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Valency Classes Workshop  
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## **Valency classes in Bora (Peru): a first approximation**

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### **Aims of this talk<sup>1</sup>**

By which formal criteria is the verbal lexicon of Bora divided into classes that display different valency properties?

Three criteria for establishing such classes in Bora: case frames (section 2), (morphologically unmarked) valency alternations (section 3), and two types of morphologically marked valency-changing derivational processes (section 4).

Focus here on a rich system of morphologically marked valency-changing derivation

These (will) allow setting up multiple valency classes

### **1. General characteristics of Bora**

#### *1.1. Typological profile*

Bora is a Witotoan language spoken in Colombian and Peruvian Amazon by about 2,500 speakers. It has a tone system with massive tone sandhi, it is fairly polysynthetic, agglutinating, and consistently Nominative-Accusative.

#### *1.2. Case markers*

Case markers are summarized in Table 1. These case markers apply to full lexical noun phrases in the same way as to personal pronouns, with the variants according to animacy noted in the Table.

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<sup>1</sup> The analysis presented here builds on Seifart (2005: 31-71), Thiesen (1996), and Thiesen and Weber (2000), and my field notes. Text examples are from Seifart et al. (2009), for which the session name from that collection is indicated in brackets. Additional examples come from elicitation and from Thiesen & Thiesen (1998).

case	markers	functions
nominative	unmarked	- the only argument of intransitive predicates - the most agent-like argument of transitive predicates
primary object (OBJ)	- <i>ke</i> (anim.) unmarked for inanimates	- the less agent-like argument of monotransitive predicates - the recipient argument of ditransitive predicates of transaction - Inalienable possessor of animates
allative (ALL)	- <i>divu</i> (anim.) - <i>vu</i> , - <i>u</i> (inanim.)	- the goal of the action/event - the theme argument (secondary object) of ditransitive predicates
ablative (ABL)	- <i>dityu</i> (anim.) - <i>tu</i> (inanim.)	- the source of the action/event - static location that involves protrusion
instrumental/ locative (INST/LOC)	- <i>ri</i>	- instrument - static location without protrusion
benefactive (BEN)	- <i>liihye</i>	- beneficiary
sociative (SOC)	- <i>ma</i>	- a participant that accompanies the action/event
comparison (COMP)	- <i>du</i>	- a participant that is being compared to the subject of a predicate in terms of what is expressed by that predicate.

TABLE 1: CASE MARKERS

### 1.3. Subject cross-reference and word order

One form of verbal predicates includes a noun class / gender suffix that cross-references the subject, of transitive as well as intransitive verbs, i.e. A and S (examples 1a-b). An overt subject noun phrase is optional in that case (examples 1 vs. 2).

- (1) a.    **S**            **V-S**  
*wajpi*        *dsííneé-be*  
man            run-M.S  
‘The man ran’
- b.        **A**            **O-OBJ**            **V-A**  
*wajpi*        *tsííméne-ke*        *wátájcoó-be*  
man            child-OBJ            cover-M.S  
‘The man covered the child with the blanket’

- (2) a. **V-S**  
*dsíineé-be*  
 run-M.S  
 ‘He ran’
- b. **O-OBJ**                      **V-A**  
*tsíiméne-ke*                      *wátájcoó-be*  
 child-OBJ                      cover-M.S  
 ‘He covered the child’

There are no word order restrictions in main clauses, except that subjects must precede verbs in certain predicate constructions (not illustrated here). Subjects and objects are not differentiated by word order.

### 1.2. Optionality of arguments and the identification of transitive verbs

Any argument, except subjects (which must be expressed at least as cross-referencing suffixes), is optional. Transitive verbs in Bora can be identified as those that *can* (but never *must*) take primary objects.

