Negation in Buwal: Order, form and meaning

Melanie Viljoen, WOCAL7 23rd August 2012

Introduction

This paper is an overview of negation of declarative verbal clauses in Buwal. After some general information concerning the language a brief summary of clause types will be given. Then three main areas concerning Buwal negation will be addressed; the order of the negation marker within the clause, the form of the two negative markers and finally the meaning and use of each of these markers.

Location and Genetic Affiliation

Buwal is a language spoken by around 7000-10 000 speakers the majority of whom live in an around the village of Gadala located in the far north region of Cameroon between Maroua, the regional capital and the Nigerian border.

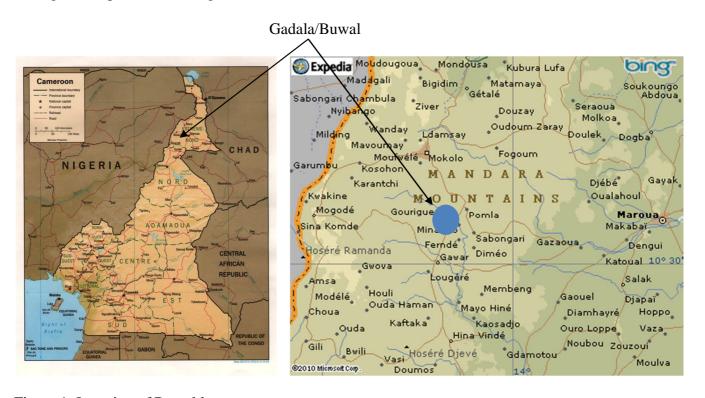


Figure 1: Location of Buwal language area

The Ethnologue (Lewis 2009) classifies Buwal as Afro-asiatic, Chadic, Biu-Mandara, A, A7. Dieu and Renaud (1983: 357) give the following classification: Tchadique, Centre-Ouest, Daba, Nord. The other languages of the Daba group are Gavar, Mbedam (actually pronounced *mbudum*), Mina and Daba.



Figure 2: Languages surrounding Buwal including the languages of the Daba subgroup

Declarative clause types

Buwal has both verbal and verbless clauses.

Verbal clauses

The order of arguments within the basic verbal declarative clause is given in Table 1 below. Word order in Buwal is normally SV/AVO, though various elements may be topicalised through left-dislocation. Subject and indirect object agreement is marked on the verb with affixes. Direct object suffixes are mostly pronominal except for third person plural which may co-occur with an overtly expressed nominal in certain pragmatic circumstances. Verbal clauses may be divided into a number of sub-types according to which core arguments occur in them. These are intransitive (1a), transitive (1b), extended intransitive (1c) and ditransitive clauses (1d).

Table 1: Argument structure of basic verbal declarative clause

	Subject		Verb		Direct Object		Indirect Object	Oblique	
						_			
(1)	a.	Uzəye	na	ege	әу	kawan			
		wzjé	nā	= égē	j-	kā-	wān		
		children	1SG.POSS	=PL	3PL.SBJ-	IPFV-	sleep		
'My children are sleeping.'								(NF4-SN:2.4)	

```
b.
      Mana
                   kála
                                           pes luma
                                                           Gavar .
                              mavaw a
      mānā
                   ká-
                         1ā
                              mávāw á
                                           gávár
      mother.1POSS PFV-
                         make beer
                                     PREP1 day market(ful.) Gavar
      'My mother made beer on Thursday.'
                                                            (NH3-SN:1.4)
```

- zlepene tata c. uzə ye wese ege ЭV ŋ cen wzjé ή tsèn tātá wēsé =égē jţāр −ēnē -3SG.IOBJ PREP2 father 3PL.POSS children DEM.DIST =PL 3PL.SBJ- speak 'Those children spoke to their father.' (TN4-WN:4.1)
- d. Wala naka *detene* а yam ηhwəye ey η wālā nākā ์ dā -ētēnē jàm -jé éj ลή nx^wā woman 1SG.POSS 3SG.SBJ- draw -3PL.IOBJ water PREP2 goat -PL and ntəməye ntmēk -jé sheep -PL 'My wife draws water for the goats and the sheep.' (GE18-SE:7)

