FUNCTIONS OF NAAK/NA IN DAAI CHIN WITH EXAMPLES FROM OTHER CHIN LANGUAGES*

Helga Hartmann
SOAS, University of London

INTRODUCTION

This paper is concerned with the different uses of naak/na in Daai Chin1. The analysis, at least for Daai, is mainly based on findings in a large collection of texts, rather than on elicited data. No claim is made that this paper is an exhaustive account or analysis of every possible usage of naak.

Though in Daai Chin naak is in the process of becoming grammaticalized, it has not completed this process, unlike in other Chin languages. As a free verb naak is highly restricted in its occurrence with nouns (as can be seen in section 2).

In Daai naak/na occurs as a free verb, as an auxiliary (showing verb stem alternation) and as a nominaliser (realized as naak only and showing no alternation).

1. PRELIMINARY NOTES ON THE VERB PHRASE IN DAAI

1.1. The auxiliary verb system

Eight preverbal auxiliaries have been found in Daai. They are all directional and mutually exclusive. Two of them also occur as main verbs (see

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1 Daai is a Southern Chin language, spoken by approximately 45,000 people in the townships of Matupi, Mindat, Kanpetlet and Paletwa in the Southern Chin Hills of Myanmar. The data for this paper is based on the speech of a subgroup called “Yang”, who live in the Kanpetlet township along the Pilong river. The Daai Chin data used for this analysis has been collected since 1975. It mainly consists of a large corpus of texts that had been recorded and transcribed first by my late husband U Chaing So, then by U Ling So and U Nääng Küüi. A compilation of write-up’s about the Daai Chin Agricultural and Ceremonial Cycle, that is still in the process of being edited by U Nääng Küüi, has proved to be a valuable additional resource. Many of the examples used are taken from original texts and have been simplified for the purpose of this paper. They are complemented by data elicited from U Nääng Küüi. All of the examples used in this paper have also been re-checked with U Nääng Küüi in the last few months. I am very much indebted to him and want to acknowledge his patience and enthusiasm with gratitude.
Hartmann-So:1989). The postverbal auxiliary system is much more complicated. There are more than fifty postverbal auxiliaries; they can be divided into several sets according to their position, function and meaning. As auxiliary, naak occurs immediately after the main verb. The only exception is the co-occurrence of naak with the reflective marker ei. In that case naak takes the second position after the main verb. Other auxiliaries closest to the verb tend to be directionals, followed by causatives, attitudinals, phases, speech act indicators, and the like.

1.2. Verb stem alternation

Daai Chin verbs can be categorized into three classes. The verbs of class I are non-alternating. Verbs of class II and class III have alternating forms that I have labeled stem A and stem B. Stem A is realized in condition I, stem B in condition II. The terms ‘condition I’ and ‘condition II’ are preliminary and since they are not really relevant for the purpose of this paper, they will not be explained here.

The verbs showing stem alternation have been subdivided into class II and class III for two reasons:

a) their patterns of stem alternation are different;
b) for verbs of class II the more basic or complete form of the verb is realized under condition I, whereas for verbs of class III the complete form of the verb is realized under condition II.

Class II and class III could be further divided into subgroups, according to the syllabic pattern of the verb roots.

In the subgroup of class II we are concerned with, stem A has a long vowel, an optional high falling tone (which is not marked in the Daai orthography) and an unreleased stop (p, t, k). Verb Stem B is reduced to a short vowel with level tone, the stop ending is lost, and the syllable becomes a bound morpheme.

If naak occurs as part of a verb phrase, it alternates according to the same pattern.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem A</th>
<th>Stem B</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>táák</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>‘put, keep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>péét</td>
<td>pe</td>
<td>‘give’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheet</td>
<td>shé</td>
<td>‘bad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náák</td>
<td>ná</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. NAAK AS A FREE VERB

As a free verb naak may co-occurs with a highly restricted set of object nouns. They are of three types: relationship nouns, important cultural events (customs, naming, funerals, planting), and with ‘heart’.

