The Tapir: A Yanomami Text

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A traditional Yanomami story is presented with interlinear glosses and free translation. The text relates the characteristics of three animals: the tapir, the squirrel, and the sloth.

Background information

This is a traditional Yanomami story, told in February of 1982 by Olukanes, a Yanomami man from Parimi-U (Brazil) who is regarded as a good storyteller by other people in the village. The story was taped by Pierrette Ziegler-Birraux, with help (interpretation and prompting) from Sandy Cue. Sandy Cue and Irma Thiele transcribed the text. Lukas, a Yanomami man from the same village, helped to explain and rephrase some parts of the story.

The work of building a hiding place for a tapir is time consuming, a fact which is expressed by the many repetitions of the action words. Three dots on the first line signify that some of these repetitions have been omitted in the transcription. It is interesting to note that only the main character is introduced at the beginning of the story; the others are identified explicitly later on in the second part of the story. The main characteristics of the participants in the story, according to Lukas are: the tapir is lazy, but somewhat intelligent; the squirrel is a hard and fast worker and intelligent; the sloth is lazy and stupid.

Structure of the presentation

The text is presented in three forms: the first line is in the practical orthography, the second line is a transcription in technical orthography, and the third gives the basic form of each morpheme, with morpheme breaks. The translation of the text is also given in three forms: first, a literal translation of each morpheme; then a translation of each word in context, where possible; and finally, a free translation for each line. Abbreviations are explained in Appendix 1.

Summary

The tapir is trying to hide, and the squirrel is encouraging him and helping him by piling up leaves on him. The tapir keeps asking whether he is completely hidden, but he is not since he is so big. The squirrel gives up and goes away. The sloth is small, however, and can hide in the trees. The tapir, being a large ground animal, is vulnerable and is hunted and eaten by people.
1. Xama a hōyamo =m, xama a.
   šama a hōyāmō =m šama a
   šama a hōyā-mu =m šama a
tapir ClGs hide-Rfl Cm tapir ClGs
tapir * hid.itself * Cm tapir *
The tapir hid itself.¹

2. Xama a hōyamo =ma =mki, a hōyaplū mao =m.
   šama a hōyāmō =ma =mki a hōyāplū mao =m
   šama a hōyā-mu =m =mki a hōyā-plu mao =m
tapir ClGs hide-Rfl Cm even.though ClGs hide-Pot PGNg Cm
tapir * hid.itself * Cm even.though it could.hide not *
Even though the tapir hid itself;² it could not really hide.

3. A hōyaplū mao =m.
a hōyāplū mao =m
a hōyā-plu mao =m
ClGs hide-Pot PGNg Cm
it could.hide not *
It could not really hide.³

4. "Wa hōyamoki. Wa hōyamoki."
   wa hōyāmōki wa hōyāmōki
   wa hōyā-mu -ki wa hōyā-mu -ki
   2s hide-Rfl-Agrf 2s hide-Rfl-Agrf
   you hide.yourself you hide.yourself
   "Hide yourself. Hide yourself." ⁴
   'Hide yourself. Hide yourself.' ⁴

5. Ŷ naha a hıkolamu, hıkolamu,
   Ŷ naha a hıkolamu hıkolamu
   Ŷ naha a hıkola -mu hıkola -mu
the.preceding like ClGs pile.leaves-Rfl pile.leaves-Rfl
that like it pile.leaves pile.leaves
Thus it (the squirrel) piled up leaves, piled up leaves,⁵
hıkolamu, hıkolamu...
hıkolamu hıkolamu
hıkola -mu hıkola -mu
pile.leaves-Rfl pile.leaves-Rfl
piles.leaves piles.leaves
piled up leaves, piled up leaves...

6. A lukēke =m. A hōyamo =m.
a lukēke =m a hōyāmō =m
a luke -ki =m a hōyā-mu =m
ClGs enter-Agrf Cm ClGs hide-Rfl Cm
it entered * it hid.itself *
It got in (under the leaves). It hid itself.

7. "Naha tha? Ya hōyaki kuha?"
naha tʰa ya hōyaki kuha
naha tʰa ya hōyā-ki kuha
like GI 1s hide-Agrf RFWI
like * I get.hidden recently
(The tapir asks:) "Like this? Did I get hidden now?"

