When does motion take place in Ese Ejja?

A preliminary overview at associated motion suffixes

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0. Introduction

Theme

• Associated Motion:
  - adds a change of location to the event encoded by the verb root.
  - is different from directionals in that they do not only include path but also motion, and can thus be associated to activity verbs.

(1) –ki

Eyaya xaxasiye-yobo saja-ki-naje.
I\text{ERG} palm.sp-bud cut-\text{KI-PST}

‘I went to cut palm bud.’

(2) –ki

Ixya-ki-kwe Ixya-wa-kwe
\text{eat-KI-IMP} \text{eat-WA-IMP}

‘Go eat!’ ‘Come eat!’

- is also found on path verbs such as ‘go.down/up/in/out’ (3) or on manner verbs (4) implying movement.

(3) –ki

Botella=jo nobi-ki-ani
bottle=\text{LOC} go.in-\text{KI-PRS}

‘She (goes) enters the bottle.’

(4) –jebe

kwaji-kwaji-jebi-ani
run-\text{RED-JEBE-PRS}

‘Viene corriendo.’

- but is not attested on the two deictic verbs pwe ‘come’ and poki ‘go.away’.

Purpose of the paper

• To classify the 9 associated motion markers found in Ese Ejja (examples from fieldnotes, spontaneous texts + elicitation)
• To compare briefly the system with Mparntwe Arrernte Australian language, Wilkins 1991) and with the (11) associated motion suffixes described for sister language Cavineña (Guillaume 2006, 2008:212ff, 2009a, 2009b).

The Ese Ejja language

• Ese ejja [ese?exa], a Tacanan language
Over **1000** Ese Ejja in Bolivia\(^1\) - **relatively high vitality** in Bolivia (intergenerational transmission preserved). Also spoken in Peru.

**Essentials of Ese Ejja grammar**

- ‘Neutral’ verb final word order UV/ APV (not rigid)
- Ergative alignment marked by
  - case marking (clitics) \(A \text{ ‘ERG’} = (y)a\), \(P/U \text{ ‘ABS’} = \emptyset\)
  - verbal indexation of 3rd person Agent (sg/pl) = ‘3.Agt’ -\(ka\)

Transitive: \(A = \text{ERG} = a\); \(P = \text{ABS} = \emptyset\)

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
A & P & V \\
\text{Y majoya Macario=\(a\)} & \text{daki=\(\emptyset\)} & \text{wijyaja-ka-naje e-besa-xi.}
\end{array}
\]

and then \(M.=\text{ERG} \text{ clothes=ABS take.off-3Agt-PST} \text{ PURP-bath-PURP}\)

‘And then Macario took off his clothes to bath.’ (KyBiñ.005)

Intransitive: \(U = \text{ABS} = \emptyset\)

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
U & U & U & V \\
\text{Macario=\(\emptyset\)} & \text{Enawipa=\(\emptyset\)} & \text{Shomako=\(\emptyset\)} & \text{tres esho=i=\(\emptyset\)} & \text{ja'a'oke-ki-naje besa-a.}
\end{array}
\]

‘Macario, Peter and Romuald, the three children went down to bath.’ (KyBiñ.004)

- **Very complex** expression of space:
  - Obsessed with posture (see Vuillermet 2008, 2009b)
  - Multiple space information on the verb (especially on path verbs)

**Nekisowakyani.**

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<th>- sowa</th>
<th>-ki</th>
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<tr>
<td>be.standing</td>
<td>- go.up</td>
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<td>-be.sitting</td>
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<td>#4</td>
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#1: Posture of the entity  #3: Deictic + Motion
#2: Path  #4: (posture) TAM

‘He stands up (on a rock, i.e. elsewhere).’

**Plan**

- Overview of 5 categories divided in opposite pairs

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<td>§4 PURPOSE -(ki) 'GO.TO.DO’</td>
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<td>PURPOSE -(wa) 'COME.TO.DO'</td>
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<tr>
<td>§5 NA -(xeki) 'O.BROUGHT’</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>towards the RP</td>
</tr>
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- Brief comparison with Australian language Mparntwe Arrernte and with sister language Cavineña.

