust:2324/2326 +Mar B7}

vb 79 = {+Posd:2214 +Base:vb stem 70 +Frust:2324/2326}

For vb 89a, 99a, see formula of vb 19.

vb 89b/99b = {+Mar A7 +Posd:2210 +Base:vb stem 80b/90b
            +Frust:2324/2326 +Mar B8}

vb 89c/99c = {+Mar A7 +Posd:2210 +L-D:2340 +Base:vb stem 80c/90c
            +Frust:2324/2326 +Mar B8}

Inventory of tagmemes

Mar A1 = +Hab:1330 +Obl:1320 +Desid^2:1580 +Pl:1310

Mar A2 = +Hab:1330 +Neg:1340 +Obl:1320 +Desid^2:1580 +Pl:1310

Mar A3 = +Hab:1330 +Neg:1340

Mar A4 = +Hab:1330 +Neg:1340 +Desid^2:1580 +Pl:1310

Mar A5 = +Hab:1330 +Desid^2:1580 +Pl:1310

Mar A6 = +Hab:1330 +Neg:1340 +Obl:1320 +Desid^2:1580 +Pl:1310

Mar A7 = +Pl:1310

Mar A8 = +Neg:1340 +Pl:1310

Mar A9 = +Neg:1340

Mar A10= +Neg:1340 +Desid^2:1580 +Pl:1310

Mar B1 = +Dual:1160 +Ad:1172

Mar B2 = +Dir:2360 +Dual:1160 +Ad:1172

Mar B3 = +Dir:2360 +Dual:1160 +Exten:2121-2122 +Ad:1172

Mar B4 = +Dir:2360 +Ad:1172

Mar B5 = +/+Dual:1160 +Ad:1172

Mar B6 = +Dir:2360

Mar B7 = +Dual:1160

Mar B8 = +/+Dual:1160

4.1.3 Citation verb paradigm

The ditransitive verb

vb 11 = Obl:<u>be</u> -- Pl:<u>pa</u> -- Base:<u>karahutaYAbiaba</u> --
       must   Pl   to-you-give-repeatedly

S:<u>HÏ</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u>
  I   two

'we ought to always give to both of you'.

vb 21 = Hab:<u>ba</u> -- Base:<u>kapona</u> -- Dir:<u>reka</u> --
      customarily   carry   to-the-east

S:<u>tsi</u> -- Ad:<u>nua</u>
  we   also

'as usual we also carry it'.

vb 31 = Pl:<u>pa</u> -- Base:<u>pona</u> -- Dir:<u>reka</u> -- S:<u>HÏ</u> --
      Pl   go   to-the-east   I

Dual:<u>behe</u> -- Ad:<u>nua</u>
     two   also

'both of us also went'.

vb 41 = Base:<u>katoDomaeba</u> -- Focus:<u>tsi</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u>
      for-you-fever   Focus   two

'those two got sick on you'.

vb 51 = Obl:<u>be</u> -- Base:<u>kahaI</u> -- S:<u>NÏ</u>
      must   to-you-say   I

'I must say to you'.

vb 61a = Neg:<u>apo</u> -- Pl:<u>pa</u> -- Base:<u>ahibi</u> -- S:<u>më</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u>
       not   Pl   absent   you   two

'both of you are not absent'.

= Pl:<u>pa</u> -- Base:<u>atane</u> -- S:<u>më</u> -- Dir:<u>reka</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u>
   Pl   hurt   you   Dir   two

'both of you are in pain'.

= Pl:<u>pa</u> -- Base:<u>moya</u> -- S:<u>më</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u> -- Exten:<u>vahëto</u>
   Pl   quietly   you   two   rather

'both of you are rather quiet'.

= Neg:<u>apo</u> -- Base:<u>bitso</u> -- S:<u>NÏ</u>
   not   much   I

'I am not very sick'.

vb 61b = Adjl:<u>BE</u> -- Base:<u>netohumatabëkuenehiobi</u> -- Focus:<u>tsi</u>
       Adjl   for-me-heart-matter-poor   Focus

'(someone) got sad on me'.

vb 71 = Neg:<u>apo</u> -- Base:<u>binibinihaI</u> -- Ad:<u>nua</u>
      not   lightning-state-of   also

'there is no lightning either'.

vb 81a = Base:<u>katomataiTSI</u> -- Dir:<u>lia</u>
       for-you-stir-up   to-the-north

'it was stirred up for you'.

vb 81b = Neg:<u>apo</u> -- Base:<u>kalia</u> -- S:<u>NË</u>
           not   carry   I

      'I did not carry it'.

vb 81c = Pl:<u>pa</u> -- L-D:<u>be</u> -- Base:<u>kalia</u> -- S:<u>më</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u>
          Pl   toward   carry   you   two

      'both of you took it'.

vb 91a = Neg:<u>apo</u> -- Pl:<u>pa</u> -- Base:<u>barëkuaikuaihaI</u> -- S:<u>më</u> --
           not   Pl   talk-together   you

      Dir:<u>lia</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u>
          to-the-north   two

      'both of you did not chat'.

vb 91b = Pl:<u>pa</u> -- Base:<u>lia</u> -- S:<u>NË</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u>
          Pl   go   I   two

      'the two of us went'.

vb 91c = L-D:<u>be</u> -- Base:<u>lia</u> -- S:<u>më</u>
           toward   go   you

      'you go'.

vb 12 = Neg:<u>apo</u> -- Desid:<u>humatabë</u> -- Base:<u>kakuhurubi</u> -- S:<u>NË</u>
          not   want   you-teach   I

      'I do not want to teach you'.

vb 22 = Neg:<u>apo</u> -- Base:<u>nikatsi</u> -- S:<u>tsi</u>
          not   cut-down   we

      'we did not cut it down'.

vb 32 = Neg:<u>apo</u> -- Base:<u>navae</u> -- S:<u>NË</u> -- Dir:<u>reka</u> -- Ad:<u>nua</u>
          not   bathe   I   to-the-east   also

      'I also did not bathe'.

vb 42 = Neg:<u>apo</u> -- Base:<u>kaDomaebi</u> -- Ad:<u>nua</u>
          not   you-fever   also

      'both of you are not sick'.

vb 13 = Pl:<u>pa</u> -- Base:<u>karahutsi</u> -- Antic:<u>hitsia</u> -- S:<u>NË</u> --
          Pl   to-you-give   going-to   I

      Dual:<u>behe</u>
          two

      'I am going to give it to both of you'.

vb 23 = Base:<u>ukutsi</u> -- Antic:<u>hitsia</u> -- S:<u>më</u>
          cut   going-to   you

      'you are going to out it'.

vb 33 = Neg:<u>apo</u> -- Pl:<u>pa</u> -- Base:<u>hopae</u> -- Antic:<u>hitsia</u> -- S:<u>NË</u> --
          not   Pl   fall   going-to   I

      Dir:<u>reka</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u> -- Ad:<u>nua</u>
          to-the-east   two   also

      'the two of us are not going to fall either'.

vb 43 = Desid:<u>humatabë</u> -- Base:<u>yameravibi</u> -- Antic:<u>hitsia</u> --
              want   night   going-to

      Focus:<u>tsi</u>
          Focus

      'night is going to close in on him'.

vb 53 = Base:<u>nehaI</u> -- S:<u>më</u> -- Antic:<u>hitsia</u>
           to-me-say   you   going-to

      'you are going to say to me'.

vb 63a = Pl:<u>pa</u> -- Base:<u>akototane</u> -- S:<u>NË</u> -- Antic:<u>hitsia</u> --
         Pl   stomach-ache   I   going-to

      Dual:<u>beje</u>
          two

      'both of us are going to have stomach-aches'.

vb 63b = Adjl:<u>BE</u> -- Base:<u>netohumatabëkuenehiobi</u> --
          Adjl   for-me-heart-matter-poor

      Antic:<u>hitsia</u> -- S:<u>më</u>
           going-to   you

      'you are getting sad on me'.

vb 73 = Neg:<u>apo</u> -- Base:<u>ema</u> -- Antic:<u>hitsia</u> -- Dir:<u>tsina</u>
         not   rain   going-to   Dir

      'it is not going to rain'.

vb 83a = Pl:<u>pa</u> -- Base:<u>nehumaiTSI</u> -- Antic:<u>hitsia</u> -- S:<u>më</u>
         Pl   to-me-say   going-to   you

      'all of you are going to say to me'.

vb 83b = Hab:<u>ba</u> -- Base:<u>kalia</u> -- Antic:<u>hitsia</u>
          customarily   carry   going-to

      'as usual he is going to carry it'.

vb 83c = Pl:<u>pa</u> -- L-D:<u>be</u> -- Base:<u>kalia</u> -- Antic:<u>hitsia</u> --
         Pl   toward   carry   going-to

      S:<u>NË</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u>
         I   two

      'both of you are going to carry it'.

vb 93a = Base:<u>aëaöhaI</u> -- Antic:<u>hitsia</u>
           cry   going-to

      'he is going to cry'.

vb 93b = Pl:<u>pa</u> -- Base:<u>lia</u> -- Antic:<u>hitsia</u> -- S:<u>NË</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u>
         Pl   go   going-to   I   two

      'both of us are going to go'.

vb 93c = Pl:<u>pa</u> -- L-D:<u>be</u> -- Base:<u>lia</u> -- Antic:<u>hitsia</u> --
         Pl   toward   go   going-to

      S:<u>më</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u>
         you   two

      'both of you are going to go'.

vb 14 = Base:<u>kuhurubi</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u> -- Ad:<u>nua</u>
              teach   two   also

        'the two of them teach also!'.

vb 24 = Base:<u>sebi</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u>
              roast   two

        '(those) two must roast it!'.

vb 34 = Base:<u>ponae</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u> -- Ad:<u>nua</u>
             go   two   also

        'those two also must go!'.

vb 15 = Pl:<u>pa</u> -- Base:<u>nekuhuruba</u> -- Impv:<u>RE</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u>
           P1   me-teach   Impv   two

        'teach the two of us!'.

vb 25 = Pl:<u>pa</u> -- Base:<u>naxae</u> -- Impv:<u>RE</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u>
           P1   eat   Impv   two

        'you two eat also!'.

vb 35 = Pl:<u>pa</u> -- Base:<u>yavahiba</u> -- Impv:<u>RE</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u>
           P1   dance   Impv   two

        'dance, you two!'.

vb 55 = Base:<u>haI</u> -- S:<u>më</u> -- Impv:<u>RE</u>
             say   you   Impv

        'say!'.

vb 65a = Base:<u>hamatehema</u> -- S:<u>më</u> -- Impv:<u>RE</u>
              well   you   Impv

        'get well!'.

vb 65b = Pl:<u>pa</u> -- Base:<u>nahumatabëkuenebehiobi</u> -- Impv:<u>RE</u> --
            P1   heart-matter-poor   Impv

Dir:<u>reka</u>
  Dir

        'all of you be sad!".

vb 85a = Base:<u>mataiTSI</u> -- S:<u>më</u> -- Impv:<u>RE</u> -- Dir:<u>lia</u>
             stir-up   you   Impv   to-the-
        'stir it up!'.   north

vb 85b = Base:<u>nakarena</u> -- S:<u>më</u> -- Impv:<u>RE</u>
             with-others-bring   you   Impv

        'bring it with the others!'.

vb 95a = Base:<u>kuaikuaihaI</u> -- S:<u>më</u> -- Impv:<u>RE</u>
             chat-together   you   Impv

        'chat!, speak!'.

vb 95b = Base:<u>narena</u> ---- S:<u>mё</u> -- Impv:<u>RE</u>
          with-others-come   you   Impv

    'come with the others!'.

vb 16 = Posd:<u>pE</u> -- Base:<u>rahutsi</u>
        Posd-3p   give

    'he gave'.

vb 26 = Pl:<u>pa</u> -- Posd:<u>NE</u> -- Base:<u>kaponae</u> -- Antic:<u>hitsia</u> --
       Pl   Posd-2p   carry   going-to

    Dir:<u>rena</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u>
       from-the-north   two

    'you two are going to bring it'.

vb 36 = Posd:<u>pE</u> -- Base:<u>totёpae</u> -- Focus:<u>tsi</u>
        Posd-3p   for-die   Focus

    'died on him'.

vb 46 = Posd:<u>pE</u> -- Base:<u>hёkёbi</u> -- Focus:<u>tsi</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u>
        Posd-3p   hiccup   Focus   two

    'they both have hiccups'.

vb 56 = Pl:<u>pa</u> -- Posd:<u>tA</u> -- Base:<u>haI</u> -- Antic:<u>hitsia</u> --
       Pl   Posd-1p   say   going-to

    Dual:<u>behe</u>
       two

    'both of us were going to say it'.

vb 66a = Posd:<u>pE</u> -- Base:<u>ahibi</u> -- Antic:<u>hitsia</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u>
        Posd-3p   absent   going-to   two

    'both of them were going to be absent'.

vb 66b = Adjl:<u>BE</u> -- Posd:<u>NE</u> -- Base:<u>hiobi</u>
        Adjl   Posd-2p   poor

    'you are poor'.

vb 76 = Posd:<u>pE</u> -- Base:<u>yeneyenehaI</u>
        Posd-3   clear

    'the sky is clear'.

    = Posd:<u>pE</u> -- Base:<u>ema</u>
       Posd-3p   rain

    'rain'.

vb 86a = Pl:<u>pa</u> -- Posd:<u>tA</u> -- Base:<u>iTSI</u> -- Dir:<u>lia</u> --
       Pl   Posd-1p   do   to-the-north

    Dual:<u>behe</u>
       two

    'both of us did it'.

vb 86b = Neg:<u>apo</u> -- Posd:<u>pE</u> -- Base:<u>katsika</u>
       not   Posd-3p   bring

    'he did not bring it'.

vb 96a = Posd:<u>tA</u>   --   Base:<u>aëaëhaI</u> -- Dir:<u>reka</u>
          Posd-1p   cry   Dir
     'I cried'.

vb 96b = Neg:<u>apo</u> -- Posd:<u>tA</u>   ---   Base:<u>rena</u>
          not   Posd-1p   come
     'I did not come'.

vb 17 = Sembl:<u>be</u>   --   Posd:<u>pE</u>   --   Base:<u>rahutsi</u> --
          it-seemed   Posd-3p   give
        Focus:<u>tsi</u>   --   Dual:<u>behe</u>
           Focus   two
     'it seemed as though it was given to both of them'.

vb 27 = Sembl:<u>be</u>   --   Posd:<u>pE</u>   --   Base:<u>kahaitsi</u> --
          it-seemed   Posd-3p   search
        Focus:<u>tsi</u>   --   Dir:<u>reka</u>
           Focus   to-the-east
     'it seemed like he was sought'.

vb 37 = Sembl:<u>be</u>   --   Posd:<u>pE</u>   --   Base:<u>mahitsi</u>
          it-seemed   Posd-3p   sleep
     'it seemed as though he slept'.

vb 47 = Sembl:<u>be</u>   --   Posd:<u>pE</u>   --   Base:<u>Domaebi</u> --
          it-seemed   Posd-3p   fever
        Antic:<u>hitsia</u>   --   Focus:<u>tsi</u>
          going-to   Focus
     'it seemed as though he was sick'.

vb 57 = Neg:<u>apo</u> -- Sembl:<u>be</u>   --   Posd:<u>pE</u>   --
          not   it-seemed   Posd-3p
        Base:<u>haI</u>
          say
     'it did not seem as though he said it'.

vb 67a = Sembl:<u>be</u>   --   Posd:<u>pE</u>   --   Base:<u>ahibi</u>
          it-seemed   Posd-3p   absent
     'it seemed as though he was absent'.

vb 67b = Sembl:<u>be</u>   --   Posd:<u>pE</u>   --   Base:<u>hiobi</u>
          it-seemed   Posd-3p   poor
     'it seemed as though he was poor'.

vb 77 = Sembl:<u>be</u>   --   Posd:<u>pE</u>   --   Base:<u>binibinihaI</u>
          it-seemed   Posd-3p   lightning-
                                                   state-of
     'it seemed as though there was lightning'.

vb 87a = Sembl:<u>be</u>   --   Posd:<u>pE</u>   --   Base:<u>humaiTSI</u> --
          it-seemed   Posd-3p   say
        Dir:<u>lia</u>
          to-the-north
     'it seemed as though he said it there'.

vb 87b = Neg:apo -- Sembl:be -- Posd:pE -- Base:kalia
          not   it-seemed   Posd-3p   carry

'it seemed as though he did not carry it'.

vb 97a = Sembl:be -- Pos:pE -- Base:aeaehaI --
          it-seemed   Posd-3p   cry

Dir:reka
Dir

'it seemed as though he cried'.

vb 97b = Sembl:be -- Pl:pa -- Posd:NE -- Base:rena
          it-seemed   Pl   Posd-2p   came

'it seemed as though you came'.

vb 18 = Pl:pa -- Base:karahutsi -- Subj:ata --
        Pl   to-you-give   even-though

S:NE -- Dir:reka -- behe
I   to-the-east   two

'even though I gave it to you both'.

vb 28 = Neg:apo -- Base:puatsi -- Subj:ata -- S:tsi
        not   dip   even-though   we

'even though we did not dip it'.

= Base:nahumatabexainae -- Subj:neheva -- S:me
        think   without   you

'without your thinking'.

vb 38 == Base:naponaponabokae -- Subj:ata -- S:me
         with-others-live   even-though   you

'even though you live with others'.

vb 48 = Base:kaDomaebaYAbiabi -- Subj:ata -- Dir:reka
        you-fever-repeatedly   even-though   Dir

'even though you are always sick'.

vb 58 = Base:katohaI -- Subj:ata -- S:NE
        for-you-say   even-though   I

'even though I say it for you'.

vb 68 = Base:peruhune -- Subj:ata -- S:NE -- Dir:reka
        old-man   even-though   I   Dir

'even though I am an old-man'.

= Base:ayalivaisihibi -- Subj:neheva
        stories-absent   without

'without problems'.

vb 68b = Adjl:BE -- Base:netohumatabekuenehiobi -- Subj:ata --
         Adjl   for-me-heart-matter-poor   even-
                                                     though

S:me
you

'even though you are sad'.

vb 78 = Base:ema -- Subj:ata -- Dir:reka
        rain   even-though   to-the-east

'even though it rains'.

vb 88a = Base:katohumaiTSI -- Subj:ata -- S:NË
     for-you-say   even-though I

 'even though I say it for you'.

vb 88b = Pl:pa -- Base:kareka -- Subj:ata -- S:NË --
    Pl   bring   even-though I

 Dual:behe
    two

 'even though the two of us bring it'.

vb 88c = L-D:be -- Base:kalia -- Subj:ata -- S:NË
    toward   carry   even-though I

 'even though I take it'.

vb 98a = Base:kuaikuaihaI -- Subj:ata -- S:NË --
    chat-together   even-though I

 Dir:reka
   Dir

 'even though I chat there!.

vb 98b = Base:lia -- Subj:neheva -- S:NË
    go   without I

 'without my going'.

 = Base:lia -- Subj:ata -- S:tsi -- Dual:behe
    go   even-though we   two

 'even though we both go'.

vb 98c = L-D:be -- Base:lia -- Antic:hitsia --
    toward   go   going-to

 Subj:ata -- S:tsi -- Dual:behe
   even-though we   two

 'even though both of us are going'.

vb 19 = Posd:piha -- Base:kuhurubi -- Frust:hitsia
    his   to-teach   for

 'for his teaching'.

vb 29 = Posd:piha -- Base:ubi -- Frust:ta
    his   plant Frust

 'merely to be planting it'.

vb 39 = Posd:piha -- Base:navae -- Frust:hitsia
    his   bathe   for

 'for his bath'.

vb 49 = Posd:piha -- Base:Domaebi -- Frust:ta -- Dual:behe
    his   fever Frust   two

 'merely to be sick'.

vb 59 = Posd:piha -- Base:haI -- Frust:ta
    his   say Frust

 'merely to be saying it'.

vb 69a = Posd:<u>piha</u> -- Base:<u>atane</u> -- Frust:<u>ta</u>
     his   hurt   Frust

    'merely to be hurting, without treatment'.

vb 69b = Adjl:<u>BE</u> -- Pl:<u>pa</u> -- Posd:<u>taha</u> -- Base:<u>hiobi</u> --
     Adjl   Pl   my   poor

    Frust:<u>hitsia</u>
        for

    'for my poverty'.

vb 79 = Posd:<u>piha</u> -- Base:<u>ema</u> -- Frust:<u>ta</u>
     its   rain   Frust

    'merely to be raining'.

vb 89a = Posd:<u>piha</u> -- Base:<u>iTSI</u> -- Frust:<u>ta</u>
     his   to-do   Frust

    'merely to be doing it'.

vb 89b = Posd:<u>niha</u> -- Base:<u>kalia</u> -- Frust:<u>hitsia</u>
     his   take   for

    'for his taking it'.

vb 89c = L-D:<u>be</u> -- Base:<u>kalia</u> -- Frust:<u>ta</u>
     toward   to-carry   Frust

    "merely to be taking it'.

vb 99a = Posd:<u>piha</u> -- Base:<u>heaheahaI</u> -- Frust:<u>ta</u>
     his   laugh   Frust

    'merely to be laughing'.

vb 99b = Pl:<u>pa</u> -- Posd:<u>taha</u> -- Base:<u>lia</u> -- Frust:<u>ta</u> --
     Pl   my   go   Frust

    Dual:<u>behe</u>
        two

    'merely for us two to be going'.

vb 99c = Posd:<u>piha</u> -- L-D:<u>be</u>   -- Base:<u>lia</u> -- Frust:<u>ta</u>
     his   toward   go   Frust

    'merely to be going'.

4.1.4 Verb stem

4.1.4.1 Emic verb stem classes

	Ditr 10	Tr A 20	Intr A 30	Imper 40	Quot 50	Eq 60		St 70	Tr B 80	Intr B 90
a	10a	20a	30a	40a	50	60ax	60ay	70	80a	90a
b	10b	20b	30b	40b	—	60bx	60by	—	80b	90b
c		20c	30c	—	—	—	—	—	80c	90c
d		20d	30d	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
e		20e	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

The following distribution of vb stem 10-90 which may not be obtained by multiplication also occurs:

vb stem 10-20:Base of n stem 620/720a;
vb stem 30:   Base of n stem 630a/730a;
vb stem 50:   Base of n stem 650/750;
vb stem 60x: Base of n stem 660a/760a;
vb stem 60y: Base of n stem 660b/760b;
vb stem 80a: Base of n stem 680/780;
vb stem 80b: Base of n stem 620b/720b;
vb stem 90a: Base of n stem 690/780;
vb stem 90b: Base of n stem 630b/730b.

The following tagmemes are limited to one occurrence:Ref tagmeme, Instr tagmeme of vb stem 60a, and Indir tagmeme of vb stem 10b. The maximum number of tagmemes in the stem initial sequence $\pm$Ref $\pm$Indir^2 $\pm$Info^2 is three in the formulas below. The Info tagmeme infrequently precedes Ref. The Info tagmeme when manifested by 1540, may precede Indir tagmeme except when Indir:1551. The Info:2243 tagmeme does not occur in vb stem 50/60b and Info:1570 tagmeme does not occur in vb stem 10b.

