Some Morphosyntax of Mongolian

Scott Ruddell

0. Introduction

After gaining a basic understanding of the phonetics and phonology of Mongolian, we moved on to look at larger segments of the language, namely, its morphology and syntax. While it would be impossible to gain a full understanding of the morphosyntax in Mongolian over the course of the just roughly two months (that goes for phonology too), we have tried our best to hone in on what might be considered as fundamental sentence structures in order to reveal the larger building blocks of the Mongolian language. In this paper, I will provide an overview of those structures, providing examples along the way. This paper will be divided into the following sections: clause structure, case markers, conjugation and negation, particles, pronouns, deixis, and relative clauses.

Before moving on, it should be mentioned that the website "Wiktionary.org," which is a website that contains information about the languages of the world, will occasionally be mentioned in this paper. In this website, linguists contribute information about the world's languages which must receive confirmation before it becomes an official entry on the website. While the information on "Wiktionary.org" may not be as solidified as information found in publish book or article, it consisted of data that was consistent with the elicitations from our speaker and was thus utilized for digital documentation of word and morpheme data.

1. Clause Structure

The unmarked constituent order of a sentence is Subject-Object-Verb, as seen in (1).

(1) pat xaranda: -k xoka4a -βbat pencil ACC snap.tr PST"Bat broke the pencil."

We will look at the accusative case in the next section of this paper, but for now all we need to know is that case markers are suffixes, making Zoloo (a person's name) the object in (1).

Before moving on to case markings, we must show evidence as to why we can consider Mongolian to be a language with a nominative-accusative pattern. In order to do this, we can look at a transitive version of (1) in which the patient "pencil" is the single argument of the sentence, as seen in (2) below.

(2) xaranda: xokara -β pencil snap.intr PST "The pencil broke."

Based on the fact that the patient-like single argument "pencil" in (2) is marked in the same way as the agentive subject (i.e. no suffix) in a two-argument sentence in (1), we can confirm that Mongolian is a nominative-accusative language.

2. Case Markers

2.1. Nominative marker -

We have just seen that the subject of a transitive sentence and the single argument of an intransitive sentence are marked in the same way: they both do not take on any marker. Rather, it might be better to say that this lack of marker for the nominative case is actually a null marker. Thus, if we explicitly mark all cases in a sentence, we would end up with something like (3) below.

2.2. Accusative marker -(x)k

During the elicitations it was noticed that while some direct objects such as Zoloo in (3) took on an accusative marker, other times the object was unmarked. Our informant told us that the accusative marker correlates with definiteness (e.g. X-(i)k = "the X") while the lack of accusative marker correlates with indefiniteness (i.e. $X-\infty = \text{"a(n)} X\text{")}$). However, this did not quite seem to be an accurate correlation due to the fact that (1) the accusative marker attached

to personal pronouns and proper nouns and (2) our consultant often had difficulties distinguishing between "the" and "a(n)" in English.

Guntseteg and Klein (2009) provide an explanation for the usage of the accusative marker -(i)k using two reasons: "differential object marking" and "differential embedded subject marking." For the purpose of this paper, we shall only discuss the former. According to Guntseteg and Klein, one of the primary triggers of differential object marking is referentiality, for which they use Aissen's (2003) Referentiality Scale, as seen in (4) as a model.

(4) personal pronouns > proper names > def. NPs > indef. specific NPs > indef. non-specific NPs

Specifically, Guntseteg and Klein state that "if the direct objects are realized by personal pronouns, proper names and definite noun phrases, the accusative marking is obligatory." In addition to the example in (3), the sentence in (5) shows another example where a proper name as a direct object takes the accusative marker.

In (5), "Zoloo" is the theme of the sentence and is therefore not as "prototypically" patient-like as in (3), but still takes an accusative marker. The same goes for pronoun nouns as well, as seen in (6).

Just as Guntseteg and Klein (2009) state, this accusative marker appears to be obligatory in the case of proper nouns and personal pronouns. However, once we get into the territory of common nouns, things are not as easy. Guntseteg and Klein state that "accusative marking on weak indefinite and incorporated noun phrases is ungrammatical." In the case of transitive sentences elicited from our consultant where the direct object was a common noun, our

consultant told us that that direct object could either have an -(i)k accusative marker or not. This can be observed blow in (7a&b).