¹ The repetition of the subject establishes the tapir as the topic.
² That is, it tried to hide itself.
³ These first three sentences are a summary of the first part of the story.
⁴ The speaker here is one of the other characters of the story.
⁵ The identity of the character is not made explicit until sentence 42.
8. "Ma, wa hōyao =nim.
 ma wa hōyāō nīm
 ma wa hōyā-o nīm
 ResI 2s hide-Pnc PTNg
 no you hid not
(The squirrel:) "No, you are not hidden.

 wa wauto Šoa =a hahu ho
 wa wauto Šoa a hahu ho
 2s be.visible yet Dur (disgust) alright
 you are visible still * (disgust) alright
 You are still visible. Oh no! Well then!"

10. Ai hanak tēa kōle =m, kahu us hanak.
 aî hanak tēa kōla =m kahu us hanak
 aî hanak tēa kō -li =m kahu u -si hanak
 other ClLv take again-PtRf Cm "embrā'ba".tree ClLq-ClTO ClLv
 more them got again * "embrā'ba".tree * *
 It (the squirrel) got more of them (the leaves) again, "embrā'ba" tree leaves.

11. Tolooa, tolooa...
 tolooa tolooa
 tolooa tolooa
 (fast.work) (fast.work)
 (fast.work) (fast.work)
 Quickly, quickly...

12. Ŷ naha a thaŷ kō, thaŷ kō...
 Ŷ naha a thāi kō thāi kō
 Ŷ naha a thāi -i kō thāi -i kō
 the.preceding like ClGs make-Hab again make-Hab again
 that like it does again does again
 Thus it did it again, and again...

13. A hīkolamu kōlayu, hīkolamu kōlayu...
 a hīkolamu kōlayī hīkolamu kōlayī
 a hīkola -mu kō -layu hīkola -mu kō -layu
 ClGs pile.leaves-Rfl again-Inc pile.leaves-Rfl again-Inc
 it piling.leaves begins.again piling.leaves begins.again
 It began piling up leaves again, and again...

14. A lukaā kōke =m.
 a luka -a kō -ki =m
 ClGs enter-Lk again-AgRf Cm
 it entered again *
 It (the tapir) went in (under the leaves) again.

15. "Naha tha? Ya hōyāki kuha? Hei_tehe tha?"
 naha thā ya hōyāki kuha hei_tehe thā
 naha thā ya hōyā-ki kuha hei_tehe thā
 like GI 1s hide-AgRf RPWI Px -when GI
 like * I get.hidden recently now *
 (The tapir asks:) "Like this? Did I get hidden now? Now?"

16. "Ma, wa wauto xoa.
 ma wa wauto Šoa
 ma wa wauto Šoa-a
 ResI 2s be.visible yet-Dur
 no you are.visible still
(The squirrel:) "No, you are still visible.
17. Huhu, hmm, ho, hā, hā.
   huhu hmm ho hā hā
   huhu hmm ho hā hā
   (disgust) (thinking) all.right (moan) (moan)
   (disgust) (thinking) all.right (moan) (moan)
   Harrumph; hmm; all right; ooooh; ooooh.

18. "Ya ka höyaa tothiplamoli!
   ya ka höyya tothiplamoli
   Is? hide-Dur good -AcIn-Rfl-PtRf
   I * hide well.make.myself
   (The tapir:) "I wish I could get well hidden!"

   ya ka höyaa ka tothihiki aiham taa'i kō
   ls? hide-Dur Cptz good -AgRf more see-Hab again
   I * hide that get.well more get again
   I wish I could get well hidden! More (leaves)! Get (leaves) again."

20. Ai a toa kōlali, toa kōlali...
   ai a toa kōlālē toa kōlālē
   ai a toa kō -la -li toa kō -la -li
   other ClGs take again-Aclt-PtRf take again-AcIt-PtRf
   more it gets repeatedly.again gets repeatedly.again
   It (the squirrel) got more (leaves) again, and again...

21. ña naha a höyamu kōo =m.
   ña naha a höyāmī kūd =m
   ña naha a höyā-mu kō =m
   the.preceding like ClGs hide-Rfl again Cm
   that like it hides.itself again *
   Thus it (the tapir) hid itself again.

22. Yaa hanak ha laapo ty =n,
   yaa hanak ha laapo ti =n
   yaa hanak ha laa -pu tayu =n
   leaves/Gen ClLv Cj fill-(carry) AcLo after
   leaves * * fill (inland) after
   After it filled in (holes) with leaves,
   a thāy kōo, thāy kōo...
   a thāi kōo thāi kōo
   a thā -i kō thā -ī kō
   ClGs make-Hab again make-Hab again
   it does again does again
   it did it again, and again...