4.1.4.2 Tagmemic verb stem paradigm

The ditransitive verb stem

vb stem 10a = $\{$+Mar A1 $\pm$Pos:1521/Instr:1510 +Base:vb core 10 $\pm$Mar B1$\}$

vb stem 10b = $\{$+Mar A1 $\pm$Refl:1530 $\pm$Indir$_2$:1556 +Base:vb core 10 Res +Mar B1$\}$

The transitive A verb stem

vb stem 20a = $\{$+Mar A1 $\pm$(+Spec:n r 1-2 Res/n r 9 Res +Pos$_1$:1522 $\pm$Instr$_1$:1510)/(+0:n theme 1120 Res/ n core 1/4/n r 2/9 (mata)/13 $\pm$Instr$_2$:1510/Pos$_2$:1521) +Base:vb core 21 +Mar B1$\}$

vb stem 20c = $\{$+Mar A1 $\pm$Refl:1530 $\pm$0:n r 1-2 Res/Pos:1521 +Base:vb core 10 Res +Mar B1$\}$

vb stem 20d = $\{$+Mar A1 $\pm$(+Spec$_1$:n r 1-2 Res +Pos:1522)/Refl:1530 +Spec$_2$:n r 1/9 (mata) +Instr:1510 +Base:vb core 31 Res +Mar B1$\}$

vb stem 20e = $\{$+Mar A1 +Spec:n r 1-2 Res/9(mata) +Pos:1522 +Base:vb core 31 Res +Mar B1$\}$

The intransitive A verb stem

vb stem 30a = $\{$+Mar A2 $\pm$Refl:1530 $\pm$0:n core 1/n r 1/7/9(mata) $\pm$Pos:1521 +Base:vb core 30 +Mar B1$\}$

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vb stem 30b = {+Mar A2 +Refl:1530 ±0:n r 2/7/9(mata) +Base:
          vb core 21 Res +Mar B2}

vb stem 30c = {+Mar A2 +Refl:1530 +Spec:n r 1-2 Res +Pos:1522
          +Base:vb core 31 Res +Mar B2}

vb stem 30d = {+Mar A2 +0:n r 1 (tuxu) +Spec:n stem 301/
          n core 13 +Base:vb r 31b (eca) +Mar B2}

The impersonal verb stem

vb stem 40a = {+Mar A4 ±Spec:n core 4/n r 1-2/9 (mata) ±Instr:
          1510 +Base:vb core 41-42 +Mar B2}

vb stem 40b = {+Mar A4 ±(+Spec:n r 1-2 Res +Pos:1522)/Pos:1521
          +Base:vb core 43 +Mar B2}

The quotative verb stem

vb stem 50 = {+Mar A1 +Base:vb core 50 +Mar B3}

The equatative verb stem

vb stem 60 ax ={+Mar A2 ±Instr:1510 +Base:vb core 61a}

vb stem 60 ay ={+Mar A2 ±Instr:1510/(+Spec:n r 1-2 Res +Pos:1522)
          +Base:vb core 61b}

vb stem 60 bx ={+Mar A2 +Refl:1530 ±0:n core 4/n r 1-2/9(mata)
          ±Instr:1510 +Base:vb core 62a/63-64}

vb stem 60 by ={+Mar A2 +Refl:1530 ±(+0:n core 4/n r 1-2/9 (mata)
          ±Instr:1510)/(+Spec:n r 1-2 Res +Pos:1522)
          +Base:vb core 62b}

The stative verb stem

vb stem 70 = {+Mar A3 +Base:vb core 70/n 1101 Res}

The transitive B verb stem

vb stem 80a = {+Mar A1 ±(+Spec:n r 1-2 Res/n r 9 (mata) +Pos:1522)/
          Instr:1510 +Base:vb core 80 +Mar B3}

vb stem 80b = {+Mar A1 ±(+Spec:n r 1-2 Res/n r 9 (mata)
          +Pos:1522/Instr:1510 +Base:vb core 93}

vb stem 80c = {+Instr:1510 +Base:vb core 93}

The intransitive B verb stem

vb stem 90a = {+Mar A2 ±Spec:n r 1-2 +Base:vb core 91-93 +Mar B3}

vb stem 90b = {+Mar A2 +Base:vb core 93}

vb stem 90c = {+Base:vb core 93}

Inventory of tagmemes

Mar A1 = +Ref:1560 ±Indir^2:1550 ±Info^2:1540/1570/ 1581-1582/
          2243/pur 3 Res/ac stem

Mar A2 = ±(+Ref:1560 ±Indir^2:1550)±Info^2:1540/ 1570/1581-1582/
          2243/pur 3 Res/ac stem

Mar A3 = ±(+Ref:1560+Indir:1551)±Info:1581-1582

Mar A4 = +Ref:1560 ±Indir^2:1550 ±Info:1540/1570/1581-1582/2243/
          pur3 Res/ac stem

Mar B1 = ±Speed:1410 ±Asp^2:1420/vb r 21b/31b

$$\text{Mar B2} = \underline{+}\text{Speed:1410} \ \underline{+}\text{Asp}^2\text{:1420/vb r 31b}$$

$$\text{Mar B3} = \underline{+}\text{Asp:vb r 21b (vereta)}$$

4.1.4.3 Citation verb stem paradigm

The ditransitive verb stem

vb stem 10a = Info:<u>naa</u>   --   Ref:<u>ne</u> -- Base:<u>rahuta</u>
                  with-others   me   give

           'give it to me too'.

vb stem 10b = Ref:<u>ne</u> -- Refl:<u>na</u>   -- Indir:<u>tsi</u> -- Base:<u>kuhuruba</u>
                  me   myself   for   teach

           'teach me without knowing how'.

The transitive A verb stem

vb stem 20a = Ref:<u>ne</u> -- Indir:<u>to</u> -- Info:<u>ya</u> -- O:<u>koto</u>   --
                  me   for   Cons   abdomen

           Base:<u>thaba</u>
                 cut

           'operate on the abdomen for me'.

       = Ref:<u>ne</u> -- Indir:<u>to</u> -- Indir:<u>tsi</u> -- Base:<u>exana</u> --
                  me   for   Ref   make

           Asp:<u>pona</u>
                 continue

           'continue making it for me for the benefit of another'.

       = Ref:<u>ne</u> -- Indir:<u>to</u> -- O:<u>pë</u>   -- Pos$_2$:<u>ya</u>   --
                  me   for   behind   inside

           Base:<u>tuxuba</u>
                 blow

           'shoot with a blow-gun for me from behind'.

       = Spec:<u>pë</u>   -- Pos$_1$:<u>NA</u> -- Instr$_1$:<u>ka</u>   --
                  behind   via   Instr

           Base:<u>bitsohina</u>
                 be-fast

           'be fast from behind with an instrument'.

       = Indir:<u>to</u>   -- O:<u>kobe</u> -- Instr$_2$:<u>ka</u>   -- Base:<u>vaetaba</u>
                  for   hand   Instr   grab

           'grab a hand with an instrument for another person'.

vb stem 20b = Ref:<u>ne</u> -- Refl:<u>na</u>   -- Indir:<u>tsi</u> -- O:<u>kobe</u>   --
                  me   oneself   for   things

           Base:<u>tsana</u>
                 divide

           'share his possessions with me'.

       = Refl:<u>na</u>   -- Indir:<u>tsi</u> -- O:<u>muxubërë</u>   --
                  oneself   for   along-side-of

           Base:<u>hunata</u>
                 call

           'invite to live as a neighbor'.

$=$ Refl:<u>na</u>   --   Indir:<u>tsi</u> -- O:<u>maxë</u> -- Base:<u>torota</u> --
        oneself   for   elbow   push

    Speed:<u>haraba</u>
          rapid

    'push another person's elbow with a rapid movement'.

vb stem 20c $=$ Refl:<u>na</u>   --   Pos:<u>ya</u>   --   Base:<u>rahuta</u>
              oneself   inside   give

    'poison oneself'.

vb stem 20d $=$ Info:<u>ya</u>   -- Instr:<u>ka</u>   -- Base:<u>pata</u>
              Cons   Instr   arrive

    'bring it as a consequence'.

    $=$ Spec$_2$:<u>mata</u>   -- Instr:<u>ka</u>   -- Base:<u>pona</u>
               first   Instr   go

    'go leading others'.

    $=$ Refl:<u>na</u>   --   Spec$_2$:<u>hume</u> -- Instr:<u>ka</u>   --
            oneself   word   Instr

    Base:<u>panepa</u>
         escape

    'promise'.

vb stem 20e $=$ Ref:<u>ne</u> -- Indir:<u>tsu</u>   -- Spec:<u>mata</u> -- Pos:<u>NA</u>   --
            me   before   head   via

    Base:<u>pona</u>
        go

    'go carrying it on his head before I did'.

    $=$ Ref:<u>ka</u>   -- Info:<u>naa</u>   --   Spec:<u>si</u> -- Pos:<u>NA</u>   --
           you   with-others   leg   via

    Base:<u>pata</u>
        arrive

    'come with others to see you'.

The intransitive A verb stem

   vb stem 30a $=$ Info:<u>ya</u>   -- Base:<u>kueneYaxanepana</u>
              Cons   manner-be-good

    'be fortunate'.

    $=$ Ref:<u>ka</u>   -- Indir:<u>tsi</u> -- Info:<u>ya</u>   -- Base:<u>YOhopa</u>
          you   for   Cons   fall

    'infect you with disease'.

    $=$ O:<u>mata</u> -- Base:<u>huva</u>   --   Asp:<u>hunUA</u> -- Asp:<u>YAbiaba</u>
          head   come-up   enter   repeatedly

    'bobthe heads on top of the water'.

   vb stem 30b $==$Refl:<u>na</u>   --   O:<u>hume</u> -- Base:<u>anaenota</u>
                oneself   word   angryly-take

    'argue'.

vb stem 30c = Ref:<u>ne</u> -- Indir:<u>to</u> -- Refl:<u>na</u> -- Spec:<u>koro</u> --
       me   for   oneself   side

       Pos:<u>NA</u> -- Base:<u>Yeka</u>
         via   sit

       'sit side-by-side for me'.

vb stem 30d = O:<u>tuxu</u> -- Spec:<u>navatsëxë</u> -- -- Base:<u>Yeka</u>
        smell   praire-fire-smoke   sit

       'it smells of praire-fire'.

The impersonal verb stem

vb stem 40a = Ref:<u>ne</u> -- Spec:<u>koto</u> -- Base:<u>tovinaba</u>
        me   stomach   worm-Vbl

       'I am infested with intestinal worms'.

     = Spec:<u>mata</u> -- Base:<u>naekonoba</u>
        head   plant-Vbl

       'be crazy due to the effects of a plant'.

     = Instr:<u>ka</u> -- Base:<u>Domaeba</u>
        Instr   fever-Vbl

       'be sick due to something'.

vb stem 40b = Ref:<u>ne</u> -- Pos:<u>ya</u> -- Base:<u>emaba</u>
        me   inside   rain-Vbl

       'I got caught in the rain'.

The quotative verb stem

vb stem 50 = Ref:<u>ne</u> -- Indir:<u>tsu</u> -- Base:<u>haI</u> -- Asp:<u>veretsi</u>
       me   before   say   finish

       'finish saying it before I did'.

The equatative verb stem

vb stem 60ax = Ref:<u>ne</u> -- Indir:<u>to</u> -- Base:<u>ayairahibi</u>
        me   for   land-none

       'I have no more land'.

vb stem 60ay = Ref:<u>ne</u> -- Indir:<u>to</u> -- Base:<u>BEyairahiobi</u>
        me   for   land-be-poor

       'my land is poor'.

vb stem 60bx = Refl:<u>na</u> -- O:<u>mata</u> -- Instr:<u>ka</u> -- Base:<u>asaë</u>
        oneself   first   Instr   be-

       strong

       'to lead'.

vb stem 60by = Spec:<u>si</u> -- Pos:<u>NA</u> -- Base:<u>BEhiobi</u>
        leg   via   be-poor

       'arrive in a poor condition'.

     = Ref:<u>ne</u> -- Indir:<u>to</u> -- O:<u>humatabëkuene</u> --
        me   for   heart-matter

     Base:<u>BEhiobi</u>
       be-poor
     'another member of (my family) is sad'.

The stative verb stem

vb stem 70 = Ref:$\underline{ne}$ -- Indir:$\underline{to}$ -- Info:$\underline{humatabe}$ -- Base:$\underline{ema}$
             me   for   desires   rain

                'it is going to rain for my benefit'.

          = Info:$\underline{humatabe}$ -- Base:$\underline{binibinihaI}$
                    desires   shine

                'there is going to be lightning'.

The transitive B verb stem

vb stem 80a = Instr:$\underline{ka}$ -- Base:$\underline{iTSI}$
                Instr   do

               'do it with an instrument'.

vb stem 80b = Spec:$\underline{mata}$ -- Pos:$\underline{NA}$ -- Base:$\underline{tsia}$
                head   via   go-toward-the-west

               'carry on head going to the west'.

          = Ref:$\underline{ka}$ -- Spec:$\underline{si}$ -- Pos:$\underline{NA}$ -- Base:$\underline{lia}$
                    you   leg   via   go-toward-

              the-north-or-south

              'go in search of you'.

          = Indir:$\underline{to}$ --   Info:$\underline{humatabe}$ -- Instr:$\underline{ka}$ --
                    for-another   desires   Instr

             Base:$\underline{lia}$
                    go-toward-the-north-or-south'.

vb stem 80c = Instr:$\underline{ka}$ -- Base:$\underline{lia}$
                Instr   go-toward-the-north-or-south

              'go carrying'.

The intransitive B verb stem

vb stem 90a = Info:$\underline{ya}$ -- Spec:$\underline{upi}$ -- Base:$\underline{sohaI}$
                Cons   tip   be-sharp

              'the tip is sharp'.

vb stem 90b = Ref:$\underline{ne}$ -- Indir:$\underline{vekua}$ -- Base:$\underline{rekareka}$
                me   from   go-toward-the-east

              'go away from me'.

vb stem 90c = Base:$\underline{rena}$
                    comes-from-the-north-or-south

              'comes'.

4.1.5 The verb core

The following distribution of verb core 10-90 which may not be obtained by multiplication also occurs:

vb core 10-30/62-64:Base of adv stem 9/19;

vb core 40/70-90:Base of adv stem 19;

vb core 92-93:Base of adv stem 9.

4.1.5.1 Tagmemic verb core paradigm

The symbol +/- in vb core 61b and 62b is to be read as - whenever the affix 1592 is present on the higher level; elsewhere it is to be read as +.

In vb core 93 a non-verbal gesture may be substituted for the onom Res which manifests the obligatory Cpd tagmene.

vb core 11 = {±M:adv stem 9 Res +Base:vb r 10}

vb core 12 = {+Base:adv stem 7a Res +Vbl:1431}

vb core 13 = {+Base:n r 1 +Vbl:1432}

vb core 21 = {±M:adv 3 Res/adv stem (4,6,9,11) A.S./adv r 11 A.S./dir stem 5/t r 4 +Base:vb core 22-23/vb r 21}

vb core 22 = {+Base:dir stem 3/adv r 5 (rovi) +Vbl:1432} Distr:vb core 21.

vb core 23 = {+Base:vb r 22 +Vbl:1431} Distr:vb core 21.

vb core 31 = {±M:adv stem (9/14) A. S. +Base:vb r 31}

vb core 32 = {+Cpd:red 2 +Base:vb r 32} See the explanation concerning reduplication on page 133.

vb core 33 = {+Cpd:red 1 A. S./red 3 A. S. +Base:vb r 31 Res}

vb core 41 = {+Base:vb r 40}

vb core 42 = {+Base: n stem 301 Res/n core 1/n r 4-6 Res/11/onom Res +Vbl:1431}

vb core 43 = {+Base:n r 4 Res +Vbl:1431}

vb core 50 = {+Base:vb r 50}

vb core 61a = {+Adjl:1591 ±Instr:1510 ±Pos:1521 ±0:n core 2/4/n r 1-2/4-5/9 ±M:dir stem 6 ±Cpd:vb r 21 Res/61 +Base: vb r 61}

vb core 61b = {+/-Adjl:1592 ±Instr:1510 ±Pos:1521 ±0:n core 2/4/n r 1-2/4-5/9 ±M:dir stem 6 ±Cpd:vb r 21 Res/vb r 61 +Base:vb r 63}

vb core 62a = {+Adjl:1591 +Base:vb r 61}

vb core 62b = {+/-Adjl:1592 +Base:vb r 63}

vb core 63 = {+Base:vb r 62}

vb core 64 = {+Spec:n r 1 (kobe) +Base:adv r 11 (sa)}

vb core 70 = {±Cpd$_2$:red 2 +Cpd$_1$:onom Res +Base:vb r 50}

vb core 81 = {+Base:vb r 80}

vb core 82 = {+Cpd:adv stem 8b (xaniYa) +Base:vb r 50}

vb core 91 = {+Cpd$_2$:red 2 +Cpd$_1$:onom Res +Base:vb r 50}

vb core 92 = {±Cpd$_2$:red 2 +Cpd$_1$:onom Res +Base:vb r 50}

vb core 93 = {±Cpd:red 1 +Base:vb rad 90}

4.1.5.2 Citation verb core paradigm

vb core 11   = Base:<u>rahuta</u>
                       give.

              = M:<u>BEhiobiYa</u> -- Base:<u>kuhuruba</u>
                     poorly   teach

                'teach poorly'.

vb core 12   = Base:<u>amoneYa</u> -- Vbl:<u>ba</u>
                         owe   Vbl

                'owe'.

vb core 13   = Base:<u>matamo</u>   --   Vbl:<u>ta</u>
                       price, payment   Vbl

                'pay'.

vb core 21   = M:<u>anae</u>   -- Base:<u>nota</u>
                     angryly   take

                'argue'.

              = M:<u>yaiYa</u>   --   Base:<u>tane</u>
                    respectfully   see

                'respect'.

vb core 22   = Base:<u>imoxoyo</u> -- Vbl:<u>ta</u>
                       close   Vbl

                'get close'.

              = Base:<u>rovi</u>   Vbl:<u>ta</u>
                      directly   Vbl

                'straighten out'.

vb core 23   = Base:<u>maneha</u> -- Vbl:<u>ba</u>
                       drive   Vbl

                'drive (maneha is from the Spanish "maneja" drive)'.

              = Base:<u>kambia</u>   -- Vbl:<u>ba</u>
                      exchange   Vbl

                'exchange, change (kambia is from the Spanish
                "cambia" exchange, change)'.

vb core 31   = Base:<u>puna</u>
                       fly.

              = M:<u>kueneYa</u> -- Base:<u>xanepana</u>
                    manner   be-good

                'is fortunate'.

              = M:<u>tsatsiYa</u> -- Base:<u>nuka</u>
                    separated   stand

                'stand with legs spread apart'.

vb core 32   = Cpd:<u>vere</u> -- Base:<u>vereka</u>
                      Red   terminate

                'terminate itself'.

vb core 33 = Cpd:<u>pona</u> -- Base:<u>pona</u>
             go   go

          'live, walk about'.

vb core 41 = Base:<u>kaëhëpa</u>
             be-able

          'capable'.

          = Base:<u>ena</u>
                be-busy

          'be busy'.

vb core 42 = Base:<u>oro</u>   -- Vbl:<u>ba</u>
             maggot   Vbl

          'be infested with maggots'.

          = Base:<u>vonohana</u>   -- Vbl:<u>ba</u>
                tooth-blood   Vbl

          'bleed from tooth-sockets'.

vb core 43 = Base:<u>ema</u> -- Vbl:<u>ba</u>
             rain   Vbl

          'be rained on'.

vb core 50 = Base:<u>haI</u>
             say

          'say'.

vb oore 61a = Adjl:<u>a</u>   -- Pos:<u>ya</u>   -- O:<u>ira</u> -- Base:<u>behe</u>
              Adjl   inside   land   bad

          'the land is bad or useless'.

          = Adjl:<u>a</u>   -- Cpd:<u>reve</u> -- Base:<u>yei</u>
              Adjl   heavy   much

          'be very heavy'.

          = Adjl:<u>a</u> -- O:<u>ënë</u>   M:<u>tuatuahë</u> -- Base:<u>pia</u>
              Adjl   intestines   inside   long

          'the intestines are long'.

vb core 61b = Adjl:<u>BE</u> -- O:<u>humatabëkuene</u> -- Base:<u>hiobi</u>
              Adjl   heart-matter   poor

          'be sad'.

          = Adjl:<u>BE</u> -- Pos:<u>ya</u>   -- O:<u>ira</u> -- Base:<u>hiobi</u>
              Adjl   inside   land   poor

          'the land is poor'.

vb core 62a = Adjl:<u>a</u>   -- Base:<u>behe</u>
              Adjl   bad

          'be bad, be useless'.

vb core 62b = Adjl:<u>BE</u> -- Base:<u>hiobi</u>
              Adjl   poor

          'be poor'.

vb core 63 = Base:<u>hume</u>
                      vanish

              'vanish'.

           = Base:<u>axaibi</u>
                    be-weak-in-taste

              'without flavor'.

           = Base:<u>ahanibi</u>
                    not-have-an-appetite

              'not hungry'.

vb core 64 = Spec:<u>kobe</u> -- Base:<u>sa</u>
                     hand   empty

              'be empty-handed'.

vb core 70 = Cpd$_2$:<u>bini</u> -- Cpd$_1$:<u>bini</u> -- Base:<u>haɪ</u>
                      Onom   Onom   say

              'flash lightning'.

           = Cpd$_1$:<u>yãɪ̌</u> -- Base:<u>haɪ</u>
                      Onom   say

              'be silent suddenly'.

vb core 81 = Base:<u>iTSI</u>
                    do, be

              'do, be'.

vb core 82 = Cpd:<u>xaniYa</u> -- Base:<u>haɪ</u>
                    well   say

              'say the truth'.

vb core 91 = Cpd$_2$:<u>kuai</u> -- Cpd$_1$:<u>kuai</u> -- Base:<u>haɪ</u>
                      Onom   Onom   say

              'chat'.

vb core 92 = Cpd$_1$:<u>so</u> -- Base:<u>haɪ</u>
                      Onom   say

              'be pointed'.

vb core 93 = Cpd:<u>lia</u>   --   Base:<u>lia</u>
                    toward-the-north-or-south   toward-the-

              north-or-south

              'go'.

           = <u>reka</u>
             toward-the-east, downward

              'go'.

4.1.6 Verb roots

The distribution of verb roots which may not be obtained by mul-
tiplication also occurs:

vb r 10/80:Base of n stem 501a/505;

vb r 20:Base of n stem 501a;

vb r 21/31/61/90:Base of n stem 505;

vb r 21b:Asp of vb stem 10-20/30a;

vb r 31b:Asp of vb stem 10-40; Asp of asp stem;

vb r 50:Base of vb core 70/82/91-92;

vb rad 90:Base of dir stem 2.

4.1.6.1 Verb roots sample

vb r 10 = <u>rajuta</u> 'give';
<u>amoneyaba</u> 'owe';
<u>matamota</u> 'pay'.

vb r 20

vb r 21a = <u>yoba</u> 'lift';
<u>ukuta</u> 'cut';
<u>xane</u> 'eat'.

vb r 21b = <u>YAbuata</u> 'put';
<u>YAxuaba</u> 'throw';
<u>vereta</u> 'finish'.

vb r 22 = <u>maneha</u> 'drive'.

vb r 30

vb r 31a = <u>panepa</u> 'escape';
<u>mahita</u> 'sleep';
<u>puna</u> 'fly'.

vb r 31b = <u>pona</u> 'go';
<u>Yeka</u> 'sit';
<u>ruka</u> 'hang'.

vb r 32 = <u>vereka</u> 'terminate'.

vb r 40 = <u>kaëhëpa</u> 'be able';
<u>kuhane</u> 'know how'.

vb r 50 = <u>haI</u> 'say'.

vb r 60

vb r 61 = <u>saë</u> 'be strong';
<u>itothia</u> 'be abnormal';
<u>reve</u> 'be heavy'.

vb r 62 = <u>ahanibi</u> 'be bloodless';
<u>hume</u> 'vanish'.

vb r 63 = <u>hiobi</u> 'be poor'.

vb r 80 = <u>iTSI</u> 'do, be';
<u>humaiTSI</u> 'say'.