Verbless clauses

Buwal has a number of different types of verbless clauses, all of which have the basic structure of subject followed by the predicate. They can be divided into sub-types according to their predicate; whether a noun (2a), adjective (2b), or a prepositional phrase (2c).

```
(2)
              mbəy
                        haldama
       a.
              mbī
                        xáldmā
              3SG.STAT girl
              'She was a girl.'
                                                                        (DE11-SE:1.3)
       b.
               Mpe
                               ndende6ek
                      ege
                                             а
                                                      vəya.
               mpè
                               ndéndé6ēk
                       = ég\bar{e}
                                             á
                                                      vjā
               plant =PL
                               fresh
                                                      wet.season
                                             PREP1
              'Plants are fresh in the wet season.'
                                                                                (2098)
              Әу
                        ata
                                  mpe
       c.
              í
                        á
                              tā mpè
              3PL.STAT PREP1 on tree
              'They are in a tree.'
                                                                         (BH4-SN:2.9)
```

Another type of verbless clause is the existential clause, where the existential marker $\dot{a}k\bar{a}$ functions as the predicate (3).

```
(3) bezle ŋhwəye aka .

béţē nx<sup>w</sup>ā -jé ákā

enclosure goat -PL EXIST

'There is a goat enclosure.' (DE4-SN:6.1)
```

Negation in Buwal

Order

Negation of verbal clauses in Buwal is coded with one of two negative particles, the plain negative $k^w \bar{a} w / s k^w \bar{a} w$ or the existential negative $a k^w \bar{a} w / a s k^w \bar{a} w$, which occurs at the end of a clause after any objects and adjuncts (4 a & b).

```
(4) a. Ana ebe
                                      kélem
                                                                manhayak
                                                                                kwaw.
                           , hwa
                                                  sasam a
                      ca
       ánā èbè
                      tsá
                             x<sup>w</sup>ā-
                                      ká-
                                             lèm sàsàm á
                                                                mán
                                                                          xājāk k<sup>w</sup>āw
       like DEM.MED TOP
                             2SG.SBJ- PFV-
                                             get joy
                                                         PREP1 mother
                                                                          land NEG
       'Like this, you did not get joy on the earth.'
                                                                             (HT3-SN:5.1)
   b. Wende
                              , haldəma a
                                                  keghwelene
                  ma
                                                                           а
                               xáldmā á-
       wéndé
                  má
                                                         ywāl
                                                                  -ēnē
                                                                           á
                                                 kā-
       IND.DET.SG TOP.EMPH
                               girl
                                         3SG.SBJ- IPFV-
                                                         show
                                                                 -3SG.IOBJ PREP1
              akwaw
       cen
       tsèn
              ák<sup>w</sup>āw
       father NEG.EXIST
       'Another one, the girl doesn't show it to her father...
                                                                          (DE19-SN:4.12)
```

This order is typologically unusual. Both Dahl (1979: 91) and Dryer (1988: 112) both found that negative morphemes show a strong tendency cross-linguistically to **precede** the verb. It has also been found that negative particles are normally associated with the verb or verb phrase (Dahl 1979: 92; Payne, J 1985: 224; Dryer 1988: 112; Payne, T 1997: 284). However, Dryer (2009: 307) found that Verb-Object-Negative order is very common in central Africa. In fact, this order is particularly pervasive throughout Chadic languages being found in all three branches (Dryer 2009: 311 & 346).

For Buwal, a negative marker may occur at the end of both a speech report (5a) or a relative clause (5b) as well as the main clause in which it is embedded.