- (3) a. **A V (O-OBJ)**  
*wajpi taavá*                      (*níivúwa-ke*)  
 man hunt                      deer-OBJ  
 ‘The man hunted (for deer)’
- b. **S V \*O-OBJ**  
*wajpi lliíñajá*                      *\*níivúwa-ke*  
 man hunt                      deer-OBJ  
 ‘The man was hunting’

## 2. Case frames and basic valency patterns

Particularly noteworthy are three patterns for ditransitive verbs:

(i) recipient marked for primary object case, theme for allative: GIVE (example 4) and all causativized verbs like ‘show (make see)’ (example 5)

- (4) a. **T-ALL R-OBJ A GIVE**  
*téwaahyé-vú*                      *o-ke*                      *ú*                      *ájcuú*  
 leftovers-ALL                      1.SG-OBJ                      2.SG                      give  
 ‘You give me the leftovers’ [Ilijchuri\_1: 685]
- b.    **R-OBJ A GIVE T-ALL**  
*Tsá muurá*                      *éhne me-ke*                      *ditye ájcu-tú*                      *mééme-u*  
 no well                      that 1PL-OBJ                      3.PL give-NEG                      palmfruit-ALL  
 ‘They did not give use palmfruits’ [niivuwa 083]



### 3. Valency alternations without morphological markers

(i) with rearrangement of arguments: Instrument-subject alternation (examples 8-9)

- (8) a. **A CUT**  
*ó wáhdahí-nú-hi*  
1.SG cut-MULT.TRANS-PRED  
'I cut'
- b. **INST CUT**  
*pidójowa wáhdahí-nú-hi*  
knife cut-MULT.TRANS-PRED  
'the knife cuts'
- (9) a. **A CUT**  
*ó vííú-ve-tsó-hi*  
1.SG cut-SNG.INTR-CAUS-PRED  
'I cut'
- b. **INST CUT**  
*pidójowa vííú-ve-tsó-hi*  
knife cut-SNG.INTR-CAUS-PRED  
'The knife cuts'

(ii) without rearrangement of arguments, but addition of semantic specification:

The allative case can be used for theme arguments of *ájcu* 'give' to express a partitive meaning (example 10, compare with example 4a, above, where the theme argument of 'give' is marked with allative case).

- (10) **R-OBJ A T-ABL GIVE**  
*o-ke semi éhne móóhóúwíuu-tu d-aácu*  
1.SG-OBJ proper\_name that string-DIM-ABL IMP.S-give  
'Give me of that little string, Semi' [inf\_josrob\_etc2 18]

### 4. Two kinds of morphologically marked valency changing operations

One set of valency-changing morphemes also marks verbal number (section 4.1). These are distinct from (and can be combined with) causative, reflexive and reciprocal markers (section 4.2). Instrument prefixes do not influence valency (section 4.3)

<u>instrument</u>	<u>root</u>	<u>verbal number and transitivity</u>	<u>other derivation</u>	<u>causative, reciprocal</u>	<u>reflexive</u>	<u>directional</u>
<i>do-</i> 'hand', <i>ki-</i> 'knife', <i>di-</i> 'teeth', etc.		<b>-jćáro</b> 'SNG.TRANS', <b>-Vve</b> 'SNG.INTR', <b>-jco</b> 'MULT.TRANS', <b>etc.</b>	<i>-lle</i> 'consider' <i>-tujkěnu</i> 'incipient', etc.	<b>-tso</b> 'CAUS', <b>-jcatsi</b> 'RECIP',	<b>-mei</b> 'REFL'	<i>-va</i> 'come', <i>-te</i> 'go', <i>-je</i> 'return', etc.