2.1 Relationship nouns and naak

Relationship nouns all refer to human beings. In combination with naak a new kinship relationship is created, or the relationship changes into an action. However, this does not work for all nouns that might be considered potential ‘relationship nouns’. So far only the following group of nouns have been identified as relationship nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kkhuyu</td>
<td>‘wife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khong pa</td>
<td>‘husband’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa</td>
<td>‘child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>‘younger sibling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pu</td>
<td>‘uncle, father-in-law’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu</td>
<td>‘nephew, son-in-law’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hlüh püi</td>
<td>‘lover’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khong</td>
<td>‘leader’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Nghnumi sa jah kpami sa ah jah sa naak.
   Woman child and man child AGR\textsubscript{sub}:3S AGR\textsubscript{obj}:1/3D/PL child give\_birth
   ‘She gave birth to a baby girl and a baby boy.’

(2) Kah ning kkhuyu naak vai ni.
   AGR\textsubscript{sub}:1S AGR\textsubscript{obj}:2S wife take FUT.IRR EMP
   ‘I must indeed take you as my wife.’

(3) Asunüng ta mat noh Yok Ui Yok sun khong pa
    Then as\_for one ERG Yok Ui Yok DEM husband
    na-lü mat noh joontang ah khongpa naak mjoh.
    take and one ERG monkey AGR\textsubscript{sub}:3S husband take RPS
    ‘Then one took Yok Ui Yok for her husband and one took a monkey, it is
told.’

It is interesting to note that these constructions do not work with nghnumi ‘woman’ or kpami ‘man’. Both are generic terms that in recent years have been adopted for the usage as ‘wife’ and ‘husband’; the older forms kkhuyu and khong pa are now considered to be rude.
2.2. **Key cultural events and naak**

**ning sho** ‘custom’  **ning sho naak** ‘practice a custom’

**ngming** ‘name’  **ngming naak** ‘give (a) name/to name’

**yook** ‘corpse’  **yook naak** ‘make a funeral feast’

**lou** ‘mtn rice’  **lou naak** ‘plant mtn rice/
field’  use as mtn field’

(4) **Asun kba nih ning sho na -khoi kti-e.**
This like AGR\_sub:1IN.PL custom practice AUX-habit S.FIN-PLM
‘Like this we used to practice our customs.’

(5) **Yook na-lo ma-a.**
corpse VBL-AUX-come go\_ahead-IMP
‘Go ahead and give the funeral feast!’

(6) **Shih Sa Ngjung kah nih jah lou na-kti-e.**
Shih Sa Ngjung AGR\_sub:1PL AGR\_obj:3PL mtn\_field plant –S.FIN-PLM
‘We planted our mountain fields on Shih Sa Ngjung (name of mountain).’

This sentence could also be translated as ‘We used the Shih Sa Ngjung ranges as mountain fields.’

2.3 **‘Heart’ and naak**

**mlung** ‘heart’ / **mlung naak** ‘take to heart’ (can be positive or negative)

(7) **Ah she nu kah mshun ah nah**
POSS:3S cow female AGR\_sub:1S hurt AGR\_sub:3S AGR\_obj:1S
**mlung naak ta kah veei-a lo she.**
heart\_take if AGR\_sub:1S LOC-GR come let.
‘If he has a grudge against me, because I have hurt his cow, let him come to me.’

(8) **Ngkoi am kah pyen nah**
Wife\_arranged not AGR\_sub:1S speak AGR\_obj:1S
**mlung na-lü ah nah ngvook pii.**
heart\_take-and AGR\_sub:3S AGR\_obj:1S quarrel AUX-together
‘Because I did not ask for the wife that was arranged for me, he has a grudge against me and quarrels with me.’

(9) **Mlung nalü poh-a.**
Heart take-and do-IMP
‘Regard it as important and do it!’
In (7) and (8) *mlung* 'heart' + *naak* has developed the meaning 'take to heart, have a grudge, hate'. In (9) it is used to mean 'take to heart', in the sense of 'consider as important'. In Cho² the same combination *nglung* 'heart' + *naak* has developed the meaning 'do with united hearts'.

### 3. NAAK AS AN AUXILIARY

When *naak/na* occurs as an auxiliary, it is not followed by any case markers like location, purpose, instrument etc.

#### 3.1. Occurring with 'transitivized' verbs

With certain transitive verbs the usage of 'naak' as postverbal auxiliary is compulsory. Most of these verbs are clearly recognizable derivations. The following examples are intransitive, descriptive verbs that are changed into transitive verbs through prefixed *k*- [7] or prefixed *ng*-[ŋ]. These verbs cannot function by themselves, without the auxiliary *naak*.