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\(^1\) According to data of the OIPE (Organización Indígena del Pueblo Ese Ejja) and of community organization collected by Alexiades (p.c 2010), there were 209 families in 2008, i.e. more than 1000 people for an average of 5 people per family.
1. Prior Motion

A. –nana ‘DO&GO’ (and ‘as soon’?)
   - (5)-(9) are examples where the point of ‘departure’ is the house. They are glossed ‘DO&GO’ but are better translated as ‘do before leaving / going’.

   (5) elicited
   Ixya-nana-kwe
   eat-DO&GO-IMP
   ‘First you have to eat (and then you go) / Eat before you go.’

   (6) fieldnotes
   Ka’a-nana-kwe
   close-DO&GO-IMP
   ‘Close the door before you go.’

   (7) KaBem.030-1
   Ewanase pa jama a-ka-nana-(a)ni-naje ba’a: “pokya=mo kekwa-a!”
   wife REP so say-3-DO&GO-HAB-PST like goaway-IABS hunt-MOT.PURP
   ‘before going / leaving, he used to say to his wife: “I am going hunting!”’

   - for (8)-(9)… could the meaning be ‘AS.SOON’?

   (8) KaPey.042-3
   …y majoya oya sheki’yonaje,
   (the viper was lying there dead, the head cut off, but) then it woke up

   poki-naje; janobaximaney kwaji-kwaji-nana-naje.
   go.away-PST very.strong run-RED-DO&GO-PST
   it went away; it ran away sooooo quickly.

   (9) kox ani.218
   Ese Ejja ba-maxe oya xaajaki-poky-ani
   Ese Ejja see-TMP.SS 3.ABS fly.away-CONTR-PRS

   kwabesa-nana-(a)ni kya-wiso-nee-nee
   fly-DO&GO-PRS APF-many-very-RED
   ‘Once they (the birds) see (Ese Ejja) people, they keep flying away, they fly (as soon?), they are a lot.’

B. –na ‘DO&GO.BACK’
   - (10)-(xx) are glossed ‘DO&GO.BACK’, but are better translated as ‘before going home’.

   (10) SoVia.083
   E-eney owaya jya-ka-na-je
   1-on.one’s.own 3.ERG leave-3-DO&GO.BACK-FUT
   ‘He will leave me alone (before going home).’
   ctx: the speaker and her husband came to Riberalta from Santa Cruz. He will first go back home (by plane), and she will then go (by bus)

   (11) KaBem.037

2 I tried in vain to parse janobaximaney: baximaney could mean ‘I do not know’ or ‘I have not seen yet’, but jano remained meaningless for the speakers I worked with.
Kwama-tii-ya pa kwa owa=kekwa-ka-je-kwana
there-INTS-FOC REP REL 3ERG=hunt-3-FUT-PL

jya-ka-na-’y(o)-ani-naje
leave-3-DO&GO.BACK-’YO-HAB-PST
(‘all what he used to hunt was not for his (1st) wife to eat, it was all for the sloth woman to eat).
He used to leave all the food there before going home.’

NB : jya-na-ka-’ya-(a)ni-naje accepted
idem pour jya-na-na-ka-’ya-(a)ni-naje
mais *jya- ka-nana-’ya-(a)ni-naje accepted

(12) KoEkw.014
ma ekwa=a ekwana=a akwa nawoo-sisi iña-jeyo-maxe
dem 1PL=ERG 1PL=ERG ready fish-little grab-FINISH-TMP.SS

(ekwana) esiye ekwa=a ixya-na-’y(o)-aña kya-shwe-axejojo
1PL.ABS papaya 1PL=ERG eat-DO&GO.BACK-’YA-PRS APF-hungry-because.SS.ERG
’then we are ready, when we are done with the fishing, we eat papaya (before going home) because we are hungry.’

- Is the former the reduplication of the latter?

2. Concurrent motion

A. –poki ‘DO.GOING’
   - poki is the independent deictic verb meaning ‘go(.away)’
   - -poki is also an aspectual morpheme (‘continuous’ meaning, see Vuillermet 2009a)
   - here: ‘do while going’, ‘do on the way’

(13) Ko.Ekw.003
yoyo-besa-poky-ani
row-cross-DO.GOING-PRS
‘We are rowing (crossing) to the riverbank (on the other side).’

