Choice of case in cross-reference markers: Forest Enets non-finite forms[1]

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Abstract

This paper looks at cross-reference marking of Forest Enets non-finite forms. In Forest Enets, there are a number of non-finite forms that can index a subject's person and number in their structure by taking nominal (possessive) person-number markers. Due to the syncretism of possessivity and core cases in Enets, either a Nominative or an Oblique case marker must be chosen when cross-referencing a non-finite form. We show that in Forest Enets there are different strategies for choosing the case form of the person-number marker for a non-finite form.

Keywords: Enets, cross-reference marking, case markers, possessive markers, non-finite forms

1. Non-finite verbal forms and cross-reference marking

Samoyedic non-finite verbal forms are of two types. First, there are non-finite forms that never index the person and number of the subject and are usually coreferential with the subject of the main clause. Second, there are non-finite forms that can, or even must index the person and number of the subject in their structure.

The following Forest Enets non-finite forms never take cross-reference marking:

(a) Converb/Infinitive marked by -ʃ (-*dʲ*, -*tʃ* with alternating stems) (1),

(b) Supine marked by-*odʲ* (2),

(c) Anterior converb marked by *-xaja∫* (3),

(d) Infinitive-like use of nominalization in Dative in the context of the verb 'want' (4),

(e) Connegative marked by *-ʔ* (used with negative verbs).

(1)   *biz   oo-dʲ   pɛ-ubi-zʔ*
      water   eat(ipfv)-CVB   start(pfv)-HAB-1SG.S
      'I start drinking vodka'.

(2)   *ent∫eu-ʔ   moga-an*
      person-PL   forest-PROL.SG
      dʲazu-lu-d-e-zʔ
      go(ipfv)-MULT-INCH-FUT-M-3PL.M
      ɔzi-ku-zi-zuʔ   *ŋɔda-odʲ*
      berry-DIM-DEST.PL-NOM.PL.3PL   collect(pfv)-SUP
      'The people will start going around the forest to collect berries for themselves'.

(3)   *page-da   sɛra-xaja∫i*
      outerwear-OBL.SG.3SG tie_up(pfv)-CVB.ANT
      pe-xon   per   adʲi
      outdoors-LOC.SG   always   sit(ipfv)-3SG.S
      'Having put on her outerwear, she is always sitting outdoors'.

(4)   *oom-a-d   kɔma-aʔ*
      eat(ipfv)-NMLZ-DAT.SG   want(ipfv)-1PL.S/SOsg
      'We want to eat'.

The following Forest Enets non-finite forms take cross-reference marking:

(a) Conditional converb marked by *-buʔ* / *-bune*,

(b) Simultaneous converb marked by *-buʔuj*,

(c) Irreal converb marked by *-bu*,

(d) Converb-like locative case forms of nominalizations and participles,

(e) Participles used in relative clauses.

These non-finite forms take nominal cross-reference markers, the same markers that are used for the possessive forms of nouns, as was shown by Sorokina (1981, 1986); in contrast, finite verbal forms take verbal cross-reference markers (three series are distinguished – the subject series, the subject-object series, and the middle/'reflexive' series).

    For example, the marker used for indexing the subject of the 1st person singular within a non-finite form in (5) is the same as the marker used for

indexing the possessor of the 1ˢᵗ person singular in (6), while in (7) a different affix is used for indexing the subject of the same 1ˢᵗ person singular, but within a finite form. [2]

(5)   *modʲ*   *kaʔa-bune-**nʲʔ**,*   *kunʲ*
        I   die(pfv)-CVB.COND-**OBL.SG.1SG**   how
        dʲiri-da-riʔ
        live(ipfv)-FUT-2DU.S/SOsg
        'If I die, how will you live?'

(6)   *modʲ*   *nɛ-**nʲʔ***   *nɔʔ*   *kanʲe-jʔ*
        I   woman-**OBL.SG.1SG**   with   leave(pfv)-1DU.S/SOsg
        'Me with my wife went'.