23. (A ple yalo, xama a ple yalo,
    a ple yalo šama a ple yalo
    a ple yalo šama a ple yalo
    ClGs be.big because tapir ClGs be.big because
    it is.big because tapir * is.big because
    (Because it is big, because the tapir is big,
    xama a ple kuteen.)
    šama a ple kuteen
    šama a ple kuteen
    tapir ClGs be.big since
    tapir * is.big since
    since the tapir is big.)
24. A hōyaa kōmake m.
a hōyaa kōmake m
a hōyā-a kō -ma -ki m
ClGs hide -Lk again-Caus -AgRf Cm
it hide caused.again.to.get *
*It (the squirrel) caused it (the tapir) to get hidden again.

25. "Naha tha? Ya hōyaki kuha?"
naha tʰa ya hōyāki kuha
naha tʰa ya hōyā-ki kuha
like GI 1s hide -AgRf RPWI
like * I get.hidden recently
*"Like this? Did I get hidden now?"

26. "Ma, hei hei hei ha wa wauto xoaa.
ma hei hei hei ha wa wauto šoaa
ma hei hei hei ha wa wauto šo-a
ResI Px Px Px Loc 2s be.visible yet-Dur
no here here here * you are.visible still
*No, you are still visible here, here, and here.

27. Ho, ā-aa, ya hixiu tikolayu ta."
ho [āʔāʔ] ya hisiu tikolayu ta
ho āʔāʔ ya hisiu tiko -layu ta
all.right yes 1s angry against.wish -Inc supposedly
all.right yes I angry become.again.wish supposedly
All right, yes, I'm getting angry.

28. Moli a hōyaa kōplamolayo m.
moli a hōyāan kōplamolayo m
moli a hōyā-a kō -pla -mu -layu m
one ClGs hide-Dur again -AcIn -Rfl -Inc Cm
once it hidden became.itself.again *
Once more it was hiding itself again.

29. Hũ̱ klaiwa, klaiwa...
kũ̱ kũ̱ wa klaiwa
ku̱ kũ̱ wa klaiwa
(hurry) (sound.of.crackling.twigs) (sound.of.crackling.twigs)
(hurrying) (sound.of.crackling.twigs) (sound.of.crackling.twigs)
(Sound of the squirrel hurrying, breaking lots of little twigs.)

30. A thaa kōki, thaa kōki...
a tʰaa kōki tʰaa kōki
a tʰa -a kō -ki tʰa -a kō -ki
ClGs make -Dur again -AgRf make-Dur again -AgRf
it does again does again
It (the squirrel) did it (getting leaves) again, and again...

31. A hōyaa kōplamolayom.
a hōyāan kōplamolayo
a hōyā-a kō -pla -mu -layu
ClGs hide-Dur again -AcIn -Rfl -Inc
it hidden became.itself.again
It (the tapir) was hiding itself again.

32. "Naha tha? Ma, hei-tehe ya hōyaa yaike m.
naha tʰa ma hei-tehe ya hōyāan yaike m
naha tʰa ma hei-tehe ya hōyā-a yai -ki m
like GI ResI Px -when 1s hide-Dur really -AgRf Cm
like * well... now I hidden really.got *
*"Like this? Well, now I really got hidden."
33. Ya höyake =m. Naha tha? Ya höyaa mahiki kuha?

34. "Ma, wa wauto xoaa."

35. "Ho, hmm."

36. A wayaa mahilayo =m. A wayalayo =m.

37. Å-aa, ý naha a kua xoalayo =m.

38. A wayalayu tehe.

39. "Ma, ya höyaploim."

40. Ya höyaploim tehe, ya höyamamoim."
41. Xymy yalo a waisip, i na ha.
śimí yalo a waisip ų na ha
śimí yalo a waisip ų na ha
sloth animal CLGs be.small the.preceding like
sloth animal * is.small that like

The sloth is a small animal, like this.6

42. Waipaxi a. Waipaxi a waisip mahi,
waipasi a waipasi a waisip mahi
waipasi a waipasi a waisip mahi
squirrel CLGs squirrel CLGs be.small much
squirrel * squirrel * is.small very

The squirrel. The squirrel is very small,

43. Yhë e ku =ma:
ihë e ku =ma
ihë e ku =m
that.one CLGs be Cm
that.one * said *
That one said:

44. (Yhë =n a høyama =m.
ihë =n a høyama =m
ihë =n a høyå-ма =m
that.one Erg CLGs hide-Caus Cm
that.one * it caused.to.hide *
(That one had hidden it (the tapir).