- note the redundancy (deixis verb in the main sentence)

(14) elicited
Camioneta=jo poki-je=a ishi-ka-poki-ani chicha ena.
truck=LOC go.away-FUT=ERG drink-3-DO.GOING-PRS chicha.S water
‘The one who will go (to Riberalta) drink chicha or water on their way going.’

B. –jebe ‘DO.GOING.BACK’

(15) compare with (13)
yoyo-besa-jeby-ani
row-cross-DO.GOING.BACK-PRS
‘(They are) crossing rowing back home from the river bank.’

*(yoyo-jebe-poky-ani
row-DO.COMING-DO.GOING-PRS

(16) compare with 14)
Camioneta=jo pwe-je’yo=a ishi-ka-jebe-’y(o)-ani trini.
truck=LOC come-FUT=ERG drink-3-DO.GOING.BACK-’YO-PRS trini
‘The one who will come (from Riberalta) drink triny on their way coming.’
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(17) V1_vie_traj033

kwaji-kwaji-jeby-ani
run-RED-DO.GOING.BACK-PRS
‘Viene corriendo.’

(18) Ko.Ekw.016
Majoya comiendo papaya  ekwana besa-jebe-‘y(o)-ani
then eating.S papaya.E 1PL.ABS cross-DO.GOING.BACK-TEL-PRS
‘And then we cross back home while eating papaya.’

(19) SWAF.063
Ojaya iñawewa besa-besa-ba’e  o=ke besa-jeby-ani
3GEN dog swim-RED-float/PRS 3=TO.HUM cross-DO.GOING.BACK-PRS
‘And the dog is swimming towards his owner, he is swimming (back?) to him.’

3. Prior motion

A. –ña ‘COME&DO’

- –ña is glossed ‘come&do’ but is better translated ‘when arriving’.

(20) fieldnotes
Ixya-ña-kwe
eat-COME&DO-IMP
‘When you will arrive (at my place) you will eat / you arrive and eat.’

- about coming home after a day of fish-collecting

(21) KoEkw.012
Ekwana kwe-‘yo-maxe  ekwaa seejya-ña-‘ya-ña.
1PL.ABS come-TEL-TMP.SS 1PL.ERG disembowel-NA-‘YA-PRS
‘Once arrived, we disembowel (the little fishes).’

(22) KoEkw.017
Ekwaa dawa-ña-‘y(o)-a’na  nawoo-sisi ixya-(a)ña.
1INCL.ERG grill-NA-‘YA-PRS fish-little eat-PRS
‘Once arrived, we grill (lit: we grill them when arriving) the little fishes and eat them.’

(23) KoEkw.019-20
Ekwana poky-ani besa-a,  ekwana taxa-taxa-ña-‘y(o)-ani
1INCL.ABS go-PRS bathe-MOT.PURP 1INCL.ABS pound-RED-NA-‘YO-PRS
‘Then we go bathing, we wash our clothes when arriving.’

(24) KoEkw.023
Jamaya ekwana pwe-‘y(o)-ani jaasowa-‘y(o)-ani ani-ña-‘y(o)-ani.
so 1INCL.ABS arrive-‘YO-PRS go.up-‘YO-PRS sit-NA-‘YO-PRS
‘then we arrive, we go up and we sit when we arrive.’

- (Next text) about Ese Ejja food and activities

(25) kox_ani.037-38
Majoya kwe-‘y(o)-ani
then arrive-‘YO-PRS

oja ewanase=ja  e-kwakwa bobi ixya-ña-ka-‘y(o)-ani anoso.
3GEN wife=GEN TAM-cook food eat-NA-3-‘YO-PRS rice
‘then he (the husband) arrives, he eats the food cooked by his wife, the rice, when he arrives.’
Kwaki e-saja=jo dawa-ña-ka-’y(o)-ani oja ewanase=a.

‘Once the wood is cut, his wife grills it (the fish brought by the husband).’

- Next text: an Ese Ejja woman spent a year in Santa Cruz, far from her father (who was on his deathbed) that she comes to visit in Riberalta, near from the village she has almost spent her whole life before.