4.1.6.2 Verb radical sample

vb rad 90 = <u>reka</u> 'toward the east, downward';
<u>tsia</u> 'toward the west, upward'. See statement in
section 4. regarding
this vb radical.

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4.1.7 The verb affix

1100-1300 The inflected verb affix

   1110 tense
      1111 -∅ Present and Past
      1112 -NA Future
      1113 -HITSIpa Conditional

   1120 Direction 1
      1121 -RE Directional
      1122 -TSI Directional

   1130 -mE Subject-Second person

   1140 Direction 2
      1141 -ka 'to the east, from the west, downwards, from above'.
      1142 -a 'to the west, upwards'.
      1143 -na 'from the east, from the north or south, from below'.
      1144 -lia 'to the north or south'.

   1150 Subject 1

      1151 -HE First person
      1152 -tsi Third person focus, recipient of the action of another
         third person

   1160 -behe 'number of (Dual)'.

   1170 Additive
      1171 -ata 'even, even though'.
      1172 -nua 'also'.

   1220 Subject 2
      1221 -NE First person
      1222 -me Second person
      1223 -tsi First person plural inclusive
      1224 -∅ Third person

   1230 -hitsia Anticipatory

   1240 Imperative
      1241 -RE Second person
      1242 -∅ Third person

   1310 pa- Plural, first or second person exclusive
   1320 be- Obligatory
   1330 ba- Habitual
   1340 apo- Negative

   1400 The verb stem and verb core suffixes
   1410 Speed
      1411 -TAba Duration of action short-Sg or Dual
      1412 -haraba Action rapid
      1413 -yaba Duration of action short
      1414 -TAbihirava Fleeing action- Sg or Dual

   1420 Aspect
     -YAbiaba Action occurring repeatedly
     -vanapa Movement - Plural

 1430 Verbalizer
      1431 -ba
      1432 -ta

1500 The verb stem and verb core prefixes
    1510 ka- Instrumental

1520 Position
    1521 ya- 'inside'.
    1522 NA- 'via'.

1530 na- Reflexive

1540 naa- Accompaniment

1550 Indirective
    1551 to- 'for'.
    1552 vekua- 'away from'.
    1553 tsu- 'before'.
    1554 bare- 'with'.
    1555 bara- 'about'.
    1556 tsi- 'for'.
    1557 tsita- Evaluative

1560 Referent
    1561 ne- First person
    1562 ka- Second person
    1563 naka- First person plural inclusive
    1564 Ø- Third person

1570 ya- Consequence

1580 Desiderative
    1581 humatabe- 'consider'.
    1582 vemaxe- 'resultantly'.
    1583 vokae- 'now'.
    1584 ve- 'first'.

1590 Adjectival
    1591 a-
    1592 BE-

4.2   The noun

4.2.1   Emic noun classes

1000 Non-Personalized		S-O 01	Instr-Ac 02	T 03		L-D 04	Pur 05
Simple	1100	1101	1102	1103		1104	1105
Dem	1200	1201	1202	1203		1204	1205
Posd	1300	1301	1302	1303		1304	1305
Enum	1400	1401	1402	1403		1404	1405
Personalized 2000							
Simple	2100	2101	2102	2103		2104	2105
Dem	2200	2201	2202	2203		2204	2205
Posd	2300	2301	2302	2303		2304	2305
Enum	2400	2401	2402	2403		2404	2405
Nom & Pers Verb 3000							
Tr	3120	3121a 3121b	3122a 3122b	3123ax 3123bx	3123ay 3123by	3124	3125a 3125b
Intr	3130	3131a 3131b	3132a 3132b	3133ax 3133bx	3133ay 3133by	3134	3135a 3135b
Quot	3150	3151	3152	3153x	3153y	3154	3155
Eq.	3160	3161a 3161b	3162a 3162b	3163ax 3163bx	3163ay 3163by	3164a 3164b	3165a 3165b
Pronouns 4000							
	4110	4111	4112	4113		4114	4115
	4120	4121	4122	4123		4124	4125
	4130	4131	4132	4133		4134	4135

The distribution of the noun words 1000-4000 is as follows:

n 1101: L/Instr/Pur of Mar A-B; O of Cl 222-224; H of N 11b/15/26b/56/58; Gen of N 33/43; Cd of N 27b; Spec of Ig 32;

n 1102: Instr of Mar C-E; H of N 21b/25;

n 1103: H of N 31b; Ap of N 36-37;

n 1104: H of N 41b; Ap of N 46-47/57;

n 1105: H of N 51b; Ap of N 57;

n 1201: H of N 11a/Rel 101/Ig 13; Ap of N 16;

n 1202: H of N 21a/26a/27a-b/Ig 7; Ap of 26b; Cd of N 27a;

n 1203: H of N 31a;

n 1204: H of N 41a;

n 1205: H of N 51a/Ig 9; Ap of N 56;
n 1301: H of N 13a/26b/Ig 14;
n 1302: H of N 23/Ig 8;
n 1303: H of N 33;
n 1304: H of N 43/Ig 5;
n 1305: H of N 53;
n 1401: H of N 14a;
n 1402: H of N 24;
n 1403: H of N 34;
n 1404: H of N 44;
n 1405: H of N 54;
n 2101: H of Vb 61;
n 2102: H of N 21b;
n 2103: H of N 31b;
n 2104: H of N 41b;
n 2105: H of N 51b;
n 2201: H of N 11c;
n 2202: H of N 21a/Ig 7;
n 2203: H of N 31a;
n 2204: H of N 41a;
n 2205: H of N 51a/Ig 9;
n 2301: H of N 13b/Ig 14;
n 2302: H of N 23/Ig 8;
n 2303: H of N 33;
n 2304: H of N 43/Ig 5;
n 2305: H of N 53;
n 2401: H of N 14b;
n 2402: H of N 24;
n 2404: H of N 44;
n 2405: H of N 54;
n 3102: H of N 21b/25;
n 3105: Ap of N 57;
n 3121: P of Cl 221;
n 3123: P of Cl 222;
n 3124: P of Cl 223;
n 3125: P of Cl 224;
n 3131: P of Cl 231;
n 3133: P of Cl 232;

n 3134: P of Cl 233;

n 3135: P of Cl 234;

n 3151: P of Cl 251;

n 3153: P of Cl 252;

n 3154: H/Ap of N 46;

n 3155: P of Cl 254;

n 3161: H of N 15; H/Ap of N 16;

n 3163: H/Ap of N 36;

n 3164: H/Ap of N 46;

n 4111: H of N 11a/15;

n 4112: H of N 21a/51a/Ig 7;

n 4113: H of N 31a/38/Ig 3;

n 4114: H of N 41a/Ig 4;

n 4115: H of Ig 9;

n 4121/4131: H of N 11b/15;

n 4122/4132: H of N 21b;

n 4123/4133: H of N 31b;

n 4124/4134: H of N 41b;

n 4125/4135: H of N 51b.

4.2.2 Tagmemic noun paradigm

In the following noun formulas the normal sequence of tagmemes is
represented but the following alternatives in tagmeme order may occur:

In n 1102/ 1202/ 1302 the Dual tagmeme precedes or follows the
Instr-Ac tagmeme;

In n 1103/ 1203/ 1303/ 3103x/ 4103 the T tagmeme follows the Dual
tagmeme;

In n 1104/ 1204/ 1304/ 2104/ 3164/ 4114/ 4124 the Dual tagmeme
precedes the Pos tagmeme or the Ad tagmeme;

In n 1105/ 1205/ 1305/ the Dual tagmeme precedes or follows the
Pur tagmeme;

In n 2105/ 2305 the S tagmeme optionally precedes or follows the
Pur tagmeme;

In n 2103 the (+L ±L-D +Dir) tagmeme sequence occurs preceeding the
T tagmeme;

In n 4123 the Dual tagmeme follows the T tagmeme;

In n 1401, Ad:1171 precedes the Dual tagmeme;

In n 3100, Ad:1171 may interchange order of occurrence with the
Focus tagmeme;

In n 1401 the Dual tagmeme precedes the Tense tagmeme;

In n 1402, 3122, 3132, 3152, 3162, 4112, 4122, 4132 the Dual tagmeme precedes Instr-Ac tagmeme;

In n 3160b the Adj1 tagmeme precedes the P1 tagmeme;

In n 1405/4115/4135 the Dual tagmeme precedes the Pur tagmeme. Nouns n 3140 have been found upon elicitation. We, however, have not included them because we have not yet found them to occur in text.

In some cases two or more nouns which differ only in distribution and in the filler of the Base slot are represented in one complete formula with capital letters in parenthesis.

For the Ditransitive-Transitive verbal noun distinction see note in the introduction to the included clauses.

In n 3100 the affix 1222 manifesting the S tagmeme does not occur unless the prefix 1561 occurs in the n stem.

The simple noun

n 1101 = {+Mar A1 +Base:n theme 1110-1130/n stem 505/pn 5/n r 11 +Mar B1}

n 1102 = {+Mar A1 +Base:n theme 1110-1130/n stem 505/pn 5/n r 11 +Instr-Ac:2310 +Mar B1}

n 1103 = {+Mar A1 +Base:n theme 1110-1140/n stem 505/pn 5/n r 11 +T:t stem 4/t r 5 +Mar B1}

n 1104 = {+Mar A1 +Base:n theme 1110-1130/pn 5/n r 11 ±Pos:dir stem 4-6 +L:string 1-3/2330 +Mar B1}

n 1105 = {+Mar A1 +Base:n theme 1110-1130/n stem 505/pn 5/n r 11 +Pur:2321-2323/2325-2326 +Mar B1}

The demonstrative noun

n 1201 = {+Mar A2 +Base:n theme 1210-1220/n stem 505 +Mar B1}

n 1202 = {+Mar A2 +Base:n theme 1210-1220/n stem 505 +Instr-Ac:2310 +Mar B1}

n 1203 = {+Mar A2 +Base:n theme 1210-1220/n stem 505 +T:t stem 4/t r 5 +Mar B1}

n 1204 = {+Mar A2 +Base:n theme 1210-1220 ±Pos:dir stem 4-6 +L:string 1-3/2330 +Mar B1}

n 1205 = {+Mar A2 +Base:n theme 1210-1220 +Pur:2321-2323/2325-2326/stem 505 +Mar B1}

The possessed noun

n 1301 = {+Mar A3 +Base:n theme 1310-1320 +Mar B1}

n 1302 = {+Mar A3 +Base:n theme 1310-1320 +Instr-Ac:2310 +Mar B1}

n 1303 = {+Mar A3 +Base:n theme 1310-1320 +T:t stem 4/t r 5 +Mar B1}

n 1304 = {+Mar A3 +Base:n theme 1310-1320 ±Pos:dir stem 4-6 +L:string 1-3/2330 +Mar B1}

n 1305 = {+Mar A3 +Base:n theme 1310-1320 +Pur:2321-2323/2325-2326 +Mar B1}

The enumerative noun

n 1401 = {+Base:n theme 1410-1420/pn 4 +Mar B3}

n 1402 = {+Base:n theme 1410-1420 +Instr-Ac:2310 +Mar B3}

n 1403 = {+Base:n theme 1410-1420 +T:t stem 4/t r 5 +Mar B3}

n 1404 = {+Base:n theme 1410-1420 +Pos:dir stem 4-6 +L:string
1-2/2330 +Mar B3}

n 1405 = {+Base:n theme 1410-1420 +Pur:2321-2323/2325-2326 +Mar B3}

The simple personalized nouns

n 2101 = {+Mar A3 +Ac:1540 +Base:n theme 2110-2150/ac stem +S:1220
+Tense:2130 +Mar B1}

n 2102/2302 = {+Mar A3 +Base:n theme 2110-2150/2310-2350 +Instr-
Ac:2310 +S:1220 +Mar B1}

n 2103 = {+Mar A3 +Base:n theme 2110-2150 +T:t r 5 +S:1220 +L:
string 11 +Mar B1}

n 2104/2304 = {+Mar A3 +Base:n theme 2110-2150/2310-2350 +S:1220
+Tense:2130 +Pos:dir stem 4-6 +L:string 1a/2/2331/
2350 +Mar B1}

n 2105/2305 = {+Mar A3 +Base:n theme 2110-2150/2310-2350 +Pur:
2321-2323/2325-2326 +S:1220 +Dir:2365 +Mar B1}

The demonstrative personalized nouns

n 2201 = {+Mar A4 +Base:n theme 2210-2230 +S:1220 +Mar B3}

n 2202 = {+Mar A2 +Base:n theme 2220 +Instr-Ac:2310 +S:1220 +Mar B2}

n 2203 = {+Mar A4 +Base:n theme 2210/2230 +T:t r 4-6 +S:1220
+Mar B1}

n 2204 = {+Mar A2 +Base:n theme 2210-2220 +S:1223-1224 +[+Pos:dir
stem 4-6 +L$_1$:(string 5)/2351]/L$_2$:(string 1a/2)/2331/
2352 +Mar B1}

n 2205 = {+Mar A4 +Base:n theme 2210-2230 +Pur:2321-2323/2325-2326
+S:1220 +Mar B1}

The possessed personalized nouns

n 2301 = {+Mar A3 +Base:n theme 2310-2350 +S:1220 +Tense:2130
+Mar B1}

(n 2302 see formula of n 2102)

n 2303 = {+Mar A3 +Base:n theme 2310-2350 +T:t r 4-5 +S:1220
+Mar B1}

(n 2304 see formula of n 2104; n 2305 see formula of n 2105)

The enumerative personalized nouns

n 2401 = {+Mar A4 +Base:n theme 2410-2420 +Mar B2}

n 2402 = {+Mar A4 +Base:n theme 2410-2420 +Instr-Ac:2310 +Mar B2}

n 2404 = {+Mar A4 +Base:n theme 2410-2420 +L:string 1a Res +Mar B2}

n 2405 = {+Mar A4 +Base:n theme 2410-2420 +Pur:2321-2323/2325-2326
+Mar B2}

The nominalized and personalized verbal nouns

n (A)3121a, (B)3131a, (C)3151 = {+Mar A5 +Base:n stem (A)620,
(B)630, (C)650 +N1:n r 1-6/n core
7/Pers:n r 8 +Pl$_2$:2111/Size:2120
+Focus:1152/S:1222+Dir:2360 +Tense:
2130 +Mar Bl}

n (A)3121b, (B)3131b = {+Mar A5 +Base:n stem (A)680, (B)690 +N1:n
r 1-6/n core 7/Pers:n r 8 +Pl$_2$:2111/Size:
2120 +Focus:1152/S:1222 +Tense:2130 +Mar Bl}

n 3161a = {+Mar A5 +Base:n stem 660a/adv stem 3/5 Res/7a/8 +N1:n r
1-6/n core 7/Pers:n r 8 +Pl$_2$:2111/Size:2120 +Focus:1152/
S:1222 +Tense:2130 +Mar Bl}

n 3161b = {+Mar A5 +Adjl:1592 +Base:n stem 660b +N1:n r 1-6/n core
7/Pers:n r 8 +Pl$_2$:2111/Size:2120 +Focus:1152/S:1222
+Tense:2130 +Mar Bl}

n (A)3122a, (B)3132a, (C)3152 = {+Mar A5 +Base:n stem (A)620,
(B)630, (C)650 +N1:n r 1-6/n
core 7/Pers:n r 8 +Pl$_2$:2111/Size:
2120 +Dir:2360 +Instr-Ac:2310
+Focus:1152/S:1222 +Mar Bl}

n (A)3122b, (B)3132b = {+Mar A5 +Base:n stem (A)680, (N)690 +N1:
n r 1-6/n core 7/Pers:n r 8 +Pl$_2$:2111/
Size:2120 +Instr-Ac:2310 +Focus:1152/S:
1222 +Mar Bl}

n 3162A = {+Mar A5 +Base:n stem 660a/adv stem 5 Res/7a/8 +N1:n r
1-6/n core 7/Pers:n r 8 +Pl$_2$:2111/Size:2120 +Focus:1152
+Instr-Ac:2310 +Mar Bl}

n 3162b = {+Mar A5 +Adjl:1592 +Base:n stem 660b +N1:n r 1-6/n core
7/Pers:n r 8 +Pl$_2$:2111/Size:2120 +Focus:1152 +Instr-Ac:
2310 +Mar Bl}

n (A)3123ax, (B)3133ax, (C)3153x = {+Mar A6 +Base: n stem (A)620,
(B)630, (C)650 +T:t r 5 +Focus:
1152/S:1222 +Dir:2360 +Mar Bl}

n (A)3123bx, (B)3133bx = {+Mar A6 +Base:n stem (A)680, (B)690 +T:t
r 5 +Focus:1152/S:1222 +Mar Bl}

n (A)3123ay, (B)3133ay, (C)3153y = {+Mar A4 +Base:n stem (A) 720,
(B)730, (C)750 +Focus:1152/
1221 +Dir:2360 +Mar Bl}

n (A)3123by, (B)3133by = {+Mar A4 +Base:n stem (A)780, (B)790
+Focus:1152/S:1222 +Mar Bl}

n (A)3124, (B)3134, (C)3154 = {+Mar A5 +Base:n stem (A)620/680,
(B)630/690, (C)650 +(+N1:n r 1-6/n
core 7/Pers:n r 8) +Pl$_2$:2111/Size:
2120 +(+Pos$_1$:dir stem 4-6 +L$_1$:string
3a/10)/(+Pos$_2$:dir stem 4-6 +L$_2$:2331)
+Focus:1152/S:1222 +Mar Bl}

n 3163ax = {+Mar A5 +Base:n stem 660a/adv stem 3/5 Res/7a/8 +T:t r
5 +Mar Bl}

n 3163bx = {+Mar A5 +Adjl:1592 +Base:n stem 660b +T:t r 5 +Mar Bl}

n 3163ay = {+Mar A4 +Base:n stem 760a +Focus:1152/S:1222 +Dir:2360
+Mar B1}

n 3163by = {+Mar A4 +Adjl:1592 +Base:n stem 760b +Focus:1152/S:1222
+Dir:2360 +Mar B1}

n 3164a = {+Mar A5 +Base:n stem 660a +(+N1:n r 1-6/n core 7/Pers:n
r 8) +Pl$_2$:2111/Size:2120 +(+Pos$_1$:dir stem 4-6 +L$_1$:
string 3a)/(+Pos$_2$:dir stem 4-6 +L$_2$:string 6)/L$_3$:string
4-5/2330 +Mar B1}

n 3164b = {+Mar A5 +Adjl:1592 +Base:n stem 660b +(+N1:n r 1-6/n
core 7/Pers:n r 8) +Pl$_2$:2111/Size:2120 +(+Pos$_1$:dir
stem 4-6 +L$_1$:string 3a)/(+Pos$_2$:dir stem 4-6 +L$_2$:string
6)/L$_3$:string 1a/4/2331 +Mar B1}

n (A)3125a,(B)3135a,(C)3155 = {+Mar A5 +Base:n stem(A)620,(B)630,
(C)650 +(N1:n r 1-6/n core 7/Pers:n
r 8 +Pl$_2$:2111/Size:2120) +Pur:2321-
2324 +Focus:1152/S:1222 +Dir:2360
+Mar B1}

n (A)3125b,(B)3135b = {+Mar A5 +Base:n stem (A)680, (B)690 +(N1:n
r 1-6/n core 7/Pers:n r 8 +Pl$_2$:2111/Size:
2120) +Pur:2321-2324 +Focus:1152/S:1222
+Mar B1}

n 3165a = {+Mar A5 +Base:n stem 660a/adv stem 3/ 5 Res/7a/8
+(N1:n r 1-6 n core 7/Pers:n r 8 +Pl$_2$:2111/Size:2120)
+Pur:2321-2323 +Focus:1152/Size:1222 +Dir:2360 +Mar B1}

n 3165b = {+Mar A5 +Adjl:1592 +Base:n stem 660b +(+N1:n r 1-6/n
core 7/Pers:n r 8 +Pl$_2$:2111/Size:2120) +Pur:2321-2323
+Focus:1152/S:1222 +Dir:2360 +Mar B1}

The pronouns

n 4111 = {+Mar A1 +Base:n core 9 +Size:2120 +Tense:2130 +Mar B1}

n 4112 = {+Mar A1 +Base:n core 9 +Size:2120 +Instr-Ac:2310 +Mar B1}

n 4113 = {+Mar A1 +Base:n core 9 +Size:2120 +T:t stem 4/t r 4-5
+Dir:2360 +Mar B1}

n 4114 = {+Mar A1 +Base:n core 9 +Size:2120 +(+Pos:dir stem 4-6
+L$_1$:string 3a)/(+Pos:dir stem 4-6 +L$_2$:string 6)/L$_3$:
string 4-5/ 2331 +Mar B1}

n 4115 = {+Mar A1 +Base:n core 9 +Size:2120 +Pur:2321-2323 +Mar
B1}

n 4121 = {+Mar A1 +Base:pn 3 +Tense:2130 +Mar B1}

n 4122 = {+Mar A1 +Base:pn 3 +Instr-Ac:2310 +Mar B1}

n 4123 = {+Mar A1 +Base:pn 3 +T:t r 4-5 +Mar B1}

n 4124 = {+Mar A1 +Base:pn 3 +(+Pos:dir stem 4-6 +L$_1$:string 3a)
/+Pos:dir stem 4-6 +L$_2$:string 6)/L$_3$:string 4-5/2331
+Mar B1}

n 4125 = {+Mar A1 +Base:pn 3/adv stem 3/(5/6/7a)Res/7b/17 Res
+Pur:2321-2323 +Mar B1}

n 4131 = {+Mar A3 +Base:pn 1-2 +Tense:2130 +Mar B1}

n 4132 = {+Mar A3 +Base:pn 1-2 +Instr-Ac:2310 +Mar B1}

n 4133 = {+Mar A3 +Base:pn 1-2 +T:t r 4-5 +Mar B1}

n 4134 = {+Mar A3 +Base:pn 1-2 +(+Pos_1:dir stem 4-6 +L_1:string 3a)/
(+Pos_2:dir stem 4-6 +L_2:string 6)/L_3:string 4-5/2331
+Mar B1}

n 4135 = {+Mar A3 +Base:pn 1-2/adv stem 13 +Pur:2321-2323 +Mar B1}

Inventory of tagmemes

Mar A1 = $\pm$Neg:1340 $\pm$Qual:2250

Mar A2 = $\pm$Neg:1340

Mar A3 = $\pm$Neg:1340 $\pm$:Qual:2250 $\pm$Pl:1310

Mar A4 = $\pm$Neg:1340 $\pm$Pl:1310

Mar A5 = $\pm$Neg:1340 $\pm$Qual:2230-2250 $\pm Pl_1$:1310

Mar A6 = $\pm$Neg:1340 $\pm$Qual:2230-2250

Mar B1 = $\pm$Dual:1160 $\pm Ad^2$:1170

Mar B2 = $\pm Ad^2$:1170

Mar B3 = $\pm$Dual:1160 $\pm Ad^2$:1170

4.2.3 Citation noun paradigm

The simple noun

n 1101 = Neg:apo -- Base:itsahavayo -- Dual:behe
             not   other-thing-small   two

'not the other two small things'.

n 1102 = Qual:ë -- Base:mera -- Instr-Ac:ta
             only   water   with

'only with water'.

n 1103 = Base:matoneheepato -- T:havata
             mid-day-part   time-of

'at mid-day'.

