0. INTRODUCTION: The Chantyal language [Tibeto-Burman: Bodic: Bodish: Tamangic] is spoken by about 2000 of the 11,000 ethnic Chantyal in the Myagdi District of west-central Nepal.¹ Chantyal attests a number of Bodic demonstrative etymons, but only members of three sets retain clear demonstrative senses and oppositions based on spatial deixis.² In this paper, I will discuss these three sets of demonstratives and, in particular, how demonstratives from different sets can combine to form a construction I will call the ‘double demonstrative’.

1. INDEPENDENT DEMONSTRATIVES: The first of these demonstrative oppositional sets I will refer to as the ‘independent’ set since the members of this set are the only ones which regularly occur alone as independent words. This set contrasts a proximal cu with a distal ca. These forms may fill grammatical roles such as subject or object independently — i.e. they may be pronominal heads of NPs — or they may be used adnominally to determine and modify nouns. As pronouns, they are often used to translate English third person pronouns, though there are also dedicated third person pronoun forms as well, singular khi and plural tha-ma, both of which are also based historically on demonstratives though they no longer express spatial deixis. khi and tha-ma are used almost exclusively with human referents; as pronouns, cu and ca may have human or non-human referents. In non-deictic pronominal usage, distal ca is by far the most common. Some examples follow:

(1) ca bhulun-ye sàyesapà tày a-thày-i
   that leopard-GEN noise nothing NEG-know-PERF
   ‘I wasn't aware of that leopard’s noise’ [I3]

(2) a:: cu samra nə tày ta-sere ley
   ah this thigh topic nothing become-ANT+NEG+NPST surprise
   ‘This thigh had not yet become nothing [i.e. it hadn’t rotted away]!’ [I11]

(3) ca garāwa mu
   that good be+NPST
   ‘That’s nice’

(4) khyam-əŋ bini-ri-wa yəwta cini-si-wa mastər-ra

¹ Work on Chantyal has been supported by the National Science Foundation, grant No. DBC-9121114. See Noonan (1996), Noonan (2000), Noonan et al (1999) and references cited there for additional information about the Chantyal people and their language. Textual material is from Noonan et al (1999) and Noonan & Bhulanja (to appear). I would like to thank Ram Prasad Bhulanja for discussing with me some of the issues presented in this paper.

² There are some additional contrasting sets which include members of the three sets discussed in this paper. For example, cunnà ‘right here’ and cunnà ‘same place’, which include ‘independent demonstratives [§1], contrast with khanna ~ khyyanna ‘right there’, which contains a demonstrative element not found in any of the other sets though cognate with the 3s personal pronoun khi.
On the way, I met a teacher I knew from Beni and followed him.' [G16-7]

2. LOCATIVE DEMONSTRATIVES: The next set of demonstratives I’ll refer to as the ‘locative’ set since they are attested only in a small set of locative constructions. This set constrains a proximal ca- and a distal te-. They are always found with one of a set of three suffixes:

(5) ca-¤ ‘this place, over here’
    ca-r ‘in this way/direction’
    ca-jam ‘this side [of river/gorge]’
    te-¤ ‘that place, over there’
    te-r ‘in that way/direction’
    te-jam ‘that side [of river/gorge]’

ca-¤ and te-¤ are suffixed with a locative case marker of limited distribution and indicate location, either static or dynamic. ca-r and te-r contain a form etymologically related to the unmarked locative -ri, which has both locational or directional senses, in contrast to the directional sense found in the forms with final -r: in this/that way or direction. The morpheme -jam is found only with the locative demonstratives. The forms listed in (5) can be affixed with additional case markers, case compounding being a common process in Chantyal. Examples follow:

(6) ni te-r sari-o sâ
    little that-LOC move-IMP FRUSTRATION
    ‘Move over a little!’

(7) ca-¤-gamsa te-¤ fiya-ro
    this-LOC-ABL that-LOC go-IMP
    ‘Go there from here’

(8) te-jam-wa sirkharka
    that-side-NOM Sirkharka
    ‘The Sirkharka on the far side of the river’

(8) illustrates the use of the nominalizer -wa in forming attributive constructions.3

The independent demonstratives also form locative constructions, e.g. with the locative case marker -ri: cu-ri ‘here’ and ca-ri ‘there’. These forms have both locational and directional senses and thus can be used in place of either ca-¤ and te-¤ or ca-r and te-r. All three sets are idiomatic and are found frequently in discourse, with the forms containing the locative set preferred when there is a felt need to emphasize locational or directional senses.

