Expressing directional caused accompanied motion in Movima

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Abstract

In Movima (isolate, Bolivia), caused accompanied motion is typically expressed with two verbs: *jiwa-łe* 'bring' and *joy-łe* 'take'. They are composed of a root denoting directional motion (*jiwa-*'come' and *joy-* 'go') and an applicative suffix expressing causation and accompaniment (*-łe*). The core arguments of these bivalent verbs are agent and theme, whereas the goal is optionally expressed by an oblique-marked constituent. Manner of motion or transportation is not included in the semantics of these verbs; if specified at all, it is expressed in a separate clause. Besides providing a detailed description of the morphological, syntactic and semantic properties of these two verbs, the chapter also investigates other, more marginal strategies to express directed, caused, and/or accompanied motion in Movima.

Keywords: Movima, caused accompanied motion, direction; valency, oblique arguments

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1 Introduction

This chapter investigates the expression of directional caused accompanied motion (CAM) in Movima, an endangered linguistic isolate spoken in and around the village of Santa Ana del Yacuma in Amazonian Bolivia. Concepts that are expressed in English with the verbs *bring* and *take (somewhere)* are expressed in Movima by morphologically complex verbs, consisting of a verb base denoting directional motion and an applicative suffix that adds the component of caused accompaniment. The two most common Movima expressions of directional CAM are illustrated in (1) and (2).

(1) ***jiwa-łe:-na***=*Ø--'ne* *jayna* *n-os* *asna=y'łi*
come-CO-DR=1SG--3F DSC OBL-ART.N.PST home=1PL
'Then I brought her to our house.' (EAO_Escape Marivel 106)

(2) ***joy-a:-łe***=*Ø--is* *n-as* *Ya:koma*
go-DR-CO=1SG--3PL.AB OBL-ART.N Yacuma
'I took them to the Yacuma (river).' (EAO Narasa:mes 053)

The components that are involved in the canonical expression of directional CAM in Movima are presented schematically in Table 1. They will be discussed in detail below.

Table 1. The canonical expression of directional caused accompanied motion in Movima

Element	Motion verb base	Applicative *-łe*	(Oblique phrase)
Meaning	Directional motion	Accompaniment + Causation	Goal

The remainder of this chapter gives a detailed description of the patterns of Movima CAM expressions, as well as of the functions that the elements that make up a CAM expression have when occurring in other contexts. Section 2 presents monovalent motion verbs and the structure of basic intransitive clauses. Section 3 introduces CAM verbs. These are bivalent verbs, which can head transitive clauses, explained in 3.1. The applicative suffix that derives CAM verbs from monovalent motion verbs is illustrated in 3.2. Section 3.3 shows how this applicative suffix functions with other, non-motion verb bases.

Section 4 focuses on oblique phrases, which are used to express the goal of a motion or CAM event. Obliques with a goal interpretation, both with directional and non-directional motion and CAM verbs, are described in 4.1. Obliques with a different interpretation, both with motion and non-motion verbs, are described in 4.2.

Other, rarely used means to express CAM or a combination of sub-components of CAM, are presented in Section 5. Movima has demonstratives that refer to entities moving towards or away from the speaker, which can be used to express CAM (5.1); there is at least one verb that lexicalizes CAM: 'drive (cattle)' (5.2); non-caused accompaniment can be expressed with a nominal base meaning 'companion' (5.3); finally, there are a few manner-specific CAM verbs, which are, however, almost never used to express directional motion (5.4). Conclusions are presented in Section 6.

2 Monovalent motion verbs

Movima basic clauses can be intransitive or monotransitive. Ditransitive basic clauses, i.e. clauses with more than two core argument, do not exist. Any participant role that cannot be expressed by a core argument is encoded by an

oblique phrase (see Section 4 below). Basic clause structure is predicate-initial (VS for intransitives, VAO or VOA for transitives).

The following examples illustrate intransitive clauses with the motion verb *joy-cheł* 'go, leave' (in boldface).[1] The argument of an intransitive clause can be expressed as a full referential phrase (RP), as in (3), or as an encliticized pronoun, as in (4) (more information on this type of cliticization, marked as -- , will be given in 3.1). The argument may also remain unexpressed, as in (5), where its referent is retrieved from the context. Example (5) also shows that the goal of movement can be expressed by an oblique RP, marked by the prefix *n-* on the article (see 4.1).

(3) *kwey* *jo'mi* ***joy-cheł*** *kus* *majni=Ø* *beyka*
HOD recently go-R/R ART.M.AB offspring=1SG pitiable
'Only today my poor son went (there).' (EAO Alcanzar 001)

(4) ***joy-cheł**--iy'ɬi,* ***joy-cheł**--i'ne* *jema'a*
go-R/R--1PL go-R/R--3F too
'We went (there), she went (there) as well.' (EAO Antes de la fiesta 043)

(5) ***joy-cheł*** *n-as* *lo:los*
go-R/R OBL-ART.N village
'(I'll) go to the village.' (EAO Alcanzar 014)

Intransitive predicates can be of different morphological types. For instance, the verb *joy-cheł* 'go' illustrated in (3)–(5) contains the reflexive/reciprocal suffix *-cheł*, which derives intransitive verbs. Other intransitive verbs, for instance *ji<wa:~>wa* 'come' in (6), contain the reduplicative middle marker.

[1] As far as possible, all examples chosen for this paper contain verbs of motion and CAM.

Still other motion verbs are monomorphemic (at least synchronically), e.g. *jo'yaj* 'arrive', *salmo* 'return', or *a:mon* 'enter'. With monovalent verbs like these, the appearance of an affix is a lexical phenomenon, and it is usually not possible to exchange one affix for another, to add such an affix to a monomorphemic verb, or to omit the affix (see Haude, 2012). The affixes are dropped, however, before further derivational affixes are added, as we will see in Section 3.

(6) *jayna* ***ji<wa:~>wa*** *is* *serera-m-mo*
DSC come<MD~> ART.PL wild-LN-CLF.bird
'Then the wild birds came.' (EAO_Parabas 026)

All monovalent motion verbs are intransitive, sharing the properties illustrated in (3)–(6). On a semantic basis, a distinction can be made between directional motion verbs, i.e. verbs that are used to describe events in which an agent moves towards an endpoint and/or away from a starting point, and non-directional motion verbs, which denote motion events that do not necessarily involve a change in place. The most frequent directional and non-directional motion verbs are listed in (7) and (8) below, respectively. Many motion verbs are morphologically complex; others appear to be historically complex, but their individual components cannot be fully identified. Some identifiable elements are given in brackets behind the translation, but it is not within the aims of the present paper to discuss these forms.