= Base:namuto -- T:kanakuihitsiYa
      path   each-one-via

'each one of the paths'.

= Base:matakabitsAnahaetarukaponae -- T:havata
      day-come-continue   time-of

'at sun-rise'.

n 1104 = Qual:pepo -- Base:unu -- Pos:tuatuahë -- L:Yata
             real   forest   middle   via-in

'in the middle of the large forest'.

n 1105 = Neg:apo -- Base:vahabitsaë -- Pur:nexa
             not   war   for

'not for the war'.

The demonstrative noun

n 1201 = Neg:<u>apo</u> -- Base:<u>pAnaehavayo</u> -- Ad:<u>ata</u>
     not   this-tree-little   even

    'not even this little tree'.

n 1202 = Base:<u>pAkuyalato</u> -- Instr-Ac:<u>ta</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u>
     this-paper   with   two

    'with these two sheets of paper'.

n 1203 = Base:<u>pAhera</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u> -- T:<u>kuihinae</u>
     this-canoe   two   after

    'after these two canoes'.

n 1204 = Base:<u>pAnakua</u> -- Pos:<u>bëxëpana</u> -- L:<u>ta</u>
     this-world   beneath   in

    'under this world'.

n 1205 = Base:<u>pAtomara</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u> -- Pur:<u>nexa</u> -- Ad:<u>nua</u>
     this-town   two   for   also

    'also for these two towns'.

The possessed noun

n 1301 = Qual:<u>he</u> -- Pl:<u>pa</u> -- Base:<u>tAvënë</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u>
     similar   Pl   my-name   two

    'similar to our two names'.

n 1302 = Neg:<u>apo</u> -- Base:<u>pEsitopito</u> -- Instr-Ac:<u>ta</u>
     not   its-bone-marrow   with

    'not with its bone marrow'.

n 1303 = Base:<u>pihahavaxi</u> -- T:<u>vahënae</u>
     his-thing-little   before

    'before his small things'.

n 1304 = Base:<u>pihamonae</u> -- L:<u>havabelia</u>
     his-family   place-toward-to-the-north

    'toward the place of his family'.

n 1305 = Neg:<u>apo</u> -- Base:<u>pExënatohiviyo</u> -- Pur:<u>xae</u>
     not   his-child-little   because

    'because it is not his little child'.

The enumerative noun

n 1401 = Base:<u>pAhume</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u>
     this-word   number-of

    'this many words'.

   = Base:<u>pAnë</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u> -- Ad:<u>ata</u>
     this-fellow   number-of   even

    'even this many fellows'.

n 1402 = Base:<u>pAnë</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u> -- Instr-Ac:<u>ta</u>
     this-fellows   number-of   with

    'with this many fellows'.

n 1403 = Base:pAmatakabi -- Dual:behe -- T:kuihinae
        this-day   number-of   after

    'after this many days'.

n 1404 = Base:pAbo -- Dual:behe -- Pos:kanakuihitsi --
        this-house   number-of   adjacent

    L:Ya
       via

    'it is next to this many houses'.

n 1405 = Base:pAhivi -- Dual:behe -- Pur:nexa
        this-people   number-of   for

    'for this many persons'.

The personalized noun

n 2101 = Base:duhuaivahëkaeva -- Dual:behe
        fish-beg-woman   two

    'the two women that begged fish'.

    = Neg:apo -- Pl:pa -- Ac:naa -- Base:tsikirinëyo --
         not   Pl   also   small-fellows

    S:NË -- Dual:behe
      I   two

    'we two also are not small fellows'.

n 2102 = Base:ibotoAvi -- Instr-Ac:ta -- S:tsi
        rock-people   with   we

    'with us who are people of rock'.

n 2103 = Base:hetsaxaenë -- T:kuihinae -- S:NË
        corn-to-eat-fellow   after   I

    'after I ate corn'.

n 2104 = Base:dejanë -- L:havaberena
        Piapoco-fellow   place-toward-from-the-north-or-

    south

    'toward the place of the Piapoco Indian'.

n 2105 = Base:kotekueva -- Pur:nexa -- Dual:behe
        basket-to-weave-woman   for   two

    'for the two women that weave baskets'.

The demonstrative personalized noun

n 2201 = Neg:apo -- Base:pAnëyo -- S:NË
        not   this-fellow-little   I

    'I am not that little fellow'.

n 2202 = Base:pAmonae -- Instr-Ac:ta
        this-people   with

    'with these people'.

n 2203 = Pl:pa -- Base:pAnë -- T:ta -- S:NË -- Dual:behe
      Pl   this-fellow   when   I   two

    'when we two were this big'.

n 2204 = Base:pAmonae -- L_2:havata
        these-people   place-in

    'at the place of these people'.

n 2205 = Base:pAnë -- Pur:nexa -- S:NË
        this-fellow   for   I

    'I am for this fellow'.

The possessed personalized noun

n 2301 = Neg:apo -- Pl:pa -- Base:pEmatapihinë -- S:NË --
       not   Pl   his-elder-brother   I

Dual:behe
    two

    'we two are not his elder brothers'.

n 2302 = Pl:pa -- Base:pEhuyapihinë -- Instr-Ac:ta --
       Pl   his-younger-brother   with

S:NË -- Dual:behe
  I   two

    'with two of us, who are his younger-brothers'.

n 2303 = Base:pihayanasi -- T:kuihinae -- S:NË
        his-fishing-bait   after   I

    'after I was his fishing-bait'.

n 2304 = Base:pExënato -- Pos:pënë -- L:velia
        his-son   behind   from-here-to-the-north-

or-south

    'this side of his son'.

n 2305 = Base:NExënato -- Pur:xae -- S:NË
        your-son   because   I

    'because I am your son'.

    = Base:pihava -- S:më -- Pur:xae
        his-wife   you   because

    'because you are his wife'.

The enumerative personalized noun

n 2401 = Neg:apo -- Pl:pa -- Base:pAnëbeheyahavënënëNËbehe
       not   Pl   this-fellows-number-of-one-of-

I-two

    'the two of us are not members of that group'.

n 2402 = Pl:pa -- Base:pAnëyomëbehe -- Instr-Ac:ta
       Pl   this-fellows-you-number-of   with

    'with this many of you fellows'.

n 2404 = Pl:pa -- Base:pAnéNËbehe   --   L:havaberena
        Pl   this-fellow-I-number-of   place-toward-

from-the-north-or-south

'towards this many of us fellows'.

n 2405 = Base:pAnétsibehe   --   Pur:nexa -- Ad:ata
        this-fellows-we-number-of   for   even

'even for this many of us fellows'.

The nominalized and personalized verbal nouns

n 3121a = Pl:pa -- Base:tAhotsi   --   Pers:Avi
        Pl   Posd-lp-carry   people

'we are people that carry'.

    = Base:tAnerahutsi   --   Nl:hava -- S:mé
        Posd-lp-to-me-gave   thing   you

'the thing you gave me'.

    = Base:pEyapénaxuabi -- Nl:mo   --   Focus:tsi   --
        Posd-3p-cross   vehicle   Focus

Dual:behe
two

'the vehicle that took the two of them across'.

n 3121b = Base:pEkatsika   -- Nl:hava   -- Dual:behe -- Ad:nua
        Posd-3p-bring   thing   two   also

'also the two things that were brought'.

n 3122a = Base:pEyanatsi   --   Pers:Avi   -- Instr-Ac:ta   --
        Posd-3p-accompany   people   with

Focus:tsi
Focus

'with the people that accompanied him'.

n 3122b = Base:pEkarena   --   Nl:kuenE   -- Instr-Ac:ta
        Posd-3p-bring   matter   with

'with the thing that was brought'.

n 3123ax = Base:pEubi   --   T:kuihinae
        Posd-3p-plant   after

'after he planted'.

    = Pl:pa -- Base:tAkalia   --   T:kuihinae -- Dual:behe
        Pl   Posd-lp-take   after   two

'after the two of us took it'.

n 3123ay = Base:pEpauhuetsi   --   Dual:behe
        Posd-3p-when-clear   two

'when the two of them were cleaning'.

    = Pl:pa -- Base:NEpuakareka   --   Dual:behe
        Pl   Posd-2p-when-carry   two

'when both of you took it'.

n 3124 = Base:pEexanae -- Pers:ně -- L:havaberena
        Posd-3p-make   fellow   place-toward-from-

the-north-or-south

'the craftsman's place'.

n 3125a = Neg:apo -- Base:pExae -- Pur:nexa
        not   Posd-3p-eat   for

'not for him to eat'.

= Neg:apo -- Base:pEhitsipae -- Pur:xae -- Focus:tsi
    not   Posd-3p-like   because   Focus

'because he was disliked'.

= Pl:pa -- Base:tAnerahutsi -- Pur:xae -- S:mě --
    Pl   Posd-1p-to-me-give   because   you

Dual:behe
     two

'because both of you gave it to me'.

n 3125b = Neg:apo -- Base:vAHAkaliatsAYAbiabi -- Pur:nexa --
        not   Posd-1p-take-always   for

Dual:behe
     two

'it is not for the two of us to always carry it'.

n 3131a = Base:pEnatsipaebi -- Nl:hivi -- Size:yo --
        Posd-3p-speak   people   little

Dual:behe
     two

'the two little speakers'.

n 3131b = Base:pEliatsAYAbiabi -- Pers:va -- Size:yo
        Posd-3p-go-always   girl   little

'the little girl that always goes'.

n 3132a = Base:pEnamuxusitsi -- Nl:hava -- Instr-Ac:ta
        Posd-3p-play   thing   with

'with his toy'.

n 3132b = Base:pErena -- Pers:ně -- Dual:behe --
        Posd-3p-come   fellow   two

Instr-Ac:ta
     with

'with the two fellows that came'.

n 3133ax = Base:tAnavae -- T:vahěnaeYa
        Posd-1p-bathe   before

'before I bathed'.

n 3133bx = Pl:pa -- Base:tAlia -- T:kuihinae -- Dual:behe --
        Pl   Posd-1p-go   after   two

Ad:ata
    even

'even after the two of us went'.

n 3133ay = Pl:pa -- Base:NEpuanaviatsi -- Dir:reka --
         Pl   Posd-2p-when-return   to-the-east

Dual:behe
     two

'when you two returned'.

n 3133by = Base:vAHApualiatsAIAbi -- Dual:behe
            Posd-1p-when-go-briefly   two

'when we two briefly went'.

n 3134 = Base:pEbokae -- Nl:kuene -- Pos$_1$:huma --
         Posd-3p-lie   thing   on-top-of

L$_1$:ta
  in

'on top of the thing lying down'.

n 3135a = Base:pEtopanepaTAbi -- Pur:yaniva -- Focus:tsi
         Posd-3p-escape   in-order-not   Focus

'in order that it does not get away on him'.

n 3135b = Base:pEtorena -- Pur:nexa -- Focus:tsi --
         Posd-3p-for-came   for   Focus

Dual:behe -- Ad:nua
     two   also

'the two came for him also'.

n 3151 = Base:tAkahaI -- Nl:kuene
         my-to-you-say   matter

'that which I told you'.

n 3152 = Base:pEhaI -- Nl:kuene -- Instr-Ac:ta
         Posd-3p-say   matter   with

'with what he said'.

n 3153x = Base:pEhaI -- T:kuihinae
         Posd-3p-say   after

'after he said it'.

n 3153y = Pl:pa -- Base:tApuahaI -- Dual:behe
         Pl   Posd-1p-when-say   two

'when the two of us said it'.

n 3154 = Base:pEhaItsAYAbiabi -- L$_1$:havatareka
         Posd-3p-say-repeatedly   place-in-to-the-east

'the place where he always said it'.

n 3155 = Base:pEhaI -- Pur:xae -- Focus:tsi
         Posd-3p-say   because-of   Focus

'because of his having been told it'.

n 3161a = Base:pEtoahibi -- Nl:hivi -- Size:yo --
         Posd-3p-absent   people   little

Focus:tsi -- Dual:behe
     Focus   two

'two little boys that did not have any'.

n 3161b = Adjl:BE -- Base:pEhiobi -- Nl:matakabi
                Adjl   Posd-3p-poor   day

          'day of suffering'.

n 3162a = Base:pEitahibi -- Pers:ne� -- Size:yo --
              Posd-3p-drunk   fellow   little

        Instr-Ac:ta
              with

          'with a drunkard'.

n 3162b = Adjl:BE -- Base:pEhiobi -- Pers:ne̊ --
                Adjl   Posd-3p-poor   fellow

        Size:yo -- Instr-Ac:ta
            little   with

          'with a poor little man'.

n 3163ax = Pl:pa -- Base:tAke -- T:kuihinae -- Ad:ata
           Pl   my-cold   after   even

          'even after we were cold'.

n 3163ay = Base:pEpuaahibitsArukae -- Dir:reka
              Posd-3p-when-absent-was   to-the-east

          'when he was absent'.

n 3163bx = Adjl:BE -- Pl:pa -- Base:tAhiobi -- T:kuihinae --
                Adjl   Pl   Posd-1p-poor   after

        Dual:behe
             two

          'after we two were poor'.

n 3163by = Pl:pa -- Base:tApuaBEhiobi -- Dual:behe
           Pl   Posd-1p-when-poor   two

          'when we two were poor'.

n 3164a = Base:NEasae̊ -- L₃:havabelia
              your strong   place-toward-to-the-north

          'where you got well'.

n 3164b = Adjl:BE -- Base:pEhiobi -- Pers:ne̊ --
                Adjl   Posd-3p-poor   fellow

        L₃:havatalia
            place-in-to-the-north-or-south

          'in the place of the poor man'.

n 3165a = Base:pEasae̊ -- Pur:nexa
              his-strong   for

          'in order for him to get strong'.

n 3165b = Adjl:BE -- Base:vAHAhiobi -- Pers:Avi --
                Adjl   Posd-1p-poor   people

        Pur:nexa -- Ad:nua
            for   also

          'for us poor people also'.

n 4111 = Neg:<u>apo</u> -- Base:<u>xuahava</u> -- Size:<u>xi</u>
           not   this-thing   little

     'not these little things'.

n 4112 = Base:<u>xua</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u> -- Instr-Ac:<u>ta</u> -- Ad:<u>ata</u>
           this   two   with   even

     'even with these two'.

n 4113 = Base:<u>xua</u> -- Size:<u>yo</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u> -- T:<u>vahënae</u>
           this   little   two   before

     'before these two things'.

n 4114 = Base:<u>xua</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u> -- L₃:<u>havabelia</u> --
           this   two   place-toward-to-the-north

    Ad:<u>ata</u>
       even

     'even toward the place of these two'.

n 4115 = Base:<u>xua</u> -- Pur:<u>nexa</u>
           this   for

     'for this'.

n 4121 = Base:<u>vaxaeTSI</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u>
           we   two

     'the two of us'.

n 4122 = Base:<u>vaxaeTSI</u> -- Instr-Ac:<u>ta</u> -- Ad:<u>nua</u>
           we   with   also

     'with us also'.

n 4123 = Base:<u>vaxaeTSI</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u> -- T:<u>kuihinae</u> -- Ad:<u>ata</u>
           we   two   after   even

     'even after the two of us'.

n 4124 = Base:<u>vaxaeTSI</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u> -- L₃:<u>havaberena</u>
           we   two   place-toward-from-the-

    north

     'toward the place of us two'.

n 4125 = Base:<u>vaxaeTSI</u> -- Pur:<u>nexa</u> -- Ad:<u>ata</u>
           we   for   even

     'even for us'.

     = Base:<u>apaaxayo</u> -- Pur:<u>nexa</u>
           lots   for

     'in order to be a lot'.

n 4131 = Neg:<u>apo</u> -- Pl:<u>pa</u> -- Base:<u>xanë</u> -- Ad:<u>ata</u>
           not   Pl   I   even

     'not even us'.

n 4132 = Pl:<u>pa</u> -- Base:<u>xanë</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u> -- Instr-Ac:<u>ta</u> -- Ad:<u>ata</u>
         Pl   I   two   with   even
     'even with the two of us'.

n 4133 = Pl:<u>pa</u> -- Base:<u>xanë</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u> -- T:<u>kuihinae</u>
     Pl   I   two   after

   'after the two of us'.

n 4134 = Pl:<u>pa</u> -- Base:<u>xamë</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u> -- L3:<u>havabelia</u>
     Pl   you   two   place-toward-to-

   the-north

   'toward the place of both of you'.

n 4135 = Pl:<u>pa</u> -- Base:<u>tahakuata</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u> -- Pur:<u>nexa</u>
     Pl   myself   two   for

   'it is for the two of us'.

4.2.4 Noun theme

The distribution of noun theme is into the noun word except for
the following:

   n theme 2140:Ap of N 16;Base of vb 68a;

   n theme 2210:Base of n theme 2410;

   n theme 2410:Base of n theme 2420.

4.2.4.1 Tagmemic noun theme paradigm

In the following formulas Sg:2112 only cooccurs with n stem 002/005
and Sg:2113 only with n stem 003/006.

The simple noun theme

   n theme 1110 = {+Base:n stem 101/104/107-109 ±Pl:2111/Size:2120
          ±Tense:2130}

   n theme 1120 = {+Base:n stem 102-103/105-106 +Pl:2114/(±Sg:2112-
          2113 ±Size:2120) ±Tense:2130}

   n theme 1130 = {+Base:n stem 110 ±Tense:2130}

   n theme 1140 = {+Base:n r 4 +Asp:asp stem}

The demonstrative noun theme

   n theme 1210 = {+Base:n stem 201/204/207-209 ±Pl:2111/Size:2120
          ±Tense:2130}

   n theme 1220 = {+Base:n stem 202-203/205-206 +Pl:2114/(±Sg:2112-
          2113 ±Size:2120) ±Tense:2130}

The possessed noun theme

   n theme 1310 = {+Base:n stem 301/304/307-310 ±Pl:2111/Size:2120
          ±Tense:2130}

   n theme 1320 = {+Base:n stem 302-303/305-306 +Pl:2114/(±Sg:2112-
          2113) ±Size:2120 ±Tense:2130}

The enumerative noun theme

   n theme 1410 = {+Base:n stem 401/404/407 ±Size:2120}

n theme 1420 = {+Base:n stem 402-403/405-406 ±Pl:2114/(+Sg:2112-2113 ±Size:2120}

The simple personalized noun theme

n theme 2110 = {+Base:n stem 101/104/107/vb core 61a Res/n r 11/pn 1/5 ±Gd-Clas:2140 ±Size:2120}

n theme 2120 = {+Base:n stem 102-103/105-106 +Pl:2114/Sg:2112-2113 +Gd-Clas:2140 ±Size:2120}

n theme 2130 = {+Quan:2241-2245/Desc^2:2230 +Base:n r 8 ±Size:2120}

n theme 2140 = {±Quan:2240/Desc:2230 +Base:n stem 502-503 ±Size:2120}

n theme 2150 = {+Base:n stem 501/pn 3 +Gd-Clas:2140 ±Size:2120}

The demonstrative personalized noun theme

n theme 2210 = {+Base:n stem 601 ±Size:2120}

n theme 2220 = {+Base:n stem 602 ±Size:2124}

n theme 2230 = {+Base:n stem 603 ±Size:2120}

The possessed personalized noun theme

n theme 2310 = {+Base:n stem 301/304 ±Gd-Clas:2140 ±Size:2120}

n theme 2320 = {+Base:n stem 302-303/305-306 +Pl:2114/Sg:2112-2113 ±Gd-Clas:2140 ±Size:2120}

n theme 2330 = {+Posd:2210 +Base:n core 10 ±Size:2120}

n theme 2340 = {+Posd:2220 +Base:n stem 503-504 ±Size:2120}

n theme 2350 = {+Posd:2220 +Base:n r 10 ±Gd-Clas:2140 ±Size:2120}

The enumerative personalized noun theme

n theme 2410 = {+Base:n theme 2210 ±Size:2120 +S:1220 +Dual:1160}

n theme 2420 = {+Base:n theme 2410 +Id:n r 7(-yajavënë) +Gd-Clas:2140 +S:1220 +Dual:1160}

4.2.4.2 Citation noun theme paradigm

The simple noun theme

n theme 1110 = Base:<u>pexaniabo</u> -- Pl:<u>Ánë</u>
                     good-house   Pl

'good houses'.

= Base:<u>itsabo</u> -- Size:<u>yo</u> -- Tense:<u>mË</u>
       other-house   little   formerly

'that which was formerly another little house'.

= Base:<u>kaehume</u> -- Size:<u>xi</u>
       one-word   many-little

'some little words'.

n theme 1120 = Base:<u>hetsaxu</u> -- Sg:<u>to</u> -- Size:<u>xi</u>
                     corn-seed   Sg   many-little

'little corn seeds'.

$=$ Base:<u>tovina</u> -- Sg:<u>bo</u> -- Size:<u>yo</u>
   worm   Sg   little

  'a little worm'.

n theme 1130 = Base:<u>tsikiriyo</u> -- Tense:<u>më</u>
      small-one   formerly

  'that which was formerly small'.

n theme 1140 = Base:<u>matakabi</u> -- Asp:<u>tsAnahaetarukaponae</u>
      day   comes-continue

  'day-break'.

The demonstrative noun theme

n theme 1210 = Base:<u>pAbo</u> -- Size:<u>xaneto</u> -- Tense:<u>më</u>
      this-house   large   formerly

  'that which was formerly this large a house'.

n theme 1220 = Base:<u>pApaltae</u> -- Sg:<u>to</u> -- Size:<u>xi</u>
      this-needle Sg many-little

  'these little needles'.

The possessed noun theme

n theme 1310 = Base:<u>pEmatabë</u> -- Pl:<u>Anë</u>
      Posd-3p-mass Pl

  'masses'.

n theme 1320 = Base:<u>tAmaxësi</u> -- Sg:<u>to</u> -- Size:<u>yo</u>
      Posd-1p-elbow-bone Sg little

  'my little elbow-bone'.

$=$ Base:<u>pEmonae</u> -- Sg:<u>bo</u> -- Tense:<u>më</u>
   Posd-3p-braid Sg formerly

  'that which was formerly a cord'.

The enumerative noun theme

n theme 1410 = Base:<u>pAhume</u> -- Size:<u>yo</u>
      this-word   little

  'this little word'.

$=$ Base:<u>pAyo</u> -- Size:<u>vahëto</u>
   this   size

  'this large'.

n theme 1420 = Base:<u>pAmataboko</u> -- Sg:<u>to</u>
      this-head   Sg

  'this head'.

The simple personalized noun theme

n theme 2110 = Base:<u>akobebehe</u> -- Gd-Clas:<u>në</u> -- Size:<u>yo</u>
      a bad-hand   fellow   little

  'a little fellow with a bad hand'.

n theme 2120 = Base:<u>hivi</u> -- Sg:<u>to</u> -- Gd-Clas:<u>ne̎</u> -- Size:<u>yo</u>
                people   Sg   fellow   little

          'a little man'.

n theme 2130 = Quan:<u>kae</u> -- Base:<u>ne̎</u> -- Size:<u>yo</u>
              one   fellow   little

          'one little fellow'.