TABLE 2: TEMPLATE FOR DERIVATIONAL VERB STEM FORMATION

#### 4.1. Verbal number and transitivity markers

	<u>singular verbal number</u>	<u>plural verbal number</u>	<u>verb stem class</u>	<u>examples for verb stem classes</u>
transitive (six pairs of allomorphs)	<i>-jćáro</i>	<i>-jco</i>	I	<i>ívóhojćáro</i> 'turn around', <i>dóvíujćáro</i> 'break', <i>wállajćáro</i> 'lay on back'
	<i>-hjáco</i>	<i>-hco</i>	II	<i>ávohjáco</i> 'turn around', <i>dópújuhjáco</i> 'break', <i>cátohjáco</i> 'block'
	<i>-ro</i>	<i>-nu</i>	III	<i>bíjįro</i> 'wrap', <i>wáhdahįro</i> 'cut', <i>wájpolláro</i> 'turn around'
	<i>-úcu</i>	<i>-jcu</i>	IV	<i>áiúcu</i> 'burn', <i>bóllįyiúcu</i> 'drill', <i>cátsiúcu</i> 'to corner'
	<i>-áco</i>	<i>-jco</i>	V	<i>bóiáco</i> 'discourage', <i>cácóroáco</i> 'loosen', <i>cánoáco</i> 'dig',
	<i>-hjúcu</i>	<i>-cyo,</i> <i>hcyo</i>	VI	<i>arahjúcu</i> 'smell', <i>bócáyihjúcu</i> 'scrape' <i>wátsihjúcu</i> 'whip'
intransitive (two pairs of allomorphs)	<i>V-ve</i>	<i>h-ba</i>		
	<i>-Ø</i>	<i>-cunu</i>		
stative	<i>-úcunu</i>	<i>-jcatye</i>		

TABLE 3: VERBAL NUMBER AND TRANSITIVITY MARKERS

The verbal number distinction (horizontal dimension Table 3) has to do with plurality of actions, events, and participants, and with iterativity and distributivity.

The transitivity distinction (vertical dimension Table 3) corresponds to causative (intransitive -> transitive) derivations

- (11) a.    *wajpi*        *ácú-uvé*  
man                sit-SNG.INTR  
'The man is sitting'

- b. *wajpi ácu-jcáró tsííméne-ke*  
 man sit-SNG.TRANS child-OBJ  
 ‘The man is seating the child’
- (12) a. *ta-hjya ái-ivyé-hi*  
 1.SG-house burn-SNG.INTR-PRED  
 ‘My house is burning’ [VerbaDicendi 098]
- b. *íveekí iñe mútsítsi-bájú ú ái-úcú*  
 why this pear-plantation 2.SG burn-SNG.TRANS  
 ‘Why did you burn this pear plantation?’ [bora\_chac\_1 119]
- (13) a. *dí-waajácuháámí ácádsí-ivé*  
 2.SG-book loose-SNG.INTR  
 ‘Your book fell down’
- b. *ú ácádsí-jcaayó dí-waajácuháámí*  
 2.SG loose-SNG.TRANS 2.SG-book  
 ‘You let your book fall down’

Roughly 50% of Bora verbs combine with forms from this derivational system. Basic vocabulary tends not to combine with these forms. Therefore less than half of the verbs from the valency-classes-project list combine with these (see Appendix).

Of the verbs that do combine with these, hardly any can combine with all six morphemes. This (will) allow setting up multiple valency classes.

Some, for instance, cannot take transitive suffixes (examples 14a-d).

- (14) a. *uméneba búni-ivyé*  
 log slip-SNG.INTR  
 ‘the log slipped off’
- b. *uménebáá-ne búhni-bá*  
 log-PL slip-MULT.INTR  
 ‘the logs slipped off’
- c. \* *búni-jcáro/-hjáco/-ro/-úcu/-áco/-hjúcu*  
 slip-SNG.TRANS
- d. \* *búni-jco/-hco/-nu/-jcu/-jco/-cyo/-hcyo*  
 slip-MULT.TRANS

The verbs that do combine with these fall into about six verb stem classes, which are defined by pairs of (multiple-singular verbal action, transitive) allomorphs (Table 4).

Semantic, morphological or phonological motivations for the formal stem classes I-VI are not (easily) discernable (pending further research)

#### 4.2. Causative, reflexive, and reciprocal markers

The causative marker *-tsó* can be used with (almost?) every verb, increasing its valency by introducing a causer in subject function and demoting the subject of the underived verb to a primary object and the primary object of the underived verb (if there is one) to a secondary object (marked by *-vu* ‘ALL’).