(7)   *sɔjeeʔ*   *tɛt*   *sɔjza*   *te-zo-jʔ*
        just_now   four   good   reindeer-DEST.SG-NOM.SG.1SG
        *nɔʔɔ-**zʔ***
        grasp(pfv)-**1SG.S**
        'So I caught four good reindeer'.

2. Person-number marking and case

In Enets, there is a syncretism of possessivity and core cases, cf. the descriptions by Prokof'ev (1937: 81–83), Tereščenko (1966: 444), and Sorokina (1986b: 62–63). The same marker indicates, first, the person and the number of the possessor, and, second, the core case of the head noun. As we have shown in (Khanina & Shluinsky, in press), an Enets noun can be described as having in its paradigm only two core cases, Nominative and Oblique, along with several locative cases (when a possessed noun takes a locative case, the syncretic marker indexes the Oblique case and a separate locative case marker indexes the particular locative case). Therefore, we distinguish two series (Nominative and Oblique) of nominal cross-reference markers.

Table 1. Forest Enets nominal person and number markers for singular head nouns.

	NOM	**OBL**
1SG	-jʔ, -b (-m)[3]	-nʲʔ
2SG	-r (-l)	-d (-t)

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[2] A non-finite form can actually take a verbal cross-reference marker in Forest Enets, but only if it is nominalized and used in a predicate position, e.g. *ɔbu pɔnʲim-**uda-zʔʔ*** what do(ipfv)-PTCP.POST-1SG.S 'What will I do?' The same is true for any noun that takes verbal cross-reference in a predicate position, e.g. *pɛ sɔriʔe-**zʔ** ?* wood stump-1SG.S 'Am I a wood stump?'

[3] Variants triggered by inflectional classes are given in brackets

	NOM	**OBL**
3SG	-za (-da, -ta)	-da (-ta)
1DU	-jʔ, -biʔ (-miʔ)	-nʲʔ
2DU	-riʔ (-lʲiʔ)	-dʲiʔ (-tʃiʔ)
3DU	-ziʔ (-dʲiʔ, -tʃiʔ)	-dʲiʔ (-tʃiʔ)
1PL	-aʔ, -baʔ (-maʔ)	-naʔ
2PL	-raʔ (-laʔ)	-daʔ (-taʔ)
3PL	-zuʔ (-duʔ, -tuʔ)	-duʔ (-tuʔ)

Thus, in Forest Enets any non-finite form that has cross-reference marking will unavoidably be marked for core case as well. This is trivial when a non-finite form fills a nominal syntactic slot: the rules of nominal case marking will be applied. However, when a non-finite form is used in a syntactic context that does not presuppose case marking, namely when the non-finite form heads an adverbial or a relative clause, the problem arises, and Forest Enets actually solves it differently for different non-finite forms, i.e. there is no common way of choosing the Nominative vs. Oblique series of the cross-reference marker for all non-finite forms.

The rest of this paper is devoted to the discussion of the choice of case marking for specific Forest Enets non-finite forms. First, in Section 3, we give an overview of the contexts where non-finite forms are used as nouns, and there is no descriptive problem with the choice of core case in their cross-reference marking. Then we discuss in more detail adverbial clauses in 4 (with Conditional converbs in 4.1, Simultaneous converbs in 4.2, Irreal converbs in 4.3, and converb-like locative case forms of nominalizations and participles in 4.4) and relative clauses in 5. Some conclusive remarks are given in 6.

3. Cross-reference marking of non-finite forms used as nouns

When used in nominal syntactic contexts, non-finite forms behave morphosyntactically in the same way as other nouns, and the cross-reference marking is organized with them in exactly the same was as the possessive marking of nouns. From all Forest Enets non-finite forms, nominalizations and nominalized participles can be used in nominal syntactic contexts.