         = Desc:<u>pexania</u> -- Desc:<u>pehana</u> -- Base:<u>va</u>
                pretty   young   girl

          'a pretty young girl'.

n theme 2140 = Base:<u>matapihine̎</u> -- Size:<u>yo</u>
                first-fellow   little

          'the fellow that is the elder sibling'.

n theme 2150 = Base:<u>hetsaxae</u> -- Gd-Clas:<u>ne̎</u> -- Size:<u>yo</u>
                corn-eat   fellow   little

          'a little corn-eater'.

         = Base:<u>vaxaeTSI</u> -- Gd-Clas:<u>ne̎</u>
                we   fellow

          'one of us'.

The demonstrative personalized noun theme

n theme 2210 = Base:<u>pАne̎</u> -- Size:<u>yo</u>
                this-fellow   little

          'this little fellow'.

n theme 2220 = Base:<u>pАmonae</u> -- Size:<u>xi</u>
                these-people   little

          'these little people'.

n theme 2230 = Base:<u>pАmenepihine̎</u> -- Size:<u>yo</u>
                this-river-native-of   little

          'the little inhabitant of this river'.

n theme 2310 = Base:<u>pЕhumape</u> -- Gd-Clas:<u>ne̎</u>
                his-spirit   fellow

          'he that is his spirit'.

n theme 2320 = Base:<u>tahahivi</u> -- Sg:<u>to</u> -- Gd-Clas:<u>ne̎</u> --
                my-people   Sg   fellow

         Size:<u>yo</u>
             little

          'my little man, my little employee'.

n theme 2330 = Posd:<u>niha</u> -- Base:<u>va</u> -- Size:<u>yo</u>
                your   woman   little

          'your wife'.

n theme 2340 = Posd:<u>pЕ</u> -- Base:<u>matapihine̎</u> -- Size:<u>yo</u>
                his   elder-fellow   little

          'his elder-brother'.

$$= \text{Posd:}\underline{\text{vAHA}} \quad -- \quad \text{Base:}\underline{\ddot{\text{e}}\text{n}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{pihin}\ddot{\text{e}}} \quad -- \quad \text{Size:}\underline{\text{yo}}$$
$$\quad\quad\quad \underline{\text{our}} \quad\quad\quad \underline{\text{intestine-fellow}} \quad\quad\quad \underline{\text{little}}$$

'our intestinal worms'.

n theme 2350 $= \text{Posd:}\underline{\text{NE}} \quad -- \quad \text{Base:}\underline{\text{amo}} \quad -- \quad \text{Gd-Clas:}\underline{\ddot{\text{n}}\ddot{\text{e}}} \quad --$
$\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad \underline{\text{your}} \quad\quad \underline{\text{grand-father}} \quad\quad\quad \underline{\text{man}}$

$\text{Size:}\underline{\text{yo}}$
$\quad\quad\underline{\text{little}}$

'the man that is your grand-father'.

$= \text{Posd:}\underline{\text{pE}} \,-- \text{Base:}\underline{\text{ena}} \quad -- \quad \text{Size:}\underline{\text{yo}}$
$\quad\quad\quad \underline{\text{his}} \quad\quad \underline{\text{mother}} \quad\quad\quad \underline{\text{little}}$

'his little mother'.

The enumerative personalized noun theme

n theme 2410 $= \text{Base:}\underline{\text{pAn}\ddot{\text{e}}} \quad -- \quad \text{Size:}\underline{\text{yo}} \quad -- \quad \text{S:}\underline{\text{N}\ddot{\text{E}}} \,--$
$\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad \underline{\text{this-fellow}} \quad\quad\quad \underline{\text{little}} \quad\quad\quad \underline{\text{I}}$

$\text{Dual:}\underline{\text{behe}}$
$\quad\quad\underline{\text{number-of}}$

'we were this many little fellows'.

n theme 2420 $= \text{Base:}\underline{\text{pAn}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{N}\ddot{\text{E}}\text{behe}} \quad -- \quad \text{Id:}\underline{\text{yahav}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{n}\ddot{\text{e}}} \,--$
$\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad \underline{\text{these-fellows-I-number-of}} \quad\quad\quad \underline{\text{part-of}}$

$\text{Gd-Clas:}\underline{\ddot{\text{n}}\ddot{\text{e}}} \quad -- \quad \text{S:}\underline{\text{N}\ddot{\text{E}}} \,-- \text{Dual:}\underline{\text{behe}}$
$\quad\quad\quad \underline{\text{fellow}} \quad\quad \underline{\text{I}} \quad\quad \underline{\text{two}}$

'the two of us were a part of them'.

4.2.5 The noun stem

The distribution of n stem 100-700 is as follows:

n stem 101/104/107:Base of n theme 1110/2110;

n stem 102-103:Base of n theme 1120/2120;

n stem 105-106:Base of n theme 1120/2110;

n stem 108-109:Base of n theme 1110;

n stem 110:Base of n theme 1130;

n stem 201/204/207-209:Base of n theme 1210;

n stem 202-203/205-206:Base of n theme 1220;

n stem 301:Base of n theme 1310; Spec of vb 30d;

n stem 304/307-310:Base of n theme 1310;

n stem 302-303/305-306:Base of n theme 1320;

n stem 401/404/407:Base of n theme 1410;

n stem 402-403/405-406:Base of n theme 1420;

n stem 501:Base of n theme 2150;

n stem 502:Base of n theme 2140/n stem 603;

n stem 503:Base of n theme 2140/2340;

n stem 504:Base of n theme 2340;

n stem 505:Base of n 1101-1103/1105/1201-1203/1205;

n stem 601:Base of n theme 2210;

n stem 602:Base of n theme 2220;

n stem 603:Base of n theme 2230;

n stem 620:Base of n 3121a/3122a/3123ax/3124;

n stem 630:Base of n 3131a/3132a/3133ax/3134;

n stem 650:Base of n 3151/3152/3153ax/3154;

n stem 660a:Base of n 3160a;

n stem 660b:Base of n 3160b;

n stem 680:Base of n 3121b/3122b/3123bx/3124;

n stem 690:Base of n 3131b/3132b/3133bx/3134;

n stem 720:Base of n 3123ay;

n stem 730:Base of n 3133y;

n stem 750:Base of n 3153y;

n stem 760a:Base of n 3163ay;

n stem 760b:Base of n 3163by;

n stem 780:Base of n 3123by;

n stem 790:Base of n 3133by.

4.2.5.1 Tagmemic noun stem paradigm

n stem 101-103 = {+($\pm$Quan:2240 $\pm$Desc:2230 $\pm$Cpd:n core 5) +Base:n core 1-3}

n stem 104-106 = {$\pm$(Quan:2240 $\pm$Desc$_1$:2230)/$\pm$(Desc$_2$)^2:2230) +Base: n r 4-6}

n stem 107 = {+(Quan:2240/Desc:2230/Cpd:n core 5)+Base:n core 4}

n stem 108 = {+($\pm$Quan:2240 $\pm$Desc:2230) +Cpd:n core 4 Res/n r 1-3/12 +Base:n core 8}

n stem 109 = {$\pm$Quan:2240 $\pm$Desc:2230 +Cpd:n core 5 Res/n r 9 (mata)/adv r 1 (huya) +Base:n core 8}

n stem 110 = {+Quan:2240/Desc:2230 +Base:n r 12}

n stem 201-203 = {+Spec:2260 +($\pm$Desc:2230 $\pm$Cpd:n core 5) +Base: n core 1-3}

n stem 204-206 = {+Spec:2260 $\pm$Desc:2230 +Base:n r 4-6}

n stem 207 = {+Spec:2260 $\pm$Desc:2230 $\pm$Cpd:n core 5 +Base:n core 4}

n stem 208 = {+Spec:2260 $\pm$Desc:2230 $\pm$Cpd:n core 4 Res/n r 1-3/12 +Base:n core 8}

n stem 209 = {+Spec:2260 $\pm$Desc:2230 +Cpd:n core 5 Res/n r 9 (mata/adv r 1 (huya) +Base:n core 8}

n stem 301-303 = {+Posd$_1$:2220/(+Posd$_2$:2210 $\pm$Desc:2230 $\pm$Cpd:n core 5) +Base:n core 1-3}

n stem 304-306 = {+Posd:2210 ±Desc:2230 ±Cpd:n core 5 +Base:n r 4-6}

n stem 307 = {+Posd$_1$:2220/(+Posd$_2$:2210 ±Cpd:n core 5)+Base: n core 4}

n stem 308 = {+Posd:2220 +Cpd:n r 1-3/9 (humatabë) +Base:n core 8}

n stem 309 = {+Posd:2210 +Cpd:n core 5 Res/n r 9 (mata)/adv r 1 (huya) +Base:n core 8}

n stem 310 = {+Posd:2220 +Base:n core 12}

n stem 401-406 = {+Spec:2260 ±Cpd:n core 5 +Base:n core 1-6}

n stem 407 = {+Spec:2260 +Base:n r 7-8/n r 12}

n stem 501a = {+0:n core 13 +Base:vb r 10-20/80}

n stem 501b = {+Desc:2233/2235 +Base:vb r 30}

n stem 502 = {+Cpd:n core 5 Res/n r 4 +Base:n core 6}

n stem 503 = {+Cpd:n r 9 (mata)/adv r 1 (huya) +Base:n core 6}

n stem 504 = {+Cpd:n r 1-2 +Base:n core 6}

n stem 505 = {+Desc:2231-2236/Quan:2241-2243 +Base:vb r 10/21/ 31/61/80/90}

n stem 601 = {+Spec:2260 +Base:n r 8 (në, va)}

n stem 602 = {+Spec:2260 +Base:n r 7 (monae)}

n stem 603 = {+Spec:2260 +Base:n stem 502}

n stem 620a = {+Posd:2220 +Base:vb stem 10/20}

n stem 620b = {+Posd:2220 +Base:vb stem 80b ±Asp:asp stem}

n stem 630a = {+Posd:2220 +Base:vb stem 30}

n stem 630b = {+Posd:2220 +Base:vb stem 90b ±Asp:asp stem}

n stem 650/660a/660b/680/690 = {+Posd:2220 +Base:vb stem 50/60x/ 60y/80a/90a ±Asp:asp stem}

n stem 720a = {+Posd:2220 +Temp:rel r 6 +Base:vb stem 10/20}

n stem 720b = {+Posd:2220 +Temp:rel r 6 +Base:vb stem 80b +Asp:asp stem}

n stem 730a = {+Posd:2220 +Temp:rel r 6 +Base:vb stem 30}

n stem 730b = {+Posd:2220 +Temp:rel r 6 +Base:vb stem 90b ±Asp: asp stem}

n stem 750/760a/760b/780/790 = {+Posd:2220 +Temp:rel r 6 +Base:vb stem 50/60x/60y/80a/90a +Asp:asp stem}

4.2.5.2 Citation noun stem paradigm

n stem 101 = Desc:tsikiri -- Base:kobe
                  small   hand

   'a small hand'.

n stem 102 = Cpd:hara   -- Base:tobë
               turtle   egg

           'a turtle egg'.

         = Quan:itsa   -- Desc:peruhu -- Base:tobë
               other   old   egg

           'the other old-egg'.

n stem 103 = Cpd:ovebi -- Base:bokomonae
               deer   skin-braids

           'deer-skin cord'.

n stem 104 = Desc:pexania -- Desc:pehana -- Base:bo
                pretty   new   house

           'pretty new house'.

         = Quan:kae --Base:bo
               one   house

           'one house'.

n stem 105 = Quan:aniha -- Base:homobë
               two   spiders

           'two spiders'.

n stem 106 = Quan:daxita -- Base:tovina
                all   worm

           'all the worms'.

n stem 107 = Desc:pehana -- Base:hava
               new   thing

           'a new thing'.

         = Cpd:maskara -- Base:venehava
               mask   name-thing

           'that which is called a mask'.

n stem 108 = Desc:tsikiri -- Cpd:yo   -- Base:pihikuene
               small   one   thing-of

           'that which belongs to a small thing'.

n stem 109 = Cpd:mata   -- Base:pihikuene
               older   thing-of

           'the first thing'.

         = Quan:aye   -- Cpd:bo   -- Base:pihihava
               large   house   thing-of

           'that which belongs to a large house'.

n stem 110 = Desc:tsikiri -- Base:yo
               small   one

           'a small animal'.

         = Quan:itsa -- Base:to
               other   object

           'another one'.

n stem 201 = Spec:pA   -- Base:sipali
                 this   ax

         'this ax'.

n stem 202 = Spec:pA   -- tobë
                 this   egg

         'this egg'.

n stem 203 = Spec:pA   -- kumare   --   monae
                 this   cumare-palm   braid

         'this palm-fiber braid'.

n stem 204 = Spec:pA   -- Base:huameto
                 this   sun, moon

         'this sun, moon, month'.

n stem 205 = Spec:pA   -- Desc:pexania -- Base:kuai
                 this   good   fruit

         'this good fruit'.

n stem 206 = Spec:pA   -- Base:taheta
                 this   sand

         'this sand'.

n stem 207 = Spec:pA   -- Cpd:maskara -- Base:vënëhava
                 this   mask   name-thing

         'this which is called a mask'.

n stem 208 = Spec:pA   -- Cpd:kobe -- Base:pihikuene
                 this   hand   thing-of

         'that which belongs to this hand'.

n stem 209 = Spec:pA   -- Cpd:mata -- Base:pihihava
                 this   older   thing-of

         'this which is first'.

n stem 301 = $Posd_1$:pE -- Base:matabë
                   its   mass

         'grounds, mass'.

n stem 302 = $Posd_2$:taha -- Cpd:vakara -- Base:tobë
                   my   chicken   egg

         'my chicken-egg'.

n stem 303 = $Posd_1$:pE   --   Base:monae
                   Posd-3p   braid

         'braids'.

n stem 304 = Posd:piha -- Base:bo
                   his   house

         'his house'.

n stem 305 = Posd:piha -- Base:hivi
                   his   people

         'his employees, family'.

n stem 306 = Posd:<u>niha</u> -- Base:<u>tovina</u>
　　　　　　　　　　your　　　　　　　　worm

　　　　　'your worm'.

n stem 307 = Posd$_2$:<u>piha</u> -- Base:<u>kuene</u>
　　　　　　　　　　his　　　　　　　manner

　　　　　'his custom'.

n stem 308 = Posd:<u>pE</u> -- Cpd:<u>humatabë</u> -- Base:<u>pihikuene</u>
　　　　　　　　his　　　　　　heart　　　　　　　　thing-of

　　　　　'his thoughts'.

n stem 309 = Posd:<u>piha</u> -- Cpd:<u>mata</u> -- Base:<u>pihinakueto</u>
　　　　　　　　　his　　　　　　　first　　　　　　　child-of

　　　　　'his first offspring'.

　　　　 = Posd:<u>niha</u> -- Cpd:<u>mata</u> -- Base:<u>pihikuene</u>
　　　　　　　　　your　　　　　　　first　　　　　　thing-of

　　　　　'the first thing of yours'.

n stem 310 = Posd:<u>pE</u> -- Base:<u>xenatohivi</u>
　　　　　　　　his　　　　　　son-people

　　　　　'his sons'.

n stem 401 = Spec:<u>pA</u> -- Cpd:<u>sikuani</u> -- Base:<u>hume</u>
　　　　　　　　this　　　　　　Guahibo　　　　　word

　　　　　'this Guahibo word'.

n stem 402 = Spec:<u>pA</u> -- Base:<u>mataboko</u>
　　　　　　　　this　　　　　head

　　　　　'this head'.

n stem 403 = Spec:<u>pA</u> -- Base:<u>monae</u>
　　　　　　　　this　　　　　braid

　　　　　'this braid'.

n stem 404 = Spec:<u>pA</u> -- Base:<u>huameto</u>
　　　　　　　　this　　　　　sun, moon

　　　　　'this sun, moon, month'.

n stem 405 = Spec:<u>pA</u> -- Base:<u>homobë</u>
　　　　　　　　this　　　　　spider

　　　　　'this spider'.

n stem 406 = Spec:<u>pA</u> -- Base:<u>tovina</u>
　　　　　　　　this　　　　　worm

　　　　　'this worm'.

n stem 407 = Spec:<u>pA</u> -- Base:<u>to</u>
　　　　　　　　this　　　　　occurrence

　　　　　'this occurrence'.

　　　　 = Spec:<u>pA</u> -- Base:<u>yo</u>
　　　　　　　　this　　　　　one

　　　　　'this one'.

n stem 501a = O:<u>hetsa</u> -- Base:<u>xae</u>
               corn   eat

            'corn eat'.

n stem 501b = Desc:<u>pehana</u> -- Base:<u>patsi</u>
               new   arrive

            'just arrive'.

n stem 502 = Cpd:<u>paraba</u> -- Base:<u>pihine</u>
              Paraba   man-of

            'resident of Paraba'.

          = Cpd:<u>nacua</u>   -- Base:<u>pijine</u>
              country   man-of

            'resident of the country'.

n stem 503 = Cpd:<u>huya</u>   -- Base:<u>pihine</u>
             in-turn   man-of

            'the youngest sibling'.

n stem 504 = Cpd:<u>ene</u>   --   Base:<u>pihine</u>
             intestine   dweller-of

            'intestinal worm'.

n stem 505 = Desc:<u>pexania</u> -- Base:<u>tane</u>
              good   hurt

            'real hot (as of hot peppers)'.

          = Quan:<u>kae</u> -- Base:<u>ponae</u>
              one   to-go

            'one trip'.

n stem 601 = Spec:<u>pA</u>   -- Base:<u>va</u>
             this   woman

            'this woman'.

n stem 602 = Spec:<u>pA</u>   -- Base:<u>monae</u>
             this   group

            'these people'.

n stem 603 = Spec:<u>pA</u>   -- Base:<u>menepihine</u>
             this   river-man-of

            'resident of this river'.

n stem 620a = Posd:<u>pE</u> -- Base:<u>rahutsi</u>
              his   giving

            'his giving'.

          = Posd:<u>tA</u> -- Base:<u>netoyotsi</u>
             my   for-me-to-raise-up

            'raised up for me'.

n stem 620b = Posd:<u>tA</u> -- Base:<u>katomataiTSI</u> -- Asp:<u>tsAYAbiabi</u>
             my   mix-for-you   repeatedly

            'I always mix it for you'.

n stem 630a = Posd:<u>tA</u> -- Base:<u>kahunatsi</u>
              my   you-to-call

             'I call you'.

n stem 630b = Posd:<u>NE</u>   -- Base:<u>horohorohaI</u> -- Asp:<u>tsAYAbiabi</u>
              your   snore   repeatedly

             'you always snore'.

n stem 650 = Posd:<u>pE</u> -- Base:<u>haI</u> -- Asp:<u>tsAYAbiabi</u>
             his   say   repeatedly

             'he always said'.

n stem 660a = Posd:<u>pE</u> -- Base:<u>toahibi</u> -- Asp:<u>tsAYAbiabi</u>
              his   for-absent   repeatedly

             'always was absent'.

n stem 660b = Posd:<u>pE</u> -- Base:<u>hiobi</u> -- Asp:<u>tsAponae</u>
              his   poor   continue

             'he continues suffering, being poorer and poorer'.

n stem 680 = Posd:<u>pE</u> -- Base:<u>kalia</u> -- Asp:<u>tsATAbi</u>
             his   carry   briefly

             'he carried it briefly'.

n stem 690 = Posd:<u>pE</u> -- Base:<u>lia</u> -- Asp:<u>tsAponae</u>
             his   go   continue

             'he continues to go'.

n stem 720a = Posd:<u>tA</u> -- Temp:<u>pua</u> -- Base:<u>rahutsi</u>
              my   when   give

             'when I gave'.

          = Posd:<u>NE</u> -- Temp:<u>pua</u> -- Base:<u>xainae</u>
              your   when   have

             'when you had'.

n stem 720b = Posd:<u>pE</u> -- Temp:<u>pua</u> -- Base:<u>katoiTSI</u>
             his   when   for-you-did

             'when he did it for you'.

n stem 730a = Posd:<u>pE</u> -- Temp:<u>pua</u> -- Base:<u>ponae</u>
             his   when   go

             'when he went'.

n stem 730b = Posd:<u>vAHA</u> -- Temp:<u>pua</u> -- Base:<u>aëaëhaI</u>
             our   when   cry

             'when we cried'.

n stem 750 = Posd:<u>pE</u> -- Temp:<u>pua</u> -- Base:<u>haI</u> -- Asp:<u>tsAYAbiabi</u>
             his   when   say   repeatedly

             'when he always said'.

n stem 760 = Posd:<u>pE</u> -- Temp:<u>pua</u> -- Base:<u>ahibi</u> -- Asp:<u>tsArukae</u>
             his   when   absent   was-hanging

             'when he was absent'.

n stem 780 = Posd:pE -- Temp:pua -- Base:katokalia --
                 his   when   for-you-carry

Asp:tsAYAbiabi
repeatedly

'when he always carried it for you'.

n stem 790 = Posd:tA -- Temp:pua -- Base:lia
                 my   when   go

'when I went'.

4.2.6 Noun core

The distribution of noun core 1-13 is as follows:

n core 1: O of vb stem 20a-b/30a; Base of n stem 101/201/301/401; Cpd of n stem 108;

n core 2: Base of vb core 42; O of vb core 61a-b/n stem 102/202/302/402; Cpd of n stem 108;

n core 3: Base of n stem 103/203/303/403; Cpd of n stem 108;

n core 4: O of vb stem 20a-b/40a/60bx/60by/vb core 61a-b; Base of n stem 104/107/207/307/404;

n core 5: Base of n stem 105/405; Cpd of n stem 101-103/201-203/207/301-307/401-406;

n core 6: Base of n stem 104-106/406/502-504;

n core 7: N1 of n 3101-3102/3104-3105; Cpd of n stem 107/n core 9/10; Base of n core 4/8;

n core 8: Base of n stem 108-109/208-209/308-309/n core 10;

n core 9: Base of n 4111-4115;

n core 10: Base of n theme 2330;

n core 11: Base of n core 5;

n core 12: Cpd of n stem 108; Base of n stem 310;

n core 13: Spec of vb 30d; Obj of n stem 501a.

4.2.6.1 Tagmemic noun core paradigm

n core 1 = { ±Cpd:n r 1-3 +Base:n r 1}

n core 2 = { ±(+Cpd:n r 1-3/9 ±Cpd₂:n r 1-3 ±Cpd₃:n r 7) +Base:n r 2}

n core 3 = { +Cpd:n r 1-3 +Base:n r 3}

n core 4 = { ±Cpd:n r 1-3/n r 9 Res +Base:n core 7}

n core 5 = { +Base:n r 4-6/n core 11/dir stem 6 ±Cpd:n r 7}

n core 6 = { +Cpd:2150 +Base:n r 8}

n core 7 = { ±Cpd:n r +Base:n r 7}

n core 8 = { +Cpd:2150 +Base:n core 7}

n core 9 = { +Base:pn 4 ±Cpd:n core 7}

n core 10 = { ±Cpd:n core 7 +Base:n r 8}

n core 11 = {+Cpd:red 1 +Base:n r 11 Res}

n core 12 = {+Base:n r 10 ±Cpd:n r 4 (hivi)}

n core 13 = {+Base:n r 4-6 ±Cpd:n r 1-3}

4.2.6.2 Citation noun core paradigm

n core 1 = Cpd:<u>kobe</u> -- Base:<u>kovë</u>
      <u>hand</u>   <u>print</u>

    'possessions'.

n core 2 = Cpd$_1$:<u>hume</u> -- Base:<u>baxu</u>
      <u>word</u>   <u>leaf</u>

    'page'.

    = Cpd$_1$:<u>humatabë</u> -- Base:<u>ëthë</u>
        <u>heart</u>   <u>pit</u>

    'heart'.