- (14) a. **S V**  
*ó dsíiné-hi*  
 1.SG run-PRED  
 ‘I ran’
- b. **A O-OBJ V-CAUS**  
*wajpi o-ke dsííne-tsó-hi*  
 man 1.SG-OBJ run-CAUS-PRED  
 ‘The man made me run’
- (15) a. **A V O-OBJ**  
*ó íité-hi okáji-ke*  
 1.SG see-PRED tapir-OBJ  
 ‘I saw a tapir’
- b. **A O-OBJ V-CAUS T-ALL**  
*wajpi o-ke ííte-tsó-hi okáji-dívu*  
 man 1.SG-OBJ see-CAUS-PRED tapir-ALL  
 ‘The man made me run’

The reflexive marker *-mei*. In addition to expected uses (example 16b), reflexive verbs can be used with an object (example 19c). In this case, the agenthood of the subject is downgraded.

- (16) a. **A V O-OBJ**  
*wajpi tsájtyé-hi wajácuháami*  
 man carry-PRED book  
 ‘The man carried the book’
- b. **A=O V-REFL**  
*wajpi tsájtyé-meí-hi*  
 man carry-REFL-PRED  
 ‘The man carried himself’
- c. **A(DOWNGR.) V-REFL O-OBJ**  
*wajpi tsájtyé-meí-hi wajácuháami*  
 man carry-REFL-PRED book  
 ‘The man tried to carry the book’

### The reciprocal marker *-jcatsi*

- (17) a.    **A**                      **O-OBJ**                      **V**  
*tá-ñahbe*                      *nááni-kye*                      *cábo-hcó-hi*  
1.SG-brother                      my.uncle-OBJ                      beat-MULT.TRANS-PRED  
‘My brother beat my uncle’
- b.    **A=O**                      **V-RECP**  
*tá-ñahbé-mu*                      *cábo-hcó-jcatsi-hi*  
1.SG-brother-PL                      beat-MULT.TRANS-RECP-PRED  
‘My brothers beat each other’

The entire range of combinability (in principle 18 forms for each verb, combining the forms discussed in section 4.1 and this section) still needs to be determined.

### 4.3. Non-valency-changing instrument prefixes

- (18) a.    *dí-váa-jcáro*  
**INST:TOOTH-break-SNG.TRANS**  
‘break with teeth’
- b.    *cá-váa-jcáro*  
**INST:POINTED-break-SNG.TRANS**  
‘break with pointed object’
- c.    *dó-váa-jcáro*  
**INST:HAND-break-SNG.TRANS**  
‘break with hand’
- d.    *kí-váa-jcáro*  
**INST:KNIFE-break-SNG.TRANS**  
‘cut’
- e.    *pí-váa-jcáro*  
**INST:SAW-break-SNG.TRANS**  
‘open by sawing’.
- f.    *wá-váa-jcáro*  
**INST:HIT-break-SNG.TRANS**  
‘break by hitting’

These prefixes can be used with an overt instrument noun phrase, i.e. they do not reduce the valency.

- (19) a.    *tá-ba-hjyúcu-úbe*                                      *i-hójtisi-ri*  
**INST:FOOT-pull\_out-SNG.TRANS-M.S**                      3-hand-INST  
‘He pulled out (something) with his foot’

- b. *kí-ba-hjyúcu-úbe* *níítsíwa-ri*  
 INST:KNIFE-pull\_out-SNG.TRANS-M.S machete-INST  
 ‘He pulled out (something) with a machete’

## 5. Conclusions

Of the various criteria that allow setting up valency classes in Bora, derivational morphology offers the richest possibilities.

## Abbreviations

1 - first person; 2 - second person; 3 - third person; A - agent-like argument of canonical transitive verb; ABL - ablative; ADV - adverb; ALL - allative; ANIM - animate; BEN - benefactive; CAUS - causative; COMP - comparative; DIM - diminutive; DIR - directional; DL - dual nominal number; EXCL - exclusive; F - feminine; HAB - habitual; IMP - imperative; INAN - inanimate; INST - instrument; INTR - intransitive; LOC - locative; M - masculine; MULT - plural verbal number; NEG - negative; NOM - nominative; P - patient-like argument of canonical transitive verb; O - only argument of canonical intransitive verb; OBJ - object case; PL - plural nominal number; PRED - predicative; PRF - perfect; R - recipient-like argument; RECP - reciprocal; REFL - reflexive; SG - singular; SNG - singular verbal number; SOC - sociative; SP - Spanish loan; STAT - stative; T - theme role; TRANS - transitive; V - verb; VBLZ - verbalizer.