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phyah/phya  'pleasant' >  kphya  'love'
hnge        'low, humble' >  nghne  'suppress'
sang        'true, right' >  ksaang  'believe/take one's part/obey'
sheet/sheet 'bad' >  kshe  'scold/curse'
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(10) *Ve soh na-phyah- kti-a thoon lo- be kti.*

live stay in_order_to pleasant REL-GR happen AUX-come AUX-again S.FIN

'It again became pleasant to live.'

Example (10) shows *phyah* as a descriptive, intransitive verb. Though *na-* occurs in this sentence, it belongs to the preceding verb phrase. *Ve sho na-phyah* 'live a pleasant life' is a set, idiomatic expression.

(11) *Ah nih pii ta kphya na-lo mjoh kti xooi.*

AGR:3D/PL friend as_for love_AUX-AUX-come RSP.S.FIN DUAL

'They came to love each other.'

(12) *Shang phuhlang-a sa nghnu kah kphya naak ni.*

King-POSS.M child daughter AGR sub:1S love_AUX EMP

'I love the king's daughter indeed.'

Examples (11) and (12) show stem alternation of *naak/na*.

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² Cho is a language closely related to Daai with about 85% lexical similarity. The Cho people live in the townships of Mindat, Kanpetlet and Matupi. They call themselves Cho, but are called 'Ngmüün' or 'Mun' by other Chin groups (see Hartmann-So 1988).
(13) **Nang** vok, **nah** sang kti.
    2S pig AGR\_sub:2S true S.FIN

‘You pig, you are right.’

(14) **U** ah **ksang naak** vai phi am kshing.
    who AGR\_sub:1S believe\_AUX FUT.IRR also not know

‘He did not know whom he should believe.’

Example (13) shows the usage of **sang** as an intransitive verb, contrasting with (14) where **ksang + naak** functions as a transitive verb.

Example (15) is from Cho:

(15) **A-u** phi kā k’cang na-ne, **a-u** ah ng’thu
    Nobody also not obey\_AUX-and nobody AGR:3S word

phi kā ngai.
    also not listen.

‘He does not obey anybody and he does not listen to anybody’s word.’

Daai **ksang** and Cho **k’cang** are cognates and we see that also in Cho **k’cang** requires the postverbal auxiliary **na/naak**.

Some verbs cannot be proved to be derivations, yet never occur without **naak**, as for example **xat** ‘grab, snatch’ and **üm** ‘trust’.

(16) **Msi** Mśääi nu noh kpami sa sun xa na-lü t
    Msi Mśääi mother ERG male child DEM grab\_AUX-and
    mllk-a ye-a joong-in mjoh kti.
    river-GR other\_side-LOC fly-INT RSP S.FIN

‘The Msi Mśääi mother grabbed her son and flew to the other side of the river, it is told.’

### 3.2. Functioning as an instrument referent

(17) **Sa** kah yuk ei **naak** ni.
    Letter AGR\_sub:1S write RFL AUX-instr EMP

‘I use/used (it) to write a letter.’ (can refer to paper, pencil etc.)

(18) **Nah** lü ei **naak** mä.
    AGR\_sub:2S play RFL AUX-instr QM

‘You play/played with (it)?’ (You used it to play with?)

As instrumental reference marker **naak** refers to the instrument object. In examples (17) and (18) there are no objects complementing the transitive verbs, so the instrumental phrase may actually have to be interpreted as a nominalization: ‘the thing I use to V’.
(19) **Ahin-a** lipok hin mpyääh kah kaah naak ni.
DEM-GR gun DEM tiger AGR\textsubscript{sub}:IS shot AUX-instr EMP

‘This is the gun I shot the tiger with.’ (can also be translated as: ‘This is the gun I used to shoot the tiger.’)

In this sentence the instrument is brought into special focus, **naak** refers to the instrument, and the instrumental marker, usually following the instrument, is omitted (see Peterson 1998:144).

(20) **Ahin-a** lipok üng mpyääh kah kaah ni.
DEM-GR gun INSTR tiger AGR\textsubscript{sub}:1S shot EMP

‘I shot the tiger with this gun.’

(20) is an example of the same sentence, with the indirective instrumental object marked by the instrumental marker **üng**, following the instrumental object. But **üng**, when functioning as instrumental marker, cannot co-occur with **naak** used as instrument reference.