    = Cpd$_1$:<u>mata</u> -- Base:<u>na</u>
       <u>top</u>   <u>hair</u>

    'hair (of head)'.

    = Cpd$_1$:<u>kobe</u> -- Cpd$_2$:<u>si</u> -- Cpd$_3$:<u>kopia</u> -- Base:<u>boko</u>
       <u>hand</u>   <u>bone</u>   <u>end</u>   <u>peel</u>

    'finger-nail'.

    = Cpd$_1$:<u>muxu</u> -- Base:<u>yoro</u>
       <u>side</u>   <u>lobe</u>

    'earlobe'.

n core 3 = Cpd:<u>boko</u> -- Base:<u>monae</u>
      <u>skin</u>   <u>braid</u>

    'cord of hide'.

n core 4 = Cpd:<u>vënë</u> -- Base:<u>hava</u>
      <u>name</u>   <u>thing</u>

    'thing called'.

    = Cpd:<u>monae</u> -- Base:<u>viria</u>
       <u>group</u>   <u>class</u>

    'class of people, race of people'.

    = Cpd:<u>humatabë</u> -- Base:<u>kuene</u>
       <u>heart</u>   <u>matter</u>

    'thought, feeling'.

n core 5 = Base:<u>hiruhiru</u> -- Cpd:<u>monae</u>
      <u>fairy</u>   <u>group</u>

    'group of fairies'.

n core 6 = Cpd:<u>pihi</u> -- Base:<u>në</u>
      <u>its</u>   <u>fellow</u>

    'fellow of'.

n core 7 = Cpd:<u>kuene</u> -- Base:<u>hava</u>
                 matter   thing

      'kind of thing'.

n core 8 = Cpd:<u>pihi</u> -- Base:<u>hava</u>
                 its   thing

      'possession of'.

n core 9 = Base:<u>xua</u> -- Cpd:<u>hava</u>
                 this   thing

      'this thing'.

n core 10 = Cpd:<u>monae</u> -- Base:<u>ne</u>
                 group   man

      'one member of a group'.

     = Cpd:<u>monaeviria</u> -- Base:<u>ne</u>
                 group-race   man

      'one member of their race'.

n core 11 = Cpd:<u>hiru</u> -- Base:<u>hiru</u>
                 fairy   fairy

      'fairy'.

n core 12 = Base:<u>xenato</u> -- Cpd:<u>hivi</u>
                 son   people

      'sons'.

n core 13 = Base:<u>nava</u>   --   Cpd:<u>tsexe</u>
                 prairie-fire   smoke
      'smoke of a prairie fire'.

4.2.7 Noun roots

The distribution of noun roots is as follows:

n r 1: Spec of vb stem 20a/20c-e/30a/30c/40a-b/60ay/60by/80a-b/90a;
        0 of vb 60bx/60by/vb core 61a-b/n core 1; Base of vb core
        13; Cpd of n stem 208/308/504/n core 1-4; N1 of n 3101-
        3102/3104-3105;

n r 2: 0 of vb stem 20a-b/30b/60bx/60by/vb core 61a-b; Spec of 40a/
        90a; Cpd of n stem 208/308/504/n core 1-4; Base of n core 2;
        N1 of n 3101-3102/3104-3105;

n r 3: Cpd of stem 208/308/n core 1-4; Base of n core 3; N1 of n
        3101-3102/3104-3105;

n r 4: Base of vb core 42/n core 5/13; 0 of vb core 61a-b/n theme
        1140/n stem 204/304; Cpd of n stem 502; N1 of n 3101-3102/
        3104-3105;

n r 5: 0 of vb core 61a-b; Base of n stem 105/205/305/n core 5/13;
        N1 of n 3101-3102/3104-3105;

n r 6: Base of n stem 206/306/n core 5/13; N1 of n 3101-3102/
        3104-3105;

n r 7: 0 of vb stem 30a-b; Base of n stem 407/n core 7; Cpd of n
        core 2/5/7;

n r 8:   Pers of n 3101-3102/3104-3105; Base of n theme 2130/n stem 407/n core 6;

n r 9:   0 of vb core 61a-b; Cpd of n core 2;

n r 10: Base of n theme 2350/n core 12;

n r 11: Base of vb core 42/n 1101-1105/n theme 2110;

n r 12: Base of n stem 110/407; Cpd of n stem 208;

n r 13: 0 of vb stem 20a-b.

4.2.7.1 Sample of inventory

n r 1 = kobe 'hand';
         taxu 'foot'.

n r 2 = si 'bone';
         vi 'flesh'.

n r 3 = monae 'braid'.

n r 4 = bo 'house';
         hera 'canoe'.

n r 5 = homobë 'spider';
         ene 'wasp'.

n r 6 = tovina 'worm'.

n r 7 = hava 'thing';
         nakueto 'offspring';
         kuene 'matter, thing, manner';
         kopia 'end';
         kuihiru 'matter'.

n r 8 = në 'Masc';
         va 'Fem';
         vi 'Pl, Masc or Fem'. (See affix 2140)

n r 9 = mata 'elder, top';
         humatabe 'heart';
         ve 'neck';
         muxu 'ear, side'.

n r 10 = xënato 'son';
         IApaxa 'son-in-law';
         ena 'mother'.

n r 11 = vovai 'blanco';
         hiru 'fairy';
         deha 'Piapoco';
         sikuani 'Guahibo Indian';
         duhuai 'fish'.

n r 12 = xi 'off-springs';
         yo 'one';
         to 'occurrences, object';
         mo 'vehicle'.

n r 13 = mitsa 'food'.

4.2.8 Subassembly of affixes

The subassembly of affixes, string 1-11, distribute as follows:

string   1: L of n 1104/1204/1304/1404; string 1a:L of n 2104/2204/
            2304/dir 2-4;

string   2: L of n 1104/1204/1304/1404/2104/2204/2304/dir 3-5;

string   3: L of n 1104/1204/1304/dir 3-4; string 3a:L of 3124/
            3134/3154/3164a/4114/4124/4134;

string   4: L of n 3164a/4114/4124/4134;

string   5: L of n 2204/3164a/4114/4124/4134;

string   6: L of n 3164a/4114/4124/4134;

string   7: L of dir 5;

string   8: L of dir 7;

string   9: L of ig 23;

string 10: L of n 3124/3134/3154;

string 11: L of n 2103.

4.2.8.1 Inventory of tagmemes

string   1a = (+L:2331 +L-D:2340 +Dir:2360)

string   1b = (+L:2332 +L-D:2340 +Dir:2360)

string   2 = (+L:2331 +L-D:2351 ±Dir:2360)

string   3a = (+L-D:2351 ±Dir:2360)

string   3b = (+L-D:2352 ±Dir:2360)

string   4 = (±L:2331 +L-D:2351 ±Dir:2360)

string   5 = (+L:2331 +L-D:2340 +Dir:2360)

string   6 = (+L:2332 ±Dir:2360)

string   7 = (+L:2332 +Dir:2360)

string   8 = (+L-D:2341 +Dir:2361/2363/2365)

string   9 = (+L:2331 +L-D:2351 +Dir:2360)

string 10 = (+L:2331 +L-D:2340 ±Dir:2360)

string 11 = (+L:2331 ±L-D:2341 +Dir:2361)

4.2.9 Noun affix

2110 Singular - Plural suffix
     2111 -Ane Plural
     2112 -to Singular
     2113 -bo Singular
     2114 -Ø Plural

2120 Size
     2121 -yo Singular diminuative, Endearment
     2122 -yaheto Augmentative (low-degree)
     2123 -xaneto Augmentative (high-degree)
     2124 -xi Plural diminuative

2130 Tense
   -mE 'formerly'.

2140 Gender - classification
   2141 -ne Masc
   2142 -va Fem
   2143 -Avi Pl, masc or fem.(See n r 8)

2150 Possessor inanimate
   -pihi

2210 Possessor (Non-Intimate)
   2211 taha- First person
   2212 niha- Second person
   2213 vaha- First person inclusive plural
   2214 piha- Third person

2220 Possessor (Intimate)
   2221 tA- First person
   2222 NE- Second person
   2223 vAHA- First person plural inclusive
   2224 pE- Third person

2230 Descriptive
   2231 pibisia- 'bad, ugly'.
   2232 tsikiri- 'small'.
   2233 peruhu- 'old'.
   2234 pinihi- 'large'.
   2235 pexania- 'good, pretty'.
   2236 pehana- 'new, young'.
   2237 pekunua- 'medium-size'.

The diminuative 2121/2124 manifesting the Size or Dim tagmeme
obligatorily cooccurs with the prefix 2232.

2240 Quantitative
   2241 aniha- 'two'.
   2242 kae- 'one'.
   2243 nahua- 'pair'.
   2244 itsa- 'other'.
   2245 aye- 'large'.
   2246 daxita 'all'. (See pn 5)

2250 Qualifier
   2251 e- 'only, pure'.
   2252 be- 'like a'.
   2253 pepo- 'true, real'.

2260 Specifier
   pA-

2310 Instr-Accom
   -ta

2320 Purpose
   2321 -nexa 'for'.
   2322 -xae 'because of'.
   2323 -yaniva 'in order not to'.
   2324 -ta Frust
   2325 -neheva 'without'.
   2326 -hitsia 'for, in order to'.

2330 Locative
    2331 -hava 'place'.
    2332 -Ya 'via'.

2340 Locative - Direction
    2341 -ve/ve- 'from'.
    2342 -be/be- 'towards'.

    The suffix class 2340 occurring with vb radical 90 is a prefix.
    See vb 81c/91c and dir stem 2.

2350 Spacial Relation
    2351 -ta 'in'.
    2352 -vekua 'away from'. (See dir r 8)

2360 Direction
    2361 -lia 'to the north, to the south'.
    2362 -rena 'from the north, from the south'.
    2363 -tsia 'to the west, upward'.
    2364 -tsika 'from the west, from above'.
    2365 -reka 'to the east, downward'.
    2366 -tsina 'from the east, from below'. (See vb rad 90)

4.3 The time word

    The distribution of the time word 1-6 is as follows:

    t 1:T of Mar C-E; H of N 32;

    t 2/6:H of N 32;

    t 3/5:H of N 33;

    t 4:H of N 31a/Ig 2.

4.3.1 Tagmemic time word paradigm

    t 1 = {+Base:t r 1 $\pm$Ad^2:1170}

    t 2 = {+Base:t stem 1-2 +Temp:t stem 3-4/t r 3-6/n r 4 Res $\pm$Size:
        2121-2122 $\pm$Ad^2:1170}

    t 3 = {+Posd:2220 +Base:t stem 3-5 $\pm$Size:2121-2122 $\pm$Ad^2:1170}

    t 4 = {+Spec:2260 +Base:t stem 6/t r 3/5 $\pm$Ad^2:1170}

    t 5 = {+Posd:2220 +Base:t r 4 +Temp:t stem 4 Res $\pm$Ad^2:1170}

    t 6 = {+Quan:2244 +Spec:2331 +Base:t r 6}

4.3.2 Citation time word paradigm

    t 1 = Base:abaxë   --   Ad:ata
                still, yet   even

    'even yet'.

    t 2 = Base:bahaya -- Temp:hebi   --   Size:yahëto
                long-ago   duration   slightly

    'for a rather long time'.

    t 3 = Posd:vAHA -- Base:vahënaeya -- Size:yahëto   -- Ad:nua
             our   before   slightly   also

    'a short while before our time also'.

t 4 = Spec:<u>pA</u>   -- Base:<u>kuihinae</u>
         this   after

      'after this'.

t 5 = Posd:<u>pE</u> -- Base:<u>vahënae</u> -- Temp:<u>hebita</u>
        his   before   duration-in

      'during the time before him'.

t 6 = Quan:<u>itsa</u> -- Spec:<u>hava</u> -- Base:<u>ta</u>
         other   place   at

      'at another time'.

4.3.3 Time word stem

The distribution of the time word stem 1-6 is as follows:

t stem 1-2: Base of t 2;

t stem 3: Temp of t 2; Base of t 3;

t stem 4: T of n 1003/4113; Temp of t 2; Base of t 3/5;

t stem 5: Base of t 3;

t stem 6: Base of t 4.

4.3.3.1 Tagmemic time word stem paradigm

t stem 1 = {+Base:t r 2 +Temp:t r 6 }

t stem 2 = {+Base:part 12 +Temp:6110 ±Dim:2121}

t stem 3 = {+Base:t r 4 +Temp:6110/t r 6}

t stem 4 = {+Spec:t r 3-4/2331 +Base:t r (5/6) A.S.}

t stem 5 = {+Base:dir r 3 (pë) +Temp:6110}

t stem 6 = {+Base:dir r 3 (epato) +Cpd:t r 3}

4.3.3.2 Citation time word stem paradigm

t stem 1 = Base:<u>ima</u>   --   Temp:<u>ta</u>
               long-ago   at

        'long ago'.

t stem 2 = Base:<u>baha</u> -- Temp:<u>ya</u>   --   Dim:<u>yo</u>
               Def   temporal   little

        'some time ago'.

t stem 3 = Base:<u>vahënae</u> -- Temp:<u>ya</u>
               before   Temp

        'before'.

t stem 4 = Spec:<u>hebi</u>   --   Base:<u>kuihinae</u>
               duration   after

        'after a duration of time'.

t stem 5 = Base:pë   --   Temp:ya
              after   Temp

        'after'.

t stem 6 = Base:epato -- Cpd:hebi
              piece   duration

        'for a time'.

4.3.4 Inventory of time word roots

The following are considered as roots. Some of the longer forms
are probably roots with derived affixes which no longer may be
recognized.

    t r 1 = abaxë 'still, yet';
            aekonoxae 'in a little while';
            parukae 'at this time';
            matapania 'until now'.
    t r 2 = ima 'long ago'.
    t r 3 = hebi 'duration'.
    t r 4 = vahënae 'before'.
    t r 5 = kuihinae 'after'.
    t r 6 = ta 'at'.

The time roots 1-6 distribute as follows:

t r 1: Base of t 1;

t r 2: Base of t stem 1;

t r 3: Temp of t 2; Base of t 4; Spec of t stem 4; Cpd of t stem 6;

t r 4: M of vb core 21; T of 2203/2303/4113/4123/4133; Temp of t 2;
       Base of t stem 3; Spec of t stem 4;

t r 5: T of n 1003/2003/3103/4103; Temp of t 2; Base of t 4/t stem 4;

t r 6: T of n 2203; Base of t 6; Temp of t 2/t stem 1/4.

4.3.5 The time affix

6110 -ya Temp formative

4.4 The direction word

The distribution of the direction word 1-7 is as follows:

dir 1: L of Mar D; H of Vb 61/N 41a;

dir 2: L of Mar D-E; H of N 41a;

dir 3: L of Mar D; H of N 41a/43;

dir 4: L of Mar D; H of N 41b;

dir 5: H of N 41a/Ig 4; M of vb core 21;

dir 6: H of N 41a/Ig 4;

dir 7: H of N 41b.

4.4.1 Tagmemic direction word paradigm

The optional Dim tagmeme may follow the L tagmeme when it is manifested by affix 2360.

dir 1 = {+Neg:1340 +Desc:2232 +Obl:1320 +Base:dir stem 2 ±Dim:
2121-2122}

dir 2 = {+Neg:1340 +Qual:2252 +Base:dir stem 1/3/adv stem 5
(rovia)/dir r 8 ±Dim:2121-2122 ±L:string 1a/2360}

dir 3 = {±Neg:1340 +Posd:2220 +Base:dir stem 4-6 ±L:string 1-3/2330}

dir 4 = {±Neg:1340 +Quan:2240 +Base:dir stem 4-5/dir r 4 Res
±L:string 1-3/2330}

dir 5 = {±Neg:1340 +Spec:2260 +Base:dir stem 4 Res/5/dir r 5
±L:string 2/7/2330}

dir 6 = {+Base:dir r 6 ±Dir:2360 ±Ad^2:1170}

dir 7 = {±Neg:1340 ±Desc:2232 +Base:dir r 7 +Dim:2121/L:string 1b
Res/8}

4.4.2 Citation direction word paradigm

dir 1 = Desc:<u>tsikiri</u> -- Obl:<u>be</u>   -- Base:<u>belia</u>   --
            little   must   toward-the-north

        Dim:<u>yo</u>
            little

        'over there a little further'.

dir 2 = Qual:<u>be</u>   -- Base:<u>tahë</u> -- L:<u>reka</u>   --   Dim:<u>vahëto</u>
            seems   far   to-the-east   a-little

        'it seems rather **far**'.

      = Neg:<u>apo</u> -- Base:<u>vekua</u>   -- Dim:<u>vahëto</u>
            not   away-from   a-little

        'not a little way off from'.

dir 3 = Posd:<u>pE</u> -- Base:<u>bëxëpana</u> -- L:<u>havatalia</u>
            its   beneath   place-in-to-the-north

        'over there in the place underneath'.

      = Posd:<u>pE</u> -- Base:<u>pë</u>   -- L:<u>ta</u>
            his   behind   in

        'with him'.

dir 4 = Quan:<u>itsa</u> -- Base:<u>pana</u> -- L:<u>belia</u>
            other   side   toward-to-the-north

        'the other side there'.

dir 5 = Spec:<u>pA</u>   -- Base:<u>raetu</u> -- L:<u>Yareka</u>
            this   route   through-to-the-east

        'this way'.

      = Spec:<u>pA</u>   -- Base:<u>tuatuahë</u> -- L:<u>havabelia</u>
            this   middle   place-toward-to-the-north

        'this place in the middle'.

dir 6 = Base:<u>hota</u> -- Dir:<u>reka</u>   --   Ad:<u>ata</u>
         place   to-the-east   even

     'even here'.

dir 7 = Base:<u>pemutu</u>   --   L:<u>Yabereka</u>
         down-river   via-toward-east

     'down-river to the east'.

4.4.3 Direction word stem

The distribution of the direction word stem 1-6 is as follows:

dir stem 1: Base of dir 2/pur 2;

dir stem 2: H of Ig 4; Base of dir 1/rel 5/pur 2;

dir stem 3: Base of vb core 22/dir 2/pur 2;

dir stem 4: Pos of n 1004/2004/3104/4104; Base of dir 3-4;

dir stem 5: Pos of n 1004/2004/3104/4104; Base of dir 3-5;

dir stem 6: M of vb core 61a-b; Pos of n 1004/2004/3104/4104;
           Base of n core 5/dir 3.

4.4.3.1 Tagmemic direction word stem paradigm

dir stem 1 = { +Base:dir r 1}

dir stem 2 = { +L-D:2340 +Base:vb rad 90}

dir stem 3 = { +Base:prox +Dim:2121}

dir stem 4 = { +Base:dir r 3}

dir stem 5 = { +Spec:n r 9 (mata)/n r 1 (muxu, bëxë) +Base:dir r 4
        A.S.}

dir stem 6 = { +Cpd:red 4 +Base:dir r 2}

4.4.3.2 Citation direction word stem paradigm

dir stem 1 = Base:<u>tahë</u>
           far

     'far'.

dir stem 2 = L-D:<u>be</u>   --   Base:<u>lia</u>
           toward   north or south

     'toward the north or south'.

dir stem 3 = Base:<u>imoxo</u> -- Dim:<u>yo</u>
          near   little

     'near'.

dir stem 4 = Base:<u>kanakuihitsi</u>
           adjacent

     'adjacent'.

dir stem 5 = Spec:<u>mata</u> -- Base:<u>tsënë</u>
           top   over

     'over'.

```
dir stem 6 = Cpd:tua          --        Base:tuahë
            via-the-middle            via-the-middle
            'inside, between, center'.
```

4.4.4 Direction word roots

The distribution of direction word roots 1-8 is as follows:

dir r 1: Base of dir stem 1;

dir r 2: Base of dir stem 6;

dir r 3: Base of dir stem 4;

dir r 4: Base of dir stem 5;

dir r 5: Base of dir 5;

dir r 6: Base of dir 6/rel 4;

dir r 7: Base of dir 7;

dir r 8: Base of dir 2.

4.4.4.1 Inventory of direction word roots

dir r 1 = tahë 'far'.

dir r 2 = tuahë 'central'.

dir r 3 = pënë 'behind, side';
    epato 'middle';
    huma 'dorsal';
    itapa 'front';
    kanakuihitsi 'adjacent';
    boxo 'surface';
    pe 'behind'.

dir r 4 = tu 'middle, sagittal';
    tsënë 'over';
    bërë 'border';
    pana 'thin flat object, opposite side of a river';
    nene 'side'.

dir r 5 = raetu 'route'.

dir r 6 = hota 'place'.

dir r 7 = pemuto 'down-river';
    vaë 'up-river'.

dir r 8 = vekua 'away from'. (See affix 2352)

4.5 The aspect word

The distribution of the aspect word 1-6 is as follows:

asp 1: Asp of VB 54-55/64-65/76/81c/84-85/91c/94-95;

asp 2: Asp of VB 51/61/63/81a-b/91a-b;

asp 3: Asp of VB 78;

asp 4: Asp of VB 58/68/88/98;

asp 5: Asp of VB 53/83/93;

asp 6: Asp of VB 73.

4.5.1 Tagmemic aspect word paradigm

asp 1 = {+Base:asp stem +Dual:1160}

asp 2 = {+Base:asp stem ±(S:1221/1223)/Focus:1152 +Dual:1160}

asp 3 = {+Base:asp stem +Subj:1171}

asp 4 = {+Base:asp stem +Subj:1171 ±(S:1221/1223)/Focus:1152
       +Dual:1160}

asp 5 = {+Base:asp stem +Antic:1230 +Dual:1160}

asp 6 = {+Base:asp stem +Antic:1230}

4.5.2 Citation aspect word paradigm

asp 1 = Base:tsAponaYAbiabYekae -- Dual:behe
              go-repeatedly-sit   two

    'the two continue'.

asp 2 = Base:tsAponae -- S:NЁ
              go   I

    'continue'.

asp 3 = Base:tsAnukae -- Subj:ata
              stand   even-though

    'even though is'.

asp 4 = Base:tsAYAbiabi -- Subj:ata   --   Focus:tsi   --
              repeatedly   even-though   Focus

Dual:behe
       two

    'even though the two are always'.

asp 5 = Base:tsAponae -- Antic:hitsia   -- Dual:behe
              go   going-to   two

    'the two continue'.

asp 6 = Base:tsAnukae -- Antic:hitsia
              stand   going-to

    'going to be'.

4.5.3 Aspect word stem

The aspect word stem distributes in Asp of n theme 1140/n stem 620b/
630b/650-660/680-690/720b/730b; Base of asp 1-6.

4.5.3.1 Formula aspect word stem

asp stem = {+Base:asp r +(+Speed:1410 ±Asp$_1$:1420/vb r 31b)/(±(Asp$_2$)^3;
       1420/vb r 31b)}

4.5.3.2 Example of aspect stem

asp stem = Base:$\underset{\text{Asp}}{\underline{\text{tsA}}}$ -- Asp$_1$:$\underset{\text{go}}{\underline{\text{pona}}}$ -- Asp$_2$:$\underset{\text{repeatedly}}{\underline{\text{YAbiab}}}$ -- Asp$_2$:$\underset{\text{sit}}{\underline{\text{Yekae}}}$

    'continue repeatedly'.

4.5.4 Inventory of aspect word root

asp r = tsA

4.6 The tense word

The distribution of tense word 1-5 is as follows:

tense 1: Tense of Vb 71/77/81c/91c/N 38;

tense 2: Tense of Vb 17/27/37/47/51/61/81a-b/91a-b;

tense 3: Tense of Vb 78;

tense 4: Tense of Vb 58/68/88/98;

tense 5: Tense of Vb 01-03/06-08.