In (8)–(9) a noun and a nominalization are used as arguments of a verb, and they are marked by the same core case.

(8)   *modʲ,   mana,   te-d*
       I   say(pfv)-3SG.S   reindeer-OBL.SG.2SG
       pii-lu-ʔ   nʲebuʔ   anʲ
       be_afraid(ipfv)-INCH-CNG   NEG-1SG.SOsg.CONT   and
       'I, he said, have got afraid of your reindeer'.

(9)   *tʃike-r*   *ŋɔi-za*
        this-NOM.SG.2SG   leg-NOM.PL.3SG
        marɔzim-a-da   *piiʔɛ*
        freeze(pfv)-NMLZ-OBL.SG.3SG   be.afraid(ipfv).3SG.S
        'It is afraid to freeze its legs'.

Similarly, when used with postpositions, nouns and nominalizations behave alike, i.e. they take the Oblique case marker, cf. (10)–(11).

(10)   *rosa-r*   *kasa-da*   *ɔron*
        Russian-NOM.SG.2SG   man-OBL.SG.3SG   before
        tɔɔ-j-zʔ
        reach(pfv)-M-3SG.M
        'The Russian came before his mate'.

(11)   *ɛse-za*   *kanʲe-**e-da***   *ɔron*
        father-NOM.SG.3SG   leave(pfv)-NMLZ-OBL.SG.3SG before
        ma-bi
        say(pfv)-PRF.3SG.S
        'Her father said before he left…'

Below is an example of a nominalized participle, where cross-reference marking is used with direct possessive semantics and is organized in exactly the same way as the possessive marking of nouns.

(12)   *pɛɛ-ʔ*   *sɔzuru-**da-aʔ***
        shoe-PL   sew(ipfv)-**PTCP.SIM-NOM.SG.1PL**
        dʲag
        there.is.no.3SG.S
        'We have no person who would sew the shoes'.

4. Cross-reference marking in converb and converb-like adverbial clauses

The choice of the core case in cross-reference markers for non-finite forms in adverbial clauses differs depending on the form itself and the person value of its subject.

4.1. Adverbial clauses with a Conditional converb

The conditional converb is marked by *-buʔ* (*-b*) and *-bune-* and is used in conditional adverbial clauses. Cross-reference markers are optional for the Conditional converb, cf. (13) where there is no cross-referencing. *-buʔ* and its

free variant *-b* are the only possible options when there is no cross-referencing, and with cross-reference markers, *-buʔ* and *-bune-* are in free variation. If this non-finite form takes a cross-reference marker, it is always in the Oblique case, cf. (14)–(16) for all three persons correspondingly.

(13)   *nixu-nʲʔ*   *tɔne-b*
         force-PL.1SG   there_is(ipfv)-CVB.COND
         pogum-ubi-zutʃ
         fish(ipfv)-HAB-1SG.S.PST
         'When I had forces, I fished'.

(14)   *muj-pu-naʔ*   *tɛt*   *sɔjza*
         make(ipfv)-CVB.COND-**OBL.SG.1PL**   four   good
         ɛ-zʔ   *nʲi-uʔ*
         be(ipfv)-FUT.CNG   NEG-3SG.S.CONT
         'It would be fine if we make four'.

(15)   *kɔma-bu-t,*   *nexuʔ*
         want(ipfv)-CVB.COND-**OBL.SG.2SG**   three
         poga-zo-d   *tʃi-ʔ*
         fishing_net-DEST.SG-OBL.SG.2SG   install(pfv)-2SG.S.IMP
         'If you want to, install three nets'.

(16)   *aga-an*   *nʲi-ʔ*   *dʲazu-r-ʔ*
         big-PROL.SG   NEG-3PL.S   go(ipfv)-MULT-CNG
         tuzluku   *tɔne-bu-ta*
         mushroom   there_is(ipfv)-CVB.COND-**OBL.SG.3SG**
         'They do not run about a lot if there are mushrooms'.