[Hwa : « [*Hwa* mbamawal (5) ďaw zlap ca a. ma tantan x^wāďàw $x^w \bar{a}$ mbà māwàl má= ή **ķā**p tsá tāŋ-tāŋ 2SG.SBJ- want INF speak TOP 2SG.STAT child man REL= good səkwaw]SR » kwaw]MC. sk^wāw $k^w \bar{a} w$ **NEG NEG** 'You shouldn't say, "You are not a good young man."' (HT1-SN:1.8) b. [*Jeje* ege әу kazlap ata ďala ma dzèdzē = égē iá ďālā kā-Ьāр tā má= grandparent = PL3PL.SBJ- IPFVspeak PREP1 on someone REL= [kadaw ďas kwaw akwaw]. η đầw ń $k^w \bar{a} w$ ák^wāw kādàs IPFVneed INF cultivate NEG **NEG.EXIST** 'The grandparents **didn't** talk about someone who **didn't** want to cultivate.' (GE31-SE:2)

This can at times lead to ambiguity when only one negative marker is present (6 a & b). Similar ambiguities have been found in other Chadic languages such as Tera (Payne 1985: 226) and Goemai (Hellwig 2011: 306). In Buwal, the context as well as the different use of the two negation markers (described later in this presentation) can be helpful in resolving the ambiguity. For example, the verb $d\bar{a}w$ 'want' in (6a) is most frequently negated with the plain negative marker and predicate adjective clauses such as that found in the speech report are normally negated with an existential negative. Therefore it is likely that the scope of the negation in (6a) is the main clause. For example (6b) however, the main clause would normally be negated using the existential negative (see 5b). Therefore, it is likely that the scope of the negative marker in this case is the relative clause.

(6) Hwa ďaw ulakza hwa : « Ebe a. , pəzek ya ca x^wāwlàk xwāèbè ďàw ή -zā jā tsá pzék 2SG.SBJ- want INF think -TRANS 2SG.SBJ- say DEM.MED TOP small » kwaw . k^wāw NEG 'You shouldn't think saying, "This one is small."'

OR

'You should think saying, "This one is not small." (HT7-SN:1.13)

A nuna kazlap b. anta jeje ege əУ á nwná āntā dzèdzē = égē íkāţāр at times.past DEF.DET grandparent =PL 3PL.SBJ- IPFVspeak ata ďala ma kaɗaw ďas kwaw . ďālā ďàs á tā má= kāďàw ń k^wāw PREP1 on someone REL= IPFVwant INF cultivate NEG

'In olden times, the granparents talked about someone who **didn't** want to cultivate.'

OR

'In olden times, the grandparents **didn't** talk about someone who wanted to cultivate.' (TN3-WN:1.1)

For complement clauses, the main and the complement clause if both negated must be expressed as two clauses separated by a pause (7b).

Dryer (2009: 319) mentions the case of the Biu-Mandara (or Central) Chadic language Ngizim, where certain sentence adverbs are also able to follow the negative marker. Similarly in Buwal also certain adverbs can occur following the negative marker (8 a & b). These include: jám 'also', zēnéj 'again', wár 'still', téw 'completely', ndzwèn 'true', ŋgārá 'true', éndē 'like this' and ézē 'therefore'.

```
Cehw
                                     kadam
                                                   a daba
                                                                    naka
b.
                    nkune
       tsèxw
                   nk<sup>w</sup>nè
                             á-
                                     kā-
                                             dàm á dābá
                                                                    nākā
       father.2POSS 2PL.POSS 3SG.SBJ- IPFV-
                                             enter to woman's.hut 1SG.POSS
       kwaw eze
       kwāw ézē
              therefore
       NEG
       'Your father doesn't enter my hut therefore.'
                                                                    (TN4-WN:3.5)
```

Some of these adverbs can move around within the clause, changing their scope and therefore the resulting meaning. In example (9a) the negation is within the scope of the adverb and the meaning is that the speaker has not been to the market and still does not want to go. In example (9b) the negation is not within the scope of the adverb so that this clause implies that the speaker has been to the market but does not want to go again.