45. Waipaxi a ihilup e =m a høyama =m.)
waipasi a ihilup e =m a høyama =m
waipasi a ihilup e =m a høyå-ма =m
squirrel CLGs offspring CLPs Erg CLGs hide-Caus Cm
squirrel * its.young * * it caused.to.hide *
A baby squirrel had made it hide.)

46. "Ho, kaho wa xilo høyake =m."
ho kaho wa šilõ høyåke =m
ho kaho wa šilõ høyå-ki =m
all.right 2Emp 2s only hide-AgRf Cm
all.right * you only got.hidden *
(To the sloth:) "All right, only you got hidden."

47. "Ma, kami ya xi høyaa ayake =m."
ma kami ya ši høyåå ayake =m
ma kami ya šilõ høyå-a aya -ki =m
ResI 1Emp Is only hide-Lk differently-AgRf Cm
yes * I only got.hidden different.from.others *
(The sloth:) "Yes, only I got hidden."

6 The narrator indicated a small size with his hands.
7 The narrator indicated a small size with his hands.
48. Hapi  naha xama  e_ha a  kulayo =m:
hapi  naha šama  e_ha a  kulayo =m
hapi  naha šama  e_ha a  ku-layu =m
the.following like tapir to  ClGs say-Inc  Cm
this  like tapir to  it said  *
This is what he said to the tapir:

49. "Lahok  wa k' yak waa totihili,
lahok  wa kik waa totihili
lahok  wa kik wa-a totihili
wide.arrow.point 2s  ClGr eat-Dur good  -PtRf
wide.arrow.point you  *  get.hit well
"You will be hit easily by "lahok" arrow points.\(^8\)

50. kaho =n, wa pleo  wi =n,
kaho =n wa pleo  wi =n
kaho =n wa ple-o  wi =n
2Emp Erg 2s  be.big-Pnc Nom Erg
*  *  you are.big  the.one.that  *
you, who are big,

maxi  tha ha wa hu  wi =n.
maši  tʰa ha wa hu  wi =n
maši  tʰa ha wa hu  wi =n
earth  ClEa  Loc 2s  go  Nom  Erg
ground  *  on you walk  the.one.that  *
you, who walk on the ground.

51. Lahok  a =n  wa niaplali =he.
lahok  a =n  wa niaplali =he
lahok  a =n  wa nia-p la-li he
wide.arrow.point  ClGs  Inst 2s  shoot.arrow-Acin-PtRf  3TrPA
wide.arrow.point *  with you shoot.arrow  *
People will shoot you with "lahok" arrow points.

52. Hei, kami ya  taaploim.  Tile ha  kami ya kua.
hei kami ya  taaploim  tile ha  kami ya kua
hei kami ya  taaploim  tile ha  kami ya ku-a
Px  lEmp  ls  see-Pot-FuNg  high  Loc  lEmp  ls  be-Dur
look  *  me  one.cannot.see  high up  *  I am
Look, no one can see me.  I stay up high (in the trees).

53. Ya  taa yaiploim.
yaa  taa yaiploim
ya  taa yai  -plu-im
ls  see  really-Pot-FuNg
me  see  one.really.cannot
No one can see me at all.

54. Tile ham ya høyake =m.  Kami ya høyaa  yaya.
tile ham ya høyake =m  kami ya høyää  yaya
tile ham ya høyə-ki =m  kami ya høyä-a  yai -a
high Loc  ls  hide-AgRf  Cm  lEmp  ls  hide-Lk  really-Dur
high up  I got.hidden  *  *  I hide  really
I have got hidden up high.  I really am hidden.

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\(^8\) Lahok is a relatively wide arrow point that is used for big game.
55. Kaho wa, maxi tha ha, kaho wa, wa ple yalo, 
kaho wa maši tʰa ha kaho wa wa ple yalo 
kaho wa maši tʰa ha kaho wa wa ple yalo  
2Emp 2s earth C1Ea Loc 2Emp 2s 2s be.big because  
* you ground * on * you you are.big because

You, on the ground, because you are big,

wa hu wi, 
wa hu wi 
wa hu wi 
2s go Nom

you walk the. one. that  
you that walk,⁹

lahok a =n wa wali =he.  
lahok a =n wa wali =he  
lahok a =n wa wa -li he  
wide.arrow.point C1Gs Inst 2s eat-PtRf 3TrPA  
wide.arrow.point * with you hit *  
people are going to hit you with "lahok" arrow points.