3. PREFIXAL DEMONSTRATIVES: The last set of demonstratives will be referred to as the ‘prefixal’ set. The prefixal demonstratives form a three-way deictic opposition: proximal yi-, distal fiu-, and remote wu-. As the name implies, the prefixal set are found pre

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3 See Noonan (1997) for discussion.
fixed onto other forms. There is a limited set of forms to which the prefixal demonstratives can be attached. Some of these forms are illustrated in (9):

(9) yi-sâr ‘this way/manner’  
fiâ-sâr ‘that way/manner’  
wu-sâr ‘that way/manner’  
yi-jâgâr ‘this much [quantity]’  
fiâ-jâgâr ‘that much [quantity]’  
yi-tûň ‘up here’  
fiâ-tûň ‘up there’  
wu-tûň ‘up there yonder’  
yi-tor ‘to up here’  
fiâ-tor ‘to up there’  
wu-tor ‘to up there yonder’

â¼-sâr ‘that way/manner’  
â¼-ddyo ‘that big’  
wu-ddyo ‘that [over there] big’  
yi-jîjyajyar ‘that much [volume]’  
fiâ-jîjyajyar ‘that much [volume]’  
yi-mâñ ‘down here’  
fiâ-mâñ ‘down there’  
wu-mâñ ‘down there yonder’  
yi-mar ‘to down here’  
fiâ-mar ‘to down there’  
wu-mar ‘to down there yonder’

The final /r/ in these forms is etymologically related to locative -ri, the final /ŋ/ the non-productive locative -n. yi-ddyo ‘this big’ and fiâ-ddyo ‘that big’ contain the adjective thya-wa ‘big’: the allomorph -ddyo is found only in this construction. Some of the roots above — -sâr ‘manner, kind’, -jâgâr ‘quantity’, and -jîjyajyar ‘volume’ — either mostly or always occur with the prefixal demonstratives. A few examples of the prefixal set follow:

(10) fiâ-sâr  
    la-o  
    DISTAL-manner  do-IMP  
    ‘Do it that way!’

(11) yi-sâr-wa  
    jâŋal  
    PROXIMAL-manner-NOM  forest  
    ‘this sort of forest’ [V35]

(12) ta-i  
    na  
    fiâ-jâgâr  
    na  
    bhi-lana  
    become-PERF  TOPIC  DISTAL-quantity  TOPIC  say-COND  
    ‘If I say that much, it’s enough.’ [W49]

(13) wu-tûŋ  
    dfhun-ra-wa  
    yinâni  
    thu-la  
    kham  
    mu-ê,  
    REMOTE-up-LOC  tree-LOC-NOM  bitter.apple  pick-COND  be.able  be-NPST.Q  
    a-kham  
    mu  
    NEG-be.able  be-NPST  
    ‘Can you pick the bitter apple on the tree up yonder, or can’t you?’

4. DOUBLE DEMONSTRATIVES: Of special interest to us here is the fact that the prefixal set can be attached to both the independent and locative demonstratives, resulting in forms which I will refer to as ‘double’ demonstratives. The following double demonstratives have been recorded with the independent demonstratives as the second element:

(10) cu  ‘this’  
    cə  ‘that’

Proximal yi- is cognate with yi ‘right here’, a form that can be used independently. I’ve recorded some instances of the other prefixal demonstratives being used in similar ways, though yi is the only one occurs frequently and that all speakers seem to agree is an independent word.
The combination PROXIMAL-DISTAL has been recorded only in yi-ca; the better attested combinations are:
(12) PROXIMAL-PROXIMAL
     DISTAL-PROXIMAL
     DISTAL-DISTAL
     REMOTE-DISTAL

5. FUNCTIONS OF DEMONSTRATIVES: Before discussing the uses of the double demonstratives, we need to discuss the functions of demonstratives generally and in the context of the grammar of Chantyal.

First, it should be noted that Chantyal has no articles, per se. Nonetheless, the category of definiteness is as central to the syntax of Chantyal as it is to languages with articles: it is simply that definiteness is manifested through a variety of other lexical, morphological, and syntactic devices, one of which is the category of demonstratives.