Example (21) is from Maram:

(21) **Hie** asie hie cavau ei cho nah asie a -cha.
DEM spear DEM bear 1S stab AUX-instr spear AGR:3S is.

‘This spear is the spear I used to stab the bear.’

The function of instrument can also be extended to include purpose:

(22) **Tui** kah ook naak ni.
water AGR\textsubscript{sub}:1S drink AUX-purpose EMP

‘I used (it) to drink water.’

(‘I used it for the purpose, or as the means to, drink water.’)

(23) **Kah** ih naak hliü ni.
AGR\textsubscript{sub}:1S sleep AUX-purpose AUX-want EMP

‘I want (it) to sleep.’

(The implied ‘it’ or could be a sleeping mat, a blanket or just a place in the house.)

3.3. **Functioning as a reason-result referent**

(24) **Kah** püi-o, kah ning pyen ti kong.
POSS:1S friend-ADR AGR\textsubscript{sub}:1S AGR\textsubscript{obj}:2S scold anymore of course

‘My beloved, of course I will not scold you anymore.’
(25) *Am ah khüüi thei ah nu noh pyen*  
not AGR_{sub:3S} work able POSS:3S mother ERG scold  
nalü  
AUX-reason-and  
ah  
gsuh  
püi.  
AGR_{sub:3S} quarrel AUX-together.

'Because she did not work skillfully, her mother scolded her and quarreled with her.'

This sentence can be literally translated as 'her mother used her not-working-skillfully as reason to scold her'. Examples (24) and (25) show the contrast between usage and omission of 'naak'. In (24) *naak* is omitted and there is no reference to any reason for the scolding.

(26) *Mo-a ah seh ah thih naak-a thoon kti.*  
Jungle-LOC AGR_{sub:3S} go AGR_{sub:3S} die AUX-reason-GR happen S.FIN

'It happened, that because he went into the jungle, he died.'

(27) *Kah khüüi khom ah je naak ni.*  
AGR:1S work work AGR_{sub:3S} glad AUX-reason EMP

'He was glad because of my work.'

In (25), (26) and (27) *naak/na* occurs in the clause stating the result, yet is a reference marker for the reason given in the preceding clause.

(28) *Tui kah ook naak kah kkhon tet kti.*  
Water AGR_{sub:1S} drink AUX-reason POSS:1S stomach full S.FIN

'Because I drank water, my stomach is full.'

Here we find *naak* in the clause stating the reason. Though Daai has a reason-result connecting conjunction *phäh* 'because' or *phäh-a* 'because of', it does not co-occur with *naak*.

Example (29) is from Mro:³

(29) *Nang ji gan mthoe na nu y gan.*  
2P PL OBJM praise AUX-reason see not indeed

'I do not see any reason to praise you.'

Note that Mro does not use a clause-connecting conjunction.

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³ For the Mro data I am indebted to my co-worker U Kyaw Tha Aung, from Arakan State, who has recorded and transcribed a large number of Mro texts and with whom I am currently working on an analysis of his language.
Example (30) is from Ngawn:

(30) Lawn a-ngaih nak hang-in
    beloved AGR:3S-remember AUX-reason CONJ-because
ai-mah dek thei ma hi.
    nothing work able not S.FIN

'Because he remembered his beloved, he was not able to work at anything.'

Example (31) is from Maram:

(31) A-ca nah vata a- mei athlei.
    AGR:3S-weep AUX-reason CONJ-because POSS:3S-eye swollen.

'Because she wept, her eyes are swollen.'

4. NAAK AS A NOMINALISER

When functioning as nominaliser, form A (naak) is always used in Daai:

4.1. Functioning in locative clauses

As a nominaliser, naak occurs frequently in locative clauses, changing actions, happenings, and states into locations where the verbal event takes place.

(32) Ah hlūh pūi-a thih naak su pha vaai mjoh kti.
    POSS:1S beloved-GR die NOM LOC arrive AUX-go RSP S.FIN

'He went and arrived at the place where his beloved had died, it is told.'

(33) Nghmaak Ye Shaak-a ve naak-a ta meh am ve.
    Brother_in_law Ye Shaak-GR live NOM-LOC as_for meat not is.

'At the brother-in-law Ye Shaak’s place (where he lives) there is no meat.'