(7) Directional motion verbs (with corpus frequency mentioned at the end of each line)

joy-cheł	'go (somewhere); leave' (*-cheł* 'R/R')	953
ji<wa:~>wa	'come' (<RED~> 'MD')	392
jo'yaj	'arrive'	319
chi:~chi	'go out' (RED~ 'MD')	342
salmo	'return'	161
a:mon	'enter'	115
di:rał	'travel to the home village (i.e. Santa Ana del Yacuma)'	16

(8) Verbs of non-directional motion

ja:yi	'run'
ilo:ni	'walk'
ajłabał	'walk on foot' (*-łabał* 'CLF.earth, ground')
koma:lo	'swim' (*-lo* 'CLF.water')
ja<vu:~>buk	'fly' (<RED~> 'MD')
wele:łe	'climb' (*-ełe* 'AGT')

The extremely high frequency of the verb *joy-cheł* 'go' is partly due to the fact that it is the only verb that can occur in a serial-verb-like construction where it precedes a non-motion verb (Haude, 2011b), as in (9). Here, it indicates that the actor had to go somewhere else in order to participate in the event denoted by the second verb. Furthermore, this verb is often found in combination with a non-directional motion verb, such as *ajłabał* in (10), where it adds a directional component.

(9) *kuro'* ***joy-cheł*** *vaye:łe*
DEM.M.AB go-R/R look
'He has gone (there) to have a look.' (EGA dialogue 085)

(10) *is* *dichi:ye* *jema'* ***joy-cheł*** *buka'* *ajłabał*
ART.PL child too go-R/R DUR.MOV walk
'The children also went (there) by foot.' (GCM Marcha 040)

Within the domain of directional motion verbs, a distinction can be made between deictic and non-deictic directionality. Here, *ji<wa:~>wa* 'come' is the clearest case of deictic directionality, since it has as its goal the deictic centre, which can either be the place where the speaker is located, as in (11), or a deictic centre in a narration, as in (12). Example (13) shows that *ji<wa~>wa* can apparently not be employed non-deictically: Here, the coordinated second clause with the verb *joy-cheł* 'go' indicates that the ultimate goal of the motion event is not the location of the speaker, but that of her father, who lives in a hut in the yard.

(11) *bo* *jemes* *ja'* ***ji<wa~>wa*** *is* *enferme:ra*
REAS always just come<MD~> ART.PL nurse
n-os *de:-na=Ø*
OBL-ART.N.PST lie-NMZ.LOC=1SG
'Because the nurses always came to my bed.' (EAO Cbba 243)

(12) ***jiwa-łe-na***=*us* *n-as* *asna=us*
come-CO-DR=3M.AB OBL-ART.N home=3M.AB
'He brought (it) to his house.' (EAO_120906_3 204)

(13) ***ji<wa:~>wa***--*is* *che* ***joy-cheł*** *nokoldé,* *alwa:ni--u*
come<MD~>--3PL.AB and go-R/R over_there converse--3M
'They come, and (they) go over there, he talks (with them).'
(ATL_230806 101)

The goal of a motion event can be overtly expressed by an oblique phrase (see 4.1), as in (11)–(13) above. This is not obligatory, however: The goal can also be implied in the context, as in (14). (14) stems from a discussion on how many people go to the Sunday service of the indigenous religious institution, the *Cabildo*. The verb *joy-cheł* denotes directional motion to some place other than the deictic centre. When there is no goal expressed or contextually implied, this verb is usually interpreted as 'leave', as in (15).

(14) *n-os* *ju:niyo* *la',* *jayna* *ka:w-e*
OBL-ART.N.PST June REM DSC much-CLF.person
is *juyeni* *di'* ***joy-cheł***
ART.PL person REL go-R/R
'In June, many people went (to the Cabildo).' (EAO Cabildo 001)

In other examples, the context suggests that the verb *joy-cheł* 'go' can be interpreted as source-oriented ('leave'), describing a movement away from the deictic centre. Example (15) illustrates this rather well: Here, the participant leaves the house in order to take a walk, without any particular goal.

(15) *kayłe-kay=Ø* *n-is* *pola:ta, t* ***joy-cheł,*** *yolmoł*
give-INV=1SG OBL-ART.PL money 1INTR go-R/R stroll
'(She) gave me money, (and) I left, (I) went for a walk.' (GCM Bacho 054)

3 Bivalent motion verbs: expressing CAM

3.1 Transitive clauses

Caused accompanied motion is expressed by bivalent verbs. Bivalent verbs are either morphologically simple, or they are derived from a monovalent base. Most verbs expressing CAM are morphologically complex (see 5.2 for an exception), derived from a monovalent motion verb by the applicative suffix *-łe* (see 3.2).

Bivalent verbs can (but do not need to; see below) function as transitive predicates. In that case they are marked for either 'direct' or 'inverse' voice. The direct voice is marked by the suffix *-na* or its base-internal allomorph *-a-* (see Haude, 2006, pp. 323–325) in affirmative main clauses. The suffix *-na* occurs in base-final position, i.e. no further suffix can be attached to it. It occurs on simple roots, e.g. *sal-* 'look for', or on complex bases with disyllabic roots, such as *jiwa-łe* 'bring' in (16) (repeated from (1) above). The allomorph *-a-* occurs in second-syllable position of morphologically complex verbs with a monosyllabic, consonant-final root, such as *joy-łe* 'take' in (17) (repeated from (2)).

(16) ***jiwa-łe:-na***=*Ø--'ne* *jayna* *n-os* *asna=y'łi*
come-CO-DR=1SG--3F DSC OBL-ART.N.PST home=1PL
'Then I brought her to our house.' (EAO_Escape Marivel 106)

(17) ***joy-a:-łe***=*Ø--is* *n-as* *Ya:koma*
go-DR-CO=1SG--3PL.AB OBL-ART.N Yacuma
'I took them to the Yacuma (river).' (EAO Narasa:mes 053)

The inverse voice is marked by the suffix *-kay*, illustrated in (18) and (19) for these two verbs.

