

Reciprocal constructions in Oceanic languages

0. Introduction

* In most Oceanic languages, reciprocal and reflexive expressions differ in their constructions and in the origin of their markers.

* By contrast, middle and reciprocal situations often share the same morphosyntactic marker, albeit in different constructions.

* Reciprocal construction generally exhibit a higher degree of grammaticalization than reflexive ones.

* Oceanic languages provide a large sample of the variety of reciprocal strategies found in the languages of the world, mainly affixal, (de)verbal and quantificational ones.

* Some languages provide evidence for both directions of meaning extensions in the historical development of these constructions:

reflexive > reciprocal AND reciprocal > reflexive

1. Lexical reciprocals

* Verbs of social relations, verbs denoting spatial relations of proximity, verbs denoting (dis)similarity.

XĀRĀCŪŪ (New Caledonia, South of the Mainland)

- | | | | | |
|----|---------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|-------------|
| 1. | <i>ri</i> | <i>tôôbùtù</i> | <i>ri</i> | <i>xöyö</i> |
| | 3PL | put together | 3PL | marry |
| | ‘They are meeting.’ | | ‘They are getting married.’ | |

TOQABAQITA (Malaita, South-East Solomon)

- | | | | | |
|----|--|---------------|-------------|-------------|
| 2. | <i>roo</i> | <i>tarake</i> | <i>kere</i> | <i>toqo</i> |
| | two | truck | 3PL.FACT | impact |
| | ‘(The) two trucks collided.’ (Lichtenberk 2007:1551) | | | |

* Lexicalized reciprocals: NENGONE *eked* ‘assemble’, *ethanata* ‘speak’, *itic* ‘exchange’, XĀRĀGURĒ *pupuu* ‘meet, gather’, *puté* ‘race’, EAST FUTUNAN *fetai* ‘fight’, *fetogi* ‘exchange’, PAICĪ *ipiti* ‘meet’, etc.

* No specific marking but direct object, or possessive suffix on the direct object, co-referential with the subject:

TOQABAQITA

- | | | | | | |
|----|---|---------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------|
| 3. | <i>roo</i> | <i>wane</i> | <i>kero</i> | <i>laba-taqi</i> | <i>keeroqa</i> |
| | two | man | 3DU:NONFUT | affect.negatively-TR | 3DU |
| | ‘The two men harm each other.’ (Lichtenberk 2000:42) | | | | |
| 4. | <i>kero</i> | <i>musu-a</i> | <i>babali-daroqa</i> | | |
| | 3DU.FACT | kiss-3.OBJ | cheek-3DU.POSS | | |
| | ‘The two of them kissed each other on the cheek.’ | | | | |
| | lit. The two of them kissed their cheeks. (Lichtenberk 2007:1554) | | | | |

2. Affixal strategy

2.1. The (sole) prefix: S_{PREF}-V ‘light’ markers

* middle situations: collective, depatientive, inherent reciprocity; dual reciprocity

XĀRĀGURĒ (New Caledonia, South of the Mainland)

- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|--|-----------|------------|-----------|---------------|----------|---------------|--------------|
| 5. | <i>nyără</i> | <i>nä</i> | <i>pia</i> | <i>rè</i> | <i>dunämè</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>chuamè</i> | <i>catoa</i> |
| | 3PL | IPFV | fight | IPFV | when | DEIC | star | come.out |
| | ‘They will fight when the star comes out.’ | | | | | | | |

6. *gwii pu-pia tũ kwari*
 1DU.EXCL REC-war OBL grasshopper
 ‘We are fighting (each other) about the grasshoppers’

PAICĪ (New Caledonia, Centre of the Mainland)

7. *ru pi-tũra wẽ Pwãdé mâ Ûtê*
 3DU REC-discuss PERS Pwãdé and Ûtê
 ‘Pwãdé and Ûtê are talking to each other.’ (*ru pi-tũra ru)

AJIË (New Caledonia, South of the Mainland)

8. *céré dè bâ vi-javirũ gövu vi-öyö*
 3PL ASP ASP REC-meet 1DU.EXCL REC-marry
 ‘They often meet.’ ‘We are getting married.’

TOQABAQITA (South-East Solomonian)

9. *Roo wane kero kwai-laba-taqi*
 two man 3DU:NONFUT REC-affect.negatively-TR
 ‘The two men harm (people) / spoil, damage (things), etc.’ (Lichtenberk 2000:42)

2.2. Prefix + pronominal object coreferent with the subject (‘heavy’ markers)

2.2.1. The coreferent pronoun is a direct object

XÂRÂGÛRÈ (New Caledonia, South of the Mainland)

10. *nyärã naa pu-xwi rè nyärã*
 3PL IPFV.PAST REC-eat IPFV 3PL
 ‘They used to eat each other.’