Once again, while our consultant differentiated these two sentences in terms of "the" vs. "a," based on Guntseteg and Klein (2009), (7a) would infer that there is a certain goat to which the speaker is referring, while (7b) would be unclear as to whether the speaker is referring to any particular goat. In conclusion, while there is some correlation between definitiveness as the usage of the accusative case marker in Mongolian, there does not seem to be any accurate way to translate it into English.

2.3. Dative/Locative case -(n)t

This particular case marker was realized the same way phonologically and was therefore believed to be the same morpheme with multiple uses. (8) and (9) show examples of the morpheme used as a dative case marker.

Sentences like (9), where the dative/locative case marker expressed someone owning something (in this case a house), were very common. Additionally, the apparent same morpheme was used to express existence in a location as seen in (10) and direction of motion as seen in (11).

- (10) kevin æŋkɪ -t pæ: -n kevin classroom LOC is NPST "Kevin is in the class."
- (11)æŋkɪ pi -t -a: nam -a: aβə −tʃ irī -sɨŋ 1sg classroom LOC **RFLX** book RFLX take PROG come PST "I brought my book to my class."

It should be noted that it in (11), instead of -t, it seemed preferable to our consultant to use the morpheme -ro: or -4o: which roughly translate to the English preposition "to." However, our consultant says that it is okay to use the locative case marker -t here as well.

2.4. Genitive Case -ni/-in/-i/-n/-kin

Phonologically speaking, the genitive marker in Mongolian took on a number of different forms. However, a detailed description of this phonological variation will not be ventured in this paper. Below are several examples of the usages of the genitive case marker in Mongolian.

Position of figure with respect to ground

(12) tsa4o puskyi -n art pæ: -n man woman **GEN** Behind is NPST "The man is behind the woman"

In typical instances of this pattern, the figure is the subject of the sentence and the ground takes on the genitive. In (12) the figure is "man" and the ground is "woman." Thus, "woman" takes the genitive marker.

Possession - Inalienable

tshayan ບŋktʰe (13)ma∫in -i ta⁴ ort -n pæ: -n car GEN front -side direction white color NPST is 'The front of the car is white'

Possession - Alienable

(14) In pa4 pa4t -in nam this FOC Bolt GEN book "This is Bolt's book."

When used to describe possession, the possessor takes on the genitive case marker similarly to English possessive clitic 's.

Other

(15) os -ni
$$\int i^4$$
 -in sa β xakara $-\beta$ water GEN glass GEN container shatter.intr PST "The glass water container just broke."

In (15) fif-in $sa\beta$ "glass-GEN container" seems to correlate to something like "a container that is made of glass" while the larger phrase 2s-ni fif-in $sa\beta$ "water-GEN glass-GEN container" correlates to something like "a container that is made of glass which contains water." In (16) t^h eme:-ni max "camel-GEN meat" seems to simply mean "the meat of a camel."

2.5 Comitative Case $-t^he$: $/-t^h\alpha$: $/-t^h\alpha$:

The comitative case was found to be used for two different purposes: (a) to express "togetherness" in performing as action and (b) to attach to common nouns to form a word that seems to form a type of stative predicate. An example of (a) can be seen below in (17) and an example of (b) can be seen in (18a&b).

- (17) pat tsa+a: -thα: jεrɪ -β
 bat zoloo COM talk R PST
 "Bat talked with Zoloo."
- (18a) pat tfarka4 -thae: pæ: -n bat happiness **COM** is NPST

"Bat is feeling happy (right now)."

(18b) pi mənk **-t^he:** 1sg money **COM**

"I have money. (lit. I am in a state of being with money)"

The usages found in (18a&b) were found to be a significantly productive way of modifying nouns and expressing states, which are very similar usages to English adjectives. However, it does not seem to be enough evidence of the existence of adjectives in Mongolian.

2.6. Ablative Case -(k)a:s

The ablative case marker attaches to the source of some movement or transfer, as seen in (19a&b) or the source of some comparison, as seen in (20).

- (19a) tsa4a: -ka:s pat nam -ık aβə -β zoloo ACC PST bat ABL book take "Bat took/got the book from Zoloo."
- (19b) pi maŋka4 -a:s irɪ -sɨŋ 1sg Mongolia ABL come PST "I came from Mongolia."
- (20)-in mini -ka:s t^ham pat pæ:∫ɪŋ pæ:∫ɪŋ GEN house big bat 1sg.GEN house ABL "Bat's house is bigger than my house."