(18) *jayna* ***jiwa-łe:-kay***=*Ø--is* *ney* *n-as* *lo:los*
DSC come-CO-INV=1SG--3PL.AB here OBL-ART.N village
'Then they brought me here to the village.' (Erlan Rojas 012)

(19) *che* *rey* ***joy-łe:-kay***=*Ø* *uł* *nonok*=*Ø*
and EPIST go-CO-INV=1SG ART.M:1 grandparent=1SG
n-as *bet'i*
OBL-ART.N grassland
'And my grandfather took me to the countryside.' (NCG_240806_1 046)

Both the direct and the inverse construction are transitive, i.e. they take two core arguments. The verbal voice marking indicates which argument represents the actor and which one represents the undergoer (see Haude, 2019, for a detailed account of Movima alignment patterns). Direct marking indicates that the internal argument represents the actor and the external argument the undergoer, while inverse marking indicates the reversed situation.[2] Since the direct voice is by far more frequent than the inverse (see Haude, 2014), the explanations that follow will mainly be illustrated with direct-marked predicates.

The distinction between "internal" and "external" argument is based on structural properties of the nominal constituents, as is reflected, among other things, by their linear order. The internal argument is represented by an

[2] Whether an argument is represented by the internal or by the external constituent depends primarily on its referential properties. The expression of speech-act participants (except 2PL) is restricted to the internal position. When two third persons interact, the more topical one is represented by the internal constituent. As a rule of thumb, the internal argument is a pronoun and the external one is an RP (see Haude, 2014).

element that is inseparably attached to the predicate by "internal cliticization" (marked as =), which, if syllabic, causes stress to shift one syllable to the right. (In the remainder of this section, stress on the predicate is indicated by an accent to show the difference between the different types of cliticization.) In (20), the internal argument is represented by the third-person pronoun *=u*. When a transitive predicate is not combined with an overt internal enclitic, as in (16)–(19) above, this marks unambiguously the first person singular.

(20) ***joy-a-łé****=u* *us* *a:na=u*
go-DR-CO=3M ART.M younger_sibling=3M
'He took his younger brother (with him).' (EAO Tomina' 002)

When the internal argument is represented by a full RP, it is the determiner ("article") that is internally cliticized, as shown in (21).

(21) *kwey* ***joy-a-łé****=kinos* *Etelvina* *kis* *mo'incho=sne*
HOD go-DR-CO=ART.F.AB E. ART.PL.AB *chivé*=3F.AB
buka'
DUR.MOV
'Today Etelvina took her *chivé* (= fermented manioc mass) (to sell it).' (Dial. EA&AH 151)

The external argument, besides occupying a linear position behind the internal argument, has slightly different properties, which it shares with the single argument of an intransitive clause. The external argument is not obligatorily overtly expressed, as will be seen in (22) below. When the external argument is expressed by a full RP, as in (19), (20), or (21), it is phonologically independent; when it is expressed by a bound pronoun, the pronoun is attached through "external cliticization" (marked as --). This type of cliticization leads to a resyllabification with a consonant-final host, but it

does not affect the internal prosody of the base. The difference can be observed in (22) and (23): In (22), where the external argument is unexpressed, the internal cliticization of the pronoun *=us* attracts stress to the final syllable of the host, and there is no vowel lengthening on the host. In (23), by contrast, the same pronoun is cliticized externally, *--us*, while the internal argument is represented by the zero morpheme encoding the first person singular. Here, the prosody of the host is unaffected: stress remains on the penultimate syllable, which, since open, is also lengthened – the typical prosodic pattern of a Movima word. It is the prosodic difference alone that tells us that (22) means 'He brought (it)', while (23) means 'I brought him'. Example (22) also shows that the external argument may remain unexpressed when its referent can be retrieved from the context.

(22) ***jiwa-łe-ná****=us* *n-as* *asna=us*
come-CO-DR=3M.AB OBL-ART.N home=3M.AB
'He brought (him) to his house.' (EAO_120906_3 204)

(23) ***jiwa-łé:-na****=Ø--us* *ney* *n-as* *lo:los*
come-CO-DR=1SG--3M.AB here OBL-ART.N village
'I brought him here to the village.' (EAO_240807_vibora 147)

When both arguments of a transitive clause are encoded by a third-person pronominal enclitic, as in (24), the external argument pronoun takes a slightly different form: It is preceded by an 'obviative' prefix *k-*. Apart from that, at least in the third-person domain there is no morphological difference between pronouns encoding the internal or the external argument of a transitive clause or the single argument of an intransitive clause (on the encoding of first and second person, see Haude, 2011a).

(24) ***jiwa-łe-ná****=us--k-i'ne*
come-CO-DR=3M.AB--OBV-3F
'He brought her (to where I was).' (EAO Cbba 115-116)

3.2 Deriving CAM verbs: the applicative -łe

The possibility to be combined with the direct or inverse marker, and hence to function as a transitive predicate that can be combined with two argument expressions, only exists for bivalent bases (Haude, 2006, p. 321). When bivalent verbs occur without a direct or inverse marker, they are intransitive. Therefore, the verb *joy-łe* 'take' in (25) is intransitive and takes as its single argument the theme. This, however, is the only example in the corpus of a CAM verb without direct or inverse marking. (In principle, bivalent verbs can be combined with the reflexive/reciprocal suffix *-cheł*, a middle marker, or an agentive marker, all of which derive intransitive predicate; these, however, are not attested with CAM verbs in the corpus.)

(25) *kiro'* *kis* *lotoba=is* *di'* *pokso,* ***joy-łe***
DEM.PL.AB ART.PL.AB jug=3PL.AB REL chicha go-CO
no-kos *kavildo*
OBL-ART.N.AB Cabildo
'They had jugs of *chicha*, (which were) taken to the Cabildo.'
(EAO_120906_1 269-270)

Distinguishing a mono- from a bivalent base is straightforward. When the ending *-na*, which marks the direct voice on bivalent bases, is attached to a monovalent base, it does not derive a transitive verb, but a locational noun. This identifies the verb roots *joy-* 'go' (as well as *kay-* 'eat') in (26) and *jiwa-*

'come' in (27) as monovalent. (On nouns, an internal enclitic marks the possessor.)[3]

(26) *a'ko łat **joy-na**=is, a'ko kay-na=is*
PRO.3N EV go-NMZ.LOC=3PL.AB PRO.3N eat-NMZ.LOC=3PL.AB
'This is where they went, this is where they ate.' (EAO Llamada hija 023)

(27) *jayna asko **jiwa-na**=us itila:kwa*
DSC PRO.3N.AB come-NMZ.LOC=ART.M man
'Then that was (the place) where the man came.'
(PMP_HRR_etal_210908 255)

The valency of a verb root can be increased by adding a derivational morpheme such as the causative suffix *-poj* (28), or the benefactive suffix *-kwa* (29). A verb derived in this way can be combined with a direct or inverse marker to function as a transitive predicate.