Definiteness is part of what is signaled by demonstratives, except in a few special cases. However, forms labeled ‘demonstrative’ typically have an additional deictic sense, generally assumed to be spatial deixis in its most basic meaning, though commonly transposed to other cognitive domains.

Himmelman (1996) proposes the following four major types of uses for demonstratives:
(13)
• **SITUATIONAL USE**: This involves reference to some entity present in the speech situation. It requires a ‘deictic center’ [usually the speaker in the utterance situation, though various sorts of displacement are possible] and serves to establish an entity in the universe of discourse.

• **DISCOURSE DEICTIC USE**: This involves reference to the discourse itself, to propositions, or to events noted in the discourse and serves to establish such references in the discourse.

• **TRACKING USE**: This involves reference to entities already established in the discourse and serves to help the hearer keep track of them.

• **RECOGNITIONAL USE**: This involves reference to an entity that is to be identified by specific, shared knowledge rather than through situational cues or reference to preceding discourse. Unlike other uses, this one is only adnominal, not pronominal.

These four use-categories can be exemplified in Chantyal by the independent demonstratives, as in the following sentences:

**SITUATIONAL**

(14) cə kitab kʰə-o sə
that book bring-IMP FRUSTRATION
‘Bring me that book!’ [said with a gesture toward the book]

**DISCOURSE DEICTIC**

(15) purkha-ye rəkəm pir-ji. cə-ye lesəŋ cu chəɾə-wa
forefather-GEN occupation let.loose-PERF that-GEN back this this.way-NOM
tə-i
become-PERF
‘Our forefather’s occupation was abandoned. After that, it became like this.’

(16) cater cu nisap syal-sə hə-sər la-si-rə
then this justice jackal-ERG that-manner do-ANT-SEQ
‘So, the jackal administered justice in this way, and’
nisap la-i
justice do-PERF
‘he administered justice.’

cater cu cəy kətha chîn-ji
then this aforementioned story finish-PERF
‘This story is finished.’ [P418-20]

**TRACKING**

(17) yəwta syal mu-si-m ro
one jackal be-ANT-NPST INference
‘Once there was a jackal.’

cə syal nə nəfla kə-va pəlki-si-wa hîn-si-m
that jackal TOPIC chicken eat-NOM lust-ANT-NOM be-ANT-NPST
‘That jackal loved to eat chickens.’ [J1-2]

(18) gəw-ri-wa pərdənən rə Hitman bəyənə-rə Kadmandu-ri
village-LOC-NOM mayor and Hitman brother.in.law-com Kathmandu-LOC
’With the village mayor and fellow villager Hitman, I walked to Kathmandu.’

‘When I returned, they weren’t there.’ [G4, 11-2]

With regard to situational use, it was noted in (13) that various sorts of displacement are possible. One sort, which I will refer to simply as ‘narrative displacement’,7 involves a shift from the actual situation of the utterance to the temporal and physical setting of the narrative itself, wherein the speaker pretends that the narrated events are happening right in front of the speaker and the audience. This shift need not be complete, but can be done in varying degrees. When engaged in performing a narrative in which such a shift has taken place, the narrator may employ gestures and so on to reinforce the sense of direct involvement in the narrative action. In (20), the speaker has already described how he has come upon the carcass of a wild goat while he was walking in the mountains: he now shifts the deictic center to himself at the scene of discovery.

His tone, his gestures, and his use of the non-past tense reinforce this shift. Such shifts can also be partial, as in (21) where the speaker uses a proximal demonstrative and hand gestures to indicate the degree of swelling:

6. FUNCTIONS OF THE DOUBLE DEMONSTRATIVES
The functions of the double demonstratives can be accommodated within the set of demonstrative uses presented in (13). Given the time constraints, the discussion will be

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7 This is referred to by Himmelmann (1996:222) as Deixis am Phantasma and by Lyons (1977:579) as ‘deictic projection’.
based primarily on the double demonstratives consisting of the prefixal set and the independent set. Those consisting of the prefixal+locative double demonstratives are, in any case, much less frequently attested in my text sample and, within the constraints imposed by their meanings, seem amenable to the same sort of analysis as the prefixal+independent double demonstratives.