Departure
Santa Cruz (> Trinidad > Santa Rosa > Triangulo)

Arrival
> Riberalta > Portachuelo

2nd Arrival
> Riberalta > Santa Cruz

Where the story is told
Next Plan

\[\text{Apwa pishana e-po eyaya ba-ña-naje,} \]
\[\text{ready a.bit TAM-be 1ERG see-COME&DO-PST} \]
‘I saw him not really OK when I arrived.’

\[\text{ixya-ixya-ña-naje ekwana yowa=jo ba’a... Trinidad=jo} \]
\[\text{eat-RED-COME&DO-PST 1PL.ABS whatsit=LOC let’s see Trinidad=LOC} \]
‘(I came from Santa Cruz) we ate when we arrived in Trinidad.’

\[\text{Santa Rosa=jo eya ixya-ixya-ña-naje} \]
\[\text{Santa Rosa=LOC 1ABS eat-red-COME&DO-PST} \]
‘I ate when (we/I) arrived in Trinidad.’

\[\text{eyaya Trini xeshe-ña-naje Triangulo=jo} \]
\[\text{1ERG soda eat-COME&DO-PST Triangulo=LOC} \]
‘(from Santa Rosa I came) I bought Trini when (I/we) arrived at Triangulo.’

B. –ña ki ‘COME&DO(2)’

- –ña ki is glossed ‘COME&DO(2)’ because a distinction seems to be relevant for the following data (from the same text): the speaker is now talking about her arrival at Portachuelo and will from then on use –ña ki.
- –ti and –nati are two morphemes in Cavineña which respectively distinguishes between an event that takes place at the target of the motion and one that takes place between the source and the target of the motion.
- Could be the same case in Ese Ejja (same for the Sloth woman husband or the Ese Ejja when they go to Riberalta).

\[\text{Majoya eyaya ba-ñaki-naje-kwana reunión ani} \]
\[\text{then 1ERG see-COME&DO2-PST-PL meeting.S be} \]
‘(I went then to Portachuelo) I saw (when we/I went there and arrived) there was a workshop.’

\[\text{taller Marina=nixe ani ba-ñaki-naje.} \]
\[\text{workshop.S M=with be see-COME&DO2-PST-PL} \]
I saw (when we/I went there and arrived) there was a workshop with Marine.’
When does the motion take place in Ese Eja?

- still (again) on her going to Portachuelo (from Rib) and arrival at Portachuelo

(33) Majoya ekwana pokí-naje ba-ñaki-naje jaasowa-ki-naje
then 1PL.ABS go.away-PST see COME&DO2-PST go.up-KI-PST
‘(then we went, we arrived (lit: we saw at arriving?), we went up.’

(34) ekwe a‘i=ke Ino Tawa=ke ani-ñaki-naje.
1GEN elder.sister=TO.HUM IT=TO.HUM sit-COME&DO2-PST
‘I arrived (lit: I sat on arriving) where my sister Ino Tawa.’

(35) ekwe a‘i eyaya ba-ñaki-naje.
1GEN elder.sister 1GEN see-COME&DO2-PST
‘I arrived at (lit: I saw on arriving) my sister Ino Tawa.’

(36) ba-ñaki-naje kwakwa-kwakwa-ani.
see-COME&DO2-PST cook-RED-PRS
‘I found (lit: I saw on arriving) my sister cooking.’

4. Motion cum purpose?

A. –ki ‘go.to.do’
   - pokí ‘GO.AWAY’
   - first the motion in order to do the second the verb event

(37) Éyaya xaxasiye-yobo saja-ki-naje.
1ERG palm.sp-bud cut-GO.TO.DO-PST
‘I went to cut palm bud.’

(38) Ba-ki-kwe!
see-GO.TO.DO-IMP
‘Go see!’
Ctx: to an older sister whose baby brother is crying in the house next door. Often said to children who are used to check what people of the extended family brought from fishing or hunting.

(39) Esea etii-kwa-a jiya-mee-ki-ka-(a)ni
1EXCL.LABS ancestors-PL-ERG leave-CAUS-GO.TO.DO-3PRS
‘The chiefs make (the Takana) take us upriver.’

(40) Botella=jo nobi-ki-ani
bottle=LOC enter-GO.TO.DO-PRS
‘She (goes) enters the bottle.’

(41) (a) Besa-ki-je-o’oya meka=xe
bathe-GO.TO.DO-FUT-again night=PERL.
‘I will go bathe tonight again.’
(b) Baseda-je-o’oya=ka
bathe-COME.TO.DO+FUT-again=CTRS
‘No, I will come bathe tonight again.