(28) ***joy-a-poj**-a=is is majniwa=is […]*
go-DR-CAUS-LV=3PL.AB ART.PL offspring=3PL.AB
n-os payłim
OBL-ART.N.PST island
'They sent their children […] to the (forest) island.' (ERM Preparations 006)

[3] The locative nominalization of bivalent bases is a more complex derivation (Haude, 2006, p. 399) and not relevant here.

(29) *che* ***joy-a-kwa****=y'łi* *us* *itila:kwa*
and go-DR-BEN=1PL ART.M man
'And we went for the man (in order to catch him).' (EGA Carneval Estel 001)

For the topic of the present paper, only one valency-increasing morpheme is relevant, the applicative suffix *-łe* 'co-participant (CO)' (Haude, 2006, pp. 402–411), which derives CAM verbs from monovalent motion verbs.[4] Example (30) illustrates a case where the speaker makes a clear distinction between the monovalent motion verb *joy-cheł* 'go' and the derived CAM verb *joy-a-łe* 'take'.[5]

(30) *u'ko,* *us* *majni=Ø,* ***joy-cheł****--u'* *nosdé*
PRO.3M ART.M my_offspring=1SG go-R/R--3M over_there
n-us *a:kay-a=u;* ***joy-a-łe****=u* *us*
OBL-ART.M older_sibling-LV=3M go-DR-CO=3M ART.M
a:na=u
younger_sibling=3M
'He, my son, went over there to his older brother's; he took his younger brother with him.' (EAO Tomina' 002)

Like its monovalent counterpart *jiwa-* 'come', the CAM verb *jiwa:-łe* 'bring' is also inherently deictic. This is shown in (31), where both the imperative form in (31i) and the affirmative form in (31ii) imply motion towards the

[4] Judy (1965) analyses this element as a "causative" suffix, which she paraphrases as "to do with". I see its meaning as broader, the causative being one of several possible interpretations, depending on the verb base and the context.
[5] The glottal stop on the externally cliticized pronoun *u'* in *joy-cheł--u'* occurs because of the preceding consonant; morphologically, it is the identical to the internal enclitic *u* on *joy-a-łe=u*.

deictic centre, i.e. the place where the speaker was located at the time of the narration.

(31) i. *Jay'* *vayeł-ki* *nosdé* *ni-kinos*
run.IMP look_for-IMP.INTR over_there OBL-ART.F.AB
ay'ku=n, *jankwa=Ø;* ***jiwa-łe-ti****!*
aunt=2 say=1SG come-CO-IMP.DR

ii. *Joy-cheł--us,* ***jiwa-łe-na****=us--ki'ne.*
go-R/R--3M.AB come-CO-DR=3M.AB--3F
'Go (and) look over there for your aunt, I said; bring her! He went (there), he brought her.' (EAO Cbba 115-116)

Table 2 contains the verb bases denoting directional motion that are attested with *-łe* in the corpus, as well as their corpus frequencies. As can be seen, the CAM verbs *jiwa-łe* 'bring' (literally 'come with sb./sth.') and *joy-łe* 'take' (literally 'go (somewhere) with sb./sth.'), are by far the most common ones.

Table 2. Directional CAM verbs in the corpus

Root or base		Derived CAM verb		Frequency of CAM verb
jiwa-	'come'	*jiwa-łe*	'bring'	124
joy-	'go'	*joy-łe*	'take'	93
am-	'enter'	*am-łe*	'enter with'	4
jo'yaj	'arrive'	*jo'yaj-łe*	'arrive with'	3
di:rał	'go to the village'	*dirał-łe*	'take to the village'	3
salmo	'return'	*salmo-łe*	'return with'	2

The less common directional CAM verbs are illustrated in (32)–(35). The examples show that the theme of a CAM verb may be animate, as in (32)–

(34), or inanimate, as in (35). Movima CAM verbs make no difference between themes that are transported and themes that move by themselves.

(32) ***salmo-łe-ti*** *nosdé rey n-as wa:ka-wandi*
return-CO-IMP.DR there again OBL-ART.N cow-INSTR:BE.house
'Return with (it, i.e. the cattle) there to the ranch!' (EAO, Cbba 177)

(33) *ban i'ne* ***jo'yaj-łe:-na***=*Ø jayna i'nes ma:ma=nkweł*
but PRO.3F arrive-CO-DR=1SG DSC PRO.3F mother_of=2PL
'But I arrived with her now, (with) your mother.' (JZH_080807 061)

(34) ***am-łe-kay-a***=*us n-os […] torok jayna*
enter-CO-INV-LV=3M.AB OBL-ART.N.PST depth DSC
'(They) had taken him into the […] depth (of the lagoon) then.' (JGD_130907-09 125)

(35) ***dirał-łe-na***=*is os sotak-'aro:wa*
go_to_village-CO-DR=3PL.AB ART.N.PST one-arroba
di' se:wo di' duk-'i
REL sebum REL grind-RES
'They brought to the village one arroba of ground sebum.' (GBM Ganado 117)

CAM verbs are not necessarily directional: The suffix *-łe* can also be attached to nondirectional motion verb bases, from which it derives nondirectional CAM verbs. The corpus frequency of non-directional CAM verbs is very low (between 1 and 4 tokens each). The verbs found in the corpus are represented in (36)–(38).