4.2. Adverbial clauses with a Simultaneous converb

The simultaneous converb is marked by *-buʔuj* and is used in temporal adverbial clauses with simultaneous reference. Cross-reference markers are optional for the Simultaneous converb, cf. (17) where there is no cross-referencing. If this non-finite form takes a cross-reference marker, it is in the Oblique case for the 1st person, as in (18), and in the Nominative case for the 2nd and 3rd persons, as in (19)–(20).

(17)   *kezer-ʔ*   *dʲazu-buʔuj*
         wild.reindeer-PL   go(ipfv)-CVB.SIM
         'when wild reindeer were going by'

(18) *te-xin*   *mɔsara-buʔuj-nʲʔ*
      reindeer-LOC.PL   work(ipfv)-CVB.SIM-**OBL.SG.1SG**
      ɛkon …
      this.LOC
      'When I worked here as a reindeer-herder …'

(19) *u*   *sɔja-buʔuj-r*
      you(sg)   be.born(pfv)-CVB.SIM-**NOM.SG.2SG**
      ɛse-d   *tʃi-duuj*
      father-OBL.SG.2SG   install(pfv)-PTCP.ANT.PASS
      'They were installed by your father when you were born'.

(20) *tɔn*   *te-saj*   *entʃeu-ʔ*
      now   reindeer-COM   person-PL
      dʲiri-buʔuj-zuʔ ...
      live(ipfv)-CVB.SIM-**NOM.SG.3PL**
      'When people with reindeer lived here …'

4.3. Adverbial clauses with an Irreal converb

The so-called Irreal converb is marked by -*bu* and is present only in Forest Enets (Conditional converb is used in the same contexts in Tundra Enets). This form is attested only with the verb *ɛ*- 'be' and only when the verb *ɛ*- 'be' is used as an auxiliary in a periphrastic construction with Anterior participle. The whole construction is used in a number of different irreal contexts. Cross-reference markers are obligatory for Irreal converb. They are Oblique for 1st person, see (21), and Nominative for 2nd and 3rd person, see (22)-(23).

(21) *kaʃi-nʲʔ*   *nok*   *kanʲe-j*
      mate-PL.1SG   towards   leave(pfv)-PTCP.ANT
      ɛ-bu-nʲʔ …
      be(ipfv)-CVB.IRR-**OBL.SG.1SG**
      'If I went more close to my mates ...'

(22) *to-j*   *ɛ-bu-r,*
      come(pfv)-PTCP.ANT   be(ipfv)-CVB.IRR-**NOM.SG.2SG**
      man-ʔ   *nʲi-uʔ …*
      say(pfv)-CNG   NEG-3SG.S.CONT
      'If you came, he said …'

(23)   *ɔbu   dʲeɔn   adʲi-j*
       what   for   sit(ipfv)-PTCP.ANT
       ɛ-bu-za,   *modʲ*
       be(ipfv)-CVB.IRR-**NOM.SG.3SG**   I
       dʲɔxara-a
       not_know(ipfv)-1SG.SOsg
       'Why he was imprisoned, I don't know'.

4.4. Adverbial clauses with converb-like locative case forms of nominalizations and participles

Forest Enets has two locative case forms of nominalizations and participles that are used as converbs providing a standard way of forming adverbial clauses.

4.4.1. The Ablative case of Nominalization

The ablative case of Nominalization[4] is used for anterior adverbial clauses. Cross-reference markers are optional for this non-finite form, cf. (24) where there is no cross-referencing. If this non-finite form takes a cross-reference marker, it is always Oblique, as expected indeed with a locative case marker, cf. Section 2 above. See (25)–(27) where all three persons are exemplified correspondingly.