4.6.1 Tagmemic tense word paradigm

tense 1 = {+Base:tense r 1}

tense 2 = {+Base:tense r 1 ±(S:1221/1223)/Focus:1152 +Dual:1160}

tense 3 = {+Base:tense r 1 +Subj:1171}

tense 4 = {+Base:tense r 1 +Subj:1171 ±(S:1221/1223)/Focus:1152
       ±Dual:1160}

tense 5 = {+Base:tense r 2}

4.6.2 Citation tense word paradigm

tense 1 = Base:$\underset{\text{will}}{\underline{\text{tsane}}}$

       'will'.

tense 2 = Base:$\underset{\text{will}}{\underline{\text{tsane}}}$ -- Focus:$\underset{\text{Focus}}{\underline{\text{tsi}}}$ -- Dual:$\underset{\text{two}}{\underline{\text{behe}}}$

       'will'.

tense 3 = Base:$\underset{\text{would-have}}{\underline{\text{tsipae}}}$ -- Subj:$\underset{\text{even-though}}{\underline{\text{ata}}}$

       'even though it would have'.

tense 4 = Base:$\underset{\text{will}}{\underline{\text{tsane}}}$ -- Subj:$\underset{\text{even-though}}{\underline{\text{ata}}}$ S:$\underset{\text{I}}{\underline{\text{NË}}}$ -- Dual:$\underset{\text{two}}{\underline{\text{behe}}}$

       'even though the two of us will'.

tense 5 = Base:$\underline{\text{pikani}}$

       Past action with frustrated purpose

4.6.3 Inventory tense word roots

tense r 1 = <u>tsane</u> Future
<u>tsipae</u> Conditional

tense r 2 = <u>pikani</u> Past action with frustrated purpose

4.7 The relator word

The distribution of the relator word 1-5 is as follows:

rel 1: H of Rel 102a;

rel 2: H of Rel 104;

rel 3: H of Rel 105/Cond;

rel 4-5: H of Rel 103a;

rel 6: H of Rel 102a;

rel 7: H of Rel 106.

4.7.1 Tagmemic relator word paradigm

rel 1 = {+Base:rel r 1}

rel 2 = {+Base:rel r 2}

rel 3 = {+Base:rel r 3/5}

rel 4 = {+Rel:rel r 3 +Base:dir r 6}

rel 5 = {+Rel:rel r 3 +Base:n 4114/dir stem 2}

rel 6 = {+Posd:2224 +Base:rel r 6}

rel 7 = {+Base:rel r 4}

4.7.2 Citation relator word paradigm

rel 1 = Base:<u>ahena</u>
just-as

'just as'.

rel 2 = Base:<u>tsipahi</u>
because

'because'.

rel 3 = Base:<u>itsa</u>
if-when

'if, when'.

= Base:<u>itakareheta</u>
interrupted

'interrupted'.

rel 4 = Rel:<u>itsa</u> -- Base:<u>hota</u>
when   place

'where, when'.

= Base:<u>hota</u>
place

'here, place'.

rel 5 = Rel:<u>itsa</u> -- Base:<u>xuaya</u>
        when   that-way

    'when that way'.

    = Rel:<u>itsa</u> -- Base:<u>belia</u>
         when   toward-the-north-or-south

    'when in that direction'.

rel 6 = Posd:<u>pE</u>   --   Base:<u>pua</u>
           his   when

    'when'.

rel 7 = Base:<u>tsiboko</u>
           as

    'as'.

4.7.3 The relator root

The relator root distributes in the Base of the relator word except for rel r 6 which also distributes in Temp of n stem 700.

4.7.3.1 The relator root inventory

rel r 1 = <u>ahena</u> 'the instant'.

rel r 2 = <u>tsipahi</u> 'because'.

rel r 3 = <u>itsa</u> 'if, when'.

rel r 4 = <u>tsiboko</u> 'as'.

rel r 5 = <u>itakareheta</u> 'interrupted'.

rel r 6 = <u>pua</u> 'when'.

4.8 The adverb word

The distribution of the adverb word 1-7 is as follows:

adv 1: M of Mar D-E; H of N 38 Adv 2; Ap of Adv 3;

adv 2-3: M of Mar D-E; H of Adv 2; Ap of Adv 3;

adv 4/7: H of Adv 2;

adv 5: H of Adv 1/Ig 1;

adv 6: H of Adv 4.

4.8.1 Tagmemic adverbial paradigm

adv 1 = {+Base:adv stem 1/4-5/7-10/15}

adv 2 = {+Neg:1340 +Qual:2252 +Base:adv stem 2-3/6/16-17
    +Dim:2121-2122}

adv 3 = {+Base:adv stem 5/7a Res/7b/9 Res/12/17 +Adv 1:6311}

adv 4 = {+Neg:1340 +Pl:1310 +Base:adv stem 13 +Dual:1160}

adv 5 = {+Base:n stem 207(pAkuene) +Adv1$_1$:6311 +Adv1$_2$:6312}

adv 6 = {+Neg:1340 +Base:adv 5}

adv 7 = {+Neg:1340 +Pl:1310 +Posd:2220 +Base:adv stem 18
    +Focus:1152 +Dual:1160}

4.8.2 Citation adverbial paradigm

adv 1 = Base:<u>ikatsia</u>
              again

        'again'.

adv 2 = Neg:<u>apo</u> -- Base:<u>apaaxayo</u> -- Dim:<u>vaheto</u>
             not   a-lot   sort-of

        'not a large amount'.

adv 3 = Base:<u>bareYa</u> -- Advl:<u>Ya</u>
              happily   Advl

        'happily'.

adv 4 = pl:<u>pa</u> -- Base:<u>nihakuata</u> -- Dual:<u>behe</u>
           Pl   alone-by-yourself   two

        'the two of you by yourselves'.

adv 5 = Base:<u>pAkueni</u> -- Advl$_1$:<u>Ya</u> -- Advl$_2$:<u>ta</u>
             this-matter   Advl   Advl

        'in this manner'.

adv 6 = Neg:<u>apo</u> -- Base:<u>pAkueniYa</u>
             not   this-manner

        'not in this manner'.

adv 7 = Posd:<u>pE</u> -- Base:<u>humaiTSIkueniYa</u> -- Focus:<u>tsi</u>
             his   say-manner-Advl   Focus

        'in the manner he was told'.

4.8.3 Adverb stem

The distribution of the adverb stem 1-18 is as follows:

adv stem 1/10/15: Base of adv 1;

adv stem 2: Base of adv 2;

adv stem 3: Base of vb 60a/n 3163ax/3165a/4125/adv 2/ad stem 10;

adv stem 4: Base of vb 60a/adv 1/adv stem 10; M of vb core 21;

adv stem 5: Base of vb 60a/adv 1/3/6/adv stem 10;

adv stem 6: M of vb core 21; Base of adv 2;

adv stem 7a: Base of vb 60a/adv 1/adv stem 10/n 3162a/3163ax/3165a;

adv stem 7b: Base of vb 60a/adv 1/adv stem 10/n 4125/adv 3;

adv stem 8: Base of vb 60a/n 3162a/3163ax/3165a/adv 1;

adv stem 9: M of vb core 21/31; Base of adv 1;

adv stem 11: M of vb core 21;

adv stem 12: Base of adv 3;

adv stem 13: Base of n 4135/adv 4;

adv stem 14: M of vb core 31/ad stem 10; Advl of adv stem 19;

adv stem 16: Base of adv 2/adv stem 10;

adv stem 17: Base of adv 2-3/adv stem 10;

adv stem 18: Base of adv 7.

4.8.3.1 Tagmemic adverb stem paradigm

adv stem 1 = {+Base:adv r 1/adv r 11 (kopia)/n theme
(1110-1130/2110-2150) Res +Advl:6311}

adv stem 2 = {+Base:adv r 2 +Advl:6312}

adv stem 3/7b = {+Base:adv r 3/7b +Advl:6313}

adv stem 4 = {+Base:adv r 4}

adv stem 5-6/7a/8b = {+Base:adv r 5-6/7a/8b +Advl:6311}

adv stem 8a = {+Base:adv r 8a +Advl:6312}

adv stem 9 = {+Base:vb core 10/20/30/62-64/92-93 +Advl:6311}

adv stem 10 = {+Spec:adv stem 3-5/6 Res/7/16-17 +Base:
adv stem 14}

adv stem (A)11/(B)16/(C)17 = {+Base:adv r (A)10/(B)11/(C)12
+Advl:6311}

adv stem 12 = {+Cons:1570 +Base:n r 4 Res}

adv stem 13 = {+Posd:2210 +Base:adv r 9 +Advl:6312}

adv stem 14 = {+Base:n r 7 (kuene) +Advl:6311}

adv stem 15 = {+Posd:2214 +Base:adv r 9 +Advl:6314}

adv stem 18 = {+Base:vb core 10-40/62-64/70-90 +Advl:
adv stem 14}

4.8.3.2 Citation adverb stem paradigm

adv stem 1 = Base:hu   -- Advl:Ya
                in-turn   Advl

        'in turn'.

    = Base:kopia -- Advl:Ya
           first   Advl

        'first'.

    = Base:pexaniahumatabëkueni -- Advl:Ya
           good-heart-thing   Advl

        'in a good thoughtful manner'.

adv stem 2 = Base:bihia   -- Advl:ta
                poorly   Advl

        'poorly'.

adv stem 3 = Base:apaaxa -- Advl:yo
                lots   Advl

        'lots'.

adv stem 4 = Base:bitso
                much

        'much'.

adv stem 5 = Base:barë̈   -- Advl:Ya
                   happily   Advl
           'happily'.

adv stem 6 = Base:tsikue   --   Advl:Ya
                   completely   Advl
           'completely'.

adv stem 7a = Base:mo   --   Advl:Ya
                   silently   Advl
           'silently'.

adv stem 7b = Base:beaxa   -- Advl:yo
                   slowly   Advl
           'slowly'.

adv stem 8a = Base:yahe   -- Advl:ta
                   scarce   Advl
           'small amount'.

adv stem 8b = Base:xani -- Advl:Ya
                   well   Advl
           'well, carefully'.

adv stem 9 = Base:saikae   -- Advl:Ya
                   separate   Advl
           'independently'.

adv stem 10 = Spec:bitso -- Base:kueniYa
                   much   manner
           'in great manner'.

adv stem 11 = Base:yai   --   Advl:Ya
                   respectfully   Advl
           'respectfully'.

adv stem 12 = Cons:ya   -- Base:livaisi
                   Cons   story
           'with tales'.

adv stem 13 = Posd:niha -- Base:kua   -- Advl:ta
                   your   alone   Advl
           'alone by yourself'.

adv stem 14 = Base:kueni -- Advl:Ya
                   thing   Advl
           'manner'.

adv stem 15 = Posd:piha -- Base:kua   -- Advl:xae
                   his   alone   because
           'fortunately'.

adv stem 16 = Base:anae   -- Advl:Ya
                   angry   Advl
           'angrily'.

adv stem 17 = Base:<u>muestsi</u>   -- Advl:<u>Ya</u>
                    secretly   Advl

                    'secretly'.

adv stem 18 = Base:<u>humaiTSI</u> -- Advl:<u>kueniYa</u>
                    said   manner

                    'in the manner said'.

4.8.4 Adverb root

    The adv roots distribute in the adv stem except for adv r 11
which also distributes in M of vb core 21.

4.8.4.1 Adverb root inventory

adv r 1 = <u>hu</u> 'in turn';
          <u>pihini</u> 'likewise';
          <u>ikatsi</u> 'again';
          <u>beli</u> 'immediately';
          <u>kaevë</u> 'on the return trip'.

adv r 2 = <u>mue</u> 'secretly';
          <u>hema</u> 'suddenly';
          <u>bihia</u> 'poorly';
          <u>itsia</u> 'nevertheless';
          <u>pene</u> 'as a sign'.

adv r 3 = <u>apaaxa</u> 'lots'.

adv r 4 = <u>bitso</u> 'much'.

adv r 5 = <u>barë</u> 'happily';
          <u>bepihi</u> 'rapidly';
          <u>rovi</u> 'directly';
          <u>imasi</u> 'secretly, alone'.

adv r 6 = <u>tsikue</u> 'completely';
          <u>humapi</u> 'apparently'.

adv r 7a = <u>amone</u> 'owe';
          <u>mo</u> 'silently';
          <u>hamatehema</u> 'well'. (This morpheme, which is con-
                                 sidered a root, was probably
                                   formerly inflected.)

adv r 7b = <u>beaxa</u> 'slowly'.

adv r 8a = <u>yahe</u> 'scarce'.

adv r 8b = <u>xani</u> 'carefully'.

adv r 9 = <u>kua</u> 'alone'.

adv r 10 = <u>tsoni</u> 'pity';
          <u>yai</u> 'respectfully';
          <u>biha</u> 'scoldingly'.

adv r 11 = <u>kopia</u> 'first';
          <u>anae</u> 'angrily';
          <u>sa</u> 'uselessly'.

adv r 12 = <u>muetsi</u> 'secretly'.

4.8.5 The adverb affix

6311 -Ya Adverbalizer
6312 -ta Adverbalizer
6313 -yo Adverbalizer
6314 -xae Adverbalizer

4.9 The interrogative word

The distribution of the interrogative word 11-25 is as follows:

ig 11: Ig of Ig 1-4/7/9/13/21-22;

ig 12: Ig of Ig 5/8/14; H of Ig 12;

ig 13: Ig of Cl 02-03; H of Ig 31;

ig 14: H of Ig 31;

ig 15: Ig of Cl 03; H of Ig 31-32;

ig 16: Ig of Ig 15;

ig 21/24: H of Ig 12;

ig 22: H of Ig 22;

ig 23: H of Ig 6;

ig 25: H of Ig 10.

4.9.1 Tagmemic interrogative word paradigm

ig 10 = {+Base:ig r}
ig 21 = {+Base:ig 12 +S:1222}
ig 22 = {+Base:ig 12 +Instr-Ac:2310}
ig 23 = {+Base:ig 12 +L:string 9}
ig 24 = {+Base:ig 12 +L:string 1a Res}
ig 25 = {+Base:ig 12 +Pur:2321}

4.9.2 Citation interrogative word paradigm

4.9.2.1 Citation interrogative word 10 paradigm

The fillers that manifest the Base tagmene ig 10 are treated as roots. They are probably roots with derived affixes which no longer may be recognized. The words of ig 10 are divided into emic classes on the basis of distribution. They are the following:

ig 11 = detsaMË 'how, what?'.

ig 12 = hipatsa 'who?'.

ig 13 = tsikaena 'is it not true?'.

ig 14 = pinaena 'is not the statement true?'.

ig 15 = <u>tsaHA</u> 'is it not?'

ig 16 = <u>dera</u> 'what?'.

4.9.2.2 Citation interrogative word 20 paradigm

ig 21 = Base:<u>hipatsa</u> -- S:<u>më</u>
         who   you

    'who are you?'.

ig 22 = Base:<u>hipatsa</u> -- Instr-Ac:<u>ta</u>
         who   with

    'with whom?'.

ig 23 = Base:<u>hipatsa</u> -- L:<u>havatalia</u>
         who   place-in-east

    'at whose place?'.

ig 24 = Base:<u>hipatsa</u> -- L:<u>havabelia</u>
         who   place-toward-north

    'to whom?'.

ig 25 = Base:<u>hipatsa</u> -- Pur:<u>nexa</u>
         who   for

    'for whom?'.

4.10 The purpose word

    The distribution of the purpose word is as follows:

pur 1-2: H of N 51b;

pur 3: Pur of N 58.

4.10.1 Tagmemic purpose word paradigm

pur 1 = {+Pl:1310 +Posd:2220 +Instr:1510 +Base:vb core
    62A Res}

pur 2 = {+Qual:2250 +Base:dir stem 1-3 +Pur:2320}

pur 3 = {+Pur:1570 +Base:pur r/n core 6 (pihivi)/n r 4 (hivi)}

4.10.2 Citation purpose word paradigm

pur 1 = Posd:<u>pE</u> -- Instr:<u>ka</u> -- Base:<u>ake</u>
         his   Instr   be cold

    'due to his being cold'.

    = Posd:<u>pE</u> -- Instr:<u>ka</u> -- Base:<u>afaetabi</u>
          his   Instr   be-lazy

    'due to his laziness'.

pur 2 = Base:<u>imoxoyo</u> -- Pur:<u>nexa</u>
         close   for

    'in order to be close'.

pur 3 = Pur:<u>ya</u>   --   Base:<u>bara</u>
          Cons   about

     'due to, because of'.

    = Pur:<u>ya</u>   --   Base:<u>pihivi</u>
          Cons   their-people

     'due to being a relative'.

4.10.3 The purpose root sample of inventory

pur r = <u>bara</u> 'about'. (See affix 1555)

4.11 The exclamatory word

The exclamatory word distributes in Nuc of Sent Frag 4.

4.11.1 Tagmemic exclamatory word paradigm

exclam 1 = {+Base:exclam r 1}

exclam 2 = {+Cpd:red 1 +Base:exclam r 2}

4.11.2 Citation exclamatory word paradigm

exclam 1 = Base:<u>he</u>
                all-right

     'all right'.

exclam 2 = Cpd:<u>hã</u> -- Base:<u>hã</u>
          yes   yes

     'yes'.

4.11.3 The exclamatory root sample of inventory

exclam r 1 = <u>ye</u> 'far away';
            <u>he</u> 'all right';
            <u>ho</u> 'what? (reply to a call)';
            <u>hume</u> 'no!';
            <u>kue</u> 'how large!';
            <u>itsabo</u> 'I do not know';
            <u>ika</u> 'how are you';
            <u>iyara</u> 'I told you so'.

exclam r 2 = <u>hã</u> 'yes'.

4.12 The vocative

The vocative distributes in Voc of Sent Frag 4/Mar A.

4.12.1 The vocative sample of inventory

voc = <u>tamoho</u> 'brother-in-law';
     <u>ena</u> 'mother';
     <u>axa</u> 'father';
     <u>ũhũãĩ</u> 'younger-sibling';
     <u>maleva</u> 'Maleva' (a proper name);
     <u>ame</u> 'mother-in-law'.

4.13 The onomatopoetic expression

The onomatopoetic expression distributes in Nuc of Sent
Frag 3; Onom of Mar A-B.

4.13.1 The onomatopoetic expression, sample of inventory

onom = si 'sound produced by blow-gun dart passing';
        tara 'sound produced by a closing door';
        hũ 'sound produced by blowing a deer-skull instrument';
        tũ 'sound produced when pounding';
        ho 'imitating a dog barking';
        siri 'sound produced by movement of an animal in the
            grass';
        tã 'sound produced by thunder or shotgun'.

4.14 The pronoun

The distribution of pronoun 1-5 is as follows:

pn 1: Base of n 4131-4135/n theme 2110;

pn 2: Base of n 4131-4135;

pn 3: Base of n 4121-4125/n theme 2150;

pn 4: H of Ig 13/15; Base of n 1401/n core 9;

pn 5: Base of n 1110/n theme 2110.

4.14.1 The pronoun inventory

pn 1 = xanë 'I';

pn 2 = xamë 'you';

pn 3 = vaxaeTSI 'we';

pn 4 = xua 'this';

pn 5 = daxita 'all'.

4.15 The imperative word

The imperative word distributes in Neg Impv of Cl 04.

impv = pëtsa Negative Command

4.16 The number word

The distribution of the number word is in Num of N 04.

4.16.1 The number word sample of inventory

The Spanish cardinal numbers are used for four and greater.

num = akueyabi 'three';
        kuaturo 'four';
        sinko 'five';
        sei 'six'.

4.17 The demonstrative word

The distribution of the demonstrative word 1-4 is as follows:

dem 1: H of N 12; Dem of Rel 101/102b/103b/106; Spec of Clos;

dem 2: Dem of Adv 1;

dem 3: Spec of N 01a/11c;

dem 4: H/Ap of N 16.

4.17.1 Tagmemic demonstrative word paradigm

dem 1-2 = {+Base:dem r 1-2}

dem 3   = {+Neg:1340 ±Qual:2250 +Base:dem r 1-2}

dem 4   = {+Base:dem r 1 +Clos:part 20}

4.17.2 Citation demonstrative word paradigm

dem 1 = Base:ma
              this

        'this'.

dem 2 = Base:bahara
              that

        'that'.

dem 3 = Neg:apo -- Qual:ë   -- Base:ma
            not   only   this

        'not only this'.

      = Neg:apo -- Qual:pepo -- Base:bahara
            not   true   that

        'not true that'.

dem 4 = Base:ma   -- Clos:he
              this   Clos

        'this'.

4.17.3 Demonstrative root inventory

dem r 1 = ma 'this'.
dem r 2 = bahara 'that'.

4.18 The assertive word

The assertive word distributes in Asr of VB 01-05/08/
N 02/38/Intro 1-2/ Excl 1-2/Rel 105/Adv 2/4/Ig 1-31.

4.18.1 The assertive word inventory

asr = raHa Emph;
      bihi 'on-the-contrary';
      baitsi 'that-is';
      kahena 'already';

<u>meta</u> 'perhaps';
<u>hane</u> 'really'.

4.19 The reportative word

The distribution of the reportative word is as follows:

repr 1: Repr of Vb 01-08; N 02/14a/24/28/38/54/Intro 1-2/
Rel 101-106/Adv 2;

repr 2: Repr of Vb 01-08/N 02/Intro 1-2/Rel 101-106/Adv 2;

repr 3: Repr of Vb 01-05/N 02/Rel 101-106/Adv 2.

4.19.1 The reportative word inventory

repr 1 = <u>pina</u> 'it is said'.
repr 2 = <u>tsaena</u> 'it seemed as though'.
repr 3 = <u>kove</u> 'it seems, from the signs'.

4.20 The closure word

The distribution of the closure word 1-5 is as follows:

clos 1/5: Clos of Mar A;

clos 2-3: Clos of Mar A-B;

clos 4: Clos of Mar B/Ig 1-22; H of Clos.

4.20.1 The closure word inventory

clos 1 = <u>bo</u> Emph.
clos 2 = <u>be</u> Pensative.
clos 3 = <u>no</u> Reprimand.
clos 4 = <u>re</u> Information.
clos 5 = <u>ro</u> Aff-Neg.

4.21 The negative word

The negative word distributes in Cir of Mar A-B.

4.21.1 Negative word formula

neg = {+Base:exclam r 1 (hume) ±Ad:1171}

4.21.2 Example of negative word

neg = Base:<u>hume</u> -- Ad:<u>ata</u>
            no   even

'even though its, "No"'.

4.22 The accompaniment word

The accompaniment word distributes in Ac of N 28.

4.22.1 Accompaniment word formula

ac = {±Neg:1340 +Base:ac stem}

4.22.2 Example of accompaniment word

    ac = Neg:<u>apo</u> -- Base:<u>yahava</u>
              not   with

        'not with'.

4.22.3 The accompaniment stem

    The accompaniment stem distributes in Info of vb stem 10-60/
80-90; Base of n 2101/ac.

4.22.3.1 Accompaniment stem formula

    ac stem = {+Ac:1570 +Base:n r 7 (hava)}

4.22.3.2 Example of accompaniment stem

    ac stem = Ac:<u>ya</u>   -- Base:<u>hava</u>
                  Cons   thing

        'with'.

4.23 The proximity word

        The proximity word distributes in Approx of Vb 06-07;
Base of dir stem 3.

4.23.1 The proximity word inventory

    prox = <u>imoxo</u> 'nearly'.