(36) *ba:ra* ***iloni-łe-na****=i* *kos* *asna=i*
all walk-CO-DR=3PL ART.N.AB home=3PL
'They (i.e. the turtles) all walk with their houses (i.e. their shells).'
(JGD_130907_tortugas 169)

(37) *asko* *n-os* ***jayi-łe-na****-wa=as*
PRO.3N.AB OBL-ART.N.PST run-CO-DR-NMZ.EVT=3N.AB
os *ke:so*
ART.N.PST cheese
'That's when it ran with the cheese (lit.: "that was in its running with the cheese").' (HRR_2009_tape1_B 035)

(38) *jot-ka-ra-na=is* *che* ***javuk-łe-na****=is*
collect-MLT-CLF.NTR-DR=3PL.AB and fly-CO-DR=3PL.AB
'They (i.e. the birds) collect (the twigs) and fly with (them).' (Dial. EA&AH 036)

The suffix *-łe* can also be attached to a noun, as in (40), from which it derives a CAM verb. The base here is best analyzed as a verbalized form: It is a noun denoting a motion event, which is verbalized by a suffix *-tik* that is reduced to zero before further derivational affixes (as it always is before further suffixation; see Haude, 2006, ch. 8.4). Compare (40) with (39): Both examples contain an adverbial clause (an oblique-marked RP with a nominalized predicate). In (39), the predicate has the simple base *prosesiyon-Ø* 'do a procession'; in (40), this base is augmented with *-łe*, which derives the meaning 'do a procession with someone' (here, with the statue of a saint which is carried). (See (43) below for a more detailed illustration of the process.)

(39) *kos* *joy-na=is* *juyeni* *buka'* *n-as*
ART.N.AB go-NMZ.LOC=ART.F.AB virgin DUR.MOV OBL-ART.N
prosesiyon-Ø*-wa=is*
procession-VBZ-NMZ.EVT=3PL.AB
'(the place) where the people will be going when they do procession (lit.: "at their procession-doing")' (EAO_Programa 012)

(40) *kos* *joy-na=kinos* *virjen* *n-as*
ART.N.AB go-NMZ.LOC=ART.F.AB virgin OBL-ART.N
prosesiyon-Ø-łe-na*-wa=y'łi*
procession-VBZ-CO-DR-NMZ.EVT=1PL
'(the place) where the Virgin goes when we take her on the procession (lit.: "in our taking her for our procession")' (EAO_Programa 015)

To sum up, the suffixation of *-łe* derives CAM verbs from any motion verb, both directional and non-directional. The directionality is included in the meaning of the base, and the applicative suffix adds the component of caused accompaniment. The expression of non-caused accompaniment, which is achieved with the addition of an oblique phrase, will be illustrated in 4.2.

3.3 The applicative -łe on non-motion verb bases

When combined with a non-motion monovalent verbal base, the applicative *-łe* can be characterized as introducing a participant at which or at whom the action is aimed or for which/whom it is intended. As with motion verbs, morpho-syntactically, this results in a bivalent base, which can take direct or inverse marking and, hence, function as a transitive predicate. Examples of direct-marked non-motion verb roots combined with *-łe* are given in (41) and (42).

(41) *che jayna chot kamay-**łe:**-na=Ø is so:t-e*
and DSC HAB yell-CO-DR=1SG ART.PL other-CLF.person
di' dichi:ye
REL child
'And then I always yelled at the other children.' (EAO, Dichiyeye 024)

(42) *bo as dejal-**łe**-na:-wa=Ø*
REAS ART.N cook-CO-DR-NMZ.EVT=1SG
'… so that I would cook for (her) (lit.: "for my cooking for [her]").' (EAO, Patrona 022)

Also on (zero-)verbalized nouns, already introduced in (40), the suffix introduces a co-participant that benefits from the event associated with the meaning of the noun. The verbalization is illustrated in the elicited examples in (43). The noun is given in (43a); the form with the suffix *-tik*, which derives a monovalent verb, is given in (43b); (43c) shows the attachment of *-łe* to this base, from which the verbalizer is dropped. The verb in (43c) is marked as direct and hence, functions as a transitive predicate.

(43) a. *kape:-lo*
coffee-BR.liquid
'coffee'
b. *kape-lo:-**tik***
coffee-BR.liquid-VBZ
'to make coffee'

c. *kape-lo-**Ø-łe:**-na=Ø*
coffee-BR.liquid-VBZ-CO-DR=1SG
'I make coffee in order to offer (you) some (and to drink together with you).'

When combined with a bivalent base, the suffix *-łe* indicates that there is an additional participant that is not physically involved in the event but affected by it. The derivation is illustrated in the elicited example pair in (44) with the bivalent root *kel-* 'open (something)'. In (44a), there is a direct-marked simple transitive verb whose external argument encodes the participant directly affected by the opening event, a door. In (44b), the external argument represents another, only indirectly affected participant, as indicated by the suffix *-łe*.

(44) a. *loy ił kel-na=Ø as ra:da*
ITN 1 open-DR=1SG ART.N door
'I'll open the door.'

b. *loy ił kel-a:**-łe**=Ø as no:no=Ø*
ITN 1 open-DR-CO=1SG ART.N domestic_animal=1SG
'I'll open (the door for) my animal.' (EAO 13, 079d)

Thus, the general function of the applicative suffix *-łe* is to derive a bivalent verb, which denotes an event with one more participant than is entailed in the meaning of the base. In the case of motion verbs, the additional participant is a theme, which is caused to move together with the agent.

4 Oblique phrases

Any participant role that exceeds the argument structure of the predicate is optionally encoded by an oblique phrase (see Haude, 2019). Oblique phrases are marked by the prefix *n-* (*nV-* before a consonant), which attaches to articles, pronouns, and demonstatives. Oblique phrases can express any non-core participant role, including the goal. In 4.1, I illustrate obliques expressing the goal, and in 4.2, I show some other roles expressed as obliques.

4.1 Oblique phrases as goal expressions

As was already mentioned above, the goal of a directional motion (or CAM) verb is not obligatorily expressed. If it is, it is often expressed by a demonstrative adverb like *nosdé* 'there' (often found with non-deictic directional motion verbs), as in (45), or *ney* 'here' (usually found with deictic motion verbs), as in (46). Both of these adverbs originate from oblique-marked demonstratives (Haude, 2006, pp. 145–146). More specific goals are expressed by an oblique-marked RP, where the prefix *n-* is attached to the article, as in the examples below. The demonstrative adverbs and the oblique RPs can occur alone, as in each of the two clauses in (45), or in combination, as in (46). Example (47) shows that also with a deictic CAM verb, the adverb *ney* 'here' is not obligatory to encode the goal.