2.7 Instrumental Case -(k)a:r / (k)e:r

The instrumental case marker attaches to the tool or instrument by which an action is performed. Examples can be seen in (21a&b).

(21a) tfho4o: ts^hanx рi ka:r xaka4(a) -t∫ax -saŋ rock INST window UW 1sq shatter.tr PST "I broke the window with a rock." (21b)thu4xu:r e:r ankæ4k(a) -tʃax рi xa:4əq -saŋ 1sg kev INST door open.tr UW PST "I opened the door with the key."

3. Conjugation

Verbs in Mongolian always seem to simply take a suffix attached to the verb stem, which generally end in verbs. The majority of these suffixes are meant to express tense and aspect.

3.1. Infinitive -x

The most basic form of a verb seems to one suffixed with -x. This is because standalone verbs elicited from our consultant took on this particular suffix. As we did not elicit a lot of data with this suffix in sentences, it is difficult define. However, in addition to being defined as an infinitive in Gaunt (2004), the fact that basic standalone verbs took on this suffix seem to imply it is an infinitive. The suffix was occasionally found in sentences such as in (22).

3.2. Non-past tense (or durative) suffix -n

The most common verb suffix found in Mongolian was the -n suffix. According to Gaunt (2004) and fitting to the data elicited, the -n suffix expresses present/future, which is why the term "non-past tense" was chosen (inspired by the widely used terminology in Japanese which also expresses both present/future tense). Other sources such as the website "Wiktionary.org" have called this suffix the "durative" tense suffix, as it generally expresses a sense of continuity. For example, the suffix is often used with statives such as in (23a&b).

In (23&b), the non-past suffix attaches to pæ:-, which is a verb stem that roughly translate to "is." Up until this point, the non-past suffix was found attached solely to this verb. What is particularly worth mentioning about (23b) is that the verb "is" is attached to another verb "feel.hot" via the progressive suffix -tf which we will look at in the next section. We can find this same structure of V-PROG-is-NPST also in cases where the V is more of a dynamic verb, as seen in (24).

(24)puskyi tsa4o -kin ort a4x(ə) −ʧ pæ: -n woman man GEN front walk PROG is NPST "The woman is walking in front of the man."

What is interesting is that this non-past/durative suffix does not have to be combined with a verb in its progressive form; it can also be combined with various past test verbs as seen in (25).

Our consultant described the situation in (25) as follows: a goat died, the speaker did not see it die, and the speaker comes up to the dead goat and finds it already dead. Our consultant confirmed that this sentence perhaps could be translated as "the goat is dead" rather than "the goat died" although both of these meaning seem to be embedded into the complex verb $uxi-tfi-si\eta$ pæ:-n. If anything, this seems perhaps to reveal the stative quality of pæ:-n (is-NPST/DUR) such that (25) describes the goat in the state of being dead.

3.3. Progressive aspect suffix / verb linker -tf

We have just seen a few examples (23a, 23b, and 24) where the suffix -tf is used to express the progressive aspect. However, it seemed to also be used as a connector of two verbs without having any particular tense or aspect, which can be seen in (26a&b).

What is different about the examples in (26a&b) is that the verb that comes after -tf is not pæ:- "is." It is not quite clear if the -tf suffix hear holds any particular meaning. Thus, it may be more accurate to consider -tf to sometimes function as only a linker without any particular aspect. However, this does not take away from the likelihood that -tf expresses the

progressive aspect when connected with "is," as we can see a distinction in tense/aspect between (24) and (25).

3.4. Habitual aspect suffix -t+k / -tak

The habitual aspect suffix -t+k / -tak was used to describe situations in which there was a sense of permanence or regularity of an action. An example of regularity can be seen in (27).

A distinction in permanence can be observed in (28a&b) such that the habitual suffix expresses being in China at least semi-permanently (e.g. living in China for an extended period of time) while the NPST/DUR suffix expresses being in China temporarily (e.g. being in China on vacation).

3.5. Imperfective aspect suffix -ya:

The imperfective suffix -ya: showed similar characteristics to the habitual aspect suffix, but is used more often to describe possession/relation that is alienable, such as in (29).