Dryer (2009: 340) mentions a possible correlation between clause final negation and clause final question particles. Both of these could be viewed as having the pragmatic function of coding a particular type of speech act; of denying in the case of negation. He notes that VO languages with final question particles are common in Africa and that VONeg languages tend to be VOQ (Dryer 2009: 340 & 343). This is also the case for Buwal which also has final question particles. When a negative marker is present it precedes the question particle (10).

Form

The form of the plain negative marker in Buwal is $k^w \bar{a}w/s k^w \bar{a}w$. The plain negative marker is cognate with negative particles found in other languages of the Daba sub-group such as sku in Gavar (author's fieldnotes), Mina (Frajzyngier and Johnston 2005: 261) and Mbudum (Burgess: personal communication) and kun in Daba (Lienhard 1978: 23). It is likely that the form with the initial /s/ is the older form and that the negative marker is in the process of being phonologically reduced in Buwal. Either form can be used without a change in meaning however, in the corpus $k^w \bar{a}w$ occurs more frequently than $sk^w \bar{a}w$. For example out of 423 verbal clauses negated with the plain negative, $sk^w \bar{a}w$ was found in only 88 with $k^w \bar{a}w$ in 335 (see Table 2).

Form	Verbal	Existential	Other verbless	
sk ^w āw	88	-	27	
k [™] āw	335	-	56	
ákā sk ^w āw	22	18	-	
ásk ^w āw	10	6	1	
ák ^w āw	310	86	45	
Total	765	110	129	

Table 2: Frequency of different forms of negative particles in verbal and verbless clauses

The existential negative marker in Buwal has the form $\dot{a}k^w\bar{a}w/\dot{a}sk^w\bar{a}w$. This is a result of fusion and contraction of the existential marker $\dot{a}k\bar{a}$ and the plain negative marker. In fact the combination $\dot{a}k\bar{a}sk^w\bar{a}w$ can also still be found with the same meaning as $\dot{a}k^w\bar{a}w/\dot{a}sk^w\bar{a}w$ (11) although it occurs far less frequently than the fused version (see Table 2). Further evidence that $sk^w\bar{a}w$ is the older form is that the combination $\dot{a}k\bar{a}k^w\bar{a}w$ is never found.

Some insight into the development of the existential negative marker in Buwal can be gained by referring to Croft's work on the evolution of negation. He states that there are three types of languages A, B and C, which form a diachronic cycle, direction of change being A>B, B>C and C>A (see Figure 3).

- **Type A:** The negation of the existential predicate is performed by a positive existential predicate plus an ordinary verbal negator.
- **Type B:** There is a special negative existential predicate which is distinct from the verbal negator.

• **Type C:** There is a special negative existential predicate which is identical to the verbal negator. (Croft 1991: 6)

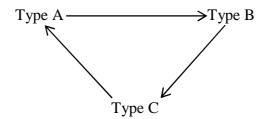


Figure 3: Croft's (1991:6) Negative-existential diachronic cycle

At present, Buwal cannot be categorised neatly as any one of these three types. It is somewhere in the process of development from Type A to Type C. We see the Type A situation with the existential marker followed by the plain negative $\frac{\partial k}{\partial s} \frac{\partial k}{\partial w} \frac{\partial k}{\partial w}$. Then these two markers fuse and contract to form $\frac{\partial k}{\partial w} \frac{\partial k}{\partial w} \frac{\partial$