(34) Buh ei naak, ju ook naak-a phi ayūma am ve ni.
    Rice eat NOM, rice-wine drink NOM-LOC also together not stay EMP

'They also did not stay together at the place where they ate rice and drank rice-wine.' (which means 'at the place of a feast')

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4 Ngawn is a central Chin language and was formerly considered as a subgroup of Falam Chin. The Ngawn people live along the Falam and Teddim areas, in the Sagaing division and around Kalemyo and Tahan. For the examples from Ngawn I am indebted to my friend James Mang Khen Thang.

5 For the data from Maram I am indebted to U Khay Kyaing.
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(35) Anghmüp naak su ni kah nih yū khū.
    Dark NOM LOC EMP AGR<sub>sub</sub>:1EX.PL like AUX-certainly

'We indeed like the dark places.'

See Barnes (1998: 61), who shows naak in similar constructions, and refers to it as a relativizer.

Note that in locative clauses naak co-occurs with LOC case markers, except in Mro.

Example (36) is from Mro:

(36) Ing ne la ke ji iwn on na sy ja.
    House DEM SUBM 1PL.EX POSS live NOM true EMP

'This house is indeed our living place.'

Example (37) is from Ngawn:

(37) Tangval pai hawh nuam nak ah hawh bok tuk hung hi.
    Young man go want NOM LOC go together PL SFIN

'Young men go together to places they like to go.'

Example (38) is from Maram:

(38) Lao tlao nah liata pari a- hmo.
    rice field weed NOM LOC snake AGR:3S see

'He saw a snake at the place where he weeded the rice field.'

4.2. Functioning in purpose clauses

In purpose clauses naak co-occurs with a PUR case marker.

(39) Nih sa nih mhluum naak vai kkhyāi-paa
    POSS:1D child AGR<sub>sub</sub>:1D comfort NOM PUR flower
    san san jāng khyan ma.
    DEM DEM DIR.AUX-up pluck go-ahead

'Go ahead, climb up and pluck that flower for us to use to comfort our child with it.'

(40) Im kah nih shak naak vai mdek kah nih soh.
    House POSS:1EX.PL build NOM PUR soil AGR<sub>sub</sub>:1EX.PL dig.

'For our building of the house, we dig the soil.'

Example (41) is from Ngawn:

(41) Lakxawng a-ngah nak tuk-in zuam hi.
    Present AGR:3S-get NOM PUR try_hard SFIN

'He tried hard to get the present.'
Examples (42) and (43) are from Mro:

(42) **Naudie ji menan xana na tone mah on y.**

\begin{itemize}
  \item child
  \item PL
  \item LOC
  \item play
  \item NOM
  \item what
  \item also
  \item is
  \item not
\end{itemize}

‘Here the children have nothing play with.’

(43) **Ing menan me thoen na on ja by.**

\begin{itemize}
  \item House
  \item LOC
  \item fire/light
  \item lighten
  \item NOM
  \item is
  \item EMP
  \item QM
\end{itemize}

‘Is there something in the house for making a light?’

Again, in Mro the absence of a PUR case marker can be noticed. In these two examples from Mro, *na* functions in a similar way as in Daai, above (22)-(23). In (42) it is not the verb ‘play’ that is nominalized through *na*, but it is changed into ‘play-thing’ and in (43) ‘lighten’ into ‘a thing to make light with’, which could be a candle, kerosene lamp or light bulb.

Henderson (1965:100) briefly mentions the functioning of ‘*na*’ in the noun phrase of Tiddim Chin:

“The nominal suffix ‘*na*’ –na:, which is perhaps to be regarded as in origin the oblique form of ‘*na*’ –na: thing, object...”.

4.3. Abstract nouns

*Naak* also functions to create abstract nouns from verbs.

4.3.1. Abstract nouns as new concepts

Most of these abstract nouns are relatively new concepts and were not previously used in the oral traditions of the Daai.

(44) **ngthei** ‘learn’

(45) **kthäh** ‘ask’

(46) **ngthäh ngkhyah** ‘question each other’

Examples (47)-(49) are from Mro:

(47) **katu** ‘learn’

(48) **diwn** ‘ask’

(49) **Buisha menan tone diwn na on jo mei.**

\begin{itemize}
  \item Wise_man
  \item LOC
  \item what
  \item ask
  \item NOM
  \item is
  \item AUX-polite
  \item QM
\end{itemize}

‘What is there to ask the wise man about?’