Ctx: There are too many people bathing. I tell them (a), they answer (b)

B. –wa ‘COME.TO.DO’

(42) KaEki.057
Kya-ka-wa-(a)ni-naje, ye-’okya=maxe.
give-3-COME.TO.DO-HAB-PST bring-put.down=TMP.SS
‘They came sell clothes, once they had brought them down.’

Ctx: the speaker talks about the customs of the Riberalteños in the past: they use to come down to the river where the Ese Ejja stayed, and they exchanged clothes against food.

(43) –wa
Jamaxeya jikyakwa kawi-wa-naje
therefore hither sleep-COME.TO.DO-PST
‘That is why I came sleep over here (because I had seen her ghost and was scared to stay on my own in my house).’

5. Prior movement of O

–xeki ‘DO.AT.O.BROUGHT’

- the difference with all the previous examples is that it is not S or A which is concerned, but O.

(44) -xeki kox_ani.050
Iryakaxi=kwana pya’ay kwya-poji-ka-xeky-ani
animal=PL also whip-bold-3-O.BROUGHT-PRS
‘(and at night / on the following day the husband goes hunting, he hunts animals). As for her, she sings (chamuscar?) the animals (brought home by her husband).’

(45) -xeki KaBem.055-56
Ekwicho=ney kapaka owe ye-ka-’y(o)-ani-naje.
feather=very by.contrast thus bring-3-YO-HAB-PST
‘(Thus he was coming without game, without his killings). He used to bring home only feathers.’

Majoya aje pa owe ewanase=a jama aaxa-ka-xeki-’y(o)-ani-naje.
then SUBJ.DISC EVID thus wife=ERG so ask-3-O.BROUGHT-YO-HAB-PST
‘So thus she, the wife, was asking like that (about the brought? her husband? (“what the hell is that? the flesh? That of which you brought the feathers!”’)

6. Cross-linguistic and genetical comparison

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PURPOSE -wa ‘COME.TO.DO’ S / A towards the RP

§5 NA -xeki ‘O.BROUGHT’ O towards the RP

A. Compared with Arrernte

- No orientation of the movement (downward / upward)
- No ‘hurried’ distinction (unless -\textit{nana} tends to extend its semantics)

B. Compared with Cavineña

Criteria for classifying associated motion in Cavineña (Guillaume: 2009a)

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textbf{a)} \textit{which argument} : S/A or O
  \item \textbf{b)} \textit{manner}: punctual vs distributed
  \item \textbf{c)} \textit{orientation}: away from vs towards a reference point
  \item \textbf{d)} \textit{stability}: permanent vs temporary
  \item \textbf{e)} \textit{position of the stem vis à vis target or source}:
    \begin{itemize}
      \item move and V vs V while moving vs V and move
    \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

Cognates?

\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|}
\hline
Cavineña & Ese Ejja & \\
\hline
-ti / (-nati) & -ki & ‘GO.TO.DO’ \checkmark \text{similar ?} \\
‘GO.TEMP’ & -na & ‘DO&GO.BACK’ \checkmark \text{different timing} \\
\hline
-na & -na & ‘DO&GO.BACK’ \\
‘COME.TEMP’ & -aje & ‘DO.GOING.BACK’ \\
\hline
-aje & -jebe & \checkmark \text{not associated motion} \\
‘GO.DISTR’ & \text{‘COME.TEMP.DISTR’} & \text{in Ese Ejja} \\
-be & \text{‘COME.TEMP.DISTR’} & \text{‘COME.TEMP.DISTR’} \\
\hline
-diru & -’yo & \checkmark \text{‘TEL’} \\
‘GO.PERM’ & \text{etibe} & \text{‘COME.TEMP.DISTR’} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Same function ‘echoing’ (Wilkins 1991: “[it] functions to locate events within the flow of space”) and ‘discourse structuring’ (Payne 1984) as concluded by Guillaume (2009b)

7. Conclusion

- Neat productive system
- Same functional domain as in sister language, but different distribution
- To be investigated:
  - Distribution with other morphemes within the same slot (manner and aspect)
  - Frequency
Glosses

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<td>absolutive</td>
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<td>motion purpose</td>
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References


2009b. "Ese ejja posture verbs can't stand still (and sometimes side step)". CILLA IV, Austin, TX, (October 29-31th).