A (12)kanda damaw akwaw. a. а ákāndā á dámāw ák^wāw 3SG.SBJ- IPFVgo PREP1 bush **NEG.EX** 'She is not going to the bush.' (C2-SN:12.2)Ma а , hejəye kasəbar b. hey ca ara aka әу má= āxēi tsá xèdzè -jé íkāsbār ārá **ákā** 3SG.SBJ- flee TOP person follow SIM EXIST -PL 3PL.SBJ- IPFV*səkwaw* vaw ? sk^wāw vāw NEG 'When he fled, weren't people follow him along the way?' (C10-SN:11.1) It is likely that the development of the existential negative marker and its use in verbal clauses in Buwal is a relatively recent process as certain languages nearby such as Daba (Lienhard 1978: 24) and Mofu-Gudur (Hollingsworth 2004: 16) are clearly Type A. However, in other languages of the subgroup such as Mina (Frajzyngier and Johnston 2005: 264), Gavar (author's fieldnotes) and Mbudum (Burgess: personal communication), existential negation can also be used for verbal clauses. No contraction of the existential and negative marker has taken place in Mina. Mbudum has a special existential negative marker haala which appears to have no relationship to the existential aka. The closely related language Gavar, on the other hand, has the plain negative maker sku and the existential negative marker akas. It is interesting that the fusion and contraction of the existential marker aka and the plain negative in Gavar has resulted in a different form of the existential negative marker from that found in Buwal.

Meaning

Having more than one way of marking negation in verbal clauses is not unusual cross-linguistically. There may be variation according to tense and aspect, mood, verbal vs. existential clauses, verbal vs. non-verbal clauses or speech act type (Payne, J. 1985: 222-223; Payne, T. 1997: 282; Miestamo 2005: 15; Ziegelmeyer 2009: 19). Negation in Buwal verbal clauses does not vary in relation to tense/aspect marking as clauses in all tenses and aspects can take either marker. Furthermore, each negative particle can occur with verbs which are either semantically active or stative. Negation in Buwal is what Miestamo (2005: 7) would call SYMMETRIC in that apart from the negative marker there are no formal structural differences from the corresponding affirmative clause. Neither does Buwal use different tense/aspect marking in negative clauses, as had been found in certain other languages (Miestamo 2005: 10).

The difference in use between the two negative markers in Buwal appears to be a pragmatic one. The examples in (13 b & c) and (14 b & c) contrast the meaning of the answers given using each type of negative marker to the questions in (13a) and (14a) respectively. It seems that the plain negative $k^w \bar{a} w/s k^w \bar{a} w$ is used for **denial** of a corresponding positive assertion. The answer in (13b) counters the expectation that the person has eaten food as it is known that he was hungry and planning to eat. In example (14b) the speaker is seen on the road and so it assumed he is going to the market. Once again his answer counters that expectation. When the plain negative is used, there is usually an implied or explicitly stated alternative state of affairs. For example in (14b) the speaker is not going to the market since he is going elsewhere.

The Buwal existential negative $\frac{\partial k}{\partial w} = \frac{\partial k}{\partial w}$

```
(13)
              Hwa
                      kázam
                                   uda vaw?
       a.
              x<sup>w</sup>ā-
                      ká-
                             zàm wda vaw
                             eat food Q
              2SG.SBJ- PFV-
              'Have you eaten food?'
                                                                       (GE11-SE:11.1)
       b.
              Sa
                       kázam
                                   uda kwaw .
              รลิ-
                      ká-
                             zàm wdā kwāw
              1SG.SBJ- PFV-
                             eat food NEG
              'I haven't eaten food (yet).'
                                                                          (GE11-SE:11.2)
              (The speaker wants food and is planning to eat.)
              Sa
                                   uda akwaw
                       kázam
       c.
              sā-
                      ká-
                             zàm wdā ák<sup>w</sup>āw
                             eat food NEG.EXIST
              1SG.SBJ- PFV-
              'I haven't eaten food.'
                                                                            (GE11-SE:13)
              (The person doesn't want food.)
(14)
              Hwa
                      nda a
                                  luma
                                               vaw?
       a.
              xwā-
                      ndā á
                                  vāw
              2SG.SBJ- go PREP1 market(ful.) Q
              'Are you going to the market?'
                                                                           (GE11-SE:3.1)
              Sa
                      nda a
                                                                nda a
       b.
                                  luma
                                               kwaw .
                                                        Sa
                                                                            wata
              sā-
                      ndā á
                                  k<sup>w</sup>āw
                                                        sā-
                                                                ndā á
                                                                            wātā
              1SG.SBJ- go PREP1 market(ful.) NEG
                                                        1SG.SBJ- go PREP1 compound
              mana
              mānā
              mother.3POSS
              'I am not going to the market. I am going to my mother's house.'
              (Said on the road while going.)
                                                                         (GE11-SE:3.3-4)
              Sa
                      nda a
                                  luma
                                               akwaw
       c.
              sā-
                      ndā á
                                  ák<sup>w</sup>āw
              1SG.SBJ- go PREP1 market(ful.) NEG.EXIST
              'I am not going to the market.'
                                                                           (GE11-SE:3.2)
              (Said while the speaker is still at home.)
```