4.24 The particle

4.24.1 The introductory particle

    The distribution of introductory particle 11-12 is as
follows:

    part 11: Sent Frag 5/Mar B/Intro 1-2/Excl 2/Ig 1-22;
    part 12: Vb 01-03/08/N 02/Intro 1-2/Excl 1/Rel 105/Adv 2/
             Ig 31/t stem 2.

4.24.1.1 The introductory particle 10 inventory

    part 11 = <u>nexata</u> 'then'.
    part 12 = <u>baha</u> Definite.

4.24.2 The demonstrative phrase closure particle

    This particle distributes in Spec clos of Vb 01-03/N 01;
Clos clos of dem 5.

4.24.2.1 The demonstrative phrase closure particle 20 inventory

    part 20 = <u>he</u> Clos.

4.24.3 The semblance particle

This particle distributes in M of Mar A-B; Sembl of Vb 07.

4.24.3.1 The semblance particle 30 inventory

part 30 = _itahara_ 'it seemed as though'.

4.24.4 The clarification particle 40

This particle distributes in Clar of Mar A-B.

Infrequently anomalous sequences of affixes and single affixes which have been omitted from verbs or nouns within a clause are added clause finally. The following sequences and single affixes have been recorded:

totsi = vb affixes 1551 and 1556;
neto = vb affixes 1561 and 1551;
kobeNA = n r 1 and vb affix 1522;
_na_ = vb affix 1540;
piha = n affix 2214;
_to_ = vb affix 1551.

4.25 Reduplication

red 1 = Complete reduplication of the morpheme:

pona 'to go',
pona-pona 'live, stay in one spot';

ena 'sit-Pl',
ena-ena 'sit-continually-Pl' (they sit for a duration).

red 2 = Complete reduplication of the first of a series of morphemes:

binihaI 'flash of lightning',
bini-binihaI 'flashes of lightning';

aëhaI 'shout',
aë-aëhaI 'cry'.

red 3 = Complete reduplication of an initial syllable:

eka 'sit-Sg or Dual',
e-eka 'sit for a duration';

boka 'lie down-Sg',
bo-boka 'lie down for a duration'.

red 4 = Complete reduplication of an initial CVV:

tuahë 'through the middle',
tua-tuahë 'through the middle'.

5. Morphophonemics

5.1 Phonologically determined variations

The vowel e > i immediately preceding the vowel a:
kuene n r 7 'matter' when preceding -Ya 6311 Advl >
kuenia 'manner';

kote n r 4 'basket' when preceding -Äne 2111 Pl >
kotiane 'baskets';

mene n r 4 'river' when preceding -Ya 2332 'via' >
menia 'via the river'.

Unstressed vowel o in word medial or final syllable >
u immediately preceding a:
itaxuto n r 1 'eye' when preceding -NA 1522 'via' >
itaxutua 'via the eye'; kuibo n r 1 'mouth' when preceding
-Ya 2332 'via' > kuibua 'via the mouth'.

The vowel sequence ai > i following
NE- 2222 Posd - 2p nitothiane 'your-strange-fellow' (you
are a strange fellow);

aitahibi vb core 62a 'be drunk' when following pE- 2224
Posd - 3p > pitahibine 'his-drunk-fellow' (he is a drunkard).

5.2 Variations determined by classes of "verbs"

	A	B	C	D	E
allomorphs 1	-na -ka -pa	-ba -va -ne	-ta	-ane	-ua -ia
2	-nae -kae -pae	-bi -vi -ni	-tsi	-ae	-ue -e
3	-n -k -p	-b -v -n	-t	-ae/-a	Ø Ø
4	- - -	- - -	Ø	-	- -

Corresponding morphophonemic classes of verb roots, verb cores, verb stems, and noun stems are determined by the class of the verb root last in linear order within the construction. Verb affixes 1410 and 1420 are divided into corresponding morphophonemic classes as determined by the final syllables, as shown in the chart.

The verb root apa vb r 21 'to drink', a member of class A, is irregular in that allomorphs 2 and 3 are those of class D. The verb root hunua vb r 31b 'to enter', a member of class E, is irregular in that allomorph 2 is hone.

Allomorph 4 of verb stems of morphophonemic class C occur when those stems precede -RE 1241 Impv and -RE, -TSI 1120 Directional: kia-Ø-RE 'wash-Impv' (wash it!); nika-Ø-REmEna 'cut down-from there you' (cut it down from there!); kia-Ø-lia 'wash-toward the north or south' (she is washing there).

Allomorphs 3 of vb cores occur preceding Yeka vb r 31b
'to sit-Sg or Dual', Yena vb r 31b 'to sit-Pl' as they manifest
Asp tagmene: (allomorph 3B) nikab-Yena 'to cross-seated-Pl';
(allomorph 3D) xa-Yeka 'to eat-seated-Sg or Dual'; (allomorph
3C) naviat-Yeka 'to return-seated Sg or Dual' (to turn back).

Allomorph 3C also occurs preceding suffix -Yohopa 1416
Movement: pat-ohopa 'arrive-Movement' (he arrived).

Distribution of allomorph 2:

(1) Verb stem final in base of vb 12, 22, 32, 42, 13, 23,
33, 43, 14, 24, 34, 16, 26, 36, 46, 17, 27, 37, 47, 18,
28, 38, 48, and of n stem 501, 620a, 630a, 720a, 730a:
(allomorph 2C) kahunatsi-ataNE 'call you-even though I'
(even though I call you);
(allomorph 2A) nevahëkae-hitsia 'me beg-going to'
(going to beg from me);
(allomorph 2B) pEhumenaxuabi-humatabëkuene 'lost word-
matter' (the message that was not obeyed).

(2) Aspect stem final: (allomorph 2B) tsAponaYAbiabi 'to-go-
repeatedly' (is continuing).

(3) Within a verb stem which is followed by -NA 1112 Future,
-HITSIpa 1113 Conditional, neheva 2325 'without',
-hitsia 2326 'for, in order to', or when the optional
Asp tagmene occurs in vb stem 50, 80a, 90a: (allomorph
2B) vaetabi-NAtsi 'grab-will we' (we will grab it);
(allomorph 2A) ponae-HITSIpaHE 'go-I would have' (I
would have gone); (allomorph 2E) nue-neheva 'cry-
without' (without crying); (allomorph 2D) pihanavae-
hitsia 'his bathe-in order to' (in order for him to
bathe); (allomorph 2C) nehaI-veretsi 'to me said-
finish' (to finish saying to me).

(4) Within a verb core which is followed by -Ya 6311 Advl,
by certain members of vb r 21b and vb r 31b when they
manifest the Asp tagmene, and by -ta 2324 Frust:
(allomorph 2C) xaniavaetsi-Ya 'fix-Advl' (carefully);
(allomorph 2C) setsi-xaika-mE 'cook-like-you' (you like
to cook); (allomorph 2D) pihanavae-ta 'his bathing-
Frust' (merely for his bathing).

(5) Within a verb root 21 when followed by a vb r 61:
(allomorph 2B) hunavi-hibi 'be afraid-absent' (he does
not have any fear).

Allomorphs 1 occur in all other cases: (allomorph 1A)
huna-tsi 'climb-we' (we climb); (allomorph 1C) hunata-tsi 'call-
we' (we call); (allomorph 1B) uba-HE 'plant-I' (I plant);
(allomorph 1D) xane-mE 'eat-you' (you eat); (allomorph 1E)
nua-mE 'cry-you' (you cry); (allomorph 1E) bia-HE 'hit-I' (I
hit).

5.3 Variations determined lexigrafically

The first four verb roots of the form YA(C)..., Y(V)... and
the affix YAbiaba 1420 Aspect 'repeatedly' listed on next page,

have allomorphs ya(C)... and Y(V)... which occur following verb
cores of morphophonemic classes D and E; elsewhere the (C)... and
(V)... occur:

> YAbuata vb r 21b 'place it', kue-yabuata 'dig-place it' (he
> leaves it dug); seta-buata 'cook-place it' (she leaves it
> cooked); buata 'place' (he placed it);

> YAxuaba vb r 21b 'throw-Action rapid', xae-yaxuaba 'eat-
> rapidly'; ukuta-xuaba 'cut-rapidly'; ka-xuaba 'you-throw'
> (he throws you out);

> Yeka vb r 31b 'sit-Sg or Dual subject', xae-yeka 'eat-seated';
> horok-eka 'sew-seated'; eka-me 'sit you' (you sit);

> Yena vb r 31b 'sit-Pl subject', xae-yena 'eat-seated-Pl';
> horok-ena 'sew-seated-Pl'; ena 'sit-Pl' (they are seated).

> YAbiaba 1420 Aspect 'repeatedly', be-yabiaba 'fight-repeatedly';
> pona-biaba 'go-repeatedly'.

> YOhopa vb r 31b 'fall, Movement (and stopping)' = yohopa when
> preceded by vb core of morphophonemic classes D and E;
> ohopa when preceded by vb core of morphophonemic class C;
> hopa elsewhere: tae-yohopa 'see-Movement' (he goes to see
> it and stop); pat-ohopa 'arrive-Movement' (he arrived and
> stopped); puna-hopa 'fly-Movement' (it flys and stops);
> hopa-HË 'fall-I' (I fell).

> hunUA vb r 31b 'to enter' = huni when preceded by tsA asp r,
> occurs when the sequence Tense tagmeme manifested by ∅ 1111
> Present-Past Tense and Dir tagmeme is manifested by -ka 'to
> the east, from the west, from above' or -na 1143 'from the
> east, from the north or south, from below; hunua elsewhere:
> tsA-huni 'suddenly'; huni-∅-ka 'enter-Tense-from above' (he
> enters from above); hunua-HË 'enter-I' (I enter).

> pitsaPA vb r 31a 'leave, go outside' = pitsa when preceding
> -TAbihirava 1414 Fleeing action - Sg or Dual; pitsapa
> elsewhere; pitsa-tabihirava 'leave-fleeing'; pitsapa-pona
> 'go outside-go' (to continue going out).

> haI vb r 50 'say' = ha when preceding -NË 1121 Subject-1p and
> -më 1122 Subject-2p; hai elsewhere: ha-NË 'say-I' (I say);
> ha-më 'say-you' (you say); hai-tsi 'say-we' (we say).

> iTSI vb r 80 'do, be' = i when preceding tense word 2-4 or
> aspect word; itsi elsewhere: kato-i tsaneNË 'for you-do
> will I' (I will do it for you); i tsAponae 'is is going'
> (thus it continues); itsi-NË tsAponae 'do-I continue' (I
> continue doing it).

> humaiTSI vb r 80 'say' humai~humaitsi when preceding tense
> word 2-4; humaitsi elsewhere: ka-humai tsaneNË 'to you-say
> will I' (I will say to you); ne-humaitsi pikani 'to me-say
> was' (was saying to me).

> isI n r 1 'front' = is when preceding NA-1522; isi elsewhere:
> is-NA-pita 'front-via-take' (take in arms); tA-isi 'my-front'.

korO n r 1 'side' = kor when preceding NA- 1522; koro
  elsewhere: na-kor-NAYekabehe 'itself-side-via-sit-two'
  (they are sitting side-by-side); pE-koro 'his-side'.

kotO n r 1 'abdomen' = kot when preceding NA-1522; koto
  elsewhere: kot-NAhina 'abdomen-via-go' (is pregnant).

Domae n r 4 'fever' = romae when preceding -ba 1431 Vbl; domae
  elsewhere: ne-romae-ba 'me-fever-Vbl' (I have a fever);
  domae 'fever'.

IApaxa n r 10 'son-in-law' = opaxa following tA- 2221 Posd-
  1p and vAHA- 2223 Posd-1p-Pl; iapaxa elsewhere: vAHA-opaxa
  'our-son-in-law'; tA-opaxa 'my-son-in-law'; NE-iapaxa 'your-
  son-in-law'.

Duhuai n r 11 'fishes' = ruhuai following n stem 600; duhuai
  elsewhere: pEvahetsi-ruhuai-xi 'poisoned-fishes-little'
  (the small poisoned fishes); duhuai 'fishes'.

detsaMË ig 11 'what' = detsame preceding raHA asr Emph; detsa
  elsewhere: detsame raHA 'what Emph' (what?); detsa xua
  'what thing' (what?).

tsaHA ig 15 'is it not?' = tsa when preceding iTSI vb r 80
  'is, do', nEXAta part 11 'then', meta asr 'perhaps', baitsi
  asr 'that is', hane asr 'really', baha part 12 Def, ro clos
  5; tsame when preceding raHA asr Emph; tsaha elsewhere:
  tsa iTSI 'is it not is' (is it not thus?); tsa enta 'is it
  not then (is it not then?); tsa meta 'is it not perhaps'
  (is it not perhaps?); tsa baitsi 'is it not that is' (is it
  not so?); tsa hane 'is it not really' (is it not really?);
  tsa baha 'is it not Def' (is it not definitely?); tsa ro
  'is it not Clos'; tsame raHA 'is it not Emph'; tsaha eka
  'is it not seated'.

tsA asp r = ts when preceding a vb r 31b which has an initial
  vowel e; tsa elsewhere: ts-Yekae 'is-seated' (is); tsa-
  rukae 'is-hanging' (is).

*vaxaeTSI pn 3 'we' = vaxae when preceding -behe 1160 Dual;
  vaxaetsi elsewhere: vaxae-behe 'we-two'; vaxaetsi-nexa
  'we-for' (for us).

raHA asr Emph = ra when following detsaMË ig 11 'what?',
  tsaHA ig 15 'is it not?' and when preceding hane asr
  'really', nEXAta part 11 'then, baha part 12 Def, rovia adv
  2 'straight'; raha elsewhere: detsaMË ra 'what Emph'
  (what?); tsaHA ra 'is it not Emph', (is it not?); ra hane
  'Emph really' (really!); ra nEXAta 'Emph then'; ra baha
  'Emph Def' (definitely); ra rovia 'Emph straight' (straight,
  right away); raha kahena 'Emph already' (already).

nEXAta part 11 'then' = enta when preceded by tsaHA ig 15 'is
  it not?' or raHA asr Emph; nexata elsewhere: tsaHA enta 'is
  it not then?'; raHA enta 'Emph then'; pina nexata 'it is
  said then'.

*Some speakers say vaxaitsi.

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-NA 1112 Future Tense = -ana following verb stems of
morphophonemic classes B and C; -a when preceding -RE 1121
Directional of vb stem of morphophonemic classes B and C;
-an when preceding -TSI 1122 Directional suffix of vb stem
of morphophonemic classes B and C; Ø when preceding the
suffix -RE Directional of vb stem of morphophonemic classes
A, D, E; -n when preceding TSI 1122 Directional suffix of
vb stem of morphophonemic classes A, D, E; -na elsewhere:
kiatsi - ana-HĚ 'wash-will-I' (I will wash); hunatsi - a -
RemEka 'call-will-to the east you' (you will call to the
east); nikabi-an-TSImEka 'cross-will-from the west you'
(you will cross from the west); ponae-Ø-REka 'go-will-to
the east' (will go to the east); patYOhopae-n-TSIkaHĚ
'arrive-will-from the west I' (I will arrive from the
west); xae-na-mE 'eat-will-you' (you will eat).

-HITSIpa 1113 Conditional tense = -pa following verb stems of
morphophonemic class C; -hitsipa elsewhere: itahetsi-pa-mE
'show-would have-you' (you would have shown it).

-RE 1121 Directional = Ø when preceding lia 1144 'to the north
or south', when Ø 1111 Present-Past Tense manifests Tense
tagmeme following vb stems of morphophonemic class D and E;
-re elsewhere: tae - Ø - liaHĚ 'look-Dirl-to the north or
south I' (I look to the north or south); patYOhopa-re-na
'arrive-Dirl-from the north or south' (he arrives from the
north or south).

-TSI 1122 Directional = -tsi following vb stems of morpho-
phonemic class C; -y when preceded by the sequence of the
Base tagmeme manifested by a vb stem of morphophonemic class
A, B, D, E ending in a vowel, Tense tagmeme manifested by
Ø 1111 Present-Past Tense and the Dir 2 tagmeme is manifested
by -a 1142 'to the west'; Ø when preceded by lia 1144 'to the
north or south'; -i elsewhere: nika-tsi-mEka 'cut down-Dirl-
you from above' (you cut it down from above); puna-y-a 'fly-
Dirl-to the west' (it flys to the west), kia-Ø-liamE 'wash-
Dirl-to the north or south you' (you wash there); naviab-
i-katsi 'return-Dirl-from the west we' (we return from the
west).

-mE 1130 Subject -2p = -m when preceding -a 1142 'to the west,
upwards'; -mi following -TSI 1122 Dirl; -me elsewhere:
hunaTSI-m-a 'climb Dirl - you-upwards' (you climb up);
patYOhopaTSI-mi-ka 'arrive Dirl-you-from the west' (you
arrive from the west); hueta-me 'clear-you' (you are clearing
vegetation).

-HĚ 1151 Subject -1p = -hi following verb stem of morpho-
phonemic class D in which the stem final vowel e becomes i;
-tsi when the vb prefix ka- 1562 Ref-2p cooccurs; hě else-
where:'xani-hi 'eat-I' (I eat); ka-toitoroba-tsi 'you-for
send-I' (I send it for you); pona-hě 'go-I' (I go).

-NĚ 1221 Subject -.1p = -tsi when the vb prefix ka- 1562 Ref-
2p cooccurs; -ne elsewhere: apoka-matamotsi-tsi 'not you-
pay-I'(I do not pay you); apoponae-ně 'not go-I' (I do not
go).

-RE 1241 Impv = -ma following vb stems of morphophonemic
   class D and E; -mena following vb r 31b hone 'to enter';
   -re elsewhere: xae-ma   'eat-Impv' (eat!); hone-mena
   'enter-Impv' (enter!); nakueneba-re 'work-Impv' (work!).

-TAba 1411 Duration of action short - Sg or Dual = -ba fol-
   lowing verb core of morphophonemic class C; -taba else-
   where: pata -ba 'arrive-duration of action short' (he
   arrived suddenly); tseva-taba 'dry-duration of action
   short' (it dried up quickly).

-TAbihirava 1414 Fleeing action-Sg or Dual = -bihirava fol-
   lowing verb core of morphophonemic class C; -tabihirava
   elsewhere: kopata-bihirava 'leave-fleeing action' (he
   left it and fled); kuihinahina-tabihirava 'run-fleeing
   action' (he ran away).

-YAbiaba 1420 Aspect 'repeatedly'. (See page 130)

NA- 1522 'via' takes a heavy stress. The morpheme = Ø
   following vë n r 9 'neck'; va- following si n r 2 'leg';
   na- following upi n r 2 'lip' and following vowels ë, e, u;
   a elsewhere:
      vë - Ø - pona 'neck-via-go' (he goes due to a tragedy);
      si-- va - pona 'leg-via-go' (he goes intending to get
         something);
      upi-na-ruka 'lip-via-hangs' (he has it hanging from his
         lips);
      pë-na-pona 'behind-via-go' (he goes after something);
      kobe-na-pona 'hand-via-go' (he goes carrying in his hand);
      muxu-na-pona 'ear-via-go' (he goes toward the sound);
      isi-a-pona 'front-side-via-go' (he goes carrying in his
         arms);
      koto-a-hina 'abdomen-via-go' (she is pregnant);
      nakoro-a-Yekabehe 'itself side-via-sit two' (the two sit
         side-by-side);
      itaxuta-a-pona 'eye-via-go' (he goes toward something he
         sees).

BE- 1592 Adjl = Ø when preceded by be- 2252 Sembl; be- else-
   where: be-Ø-pEhiobi 'as though-Adjl-his poor' (it seems
   poor); to-be-hiobitsi 'for-Adjl-poor' (it is suffering for
   another).

-Anë 2111 Plural = -anë following vowels e, ë, i, u; -në
   elsewhere: koti-anë 'basket-Pl' (baskets); nobë-anë
   'variety of tuber-Pl' (tubers); bo-në 'house-Pl' (houses).

-mË 2130 'former state' = -mi following -më 1222 Subject -2p;
   -më elsewhere (*): pexanianë-më-mi 'handsome fellow-you-
   were' (you were good-looking); pexanianënë-më 'handsome
   fellow I-was' (I was good-looking).

-Avi 2143 Pl, masc or fem = -avi when preceded by vowel i;
   -vi elsewhere: petiri-avi 'women'; pexania-vi 'pretty-
   people'.

*Some speakers use only -mi 2130 'former state' and do not
use the allomorph -më in their speech.

tA- 2221 Posd-1p = t- preceding IApaxa n r 10 'son-in-law',
when preceding noun core which have an initial vowel a, and
the vowel sequence ai; ta- elsewhere: t-IApaxa 'my son-in-
law'; t-axa 'my-father'; t-aitahibinë 'my-drunk-fellow' (I
am a drunkard); ta-kobe 'my-hand'.

NE- 2222 Posd - 2p = Ø when preceding n r 10 which has an
initial vowel a or e; ni- when preceding consonant h or
vowels o, u, or a, except when preceding n r 10 as stated
above; n- when preceding vowel i, ë, or the vowel sequence
ai; ne- elsewhere: Ø - amo 'your-grandfather'; Ø -ena
'your-mother'; ni-humatabëëthëto 'your-heart'; ni-one
'your-saliva'; ni-upi 'your-lips'; ni-atanehava 'your-hurt
thing' (your pain); n-itapa 'your-forehead'; n-ënë 'your-
intestines'; n-itatsacanë 'your-crafty fellow' (you are a
crafty fellow); ne-taxu 'your-foot'.

vAHA- 2223 Posd - 1p-Pl = v- when preceding n r 10 with vowel
a or o initial; va- when preceding a member of n r 10 which
begins with a consonant or a vowel other than the vowel a
or o and ha- Non-intimate; vaha- elsewhere: v-amo 'our-
grandfather'; va-momo 'our-grandson'; vaha-kobe 'our-hands'.

pE- 2224 Posd-3p = p- when preceding vowels i, ë or the vowel
sequence ai or when preceding n r 10 which have an initial
vowel a or e; pi- when preceding consonant h or the vowels
o, u, or a, except when preceding n r 10 as stated above;
pe- elsewhere: p-itaxuto 'his-eye'; p-ënë 'his-intestines';
p-itakirihava 'its dark thing' (darkness); p-axa 'his-
father'; p-ena 'his-mother'; pi-hana 'his-blood'; pi-one
'his-saliva'; pi-upi 'his-lips'; pi-abehehava 'its-bad
thing' (bad thing); pe-taxu 'his-foot'.

pA- 2260 Spec 'this' = po- when preceding -në n r 7 Masc, -va
n r 7 Fem, yo n r 12 Dim, and to n r 12 'occurrences'; pa-
elsewhere (*): po-në 'this-fellow'; po-va 'this-girl, this-
woman'; po-yo-vahëto 'this-size'; po-to-behe 'this-many-
times'; pa-monae 'this-group' (these people).

-Ya 2332 Locative 'through, via' = -ya following a stressed
vowel; -a elsewhere; bo-ya 'house-via' (via the house);
pabi-a 'planted-field-via' (via the planted field);
pEkuibu-a 'his mouth-via' (via his mouth); meni-a 'river-
via' (via the river).

-Ya 6311 Advl = -a following vowel i and e; Ø following vowel
a; -ya elsewhere; xani-a 'well'; hivitonëkueni-a 'as a man
does'; biha-Ø 'scoldingly'; anae-ya 'angrily'.

*Some speakers use the allomorphic form po- where the allomorph
pa- is ordinarily used.

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