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**Appendix: Example sentences from the Valency Classes Project**

<u>Example</u>	<u>Case frame</u>
(01) The man COVERed the child with the blanket <i>wajpi tsíiméne-ke ávohjá-co cobíija-vu</i> man child-OBJ cover-SNG.TRANS blanket.SP-ALL	NOM-OBJ-ALL
(02) The man FILled the glass with water <i>wajpi wahpé-tsó vááso nújpácyo-tu</i> man full-CAUS glass.SP water-ABL	NOM-OBJ-ABL
(03) The man LOAded the hay on the cart <i>wajpi pícyo-tsó míine áji-tu</i> man put-CAUS canoe palm-ABL 'The man put palm(leaves) into the canoe'	NOM-OBJ-ABL
(04) The man TIEed the horse to the tree <i>wajpi chí-acó ííju-ke úméhe-tu</i> man tie-SNG.TRANS horse-OBJ tree-ABL	NOM-OBJ-ABL
(05) The man POUred the water into the glass <i>wajpi cáhpi-ñú nújpacyo váásó pañé-vu</i> man pour-MULT.TRANS water glass.SP inside-ALL	NOM-OBJ-LOC-ALL
(06) The man PUT the book on the table <i>wajpi pícyó wajácuháámi méétsá hallú-vu</i> man put book table.SP top-ALL	NOM-OBJ-LOC-ALL
(07) The boy THREW the stone into the window <i>ováhtsa waaó nééwabya nújpácyó pañé-vu</i> boy throw stone water inside-ALL	NOM-OBJ-LOC-ALL
(08) The boy BROUGHT the book to the teacher <i>ováhtsa tsiivá wajácuháámi uwáábóóbe-dívu</i> boy bring book teacher-ALL	NOM-OBJ-LOC-ALL
(09a) The boy CARRIed the book to the teacher <i>ováhtsa tsajtyé wajácuháámi uwáábóóbe-dívu</i> boy carry book teacher-ALL	NOM-OBJ-ALL
(09b) The boy CARRIed the book to school <i>ováhtsa tsajtyé wajácuháámi uwáábó-ja-vu</i> boy carry book teach-house-ALL	NOM-OBJ-ALL
(10a) The boy SENT the book to the teacher <i>ováhtsa walló wajácuháámi uwáábóóbe-dívu</i> boy send book teacher-ALL	NOM-OBJ-ALL
(10b) The boy SENT the book to school <i>ováhtsa walló wajácuháámi uwáábója-vu</i> boy send book teach-house-ALL	NOM-OBJ-ALL
(11) The boy GAVE the book to the teacher <i>ováhtsa ajcú waajácuháámi-vu uwáábóóbe-ke</i> boy give book-ALL teacher-OBJ	NOM-OBJ-ALL
(12) The boy SHOWed the book to the teacher <i>ováhtsa úúje-tsó waajácuháámi-vu uwáábóóbe-ke</i> boy see-CAUS book-ALL teacher-OBJ	NOM-OBJ-ALL