11. *pa-Mwãjoaru pu-tia nyärã nẽera*
 COLL-Mwãjoaru REC-split 3PL today
 ‘The Mwãjoaru are splitting up today.’

12. *nyärã pu-kẽgai nyärã*
 3PL REC-pinch 3PL
 ‘They are pinching each other.’ (*nyärã pu-kẽgai* ‘they pinch/are pinchers’).

NËLËMWA (New Caledonia, North of the Mainland)

13. *hli pe-cabwa-hli hla pe-khiibo-hla*
 3DU REC-pinch-3DU 3PL REC-hit-3PL
 ‘They are pinching each other.’ ‘They are hitting each other.’ (Bril, 2002:174)

PAICĪ (New Caledonia, Centre of the Mainland)

14. *ru pi-ucã-rĩ ru*
 3DU REC-look-TR 3DU
 ‘They observe each other.’ (*ru pi-ucã* ‘They look together/at each other.’)

2.2.2. The coreferent pronoun is an indirect object

PAICĪ

15. *ru pi-wãdé tẽ ru wẽilu*
 3DU REC-good OBL 3DU PERS+3DU
 ‘They love each other.’ (*ru pi-wãdé* ‘They get along well (between siblings)’)

CËMUHĪ

16. *lu pi-caniẽ ko lu ö lupwö pwömwaiu*
 3DU REC-help OBL 3DU PERS ART.DU family
 ‘The two families help each other.’

AJIË

17. *curu vi-baa yè ru na dua öyö*
 3DU REC-kiss OBL 3DU.OBJ SM two fiancé
 ‘The betrothed are kissing each other.’

2.3. Nominal predicate + possessive suffix

* Mutual relationship, comparison:

PAICÎ

18. *pi-böru-jè*

REC-cross.cousin-POSS.1PL.INCL

‘We are cross-cousins.’

19. *pi-nêê-ru mâ wë Kaapo*

REC-name-POSS3DU with PERS Kaapo

‘He has the same name as Kaapo.’ (lit. their same name with Kaapo)

NEMI (New Caledonia, North of the Mainland)

20. *pe-doi-lu* or *pe-wade-lu*

REC-year-3DU

REC-generation-3DU

‘These two are the same age.’

2.4. Circumfix in an intransitive construction

KUSAIEAN (Micronesian)

21. *Macrike ac Sacpacinis a-mweun-i ke 1942*

America and Japan PREF-fight-SUF in 1942

‘America and Japan fought against each other in 1942.’ (Lee 1975: 107)

TOQABAQITA

22. *Roo wane kere kwai-ngalu-fi*

two man 3PL.FACT REC-berate-TR

‘The two men spoke angrily to each other.’ (Lichtenberk 2007:1552)

NENGONE (Loyalty islands)

23. *ehnij hna e-rede-jeu*

1PL.EXCL PAST REC-fight-REC

‘We fought each other.’ (*ehnij hna e-red* ‘We fought (each other, or not)’))

24. *ore pailai ci i-kuli-jeu* (*i-kuli)

ART dog IPFV REC-bite-REC

‘The dogs are biting each other.’

25. *ore ngom ci e-pareu-jeu* (*e-pareu)

ART man IPFV REC-respect-REC

‘The men respect each other.’

EAST FUTUNAN

26. *na tali loa e Ufigaki le 'aumai o le kava*

PAST answer SUC ERG Ufigaki ART arrival POSS ART kava

‘Ufigaki accepted that the kava be brought.’

b. *e fe-tali-'aki le fenua i le fono*

IPFV REC-answer-REC ART people OBL ART meeting

‘People answer each other during the meeting.’

27. *e tītu'a mai a Isaia kia māua*

IPFV turn one's back DIR ABS Isaia OBL 1.DU.EXCL

‘Isaia is turning his back on us.’

b. *e tā fe-tītu'a-'aki*

IPFV 1.DU.INCL REC-turn one's back-REC

‘We are turning our backs on each other.’

2.5. Circumfix + coreferential pronominal object

IAAI (Uvea, Loyalty islands)

28. *ödree kuhw-ödrin* non reciprocal construction (S V-O)
 3DU+PAST shoot-3PL
 ‘They shot at them.’
29. *ödree û-kuhwa-köu* collective (S pref-V-suf)
 3DU+PAST REC-shoot-REC
 ‘They shot together.’
30. *ödree û-kuhw-ödrin-köu (hmetu)* reciprocal (S pref-V-O-suf)
 3DU+PAST REC-shoot-3PL.RESTR-REC (again)
 ‘They shot at each other.’