According to our consultant, the habitual aspect suffix can also be used instead of the imperfective. However, because our consultant initially used $-\gamma a$: here it is to be assumed that this is preferred over the habitual aspect suffix.

Conversely, our consultant said that the sentence in (30) can also take either the habitual aspect suffix or the imperfective aspect suffix. However, in this case, the version with the habitual aspect suffix was uttered first and is therefore assumed to be preferred. Our consultant described $-\gamma a$: to have a lesser degree of permanence than the -tik/tak, which makes sense since the relationship between an owner and a camel is not as permanent as the relationship between a younger and older sister.

3.6 Past tense suffixes

Perhaps the most complicated features of Mongolian are the different past tense suffixes. A lot of times these suffixes were interchangeable. While sometimes our consultant was able to explain the difference between each verb form, other times it was not as clear. Even in Ujiyediin (1998), where a detailed chapter on the differences between each of the four past tense suffixes is provided, it was not possible to sum up the differences in a simple manner. To make matters even more complex, just as we saw in (25) ("the goat died / is dead"), conjugated verbs can combine with conjugated pæ:– "is" to add additional meaning. Thus in this section, the goal is not to provide a detailed description of every single combination and describe the differences. Rather, the goal is to give a basic overview of the conjugated verb forms seen in the elicited data and described nuances when possible.

3.6.1. "Recent past" suffix $-\beta$ and "non-recent past" suffix $-s+\eta/-sa\eta$

Out of all the elicited data, these two past tense suffixes (especially $-\beta$) were the most common. The general intuition of our consultant was that verbs suffixed with $-\beta$ described events that happened recently, and $-si\eta/-sa\eta$ described events that happened not recently. A representative example of the recent past suffix is found in (31) while a representative example of the non-recent past suffix can be observed in (32).

(31) jama: ona
$$-\beta$$
 goat fall **R PST** "The goat (just recently) fell."

(32)eŋkerseŋ ta4a: xanʊkt it(I) pat pota: -sɨŋ last bat days rice eat NR PST seven "Bat ate rice last week."

It must be noted that the degree of how recent an event occurred is relative. However, we can still see a clear difference between the events in (31) and (32) primarily due to the "just recently" aspect of (31) and the "last week" in (32).

3.6.2. Past tense suffix *-4a:* / *-4e:*

The -4a: /-4e: past tense suffix was the least common out of all of the past tense forms. There was no particular characteristic that it expressed other than expressing that an event occurred in the past. An example can be seen below in (33).

The situation described above was that a coach was uttering this sentence to his/her pupil after they had just finished a race. The recent past tense suffix $-\beta$ could also be used here instead of -4e: without any change in meaning known to our consultant. This, however, is not quite evident enough to make any special claims.

3.6.3. "Unwitnessed" / past tense suffix -tf+x / -tfax

The reason for naming this particular suffix the "unwitnessed" suffix is that our consultant often described sentences that contained $V-tfax-san\ pæ:-n\ (V-UW-NR\ PST\ is-DUR)$ as events that happened a while age (due to NR PST) and that were not witnessed by the speaker, as seen in (34)

(34) jama: on(a) -tfax -san pæ: -n goat fall UW NR PST is NPST "The goat fell (a while ago and speaker did not see it happen)."

However, it seems that this is not always the case. Take for example, (35).

The sentence in (35) is an answer in response to the question "how did you get here so quickly?" Since it is the speaker who performed the action, it seems difficult to imagine that the speaker did not witness the event of himself/herself running to the destination. It is possible, however, that -tf+x / -tfax can also carry the meaning that the event was not witnessed by the listener.

In fact, there is some additional evidence that this might be the case. The sentences in (3a-c) all carry the same meaning according to our consultant. What is important here is that all of these sentences are responses to the question "what happened?" which means that the listener who supposedly asked this question does not know what happened and therefore presumably did not witness the event. Thus while, our consultant explicitly states that the speaker who uttered the sentence in (36b) witnessed the container breaking, we might imagine that the use of the potential unwitnessed suffix here is used to put the event in the perspective of the listener, who did not witness the event. However, there is no explicit evidence for this so we shall not conclude that -tfix / -tfax suffix is only used to describe unwitnessed events.