Since Mro also has another nominaliser, *niw*, that is used for the nominalization of verbs, we can observe the contrast between *diwn niw* ‘question’ and *diwn na* ‘the thing to ask’.
4.3.2. Abstract nouns in Christian vocabulary

In Christian vocabulary *naak* is used very frequently to form abstract nouns.

(50) *diim* ‘be quiet’ *diim deih naak* ‘peace’

(51) *thih* ‘die’ *thih naak* ‘death’

(52) *xiin* ‘live’ *xiin naak* ‘life’

(53) *do kya* ‘be good’ *do kya naak* ‘blessing’

(54) *je kyai* ‘be glad’ *je kyai naak* ‘joy’

(55) *Pangsiim* God  *noh* ERG  *thih* die  *naak-a* NOM-GR  *kkhyüh* from  *ah* AGR\(_{sub} \cdot 3S\)  *jah* AGR\(_{obj} \cdot 1/3PL\)

*thoh* get_up  *shak* CAUS  *be.* again.

‘God raised them up again from death.’ (Matth. 27:52)

(56) *Ah nih-a* 3S POSS.M  *am* not  *khyaih* well  *ei* RFL  *hin* DEM  *thih* die  *naak* AUX-reason  *vai* FUT.IRR  *am ni.* not EMP

‘His sickness will not be a reason to die.’ (John 11:4)

(55) and (56) show the contrastive usage of *thih naak* as nominalized form and as reason-result referent.

5. CONCLUSION

5.1. Summary:

The verb *naak/na* has grammaticalized to different extents in different Chin languages. Daai and Cho Chin appear to be the most conservative, allowing the full verb to occur with a limited set of nouns.

1. Although grammatical uses of *naak* can easily be found in presumably all Chin languages, its occurrence as a free verb seems to be restricted to Daai and Cho.

2. For the usage of *naak* as compulsory postverbal auxiliary, evidence can be found in Daai and Cho, but not in any other Chin language I have looked at.

3. The occurrence of *naak* as instrumental referent is of special interest, because, while being a constituent of the verb phrase, it refers to the instrumental object.

4. As nominaliser, *naak* functions in locative and purpose/instrumental clauses. In the latter usage it does not really nominalize the verb, but rather changes it into ‘the thing used for V-ing’

5. In the formation of abstract nouns, *naak* functions as a nominaliser in the traditional sense.
5.2. A suggested reconstruction of the verb naak

Considering the examples (especially from Daai) presented in this paper, a reconstruction of the original verb meaning of *naak* as 'to use, to take, to have' seems to me a viable option. This is supported by the fact that Daai seems to have no 'original' verb for 'use', but only the loanword from Burmese *shum ei*.

### ABBREVIATIONS

| 1/3 D/PL | First or third person, dual or plural | FUT | Future |
| 1D | First person dual | FUT.IRR | Future irrealis |
| 1PL | First person plural | GR | General relater |
| 1PL.EX | First person plural exclusive | IMP | Imperative |
| 1PL.IN | First person plural inclusive | IN | Inclusive |
| 1S | First person singular | INSTR | Instrumental |
| 2P | Second person pronoun | INT | Intensifier |
| 2S | Second person singular | LOC | Locative |
| 3PL | Third person plural | NOM | Nominaliser |
| 3S | Third person singular | OBJM | Object marker |
| ADR | Addressive particle | PL | Plural |
| AGR<sub>obj</sub> | Object Agreement | PLM | Plural marker |
| AGR<sub>sub</sub> | Subject Agreement | POSS | Possessive |
| AUX | Auxiliary | POSS.M | Possessive marker |
| CAUS | Causative | PUR | Purpose |
| CONJ | Conjunction | QM | Question marker |
| D | Dual | REL | Relativizer |
| DEM | Demonstrative | RFL | Reflexive |
| DIR.AUX | Directional auxiliary | RSP | Reported speech marker |
| DUAL | Dual marker | S | Singular |
| EMP | Emphasis | S.FIN | Sentence final particle |
| ERG | Ergative | SUBJM | Subject marker |
| EX | Exclusive | VBL | Verbalizer |
REFERENCES