3. The deverbal strategies

3.1. Spatial notions

TOQABAQITA (*kwailiu* < *kwai-* reciprocal prefix + *liu* ‘to walk past/around’)

31. *keeroqa keko thathami keeroqa*
 3DU 3DU like 3DU
 ‘They liked each other’ or ‘They liked themselves’ or ‘They liked them.’
32. *keko thathami keeroqa kwailiu*
 3DU like 3DU REC+AROUND
 ‘They liked each other.’ (Lichtenberk 2007: 1557)
33. *roo kini kero fale olili qani keeroqa*
 two woman 3DU.FACT give BACK.AND.FORTH 3DU
 ‘The two women gave [presents] to each other.’ (Lichtenberk 2007: 1555)

XARACUÛ

34. *pa xûûchî chëi mûgé na ri ngé kwââ*
 COLL child hit RETURN PAST 3PL with stick
 ‘The children hit themselves/each other with a stick.’

MĀORI

35. *nā Hone rāua ko Mere i patu a rāua anō*
 belong John 3DU SPEC Mary TAM beat PERS 3DU AGAIN
 ‘John and Mary hit themselves/each other.’ (Bauer 1997:646)
36. *i tunu keke a Hone rāua ko Mere na rāua anō*
 PERF bake cake PERS John 3DU SPEC Mary belong 3DU AGAIN
 ‘John and Mary (together) baked cakes for themselves’ or ‘John and Mary baked cakes for each other.’ or ‘John and Mary each baked cakes for themselves.’

TAHITIAN (*iho* < PPN *hifo ‘go down’)

37. *e aroha tātou iā tātou iho*
 IPFV love 1PL.INCL OBL 1PL.INCL INT
 ‘Let's love each other.’ (Coppenrath & Prevost (1975:168)
38. *'ua taparahi rātou rātou iho*
 PFV hit 3PL 3PL INT
 ‘They hit each other.’
39. *'ua taparahi rātou iā rātou iho*
 PFV hit 3PL OBL 3PL INT
 ‘They hit themselves.’ (P. Vernaudo, p.c.)
40. *'ua pe'ape'a rātou, rātou rātou iho*
 PFV be.annoyed 3PL 3PL 3PL INT
 ‘They argued with each other.’ (Coppenrath & Prevost 1975:168)

3.2. The ‘compete/exchange/in the same time’ strategy

TUVALUAN *fakatau* ‘exchange, compete’

41. *tamaliki koo fakatau koukkou*
child INC compete bathe.PL

‘The children are washing each other’ or ‘The children are holding a washing-up competition’ or ‘The children are washing themselves over and over again.’ (Besnier, 2000:214)

+ circumfix *fe-* *-aki*: only reciprocal

42. *tamaliki koo fakatau fe-tuli-aki*
child INC compete REC-chase-REC

‘The children are chasing one another.’ (id.)

EAST FUTUNAN *fetau* ‘simultaneously’

43. *na fetau 'u'uti a kuli*
PAST simultaneously bite ABS dog

‘Dogs have bitten each other.’

4. The quantificational strategy

TUVALUAN

44. *koi fai vaa ssuaa maaloo ki ssuaa maaloo*
INC have poor relation INDEF+other state to INDEF+other state

‘These states are still in conflict with one another’ or ‘One state is still in conflict with the other state.’ (Besnier, 2000:213)

45. *koo fakatau tuli nee te isi tino te isi tino*
INC compete chase ERG ART other person ART other person

‘They are chasing one another.’ (Besnier, 2000:215)

WEST FUTUNAN (Polynesian Outlier, Vanuatu)

46. *akirea no-kaniani tasi ma tasi*
3PL PROG-love one and one

‘They love each other.’ (Capell 1984: 41)

KUSAIEAN (Micronesian)

47. *eltahl luhngse sie sin sie*
3PL like one of one

‘They like each other.’

48. *Sah Nwenah a-futfut-i sie sin sie*
Sah Nwenah PREF-kick-SUF one of one

‘Sah and Nwenah are kicking each other.’ (Lee 1975: 107, 201-202)

IAAI (Loyalty islands)

49. *e û-hakekeny(-kôu) umödrü li uma ke at baaten ke at*
3SG REC-near-(REC) CLF+3DU DU house INDEF person his side INDEF person

‘Their two houses are close to one another.’