- (36a) os -ni ∫i\u224 -in sa\u224\u224 xakara -\u224 water GEN glass GEN container shatter.intr **R PST** "The glass water container just broke."
- (36b) os -ni ∫i\frac{1}{2} -in sa\beta xakar(a) -\text{tfax} -\frac{4a:}{a:} water GEN glass GEN container shatter.intr UW? PST "The glass water container just broke. (speaker saw event)"
- (36c)-ni ſi4 -in saß xakar(a) -tfax pæ: -4a: ЭS -saŋ GEN glass GEN container shatter.intr UW? PST water NR PST is "The glass water container just broke."

Overall, there are too many combinations of past test suffixes to include every single one of them in this paper. In addition, they seem extremely complex especially when combined with one another and combined with pæ:- "is."

3.7. Negation

There are a couple of ways to negate sentences in Mongolian, namely: by negating a verb, as seen in (37a), or negating a noun, as seen in (37b).

The affirmative counterparts can be seen in (38a&b) respectively.

In the case of (37a) compared to (38a), the negation is as simple as just adding the negative marker $-k\mu i$ to the sentence. In the case of (37b) compared to (38b), it is almost but not quite as simple. The reason for this is that while it is natural to have $pa \neq (focus marker/is)$ in the affirmative counterpart, it is not natural to say this in the negative counterpart. However, according to our informant, is also possible to omit $pa \neq in (38b)$ as well. In this case, negating a sentence would be as simple as adding the negative marker/particle px f.

4. Particles and Suffixes

It is sometimes difficult to differentiate a suffix and a particle. Items were usually classified as a particle if it was documented that way on the website "Wiktionary.org" or if our language consultant pronounced it separately in slow speech. Otherwise, it was documented as a suffix.

4.1. Focus / Topic particle paf

The focus or topic particle could also have been translated as "is." The difference between this particle and pæ:— "is" seemed to be related to the semantics of the predicate of the sentence. A good example of this can be seen in (39a&b).

4.2. Reflexive / polite suffix -(k)a: / -(k)e:

This suffix (maybe a particle) seemed to have a clear meaning of expressing reflexivity. In addition, our consultant described this particle sometimes as expressing politeness. Usage as a reflexive particle can be seen in (40a) while usage as a politeness marker can be seen in (40b).

(40a)
$$ts^h tske$$
: $jupk^h$ -e: ora - β titske skirt **RFLX** tear.tr R PST "Titske just tore her skirt."

(40b) tsuke:r -e:
okay RFLX
Reply to "thank you" and "are you okay"

While our consultant described the -e: in (40b) as expressing politeness, since the speaker in this sentence would be talking about him/herself, it seems easy to imagine that the particle in (40b) expresses reflexivity as well.

4.3. Question particles o: and $pe/\beta e$

Mongolian exhibited two different types of question particles: o:, which was used for yes/no questions, and $pe/\beta e$, which were used for questions with interrogative pronouns. An example of o: is found in (41a) and an example of $pe/\beta e$ is found in (41b).

5. Pronouns

Pronouns were another difficult aspect of Mongolian as the language implements a much different system than English. First of all, Mongolian does not differentiate between genders in terms of pronouns. When our sentences that we elicited contained English "he" or "she," our consultant seemed troubled when trying to figure out how to translate it to Mongolian and informed us that there is usually no different personal pronoun for males and females. Thus, the gender–neutral singular third person pronoun $t^h r$ was used, as seen in (42a) and (42b)

One distinction that Mongolian does make is one related to politeness or familiarity. Take (43a&b) as examples.

t^ha (43a)tsuke:r o: 2sg (pol.) okay Q Are you okay? (polite) (43b)tſ^hi tsuke:r o: 2sg (fam.) okay Q Are you okay? (familiar)

At the most fundamental level (and potentially the only level), the polite second-person singular pronoun is used toward someone who is older, while the familiar second-person singular pronoun is use toward someone is the same age or younger.

Mongolian pronouns seem to change their forms based on the case marker that attaches to it. Take for example, the first singular pronoun pi and what appear to be its genitive and accusative forms in (44a-c):

(44a) рi pæ: -n **NPST** 1sq is "I am (Bat)." (In response to the question "Who is Bat?") (44b)mi ni -ık -tɨk nεr pat kε GEN name ACC call 1sg bat HAB "My name is Bat." (Lit. My name is called Bat.) (44c)-k namæ pat kε -tɨk ACC HAB 1 sq bat call "My name is Bat." (Lit. I am called Bat.)