(45) *loy it* ***joy-cheł*** ***nosdé,*** *łat jankwa=us,*
ITN 1INTR go-R/R over_there EV say=3M.AB
joy-cheł ***n-****as* *lo:los*
go-R/R OBL-ART.N village
'I'll go over there, he said, (I'll) go to the village.' (EAO Alcanzar 014)

(46) ***jiwa-łe:-na***=*Ø--us* ***ney*** ***n-****as* *lo:los*
come-CO-DR=1SG--3M.AB here OBL-ART.N village
'I brought him here to the village.' (EAO_240807_vibora 147)

(47) ***jiwa-łe-na***=*us* ***n-****as* *as-na=us*
come-CO-DR=3M.AB OBL-ART.N sit-NMZ.LOC=3M.AB
'He brought (it) to his house.' (EAO_120906_3 204)

The frequency of which they occur with a goal expression reflects the difference between deictic and non-deictic directional CAM verbs (see Table 3). The verb *jiwa-łe* 'bring', which entails motion towards the deictic centre, is accompanied by a goal phrase in only 13% of its occurrences; moreover, in 13 out of the 17 examples, the goal is expressed by the adverbial demonstrative *ney* 'here', which refers to the deictic centre. The non-deictic verb *joy-łe*, in turn, entails no goal orientation. Therefore, when a goal-oriented reading of this verb is intended, this must be made explicit with a goal phrase. This is the case in 77% of the occurrences of this verb.

Table 3. Distribution of obliques with 'bring' and 'take' in the corpus

Verb base		No OBL	OBL (goal)	OBL (other)	Total
jiwa-łe	'come with'	102	17 (13%)	5	124
joy-łe	'go with'	19	72 (77%)	2	93
Total		121	89	7	217

When non-directional motion verbs are combined with a locational oblique, they acquire a directional interpretation. In (48), the oblique RP encodes the goal of a non-directional motion verb, which is consequently interpreted as describing a directional motion event. However, an oblique phrase can also refer to the location where the movement takes place, as in (49). To make it

clear that a directional movement is described, a clause with the directional verb *joy-cheł* ‘go’ is often added, as in (50).

(48) ***ja:yi**--us* ***n-**os* *siłkwa*
run--3M.AB OBL-ART.N.PST water_hole
‘He ran towards the water hole.’ (EAO Aros II 028)

(49) *it* ***ilo:ni*** ***n-**as* *bet’i*
1INTR walk OBL-ART.N grassland
‘I walked in the grassland.’ (ATL_230806 123)

(50) ***ilo:ni**,* ***joy-cheł*** ***n-**os* *buka’* *betełkwa*
walk go-R/R OBL-ART.N.PST DUR.MOV stream
‘(We) walked, we went to the stream.’ (EGA Cazando 004)

4.2 Oblique phrases expressing other non-agent event participants

Obliques can refer to all kinds of non-actor event participants or circumstances; apart from locations, these can be comitatives, instruments, purposes, reasons, patients, possessors, etc.[6] Consider, for instance, (51): The verb *kay~kay* ‘eat’ is intransitive, therefore the patient is encoded as an oblique RP. In the transitive clause in (52), the oblique-marked RP encodes an instrument (the external argument encoding the patient is unexpressed here).

[6] See Haude (2019) for a discussion on the status of oblique phrases as adjuncts vs. oblique arguments.

(51) *jayna* *kay~kay--as* *łat* ***n-****is* *cho~choł-kwa*
DSC MD~eat--3N.AB EV OBL-ART.PL RED~nut-ABS
'Then it ate the nuts.' (HRR_2009_tape1_A 387)

(52) *tikoy-na=is* ***n-****os* *sotak-kolo:ba*
kill-DR-3PL.AB OBL-ART.N.PST one-fist
'They killed (him) with one punch.' (JGD_160808-Fundacion_2 237)

Also with motion verbs, the interpretation of an oblique phrase may be ambiguous, and lexical semantics and context help to identify the role of the participant encoded by it. The oblique RP *n-as tawakni* in (53), for instance, is a temporal adjunct.[7]

(53) *jayna* ***joy-cheł*** ***n-****as* *tawakni,* *joy-cheł rey*
DSC go-R/R OBL-ART.N next_day go-R/R again
'Then (you) go (there, i.e. to your field) the next day, (you) go (there) again.' (EAO Chaco I 042)

Oblique phrases can also encode the comitative role, i.e. they can be used to express non-caused accompaniment. This is shown in (54)–(57) with directional motion verbs. In each case, the interpretation of the construction as an accompaniment event is based on discourse context and/or cultural knowledge. This is to say, if it made sense from the lexical semantics and from the context, the oblique RP could just as well be interpreted as a goal expression.

[7] In temporal adjuncts, the different forms of the neuter article indicate nonpast (*as*), hodiernal past (*kos*) and hesternal past (*os*). The same is the case with complement and adverbial clauses (see Haude, 2010a).

(54) *isko* ***ji<wa:~>wa*** ***no-****kos* *eney* *amme=is*
PRO.3PL.AB come<MD~> OBL-ART.N.AB FILLER vehicle=3PL.AB
di' *movilida=is* *jankwa=Ø*
REL car=3PL.AB say=1SG
'They come with their, er, vehicle which is a car, I said.' (EAO Asilo 060)

(55) ***salmo*** ***n-****is* *wa:ka*
return OBL-ART.PL cow
'(He) returns with the cattle.' (EAO Cbba 172)

(56) *jayna* *t* ***jo'yaj*** ***n-****isnos* *kayni* *di'* *alwaj=Ø*
DSC 1INTR arrive OBL-ART.F.PST dead REL spouse=1SG
'Then I arrived with my late wife.' (LTC_020906_5 290)

(57) *jayna* *n-oł* *ba:-naye-kakał-wa=Ø,*
DSC OBL-ART.N.PST:1 finish-marry-PH-NMZ.EVT=1SG
jayna *t* ***joy-cheł*** ***n-****us* *jayna* *alwaj=Ø*
DSC 1INTR go-R/R OBL-ART.N.PST DSC spouse=1SG
'Then, when I had finished marrying, I went with my husband.' (JAO Naye 063)

When a directional CAM verb occurs with an oblique phrase, this phrase almost always expresses the goal (see Table 3). However, an oblique phrase can also have other interpretations, as the following examples show. The oblique RP in (58) refers to the body part with which the theme is transported. While the first oblique RP in (59) denotes the goal, the second one (*n-is majniwa=a*) has a comitative meaning. In (60), the oblique-marked RP refers

to a property of the theme. An oblique RP functioning as time adverbial is shown in (61).