50. *e û-hakekeny-kôu umödrin jee uma ke hnyaatr baaten ke hnyaatr*
3SG REC-near-REC CLF+3PL PL house INDEF persons his side INDEF persons

‘Their houses are close to one another.’

TAGALOG

51. *Mga pangako sa isa't isa.*
PL promise PREP one.and one

‘Mutual promises.’

Summary of the different reciprocal strategies found in Oceanic languages

1. Derivational strategy, sole prefix: all languages except Eastern Polynesia
 - middle (grooming actions), sociative, dual and inherent reciprocal situations
 - plurality of participants; syntactically low distinguishability of participants
 - intransitive construction
2. Derivational strategy, prefix + coref.object pronoun: several languages in Melanesia
 - reciprocal
 - [- extended to reflexive in some New Caledonian languages]
 - pseudo-transitive construction
3. Derivational strategy, circumfix: Loyalty islands and Western Polynesia
 - plurality of actions
 - reciprocal
 - intransitive, except dative coreference and Iaa: circumfix + coref. pron.obj.
4. Adverbial strategies
 - reflexive and reciprocal (Xârâcùù, Eastern Polynesia)
 - transitive construction
5. Adverbial ‘compete/exchange/simultaneously’ (Tuvaluan, East Futunan)
 - reciprocal (+ circumfix)
 - intransitive construction
6. Quantificational strategy (Tuvaluan, Iaa, West Futunan, Kusaiean)

5. Polysemy of reciprocal markers (related values) in East Futunan

5.1. Sociative/collective situations

- only the prefix:

EAST FUTUNAN

52. *e kapu a toe ki le fā fitipolo*
 IPFV run after ABS child OBL ART CLF ball
 ‘Children are running after the ball’.

- b. *e fe-kapu a toe ki le fā fitipolo*
 IPFV REC-run after ABS child OBL ART CLF ball
 ‘Children are running together after the ball’.

- circumfix *fe-*-(C)*i*:

EAST FUTUNAN

53. *na tagi e au le mate o Petelo*
 PAST cry ERG 1SG ART death POSS Petelo
 ‘I cried over the death of Petelo’.

- b. *na fe-tag-i-si a toe ki lolotou tinana*
 PAST REC-cry-TR ABS child OBL their mother
 ‘The children cried together over their mother’s death’.

STANDARD FIJIAN

54. *erāū vēi-vaka-vuli-ci*
 3DU REC-CAUS-learn-TR
 ‘They share a teacher-student relationship’. (Schütz 1985:206)

- circumfix *fe-*-(C)*aki*

EAST FUTUNAN

55. *e somo vave le la'akau leinei*
 IPFV grow fast ART tree this
 ‘This tree grows fast.’

- b. *kua fe-somo-'aki a 'ufi*
 PFV REC-grow-REC ABS yam
 'Yams all grew at the same time.' (Simultaneity as the counterpart of sociativity in the non-human world: Together yams increase their height vs. They grew together (recip.))

5.2. Adverbial meaning 'with difficulty', 'with a high agent implication'

The arguments denote individuals accomplishing actions normally requiring cooperation:

56. *e taki e Samino lana kete*
 IPFV carry in the hand ERG Samino his bag
 'Samino carries his bag in his hand.'
- b. *e fe-taki e Samino lana kete*
 IPFV REC-carry in the hand ERG Samino his bag
 'Samino carries his bag in his hand with difficulty.'
57. *e kau fe-oli ke kau ano ki Mala'e*
 IPFV 1SG REC-want that 1SG go OBL Malae
 'I want to go to Malae at all costs.'
- b. *e kau fe-fai ki saku motokā kae le'ese feauga i laku fāfalā*
 IPFV 1SG REC-do OBL my car but not be enough OBL my money
 'I do my best to get a car but I am short of money.'

5.3. Iterative, repetitive

- circumfix *fe-* -(C)*i*

EAST FUTUNAN

58. *e sali ga'ega'e le tane*
 IPFV flow weakly ART water tank
 'The water tank is leaking slowly.'
- b. *e fe-sali-'i le vai ki le moelaga o lona tupuna*
 IPFV REC-flow-REC ART water OBL ART mat POSS his grandmother
 'Water is dripping on his grandmother's mat.'

- circumfix *fe-* -(C)*aki*

EAST FUTUNAN

59. *e tapa le uila*
 IPFV flash ART lightning
 'Lightning flashes.'
- b. *e fe-tapa-'aki le uila i le lagi*
 IPFV REC-flash-REC ART lightning OBL ART sky
 'Lightnings flicker (flash again and again) in the sky.'
60. *e loi le toe ki lona tinana*
 IPFV lie ART child OBL his mother
 'The child lies to its mother.'
- b. *kua fe-loi-saki le toe ki lona tamana i lona ī*
 PFV REC-lie-REC ART child OBL his father OBL his fear
 'The child lied over and over again to his father because he feared him.'