(24)   *tɔʔ   mɛ-t   tʃu-ɔ-xaz*
       here   chum-DAT.SG   enter(pfv)-NMLZ-ABL.SG
       'well, after (we) entered the house'

(25)   *tʃajr-a-xazo-**nʲʔ***
       drink.tea(ipfv)-NMLZ-ABL.SG-**OBL.SG.1DU**
       kɔdar-e-nʲiʔ
       fall.asleep(pfv)-M-1DU.M
       'Having drunk tea, we fell asleep'.

(26)   *to-a-xazo-**d***
       come(pfv)-NMLZ-ABL.SG-**OBL.SG.2SG**
       poga-zo-d   *tʃi-ʃ*
       fishing.net-DEST.SG-OBL.SG.2SG   install(pfv)-CVB
       tara
       necessary(ipfv).3SG.S
       'After you have came, you have to install a fishing-net'.

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[4] This usage of nominalization is described here due to the high level of its conventionalization (indeed Ablative never has the 'after' meaning when used with nouns), unlike all other usages of nominalizations referred to in 3.

(27) *pe-d*   *ɔziu-ɔ-xaz-**da***
      outdoors-DAT.SG   appear(pfv)-NMLZ-ABL.SG-**OBL.SG.3SG**
      entʃeu-za   *ma-nʔ*   *nʲi-mʔ*
      person-NOM.PL.3SG   say(pfv)-CNG   NEG-3PL.S.CONT
      'After he went outdoors, people said …'

4.4.2. The Dative case of Simultaneous participles

The dative case of Simultaneous participles is used for simultaneous adverbial clauses. Cross-reference markers are normally used with the Dative case of Simultaneous participles, though instances without them are sometimes (albeit rarely) attested, as in (28). If this non-finite form takes a cross-reference marker, it is always Oblique, cf. (29)–(31) for the three persons correspondingly.

(28) *kiu*   *monu-ta-d*   *kinu-tʃ*
      thunder thunder(ipfv)-PTCP.SIM-DAT.SG   sing(pfv)-CVB
      bɔɔ
      bad
      'When it is thundering, it's bad to sing'.

(29) *kɔdʲi-**za-xa-naʔ***   *ʃize*
      sleep(ipfv)-**PTCP.SIM-DAT.SG-OBL.SG.1PL**   two
      entʃe-giʔ   *toɔ-xiʔ*
      person-DU   come(pfv)-3DU.S
      'While we were sleeping, two men came'.

(30) *mɔzara-**da-xa-d***
      work(ipfv)-**PTCP.SIM-DAT.SG-OBL.SG.2SG**
      nʲe-r   *ʃit*   *mɔdee-da*
      child-NOM.SG.2SG   you(sg).ACC   see(ipfv)-FUT.3SG.S
      'While you are working, your child will see you'.

(31) *sɔjeeʔ*   *tʃike*   *nɛ-da*
      just.now   this   woman-OBL.SG.3SG
      eri-da-xa-da
      go.for.water(ipfv)-PTCP.SIM-DAT.SG-OBL.SG.3SG
      ke-xo-da   *tɔɔ-j-zʔ*
      side-DAT.SG-OBL.SG.3SG   reach(pfv)-M-3SG.M
      'Already while that woman was taking water, he approached her'.

5. Cross-reference marking in non-finite relative clauses

The following participles exist in Forest Enets: (a) the Simultaneous participle marked by *-da*, (b) the Anterior participle marked by *-j*, (c) the Anterior passive participle marked by *-duuj*, (d) the Negative anterior participle marked by *-uzaj*, and (e) the Posterior participle marked by *-uda*. Most often, participles used in relative clauses take no cross-reference marking, as in (32)-(33).

(32) *tʃike-r*   *teragu-ɔn*   *dʲiri-da buuse*
      this-NOM.SG.2SG   rich-PROL.SG   live(ipfv)-PTCP.SIM
      buuse   *ŋa-ʔ*   *nʲi-uʔ*
      old_man   exist(ipfv)-CNG   NEG-3SG.S.CONT
      'And this one is an old man who lives richly, after all'.