(58) ***joy-a-łe***=*as* *os* *dokwe*=*Ø* ***n-****os*
go-DR-CO=3N.AB ART.N.PST dress=1SG OBL-ART.N.PST
kwa:-n-a=*as*
mouth-LN-LV=3N.AB
'It (the cow) took my dress (away with it) in its mouth.' (EAO Cbba 090)

(59) ***jiwa-łe-na***=*'ne--k-a'* ***ney*** ***n-****as* *de:na:cho*=*Ø*
come-CO-DR=3F--OBV-3N here OBL-ART.N bedroom=1SG
n-*is* *majniwa*=*a*
OBL-ART.PL offspring_of=3N
'She brought it (= the hen) here into my bedroom with its chicks.' (EAO Gallina 012)

(60) *loy* *ja'* ***joy-a:-łe***=*Ø* ***n-****as* *ja'* *jeya*=*a*
ITN just go-DR-CO=1SG OBL-ART.N just state_of=3N
'I'll just take it as it is (lit.: "in its state").' (HRR_120808-tigregente 735)

(61) *jayna* ***joy-a-łe***=*i* *jayna* ***n-****as* *lomi:ko*
DSC go-DR-CO=3PL DSC OBL-ART.N Sunday
'They'll take (it) (there) on Sunday.' (EAO_120906_1 151)

Oblique phrases can also encode the source of a motion event, as in (62). This, however, is only rarely the case. The corpus only contains one single example of *jiwa-łe* 'bring' combined with a source phrase, reproduced in (62), and none with *joy-łe* 'take'. More often, the source is mentioned in the larger

context, as in (63). Here, the locational noun *jey-na=sne* ‘the place where she came from’ specifies the following phrase *n-as Santakurus* ‘in/at/to/from Santa Cruz’ as the source.

(62) *La’ jiwa-łe-na=u is tijkakara=as*
REM come-CO-DR=3M ART.PL spare_part=ART.N
mo:to-toda=u; ***jiwa-łe-na****=u* ***n-****as* *Santakurus.*
motorbike-BR.piece=3M come-CO-DR=3M OBL-ART.N Santa_Cruz
‘He brought the spare parts of the broken motorbike; he brought (them) from Santa Cruz.’ (EAO_Moto 001–002)

(63) ***jiwa-łe-na****=sne* *os* *organo* ***n-****as*
come-CO-DR=3F.AB ART.N.PST harmonica OBL-ART.N
jey-na=sne ***n-****as* *Santakurus*
far-NMZ.LOC=3F.AB OBL-ART.N Santa_Cruz
‘She brought a harmonica from where she came from, from Santa Cruz.’ (EAO Organ 027)

5 Marginal expressions of direction, accompaniment, and motion

The above sections presented the main ways to express CAM in Movima and the properties of the components involved in these expressions. In order to provide a more complete picture, in what follows I present other strategies with which CAM, or some components of CAM, can be expressed.

5.1 Demonstratives expressing deictic motion

Movima has two demonstratives denoting deictic motion either towards or away from the speaker. These demonstratives can be involved in descriptions

of CAM, as in (64) and (65) (see also (75) below). These are the only examples in the corpus in which these demonstratives are used in CAM expressions.

(64) *łat,* ***kila'wa****=s* *juyeni,* *jankwa=Ø,* *di'*
EV DEM.APPR.PL=DET person say=1SG REL
net-a:-poy, *jankwa=Ø,* *n-is* *wa:ka,* *jankwa=Ø*
drive-DR-BR.animal say=1SG OBL-ART.PL cow say=1SG
'Look, there are people (approaching), I said, who are driving cattle, I said.'[8] (EAO Cbba 167)

(65) *way-na=sne* *is* *a:na=sne,* ***kilro'*** *łat,*
grab-DR=3F.AB ART.PL y_sibling=3F.AB DEM.RETR EV
joy-cheł, *tastas*
go-R/R threesome
'She grabbed her younger siblings, they left, they went, the three of them.' (HRR_2009_tape1_B 341)

5.2 Lexicalized caused accompanied motion: 'drive (cattle)'

The only verb root whose meaning entails CAM seems to be *net-* 'move sth. (usually cattle) forward', illustrated in (66). Often, this root is combined with an incorporated nominal element denoting the theme, usually *-poy* 'animal', which already appeared in (64) above and is illustrated once more in (67) below.

[8] The verb *net-poy* means 'drive cattle' (Spanish *arrear*), but this English translation would have seemed strange here with the additional oblique RP referring to the cattle; the patient RP *n-is wa:ka* is marked as oblique because incorporating verbs (while containing a direct marker) are intransitive.

(66) *ajłabał ja'a, ilo:ni,* ***net-na****=is is nowi:yo*
walk_on_foot just walk drive-DR=3PL.AB ART.PL young_bull
'(They) just went by foot, (they) walked, they drove the young bulls.' (MCA_060906_2 194)

(67) *che is so:t-e isko oylo=us*
and ART.PL other-CLF.person PRO.3PL.AB companion=3M.AB
n-is wa:ka, ***net-a:-poy*** *buka' n-is*
OBL-ART.PL cow drive-DR-CLF.animal DUR.MOV OBL-ART.PL
wa:ka
cow
'And the others, they accompanied him with the cattle, they drove the cattle.' (EAO Cbba 142)

5.3 Non-caused accompaniment: oylo 'my companion'

As was shown in 4.2, non-caused accompaniment can be expressed by simply adding an oblique phrase with a comitative interpretation. However, speakers sometimes use the inalienably possessed noun *oylo* '(my) companion' or a monovalent verb derived from it, *oylo-ni* 'accompany, go together', to express accompaniment in an event. The noun *oylo* could already be observed in (67) and appears as a predicate in (68). The derived verb is presented in (69). In the corpus, these predicates are only used in contexts where motion is involved, so they may imply a motion component; the evidence for this is not clear, however.

(68) *joy-a:-łe=Ø us tochik itilakwa-n-dichi:ye,*
go-DR-CO=1SG ART.M small man-LN-child
*usko ja' **oylo**=Ø*
PRO.3M.AB just companion=1SG
'I took the little boy (there with me), he was my only companion.'
(Balvina 290)

(69) *dokoy, lo jayłe ił **oylo:-ni** kompa:re*
good HORT then 1INCL companion-PRC *compadre*
'OK, so then let's go together, *compadre*.' (HRR_2009_tape1_B 132)

5.4 Manner-specific CAM verbs

Movima has only few verbs that express a specific manner of CAM. Examples include *łi:-* 'carry (in one or both hands)', as in (70), and *łow-* 'pull', as in (71). It is not clear if these verbs express directional CAM here, but it can be assumed that in principle, they can combine with an oblique phrase indicating source or goal.