Contini-Morava (1989: 126-127) in her discussion of negation in Swahili invokes the concept of 'temporal boundedness' to help explain the difference in meaning of the three negation strategies found in this language. She states that two of these describe the negated occurrence

as limited in time whereas the other is neutral with respect to time limitations. She goes on to say that there are two ways a negative event can be temporally bounded. The first is that the **opportunity** for the positive event to occur is limited in time, meaning that it is not expected to occur at other times. Secondly the negation of the event is restricted in time, so that at other times the event would be expected to occur.

The concept of 'temporal boundedness' can also be applied to the use of the plain and existential negative markers in Buwal particularly with verbs with stative semantics. The existential negative is used for situations that either will never exist, or not exist over an extended period of time. In (15b) below the house still exists and so still has the opportunity to be beautiful. And in example (16b) the speaker will never know because he refuses to find out. This lack of temporal boundedness reflects the existential negative marker's stative-like origin.

The plain negative is used to refer to negated events which are temporally bounded. Unlike Swahili, Buwal does not make a distinction within this category. In example (15a) below, the opportunity for the house to be beautiful is over as it has now been destroyed. In (16a) it is the negation which is temporally bounded as once the obstacle to the speaker's knowledge is removed, he will know.

(15)	a.	Ujek	anta	kádada6			kwaw .		
		wjēk	āntā	ká-	dàdà6		$k^w \bar{a} w$		
		house	DEF.DET	PFV-	be.bea	utiful	NEG		
		'The ho	ouse was	s not be	autiful.	,	(GE11-SI	E:55.1)	
		(The house no longer exists.)							
	b.	Ujek	anta	kádad	la6		akwaw .		
		wjēk	āntā	ká-	dàdà6		ák ^w āw		
		house	DEF.DET	PFV-	be.bea	utiful	NEG.EXIST		
		'The ho	ouse was	(GE11-SI	E:55.2)				
		(The house is still there.)							
(16)	a.	Sa	kanasa	an	n		V .		
		sá-	kā-	ná-	sàn	k ^w āw	•		
		1SG.SBJ	- IPFV-	FUT-	know	NEG			
		'I will not be knowing.'							E:81.1)
		(I want	`	,					
	b.	Sa	Sa kanasan				<i>aw</i> .		
		sá-	kā-	ná-	sàn	ák ^w ā	w		
		1SG.SBJ	- IPFV-	FUT-	know	NEG.	EXIST		
		'I will not be knowing.'						(GE11-SI	E:81.2)
		(I refus	se to kno	ow.)					