The simplest and least interesting use of the double demonstratives involves the prefixal remote demonstrative พระ-. Since only the prefixal demonstratives express a three-way spatial proximal-distal-remote contrast, prefixal พระ- is used with the other two sets to supply the missing remote sense. Sentences (22) and (23) illustrate this usage:

(22) na พระ-ค คAWтаро พระล-ra สอริ-m
   I yonder-that resting.place พระal-DAT ask-NPST
   ‘I will ask yonder resting place พระal tree.’ [P195]

(23) cano พระ-เทน พระ-วะ
   then yonder-that.place-LOC be-IMPF
   ‘Then we were at that place over there.’ [P309]

In double demonstrative constructions, the remote prefix พระ- has only been attested with distal members of the other two sets, as one might expect based on its meaning and function.

Of greater interest are the other attested double demonstrative combinations. In the subsections that follow, I’ll present a list of the most common uses.

6.1 THE ‘TRACKING + SITUATIONAL’ USE
A common use to which these constructions are put is one in which the speaker makes separate situational and tracking references to the same entity. In such cases, the prefixal demonstrative signals the tracking function and the demonstrative to which it is prefixed marks the situational reference. As an example of how this works, consider the dialog in (24):

(24) a. X: พระู-ra พระิ-wα-khi พระุ-korσli ฟι-ν-o
   tree-LOC climb-NOM-COTEMP this basket give-IMP
   ‘When I climb on the tree, give me this basket.’

b. Y: พระλνα ฟι-ν-ca
   which-one that-that
   ‘Which one? That one?’

c. X: ฟι-ν-ca
   that-this
   ‘This one.’

In (24a), speaker X uses the independent demonstrative พระυ to identify a particular basket out of a set. Speaker Y isn’t sure which one X is referring to and points to a basket while saying distal-distal ฟι-ν-ca. X responds with distal-proximal ฟι-ν-ca. X responds with distal-proximal ฟι-ν-ca.

The function of ฟι- in (24b) and (24c) is to indicate that the reference to the basket is already established in the discourse: in other words, ฟι- is being used in its tracking function. พระυ in (24b) and พระυ in (24c) are being used situationally, ı.e. to inden
tify specific referents in the physical environment. In the English translation to (24b), we could have ‘Is that the basket?’, where that is exophoric [i.e. situational] and the basket is anaphoric [i.e. tracking]. In Chantyal expressions like ɦ̱a-ɕə, the exophoric and anaphoric functions are invested in separate demonstratives, although either component could, under other circumstances, but used either exophorically or anaphorically.

Another example can be found in (25):

(25) 340. khəy bura  khor
    where old.man trap
    “Where, old man, is the trap?”
341. bɦi-i
    say-perf
    ‘he [the jackal] said.’
342. yi  ɦə-ɕu  khor
    here that-this trap
    “This, this is the trap.”
343. yi ɦin  khor
    here be.NPST trap
    “Here it is, the trap,”
344. bɦi-i  nə
    say-COTEMP TOPIC
    ‘When they said this,’
345. canə ɦə-ɕu  khor-ri nɦe  bɦulunŋ
    then that-this trap-LOC be.NPST.Q leopard
    ‘Then: “You were in this trap, leopard?”’
...
349. bɦulunŋ-sə  sə  na  ɦə-ɕu  khor-ri  thuni-si
    leopard-ERG yes I that-this trap-LOC restrain-ANT
    nɨ-si-wa  ɦin
    happen-ANT-NOM be.NPST
    ‘the leopard said: “Yes, I was shut in this trap.”’ [P340-5, 349]

In this portion of the discourse, the initial reference to trap is in (340). Subsequent references in (342), (345), and (349) all employ DISTAL-PROXIMAL ɦə-ɕu, with the distal prefixal demonstrative ɦə- signaling that the referent is established in discourse and the proximal independent demonstrative cu providing the situational proximal sense in the context of the story.