5.4. Dispersive, alternative (back and forth, up and down)

STANDARD FIJIAN

61. *sā vei-vuki-yaki tiko gā na ivakarau ni kākana*
 ASP REC-change-REC CONT RESTR the measure of food
 'Food rations go up and down.' (Milner 1972:113)

EAST FUTUNAN

62. *e pū le pa'ā o le fale*
 IPFV have holes ART wall POSS ART house
 'The wall of the house has holes in it.'

- b. *e fe-pū-'aki le pa'ā o le fale*
 IPFV REC-have holes-REC ART wall POSS ART house
 'The wall of the house is full of holes.'
63. *ti lele atu le amatuku ki le tasi atu a gāne'a*
 and fly DIR ART egret OBL ART other DIR POSS place
 'And the egret flew a little farther.'
- b. *e kau tio ki manu e fe-lele-'aki i le lagi*
 IPFV 1SG see OBL bird IPFV REC-fly-REC OBL ART sky
 'I am looking at the birds flying hither and thither in the sky'.

5.5. Chaining / Successive / Distributive

64. *e sulu loku gā kie e Sosefo*
 IPFV put on my CLF cloth ERG Sosefo
 'Sosefo puts on my loin-cloth'
- b. *e fe-sulu-'aki loku gā kie e toe*
 IPFV REC-put on-REC my CLF cloth ERG child
 'Children put on my loin-cloth in turn'.

TOQABAQITA (Lichtenberk 2007)

65. *wela kera futa kwai-suli*
 child 3PL:NONFUT be.born REC-follow
 'The children (siblings) were born in quick succession (in successive years)'.

6. Combination of the reciprocal and the causative affixes

a) reciprocals derived from causatives

66. *e gakulu le fale i le afā* (non-reciprocal, intransitive)
 IPFV move slightly ART house OBL ART hurricane
 'The house sways slightly due to the hurricane.'

- causative:

- b. *e faka-gakulu le nofo'aga o le fenua e le tu'ēkelesia*
 IPFV CAUS-move slightly ART place POSS ART people ERG ART church gard
 'The church guards make people move slightly.'

- reciprocal:

- c. *e fe-faka-gakulu-'aki a le sā toe* (reciprocal, intransitive)
 IPFV REC-CAUS-move slightly-REC ABS ART CLF child
 'The two children make each other move away slightly.'

b) Causatives derived from reciprocals (patient-oriented reciprocals):

67. *na 'u'uti le toe e le kulī*
 PAST bite ART child ERG ART dog
 'The dog bit the child'

- reciprocal:

- b. *na fe-'u'uti-'aki a le sā kulī*
 PAST REC-bite-REC ABS ART CLF dog
 'The two dogs bit each other'

- causative reciprocal:

- c. *na faka-fe-'u'uti-'aki a le sā kulī e le toe*
 PAST CAUS-REC-bite-REC ABS ART CLF dog ERG ART child
 'The child made the two dogs bite each other'.

7. Dyadic kinship terms (creation of symmetric terms from converse terms)

TAGALOG

68. *mag-ina* (ina 'mother')
 'mother and child'

EAST UVEAN

69. *tau kui* (*kui* ‘grand-parent’)
 ‘grand-parent and grand-child’
tau tēhina (*tehina* ‘sister or brother’ (same sex))
 ‘two brothers / two sisters’; ‘two men who married two sisters / two women who married two brothers’; ‘two persons sharing the same responsibility’:
tau tēhina pule kolo
 ‘two village chiefs’

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Abbreviations

ABS	absolute marker	INC	inchoative aspect	PREF	prefixe
ANAPH	anaphoric	INCL	inclusive	PRES	present tense
ASP	aspect marker	INDEF	indefinite article	PROG	progressive aspect
CLF	classifier	INT	intensifier	PRON	pronoun
COLL	collective article	NEG	negative marker	REC	reciprocal marker
DEF	definite article	NS	non specific aspect	SM	subject marker
DEIC	deictic	OBL	oblique marker	SPEC	specific article
DIR	directionnal	OBJ	object marker	SUF	transitive suffix
EMPH	emphatic particle	PFV	perfective aspect	TOP	topic marker
ERG	ergative marker	PERS	personal article	TR	transitive suffix
EXCL	exclusive	PL	plural		
FACT	factual	POSS	possessive marker		
IPFV	imperfective aspect	PRED	predicative marker		