Conclusions

Negation of declarative verbal clauses in Buwal has a number of interesting features. It is coded by one of two negative particles, the plain negative $k^w \bar{a}w/sk^w \bar{a}w$ and the existential negative $ak^w \bar{a}w/ask^w \bar{a}w$. Although unusual cross-linguistically, Buwal conforms to the common situation in the Chadic language family in that the negative particle occurs at the end of a sentence following objects and adjuncts although it may be followed by certain adverbs and the question marker. The existential negative is formed through fusion and contraction of the positive existential marker $ak\bar{a}$ plus the pain negative $sk^w \bar{a}w$. This marker has extended its use to verbal negation in certain pragmatic contexts, being used for simple negative assertion and for negated events which are not temporally bounded. The plain negative marker on the other hand is used for denial of a corresponding positive assertion and for negated events which are temporally bounded.

References

Contini-Morava, Ellen. 1989. Discourse pragmatics and semantic categorization – The case of negation and tense-aspect with special reference to Swahili. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

CROFT, WILLIAM. 1991. The evolution of negation. *Journal of Linguistics* 27(1).1-27.

Cyffer, Norbert, Erwin Ebermann and Georg Ziegelmeyer. *Negation patterns in West African languages and beyond.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Dahl, Osten. 1979. Typology of sentence negation. Linguistics 17(1/2).76-106.

DIEU, M. and P. Renaud. 1983. Atlas linguistique de l'Afrique Centrale: Inventaire preliminaire – Le Cameroun. Yaounde: DGRST.

DRYER, MATTHEW S. 1988. Universals of negative position. *Studies in syntactic typology*. ed. by Michael Hammond, Edith Moravcsik and Jessica Wirth, 93-124. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

DRYER, MATTHEW S. 2009. Verb-object-negative order in central Africa. In Cyffer, Ebemann and Ziegelmeyer, 307-362.

Frajzyngier, Zygmunt and Eric Johnston. 2005. A Grammar of Mina. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

HELLWIG, BIRGIT. 2011. A grammar of Goemai. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

HOLLINGSWORTH, KENNETH R. 2004. A Survey of Clause Types in Mofu-Gudur. Yaounde: SIL Cameroon.

LEWIS, M. Paul (ed.). 2009. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Sixteenth edition*. Dallas, Tex.: SIL International. Online version: http://www.ethnologue.com/.

LIENHARD, RUTH. 1978. Daba Grammar – Clause Level Sorting Work Paper. Yaounde: SIL Cameroon.

MIESTAMO, MATTI. 2005. Standard negation – The negation of declarative verbal main clauses in a typological perspective. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

PAYNE, JOHN. 1985. Negation. *Language typology and syntactic description. Volume 1: Clause structure*, ed. by Timothy Shopen, 197-242. Cambridge: Cambridge university press.

PAYNE, THOMAS E. 1997. *Describing morphosyntax – A guide for field linguists*. Cambridge: Cambridge university press.

ZIEGELMEYER, GEORG. 2009. *Negation of non-indicative mood in Hausa, Fulfulde and Kanuri*. In Cyffer, Ebemann and Ziegelmeyer, 7-20.

Abbreviations

1INCL.SBJ First person inclusive subject agreement

1POSS First person possessive

1SG.POSS First person singular possessive

1SG.SBJ First person singular subject agreement Second person singular subject agreement

2PL.POSS Second person plural possessive

2POSS Second person possessive

3PL.IOBJ Third person plural indirect object agreement

3PL.POSS Third person plural possessive

3PL.SBJ Third person plural subject agreement 3PL.STAT Thrid person plural stative pronoun

3POSS Third person possessive

3SG.IOBJ Third person singular indirect object agreement 3SG.SBJ Third person singular indirect object agreement

3SG.STAT Third person singular stative pronoun

DEF.DET Definite determiner
DEM.MED Medial demonstrative

EXIST Existential FUT Future

IND.DET.SG Singular indefinite determiner

INF Infinitive
IPFV Imperfective
NEG Plain negative
NEG.EXIST Existential negative

Plural PL**PFV** Perfective **PREP** Preposition **Ouestion** marker 0 **REL** Relative marker Similtaneity marker SIM Emphatic topic TOP.EMPH **TRANS** Transitivity marker **VNT** Ventive marker