(33) *mɛr*   *siruta-j*   *kare-iʃ*
      quickly salt(pfv)-PTCP.ANT   fish-TRANSL
      kan-ta
      leave(pfv)-FUT.3SG.S
      'It will quickly become salted fish'.

However, participles used in relative clauses can take cross-reference marking if necessary. This usually happens in contexts where an indication of the subject is relevant and where the identity of the subject is not obvious (more detailed description requires further investigation). If a participle governing a relative clause does take a cross-reference marker, there are *two different strategies* for choosing between Nominative vs. Oblique.

The *more frequent strategy* consists of using the nominal cross-reference marker whose case is defined by the syntactic role of the noun phrase. The rules of the choice between Nominative vs. Oblique are the same as for possessive forms of nouns:
   – always Nominative for the subject,
   – always Oblique with adpositions and in all adnominal uses,
   – for the direct object, the choice of Nominative vs. Oblique depends on a number of factors, but the main ones are the person, the possessor, and the number of the head noun:
       – head nouns in plural take Nominative;
       – for head nouns in singular, the person of the possessor is the defining factor: with the 1st person, Nominative is used, with the 2nd and 3rd person, Oblique is used
(for more details on these rules see (Khanina & Shluinsky, in press)).

This strategy of indexing the subject of participle relative clauses can be used with cross-reference markers either on the participle only, as in (34)–(35), or on both the head noun and the participle, as in (36)–(37). In the latter case, it is possible to speak of person and number (and case) agreement between the head noun and the participle, as Ryžova (1982: 204) actually does.

(34) *kare*   *kɔmita-da-jʔ*   *bejzi*
      fish   like(ipfv)-PTCP.SIM-**NOM.SG.1SG**   whitefish
      'The fish I like is whitefish'.

(35) *teza*   *tɔɔ-j-nʲʔ*   *sɛxeri* *meɔn*
      now   reach(pfv)-PTCP.ANT-**OBL.SG.1DU**   road   along
      kanʲe-nʲi-eʔ
      leave(pfv)-CONJ-1PL.S/SOsg
      'Now let's go along the road we came by'.

(36) *kada-uda-jʔ*
      take.away(pfv)-PTCP.POST-**NOM.SG.1SG**
      ɔburu-jʔ   *oka*   *nʲi*   *ŋa-ʔ*
      thing-NOM.SG.1SG   many   NEG.3SG.S   exist(ipfv)-CNG
      'The things I will take with me are not numerous'.

(37) *…*   *buzide-da-Ø*   *…*
      …   move(ipfv)-FUT-3SG.S   …
      sɔxoru-j-d   *ʃita-d*
      scoop(pfv)-PTCP.ANT-**OBL.SG.2SG**   sieve-OBL.SG.2SG
      min
      in
      ' … it will move … in the sieve in which you have scooped it up'.

The *less frequent strategy* consists of using the Nominative cross-reference marker on the participle independently of the syntactic role of the noun phrase. This case marking strategy can be used with cross-reference markers either on the participle only, as in (38), or on both the head noun and the participle, as in (39). Note that in the latter case, the head noun takes an Oblique marker if its syntactic role requires the Oblique case.

(38)   *u   tɔza-duuj-r*   …
        you(sg) bring(pfv)-PTCP.ANT.PASS-**NOM.SG.2SG**   …
        maxɔrka-ku   …   *kɔdara-buʃ*
        makhorka-DIM   …   taste(pfv)-1SG.SOsg.PST
        'I have tasted … makhorka that you have brought'.

(39)   *pɔnʲi-da-jʔ*   *kɔdo-nʲʔ*
        do(ipfv)-PTCP.SIM-**NOM.SG.1SG**   sledge -**OBL.SG.1SG**
        puja   …   *pɛ*   *dʲez*   *tɛbu-ʔ*
        nose   …   wood   in.the.direction   hit(pfv)-CNG
        nʲi-uʔ
        NEG-3SG.S.CONT
        'The prow of the sledge I used … struck against a tree'.