6.2 THE ‘SUMMARY’ USE
In the ‘tracking + situational’ use, the tracking function might almost be translated as ‘aforementioned’: this aforementioned trap. This sense comes to the fore in the ‘summary’ use of the double demonstratives. In this use, the DISTAL-DISTAL combination ɦə-ɕə is used to signal the completion of a process of listing, being used in clauses that wind up or summarize such lists. In (26), we have an example of this sort of use:

(26) a. timmar pənɨ ni thari thari ta-m
timur also little kind kind become-NPST
‘There are also a few kinds of timur.’ [Xanthoxylem acanthopodium & X. alatum, whose fruits and fruit-husks are used in cooking; related to Szechuan pepper]

b. yewta boke timmar ta-m
one buck mushroom become-NPST
‘One is buck timur.’

c. ākhe timmar bhi-wa
eye mushroom say-NOM
‘Eye timur, for example,’

d. silte timmar bhi-wa
hopping timur say-NOM
‘hopping timur, for example,’

e. rā fā-cā timmar-ma nhī-sā ca-m
and that-that timur-PL we-ERG eat-NPST
‘and those kinds of timur we eat.’

The narrator was describing to me the kinds of timur the Chantyal people use. In the final clause (26e), having already listed the kinds of timur, she sums up the list. Had she said ca timmar-ma, using only the independent demonstrative, the reference (26e) could have been interpreted as referring only to the last sort of timur mentioned in the list. By using the double demonstrative, she clearly indicated she was summarizing the whole list in this reference.

Another short example of this use can be found in (27):

(27) a. phapar
buckwheat
‘Buckwheat.’

b. phapar yewta ənnə fiin
buckwheat one grain be+NPST
‘Buckwheat is a grain.’

c. phapar pəni phara-si-ra
buckwheat also grind-ANT-SEQ
‘We also grind buckwheat, and’

d. phara ta-m
flour become-NPST
‘it becomes flour.’

e. fā-sər-wa fā-cā phara khyaŋ kar-si-ra pəni
that-manner-NOM that-that flour bread put-ANT-SEQ also
‘In that way, that flour makes panbread also, and’

f. ca-m
eat-NPST
‘we eat it.’ [Q235-40]

Here fā-cā is used to wind up a description, in this case of a process.
6.3 DOUBLE DEMONSTRATIVES WITH PROXIMAL yi-
The ‘tracking + situational’ use and the ‘summary’ use both involve distal fa- as the first element. Double demonstratives with proximal yi- also exist, though these signal meanings that are very different from those signaled by distal fa-: with proximal yi- as the first element, double demonstratives invariably have a purely situational use in the context of the narrative; that is, they never have a tracking function, unlike proximal yi- or proximal cu could have when used independently. The double demonstrative yi-cu, then, is used only with new mentions of referents. Moreover, these new mentions tend not to become established as referents in discourse: they are peripheral characters or props in the context of the whole narrative.

An example can be found in (28):

(28) a. rə na-sə mastər ta-si-rə
    and I-ERG teacher become-ANT-SEQ
    ‘And I, having become a teacher,’

b. təmam mənchi jəmməy na-i-gəmsə pas ta-si-rə
    whole person all I-GEN-ABL pass become-ANT-SEQ
    ‘one and all, all people got a pass from my efforts, and’

c. fiya-i
    go-PERF
    ‘left.’

d. təθəkər na-i kancha pəni na-sə pərə-yəsi-wa hən
    now I-GEN youngest.brother also I-ERG teach-ANT-NOM be.NPST
    ‘Now, I have also taught my youngest brother.’

e. yi-cu bebi-ma-ra pəni jəmməy pərə-yəsi-wa nə hən
    this-this baby-PL-DAT also all teach-ANT-NOM TOPIC be.NPST
    ‘These babies, I have also taught all of them.’

f. jəmməy pərə-yəsi-wa mənchi-wə mu
    all teach-ANT-NOM person-PL be.NPST
    ‘They are all people whom I taught.’

g. nə-ye jəmməy
    I-GEN all
    ‘My... all....’

h. dwita mastər nə mu
    two teacher TOPIC be.NPST
    ‘There are two teachers.’

i. tinta dwita chame yewta hedmastər
    three two daughter one headmaster
    ‘Three, two daughters... a headmaster... [were my students.]’ [U110-8]
    [Three people presently teaching were his students: his daughter, his niece, and the headmaster of the local school.]