(13) The boy GOT the book from the teacher <i>ováhtsa ujcú waajácuháámi uwáábóóbe-dityu</i> boy get book teacher-ABL	NOM-OBJ-ABL
(14) The boy STOLE the book from the teacher <i>ováhtsa nani waajácuháámi uwáábóóbe-dityu</i> boy steal book teacher-ABL	NOM-OBJ-ABL
(15) The boy HID the book from the teacher <i>ováhtsa páátaní waajácuháámi uwáábóóbe-dityu</i> boy hide book teacher-ABL	NOM-OBJ-ABL
(16) The boy TORE the page from the book <i>ováhtsa tsá-haami tá-ba-hjyúci wajácuháámi-tu</i> boy one-leaf INST:FOOT-tear-SNG.TRANS book-ABL	NOM-OBJ-ABL
(17) The boy WIPed the dirt from the hammock <i>ováhtsa píchúu-jcó iĩnu wáábya-tu</i> boy wipe-MULT.TRANS earth hammock-ABL	NOM-OBJ-ABL
(18) The boy CUT the bread with the knife <i>ováhtsa kidyahí-nú páá nĩtsúwáwuú-ri</i> boy cut-MULT.TRANS bread.SP knife-INST	NOM-OBJ-INST
(19) The boy TOUCHed the snake with the stick <i>ováhtsa cáñoohí-yó iĩnimé-ke úméhéi-yi</i> boy touch-SNG.TRANS snake-OBJ stick-INST	NOM-OBJ-INST
(20) The boy HIT the snake with the stick <i>ováhtsa illaáyo iĩnimé-ke úméhéi-yi</i> boy beat snake-OBJ stick-INST	NOM-OBJ-INST
(21) The boy BEAT the snake with the stick <i>ováhtsa wádíri-hcó iĩnimé-ke úméhéi-yi</i> boy INST:HIT-beat-MULT.TRANS snake-OBJ stick-INST	NOM-OBJ-INST
(22) The boy KILLED the snake with the stick <i>ováhtsa dsjĩve-tsó iĩnimé-ke úméhéi-yi</i> boy die-CAUS snake-OBJ stick-INST	NOM-OBJ-INST
(23) The boy BROKE the window with the stone <i>ováhtsa wá-puju-hjácó mĩícúmiji nééwáu-ri</i> boy INST:HIT-break-SNG.TRANS glass stone-INST	NOM-OBJ-INST
(24) The man BUILT the house with palmleafs <i>wajpi meenú ja áji-tu</i> man make house palm-ABL	NOM-OBJ-ABL
(25) The man CALLED the boy a fool <i>wajpi memé-nú ováhtsa-ke átérééjpi-dívu</i> man name-VBZ:DO boy-OBJ fool-ALL	NOM-OBJ-ALL
(26) The man SAID truth to the boy <i>wajpi ímiááne néé ováhtsa-ke</i> man truth say boy-OBJ	NOM-OBJ(ADV??)- OBJ
(27) The man SHOUTed to the boy <i>wajpi ihjyú-cunú ováhtsa-ke</i> man mouth-MULT.TRANS boy-OBJ	NOM-OBJ

(28) The man TOLD a story to the boy <i>wajpi úúbállé ováhtsa-ke</i> man tell_story boy-OBJ	NOM-OBJ
(29) The boy ASKed the man for money <i>ováhtsa táuméi dsíídsi-ke wajpi-kye</i> boy ask money-OBJ man-OBJ	NOM-OBJ-OBJ
(30) The man TALKed to the boy about X <i>wajpi ihjyú-vá ováhtsa-ma wákyiméi-yi</i> man mouth-VBLZ:HAVE boy-SOC work-INST	NOM-SOC-INST
(31) The man KNEW the boy <i>wajpi waajácú ováhtsa-ke</i> man know-SNG.TRANS boy-OBJ	NOM-OBJ
(32) The man REMEMBERed the boy <i>wajpi ítsaavé ováhtsa-ke</i> man remember boy-OBJ	NOM-OBJ
(33) The man SAW the boy <i>wajpi ováhtsa-ke ájtyumí</i> man boy-OBJ see	NOM-OBJ
(34) The man LOOKED AT the boy <i>wajpi íité ováhtsa-ke</i> man look boy-OBJ	NOM-OBJ
(35) The man FRIGHTENed the boy <i>wajpi illí-vye-ebó ováhtsa-ke</i> man frighten-SNG.INTR?-? boy-OBJ	NOM-OBJ
(36) The boy FEARed the man <i>ováhtsa illí wájpi-kye</i> boy fear man-OBJ alternative: <i>ováhtsa illi-tyé wájpi-hdi</i> boy fear-? man-ANIM	NOM-OBJ
(37) The boy LIKed the man <i>ováhtsa wajyú wájpi-kye</i> boy like man-OBJ	NOM-OBJ
(38) The man SEARCHed for the boy <i>wajpi nehcó ováhtsa-ke</i> man search boy-OBJ	NOM-OBJ
(39) The man HUNTEd for deer <i>wajpi taavá nívíúwa-ke</i> man hunt deer-OBJ	NOM-OBJ
(40) The man MARRied the girl <i>wajpi táába-vá wállée-ke</i> man wife-VBLZ.HAVE woman-OBJ	NOM-OBJ
(41) The man MET the girl (=see) <i>wajpi ájtyumí bád síjcája-ke</i> man meet girl-OBJ	NOM-OBJ