56. Wa thali =he.  
wa tʰali =he 
wa tʰali he  
2s shoot 3TrPA  
you shoot *  
They will shoot you.

57. Wa niamu ayao.⁹,  
wa niamu ayao  
wa nia -mu aya -o  
2s shoot.arrow-engaged.in differently-Pnc  
you shoot different.from.others  
They will shoot only you,"

xýmy e kulayo =m, waipaxi a wei xo  
šímí e kulayo =m waipaší a wei šo  
šímí e ku -layu =m waipaší a wei šo  
sloth CLICK say-Inc Cm squirrel C1Gs Dim and  
sloth * said * squirrel * little with  
the sloth said that, together with the little squirrel,

ŷ naha waipaxi a wei,  
ї naha waipaší a wei  
ї naha waipaší a wei  
the.preceding like squirrel C1Gs Dim  
this like squirrel * little  
a little squirrel like this,  

ŷ naha a wāisiapeo wi xo,  
ї naha a wāisiape wi šo  
ї naha a wāisiape-o wi šo  
the.preceding like C1Gs small -Pnc Nom and  
this like it small the. one with  
(he said it) with one small like this,¹⁰

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⁹ The meaning is: You that walk on the ground because you are so big.

¹⁰ The narrator indicated a small size with hands, and other sizes in the following sentences.
peĩ xina wi,
peĩ śiňā wi
peĩ śiňā wi
3PsIn tail Nom
tail the. one. that
one whose tail,

Irma

pei xina wi,
pei śiňā wi
pei śiňā wi
3PsIn tail Nom
its tail the. one. that
one whose tail,

šy naha xina wi kuo wi.
šy naha śiňā wi kuo wi
šy naha śiňā wi ku-o wi
the. preceding like tail Nom be-Pnc Nom
this like tail the. one. that being one
its tail being like this.

58. Ai waipaxi a xomi a ple puo.
ai waipasi a ŝomi a ple puo
ai waipasi a ŝomi a ple pu -o
other squirrel ClGs different ClGs be.big simply-Pnc
another squirrel * different it is.big simply
A different squirrel is just big. 11

59. šy naha a ple puo.
šy naha a ple puo
šy naha a ple pu -o
the. preceding like ClGs be.big simply-Pnc
this like it is.big simply
It is big like this.

60. Ai wāisip thei a wāisip paxiu.
ai wāisip t'ei a wāisip pašiu
ai wāisip t'ei a wāisip pašiu
other be.small Dim ClGs be.small differently
another small little * is.small in.contrast
The tiny little one is small in contrast.

61. Šhũ a wei taaploim. A taaploim.
šũ a wei taaploim a taaploim
šũ a wei. taa-plu-im a taa-plu-im
that. one ClGs Dim see-Pot-FuNg ClGs see-Pot-FuNg
that. one it little one. cannot. see it one. cannot. see
One cannot see a little one like that. One cannot see it.

62. Šhũ a, yanèmam a =n a waŷ wi a mi,
šũ a yanɛmam a =n a wai wi a mi
šũ a yanɛmam a =n a wa-i wi a mi
that. one ClGs person ClGs Erg ClGs eat-Hab Nom ClGs PrNg.
that. one * people * * it eating one *
does. not. exist
People can't eat that one,

a taa mahiploim yalo.
a taa mahiploim yalo
a taa mahi-plu-im yalo
ClGs see much-Pot-FuNg because
it see cannot. at. all because
because they cannot see it at all.

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11 There are other squirrels that are big.
63. A waisip mahi yalo, a taaploim mahi.
   a waisip mahi yalo a taaploim mahi
   a waisip mahi yalo a taa-plu-im mahi
   ClGs be small much because ClGs see-Pot-FuNg much
   it is small very because it one.cannot.see at all

   Because it is very small, one cannot see it at all.

64. Waipaxi a ple yalo, a xi taaplu puo.
    waipasi a ple yalo a sii taaplu puo
    waipasi a ple yalo a silo taa-plu pu o

   squirrel ClGs be big because ClGs only see-Pot simply-Pnc
   squirrel * is big because it only can see simply

   Because the (other) squirrel is big, one can see it.

65. Y naha a kuo wi, a xi wauto yai.
    I naha a kuo wi a sii wauto yai
    I naha a ku o wi a silo wauto yai

   the preceding like ClGs be-Pnc Nom ClGs only be visible really
   this like it is one that it only is visible really

   One that is like this, only it is really visible.