In (28e), the double demonstrative is used to refer to the children who had gathered around listening to the narrator tell his life story: the reference is clearly situational. The reference to the children does not persist in the discourse: in saying (28f), the
speaker gestured around the courtyard taking in not just the children, but also the adults — some of whom were fellow teachers — who had stopped by to listen to his story. As one further example, consider (29), which includes a very typical use of **PROXIMAL-PROXIMAL yi-cu:**

(29) məŋ cə thar-ye khuri-sə yi-cu-mar cə 
    down that goat-gen hoof-inst this-circ that 
    lacchari-wa-nhari pho-i tə 
    rub-nom-ines take+away-perf fact 
‘Down there, that goat hoof was rubbing me right here as I carried it.’ [I41]

This sentence is part of a discourse in which the speaker is talking about carrying a wild goat carcass. When he reaches this part of the narration, he points to the part of his body which was being rubbed by the goat hoof. That is, the reference, though embedded in a discourse about the past, is situational and is accompanied by a gesture. This gestural component is typical of the uses of **yi-cu.**

The **PROXIMAL-DISTAL** combination **yi-ca** is barely attested in my corpus of over 6000 clauses. On the analogy of the other double demonstratives, in the **yi-ca** combination, proximal **yi-** should signal situational use and new mention and **ca** distal deixis. Since **PROXIMAL-PROXIMAL yi-cu** is not rare, it is not immediately clear why **yi-ca**, and all the other **PROXIMAL-DISTAL** combinations, should be so uncommon. Of the two recorded instances, the example in (30) is the clearest in sense and corresponds, more-or-less, to the expected meaning of the combination:

(30) a. cannə cə kəpal-ra khâra-i 
    then that head-dat singe-perf 
    ‘Then I singed the head.’ [to remove the hair]

b. khâra-i 
    singe-perf 
    ‘I singed it.’

c. yi-cu-mar yek kəptyara șș yi-ca la-si-rə 
    this-this-circ one portion uh this-that do-ant-seq 
    ‘Around here I did one piece [of the head, which had been quartered],’

d. tin kəpsyara la-si-rə 
    three portion do-ant-seq 
    ‘and I did three pieces,’

e. yi-cu-ri jhunṭə-i 
    this-this-loc hang-perf 
    ‘and I hung them right here.’ [I74-8]

This example contains two instances of **PROXIMAL-PROXIMAL yi-cu**, both of which are typical in that they are both new mentions accompanied by gestures: in (30c), the

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8 See MacNeil, Cassell & Levy for a discussion of how narrative displacement can be accompanied by a pointing gesture in the same manner as demonstratives anchored in the speech situation.

9 Other **PROXIMAL-DISTAL** combinations have not been recorded at all and my attempts to elicit them have not been successful.
speaker points to the part of his head that would correspond to the part of the goat’s head that he had singed, and in (30e) he moves his hands as though hanging something. PROXIMAL-DISTAL yi-ca in (30c) is similar in that it, too, is accompanied by hand gestures, indicating how the singeing was done. Distal ca is presumably anaphoric, referring to the earlier mentions of singeing in (30a) and (30b). So, PROXIMAL-DISTAL yi-ca combines situational use from the yi-component with the tracking sense of ca. Perhaps it is the combination of yi-, which favors new-mention interpretations, and ca, which favors anaphoric interpretations, that accounts for the rarity of the combination.

7. SUMMARY
The uses of the double demonstratives are summed up in (31):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REMOTE WU- USE</th>
<th>wu-ca wu-te-ŋ etc.</th>
<th>supplies remote sense for independent &amp; locative demonstratives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TRACKING + SITUATIONAL USE</td>
<td>ʃi-æ-cu ʃi-æ-ca</td>
<td>combines tracking &amp; situational senses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUMMARY USE</td>
<td>ʃi-æ-ca</td>
<td>signals completion of process of listing</td>
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<tr>
<td>SITUATIONAL + NEW MENTION</td>
<td>yi-cu etc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SITUATIONAL + ANAPHRORIC</td>
<td>yi-ca</td>
<td>rare</td>
</tr>
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Abbreviations

| ABL | ablative | INES | inessive |
| ANT | anterior | INST | instrumental |
| CIRC | circumlative | NEG | negative |
| COM | comitative | NOM | nominalization |
| COMP | comparative | NPST | non-past |
| COND | conditional | OPT | optative |
| COTEMP | cotemporal | PERF | perfective |
| DAT | dative | PL | plural |
| ERG | ergative | PROG | progressive converb |
| ESS | essive | Q | interrogative |
| IMP | imperative | SEQ | sequential converb |
| IMPF | past imperfective | TEMP | temporal case |
Bibliography