(70) *ka=s rey buka' rey **łi-**na:-wa=Ø*
NEG=DET EPIST DUR.MOV EPIST carry-DR-NMZ.EVT=1SG
kos karte:ra
ART.N.AB handbag
'I don't walk around carrying my handbag, you know.' (Dial. EA&AH 147)

(71) *jiya* ***łow-****a-ła:ba*
HORT pull-DR-CLF.earth
'Let's drag earth!' (I.e., bring soil to a construction site by pulling it on a leather rag) (JGD_160808-Fundacion_2 338)

The root *łow-* 'pull' seems to be the only verb base that encodes a manner of causation of motion in its root meaning and that can also be used to describe an event involving accompaniment, as in (72), which describes oxen pulling an oxcart. Example (73) shows that accompaniment is not inherent in the meaning of the root: Here, a situation is described in which hunters stand at the shore of a lagoon and pull the prey towards them. The verb is to be understood as denoting a directional movement whose goal is the agent.

(72) *che ki'laj os łat ło~**łow**-wa=is we:ye,*
and far ART.N.PST EV DR~pull-NMZ.EVT=ART.PL ox
bo ja:yi is we:ye
REAS run ART.PL ox
'And the oxen pulled (it) far (lit.: "and far was the oxen's pulling [it]"), because the oxen ran.'[9] (EAO Ay'ku I 027)

(73) ***łow-****na=y'łi os o:ma,* ***łow-****na=y'łi […]*
pull-DR=1PL ART.N.PST tapir pull-DR=1PL
łow-*na=y'łi n-os toridi=os to:mi*
pull-DR=1PL OBL-ART.N.PST shore=ART.N.PST water
'We pulled the tapir, we pulled (it). […] We pulled (it) to the shore of the water.' (EGA Cazando 058-061)

[9] On nominalized verbs (e.g. in complement, adverbial and negated clauses), the direct marker *-na* may be replaced by a reduplicative CV-prefix (see Haude, 2006, p. 360).

A further, though rather marginal way of expressing manner-specific CAM events is by creating a nominal compound, whose head denotes the body part on which the theme is placed in order to be carried. The nonverbal status of the compound is evident from the fact that it takes an internally cliticized referential element while not containing a direct or inverse marker: This is the way to encode a nominal possessor. In (74) the noun root *-duk-* 'back' is combined with the verb root *bat-* 'put'. In (75) the noun *chimpa* 'crown (of the head)' is combined with a verb root *bek-* whose meaning is not known (maybe the compound is strongly lexicalized) to describe an event in which the agent carries the theme object on his/her head. These compounds do not express CAM by themselves; they indicate that the theme is loaded on the agent's body part, but not necessarily that there is motion involved. However, when they cooccur with an expression denoting a motion event, like *joy-a-łe* 'take' in (74) or the demonstrative *kilno'* in (75), they contribute information on the manner in which the theme is transported.

(74) ***joy-a-łe=y'li*** *os* *salon* *ja'a,* *tochik* *salon*
go-DR-CO=1PL ART.N.PST gun just small gun
bat-duk*-a=y'li*
put-BR.back-LV=1PL
'We just took the gun with us, small guns put on our backs.'
(Balvina 225)

(75) *oy-mari:ko* ***bek-chimpa****=sne* ***kilno'***
two-bag ?-crown=3F.AB DEM.F.RETR
'She (moving away) has two bags put on her head.' (Dial. EA&AH 152)

As mentioned, such examples, in which manner-specific CAM predicates cooccur with an indication of goal, source, or directionality, are rare. In

general, Movima tends to not combine manner and directionality of CAM in the same clause.

6 Conclusion

In Movima, directional CAM events are expressed by bivalent verbs consisting of a root denoting a directional motion event and an applicative suffix indicating caused accompaniment. By far the most frequent verb bases of this type are *jiwa-łe* (literally 'come with sb./sth.') and *joy-łe* 'take' (literally 'go (somewhere) with sb./sth.), which are based on the roots *jiwa-* 'come' and *joy-* 'go', respectively. These basic CAM verbs are not restricted in terms of the nature of the theme and allow animate, inanimate, handled and self-moving themes. *Jiwa-łe* 'bring' is oriented towards the deictic centre, while *joy-łe* 'take (somewhere)' is oriented towards a place that is not the deictic centre. For any motion verb, the goal can be expressed by an oblique phrase, which can also add a directional component to verbs denoting non-directional motion events. Oblique phrases can express any event participant that is not expressed as a core argument, but the goal reading is the default with motion verbs. The source, in contrast, is only rarely mentioned, and usually specified in a separate clause.

Manner and directionality of a motion event are usually not expressed in the same clause in Movima, either. Manner-specific CAM verbs can be formed by attaching the applicative suffix to manner-specific motion verbs like 'run', but directionality is not included in the meaning of these verbs.

Movima also has a few non-directional verbs that lexicalize manner-specific caused motion, like 'carry' and 'pull'. To encode goal-oriented CAM expressions, these verbs would need to be combined with goal expressions; however, such examples are non-existent or very rare in the corpus. Thus,

Movima tends to not combine manner and directionality of caused accompanied motion in the same clause.

Abbreviations

= (internal) cliticization; -- external cliticization; ~ reduplication; < > infixation; 1, 2, 3 = first, second, third person; AB - absential; AGT - agentive; APPR - approaching; ART - article; BE - bound nominal element; BEN - benfactive; BR - bound root; CAUS - causative; CLF - classifier; CO - co-participant; DEM - demonstrative; DET - determiner; DR - direct; DSC - discontinuous; DIST - distal; DUR - durative; EPIST - epistemic; EV - evidential; EVT - event; F - feminine; HAB - habitual; HOD - hodiernal past; HORT - hortative; IMP - imperative; INSTR - instrument; INCL - inclusive; INV - inverse; INTR - intransitive; ITN - intentional; LN - linking nasal; LOC - location; LV - linking vowel; M - masculine; MD - middle; MLT - multiple event; MOV - moving; N - non-human; NMZ - nominalization; NTR - neutral; OBL - oblique; OBV - obviative; PH - phasal; PL - plural; PRO - free pronoun; PST - past; REAS - reason; RED - reduplication; REL - relativizer; REM - remote past; RES - resultative; RETR - retreating; R/R - reflexive/reciprocal; SG - singular; TRC - truncation; VBZ - verbalizer.

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