(42) The man FOLLOWed the girl <i>wajpi úra-avyé bádśíjcája-ke</i> man follow-SNG.INTR?? <sup>2</sup> girl-OBJ	NOM-OBJ
(43) The man HELPEd the girl <i>wajpi píá-abó bádśíjcája-ke</i> man help-? girl-OBJ	NOM-OBJ
(44) The man ATE the bread <i>wajpi majchó páá</i> man eat bread.SP	NOM-OBJ
(45) The man DRESSEd the child <i>wajpi u-ácó tsííméne-ke</i> man enter-SNG.TRANS? child-OBJ	NOM-OBJ
(46) The man DRESSEd <i>wajpi ú-jcá-meí</i> man enter-MULT.TRANS?-REFL	NOM
(47) The man WASHed the child <i>wajpi nijtyú tsííméne-ke</i> man wash child-OBJ	NOM-OBJ
(48) The man WASHed <i>wajpi nijtyá-meí</i> man wash-REFL	NOM
(49) The man COUGHed <i>wajpi éjéhtsó</i> man cough	NOM
(50) The man CLIMBed (up) the hill <i>wajpi néri-ivyé téhbaú-vu</i> man climb-SNG.INTR hill-ALL	NOM-ALL
(51) The man SAT down (on the floor) <i>wajpi ácu-uvé (baa-vu)</i> man sit-SNG.INTR below-ALL	NOM(-ALL)
(52) The man SAT (on the floor) <i>wajpi ácu-úcuunú (baa-ri)</i> man sit-SG.STAT below-LOC	NOM(-LOC)
(53) The child RUN (on the floor) <i>tsííméne dsíiné (baa-ri)</i> child run below-LOC	NOM(-LOC)
(54) The child JUMPed (on the floor) <i>tsííméne cátsíñi-ivyé (baa-vu)</i> child jump-SNG.INTR below-ALL	NOM(-ALL)
(55) The boy CAME (to the village) <i>ováhtsa tsáá cóómí-vuú</i> boy come village-ALL	NOM-ALL

<sup>2</sup> The form *-avyé* looks like a SNG.INTR marker, but this verb is clearly transitive.

(56) The boy WENT (from the village) <i>ováhtsa péé cóómi-tyu</i> boy come village-ABL	NOM(-ABL)
(57) The boy LIVED (in the village) <i>ováhtsa icya-híjcá cóómi-yíí</i> boy be-HAB village-LOC	NOM-LOC
(58) The boy SANG (a song) <i>ováhtsa májtsi-vá májtsijyu</i> boy song-VBLZ:HAVE song	NOM-OBJ
(59) The boy APPEARED (on the road) <i>ováhtsa bóhówa-avé juuvá-ri</i> boy appear-SNG.INTR road-LOC	NOM-LOC
(60) My arm HURTS (me) <i>tá-ñéjuwa o-ké avyé</i> 1.SG-arm 1.SG-OBJ hurt	NOM-OBJ
(61) The man DIED <i>wajpi dsíjivé</i> man die	NOM
(62) The man FELL (on the ground) <i>wajpi áákityé (baa-vu)</i> man fall below-ALL	NOM
(63) The boy FROZE <i>ováhtsa tsuucó</i> boy cold 'the boy was cold'	NOM
(64) The boy was HUNGRY <i>ováhtsa aiyábá-áva-té</i> boy hungry-SNG.INTR-?	NOM
(65) It RAINED <i>allé-ne</i> rain-3.INAN	0