The two strategies are indistinguishable if the head noun is in the Nominative, as in (40).

(40)   *dʲa-xaz*   *mu-duuj-za*
        place-ABL.SG   take(pfv)-PTCP.ANT.PASS-NOM.SG.3SG
        bi-ta   *kɔdubi-zʔ*
        water-NOM.SG.3SG   flow.down(ipfv)-FUT.CNG
        nʲi-uʔ
        NEG-3SG.S.CONT
        'The water taken by it from the soil will flow down, after all'.

6. Conclusion

In this paper we have shown that cross-reference marking in Forest Enets always involves marking for a core case. The choice of the case depends on the syntactic position when a non-finite form is used in the syntactic position of a noun, or it is defined according to one of the four rather arbitrary strategies.

1. Nominative vs. Oblique cross-reference markers are chosen based on the syntactic role of the noun phrase that the non-finite form is a part of (main strategy for participles in relative clauses).

2. Only Oblique cross-reference markers are used (Conditional converb, converb-like locative case forms of nominalizations and participles).

3. Oblique cross-reference markers for the 1st person and Nominative cross-reference markers for the 2nd and 3rd person are used (Simultaneous converb, Irreal converb).

4. Only Nominative cross-reference markers are used (marginal strategy for participles in relative clauses).

There is no straightforward explanation for this variety of strategies and for the distribution of these strategies along the existing non-finite forms. On the one hand, the first strategy is expected for relative clauses, but on the other hand, its co-existence with the fourth strategy cannot be easily explained. On the one hand, the second strategy is expected for the converb-like locative case forms of nominalizations and participles since locative case forms of nouns always take Oblique cross-reference markers. On the other hand, however, it is not clear why at all the Simultaneous and Irreal converbs take the third strategy and differ in it from the Conditional converb.

It is remarkable that the third strategy, where the 1st person forms differ from the 2nd and 3rd person, is directly inverse to the choice of the core case for the direct object of singular nouns (see a brief summary in the Section 5). With Simultaneous and Irreal converbs, Oblique is used with the 1st person and Nominative with the 2nd and 3rd person of the subject. In contrast, with the direct object of singular nouns, Nominative is used with the 1st person and Oblique with the 2nd and 3rd person of the possessor. In both cases, however, the 1st person is opposed morphologically to the 2nd-3rd person.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 – 1st, 2nd, 3rd person
ABL – Ablative,
ACC – Accusative,
COM – comitative,
CNG – Connegative,
CONJ – Conjunctive mood,
CONT – Contrastive cross-reference,
CVB – Converb,
CVB.ANT – Anterior converb,
CVB.COND – Conditional converb,
CVB.IRR – Irreal converb,
CVB.SIM – Simultaneous converb,
DAT – Dative,
DEST – Destinative,
DIM – diminutive,
DU – Dual,
FUT – Future,
HAB – Habitual,
IMP – Imperative cross-reference,
INCH – Inchoativem
ipfv – imperfective,
LOC – Locative,

NEG – negative verb,
NMLZ – Nominalization,
NOM – Nominative,
OBL – Oblique,
pfv – perfective,
PL – Plural,
PRF – Perfect,
PROL – Prolative,
PST – Past cross-reference,
PTCP.ANT – Anterior participle,
PTCP.ANT.PASS – Passive anterior participle,
PTCP.POST – Posterior participle,
PTCP.SIM – Simultaneous participle,
S – subject cross-reference,
SG – Singular, SOnsg – subject-object cross-reference for non-singular object,
SOsg – subject-object cross-reference for singular object,
SOpl – subject-object cross-reference for plural object,

loc – locative,   SUP – supine,
MULT – Multiplicative,   TRANSL – Translative.

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