(43a)'s *pi* is the basic form of the first-person singular pronoun when no case markers follow. In (43b), *mi* together with the genitive marker *ni* forms the first-person singular genitive pronoun. It is possible that *mini* has become lexicalized such that is now one word which carries the meaning "1sg.GEN." In (43c), *namæ* occurs when the accusative marker follows.

Once again, it is possible that this has become lexicalized to form a single word *namæk* which is the "accusative form" of the first-person singular pronoun. As a matter of fact, this was the understanding of how all case-marked pronouns worked until seeing how pronouns change with the dative/locative and comitative case markers, as seen in (45a-d).

- (45a) **tf^ham** -t Iktf^h pæ: -ya: jo:

 2sg LOC older.sister is IPFV Q

 "Do you have an older sister?"
- tsa4o **tf^ham** -thæ: o:4tsa (45b)entur kε -tſ ir(I)-x-sɨŋ COM meet tall man 2sq INF call **PROG** NR PST come "Tall man came to see you (but you were not here.)
- (45c) natat -t Iktf^h pæ: -γa:
 1sg LOC older.sister is IPFV
 "I have an older sister"
- (45d) natat -t^hæ: xamt^h jaβ
 1sg COM together go
 "Go with me (command)."

From these examples we can see that in both the cases of the first-person singular pronoun and the second-person singular pronoun, the pronouns take the same form for both the dative/locative case marker and for the comitative case marker. This hints that the case-marked pronouns are not lexicalized pronouns based on the semantics provided by the case markers (e,g $tf^hamt = 2$ sg.LOC and 2sg.COM), but rather that the pronoun is influenced by the phonology of the attached case marker and is separate from the case marker (e.g. $tf^ham = 2$ sg, -t = LOC, and $-t^hac = COM$). In this case, it seems that case markers that begin with alveolar stops cause the pronoun to take on the forms found in (45a-d).

It still could be the case, especially for the genitive and accusative marked pronouns, that case-marked pronouns are lexicalized as one word. At this point, however, it is unclear. This particular aspect of Mongolian requires further investigation.

6. Deixis

Mongolian did not display a very wide range of deictic demonstratives. In fact, only one was observed, as seen in (46)

While we attempted to get a word for "that" as opposed to "this," *In* seemed to be used for both "this" and "that." In the case of the sentence "Who is that?" the direct translation was more like "Who are they?" as seen in (47).

7. Relative Clauses

Mongolian is a head-final language. Observe the sentence in (48a) and the relative clause sentence based on (48a) in (48b).

- (48a) บtบr xota⁴ta -β рi ບne: nam −ʧ aβə book 1 sg today day buy PROG take R PST "I bought a book today."
- (48b) ın pat mini บtบr xota4ta −tſ aβ(ə) បne: -san nam this FOC 1 sg.GEN today buy PROG take NR PST book day "This is the book that I bought today."

In particular, we should pay attention to the fact that *nam* "book" comes in the final position of the clause in a relative clause.

8. Final Remarks

This paper has provided a brief description of the morphosyntax of Mongolian. However, this is by no means a comprehension report. The points that were focused on in this paper were based on the interests of the writer, and many aspects which were not as deeply investigated were left out from this paper. Some noteworthy mentions are the transitive/intransitive distinction, evidentiality, question pronouns, and a further investigation on parts-of-speech in Mongolian. Furthermore, it was impossible to elicit every single morphosyntactic aspect of the language in the allotted time for elicitation.

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Abbreviations and Special Symbols

- 1 First person
- 2 Second Person
- 3 Third Person

() Denotes segments which are found lexically in a word but not salient in pronunciation of certain form

ABL Ablative
ACC Accusative
COM Comitative
DAT Dative

fam. Familiar

FOC Focus marker

GEN Genitive
Gloss Meaning
HAB Habitual
INF Infinitive

INST Instrumental intr. Intransitive IPFV Imperfective LOC Locative NEG Negative NOM Nominative NPST Non-past

NR PST Non-recent past

pl plural pol. Polite

PROG Progressive

PST Past

Q Question particle

R PST Recent Past
RFLX Reflexive
sg singular
tr. transitive
UW Unwitnessed