66. "Kami ya hoyya ayake =m.
    kami ya hoyya aya =m
    kami ya hoyya-a aya -ki =m

   lEmp ls hide-Lk differently-AgRf Cm
   * I hidden different from others *

   (The sloth:) "I got hidden alone.

    kami ya sii taaploim kami ya taaploim
    kami ya silo taa-plu-im kami ya taa-plu-im

   lEmp ls only see-Pot-FuNg lEmp ls see-Pot-FuNg
   * I only one cannot see * me one cannot see

   I'm the only one that people cannot see. People cannot see me.

68. Ya hoyya ayake =m," xymy e kulayo =m.
    ya hoyya aya =m sii m e kulayo =m
    ya hoyya-a aya -ki =m sii m e ku -layu =m

   ls hide-lk differently-AgRf Cm sloth ClCK say-Inc Cm
   I got hidden different from others * sloth * said *

   I got hidden alone," said the sloth.

69. Ma, xymy a taaploim yalo, a taaploim kuteen.
    ma sii m a taaploim yalo a taaploim kuteen
    ma sii m a taa-plu-im yalo a taa-plu-im kuteen

   ResI sloth ClGs see-Pot-FuNg because ClGs see-Pot-FuNg since
   yes sloth * one cannot see because it one cannot see since

   Oh yes, it's because one cannot see a sloth, since one cannot see it.

70. "Kaho wa ple yalo,
    kaho wa ple yalo
    kaho wa ple yalo

   2Emp 2s be big because
   * you are big because

   *Because you are big,

   maxi tha ha wa hu wi wa wavy =he.
   ma sii t ha ha wa hu wi wa wai =he
   ma sii t ha ha wa hu wi wa wa -i he

   earth ClEa Loc 2s go Nom 2s eat-Hab 3TrPA
   ground * on you walk one that you eat *

   they will eat you, you that walk on the ground.
71. Lahok a =n wa ha thali =he =n, lahok a =n wa ha th°ali =he =n lahok a =n wa ha th°ali he =n
   wide.arrow.point ClGs Inst 2s Cj shoot 3TrPA after
   wide.arrow.point * with you * shoot * after
   After they shoot you with arrow points,

72. wa waɣ =he.
   wa wai =he
   2s eat-Hab 3TrPA
   you eat *
   they will eat you.

73. Lahok wa =p waɣ totihay,"
   lahok wa =p wai totihai
   lahok wa p= wa -i totih=a -i
   wide.arrow.point 2s ClGp eat-Hab well =Hab
   wide.arrow.point you * be.hit easily
   You will easily get hit by arrow points,"

  ý naha yauwele kulayo =m, yauwele =s.
  ý naha yauwele kulayo =m yauwele =s
  ý naha yauwele ku -layu =m yauwele si
  the.preceding like sloth say-Inc Cm sloth CITO
  that like sloth said * sloth little
  that's what the sloth said, the little sloth.

Appendix 1. Abbreviations

| AcIn | Action Intensity            | Gl | General Interrogative |
| AcIt | Action Iteration            | Hab | Habitual               |
| AcLo | Action Location             | Inc | Inchoative             |
| AgRf | Agent Referential           | Inst | Instrumental Marker |
| Caus | Causative                   | Loc | Locational             |
| Cj   | Conjunction                 | Lk  | Link                   |
| ClCK | Classifier                  | Nom | Nominalizer            |
| ClJEa| Classifier Earth            | Pnc | Punctiliar             |
| ClGs | Classifier General Singular | Pot | Potential              |
| ClGp | Classifier General Plural   | PrNg| Present Negation       |
| ClLv | Classifier Leaves           | PGNg| Past General Negation  |
| ClLq | Classifier Liquid           | PTNg| Past Total Negation    |
| ClPs | Classifier People Singular  | PrRf| Patient Referential    |
| CITO | Classifier                  | Px  | Proximate              |
| Cm   | Completive                  | ResI| Response Interjection |
| Cptz | Complementizer              | Rfl | Reflexive              |
| Dim  | Diminutive                  | RPWI| Recent Past Witness   |
| Dur  | Durative                    | Interrogative                      |
| Emp  | Emphatic Pronoun            | 1s | First Person Singular |
| Erg  | Ergative Case Marker        | 2s | Second Person Singular|
| FuNg | Future Negative             | 3PsIn| Third Possessive Inalienable |
| Gen  | General                     | 3TrPA| Transitive Plural Agent |