## Ømolõ

## Index of Glossing Abbreviations 1

What follows here is a chart of the glossing abbreviations used in this document.

Phonology 2.1

Ømolõ has 12 phonemic consonants arranged thus:

|  |  | Peripheral |  |  | Core |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Bilabial |  | Velar | Retroflex | Palatal |
| Stops | Voiced | $\begin{aligned} & b \sim \mathrm{~m} \\ & b \sim m \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & g b \sim \mathfrak{y m} \\ & g b \sim y m \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \dot{g} \sim \eta \\ & g \sim \eta \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{d} \sim \underline{n} \\ & d \sim n \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hat{\mathrm{g}} \sim \tilde{\mathrm{n}} \\ & c \sim \tilde{n} \end{aligned}$ |
|  | Unvoiced |  | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{kp} \\ & \mathrm{kp} \end{aligned}$ | $\mathrm{k}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{t} \\ & t \end{aligned}$ | $\mathrm{k}$ |
| Approx. |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} \stackrel{\mathrm{w}}{2} \\ w \sim w \sim y \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \underline{1} \text { ̣̣: } \\ & \text { r } \end{aligned}$ |  |
| Lateral |  |  |  |  | l | $\begin{aligned} & 1^{y} \\ & l y \end{aligned}$ |

Ømolõ's documentation uses Americanist Phonetic Notation (APA). /b gb ğ/ are implosive / 6
 retroflex / $\mathrm{d} \eta \mathrm{t} \downarrow \mathrm{l} / . / \mathrm{g} \tilde{\mathrm{n}} \underset{\sim}{\mathrm{k}} \mathrm{l}^{\mathrm{y}} /$ are palatal $/ \mathfrak{f} \mathrm{nc} \kappa /$.
／ 1 ḍ̣：／only contrast in medial intervocalic positions．

Ømolõ has the following vowels：

|  | Front | Back |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Close | I |  |
| l | U |  |
| Open | a a： |  |
| a aa |  |  |

／ $\mathrm{U} /$ is equivalent to IPA／ $\mathrm{J} /$ ．

The syllable structure of $\bigvee$ molõ is $\mathrm{C}^{1} \mathrm{~V}\left(\mathrm{C}^{2}\right) . \mathrm{C}^{1}$ is any consonant，and $\mathrm{C}^{2}$ is any consonant barring voiceless stops and approximants ．

## Nasal Prosody and Allophony 2.2

Ømolõ has a system of nasal prosody，here transcribed as／～／that encompasses whole words．

This nasal prosody causes vowels to have nasalization，voiced consonants to be realized as their
nasal stop counterparts．Nasal words are written with a tilde over their last vowel
／w／is realized as［w］before／a a：／，written 〈wh＞，［y］before／I／，written 〈y＞，and／w／before
［u］，written 〈w〉．（Note：APA［y］is equivalent to IPA［j］－it is not a vowel）

Intervocalically，voiceless consonants are fricated，$\left[\mathrm{x}^{\mathrm{w}} \mathrm{x} \mathrm{s} \mathrm{x}\right.$ ］．In standard IPA that would be， $\left[\mathrm{x}^{\mathrm{w}} \mathrm{x}\right.$ s ç］．


In open, word final consonants, $/ \mathrm{I} \mathrm{U} \sim \mathrm{I} \sim \mathrm{U} /$ are realized as [i: $\mathrm{u}: \mathrm{e}: \mathrm{Q}:]$.


## Grammar 3

Sentences are SOV

Nominal Morphology 3.1

Ømolõ has a morphology

## Morphophonology and Core Harmony 3.1.1

Ømolõ has a system of core consonant harmony. The consonants of affixes will shift in place of articulation to match the preceeding syllable. The retroflex consonants $r r r$ are unaffected by this harmony.

A more circumstantial harmony sees $r$ replacing lateral consonants and becoming lengthened.

forehead ŋmolnã-pado-rol-ra
forehead speak-INCH-CIRC-ALT.SG.NTR
'You may begin speaking (given a set of circumstances).'

## Article ba and Possession 3.1.2

Ømolõ marks indefinite objects with the article $b a[b \vec{b}]$. Definite objects are unmarked:
2) Badi gbarral ... [b̉aḍi: gb̉ạ:ađ]
ba-di gbarraly

ART-CL:plant flower
"A flower"
3) Gbarral...[gb̉ạ̣:ax]
gbarraly
flower
"The flower"
$B a$ is suffixed with a classifier, in 1) $-d d$. These classifiers are required for the article $b a$ as well as possessive markers and numbers. The only time they are left out is with plain nouns as in 2).

Classifiers are a relatively open class. Typically, new classifiers are coined from abbreviations of nouns or onomatopoeia. Some older classifiers take their shape from old words.

Ømolõ's possessive particles are as follows:

|  | Singular | Plural |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Ego | $y z^{-}$ | whal- |
| Alter | ra- | raa- |

Ømolõ distinguishes 1st and non-1st persons. 1st person singular includes only the speaker. 1st
person plural includes the speaker and anyone the speaker wishes to include; this is heavily
context dependent. The non-1st persons are anyone other than the speaker; these are also heavily context dependent.
4) Yımõ dog... [yદ̨mǫ: ḍuğ]
y1-mõ dog

EGO.SG.poss-CL:small.domesticated.animal dog
"My dog"
5) Whalmõ dog... [ẉąęmo: ḍuğ]
what-mõ dog

EGO.PL.POSS-CL:Small.domesticated.animal dog
"Our dog"
6) Ramõ dog... [̣̣ąmq: ḍuğ]
ra-mõ dog

ALT.SG.poss-cl:small.domesticated.animal dog
"Your/his/her/their sg. dog"
7) Raamõ dog... [ḍuğ
raa-mõ dog

ALT.PL.POSs-CL:small.domesticated.animal dog
"Your/their dog"

Alignment and Cases 3.1.3

Ømolõ features tripartite alignment. The intransitive case is unmarked.

|  | Intransitive | Accusative | Ergative |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Singular | $\varnothing$ | -ba | -lya |
| Plural | -cao | -baa | -lyaa |

Following words that contain retroflex consonants in their final syllable , as their onset or coda,
-lya(a) becomes -la(a) and -cao becomes -dao.

The intransitive case marks the sole argument of an intransitive clause. The accusative and
ergative mark the arguments of transitive clauses

There are also several other cases. In these cases number is not distinguished

| Name | Name / Description | Marker |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Sing. | Plu. |
| Dative | The dative is used to mark indirect objects and beneficiaries of <br> actions. In this it combines the prototypical dative and benefactive. | $-c o$ | $-c a o$ |
| Oblique | The oblique is used to indicate locations, accompaniment, and the <br> instruments by which an action is completed. | $-c a$ | $-c a a$ |

$-c$ becomes $-t$ following another retroflex consonant.

8）クmolnawõ yrbab whaañãõ．［ŋmจฺ̣nąwq：yıb̉ab̉ wą̨：ñą̨］
$\sqrt{ }$ ŋmolnã－wo－$\varnothing$ yı－bab whãã－cao

Vspeak－GNOM－EGO．sG．NTR EGO．sG．POss－cl：comrade people－dat．PL
＇I speak for my people．＇

9）Whãn çowora karralta．［ẉąṇ kuwuụa kạ̣：aḷta］
whãn $\checkmark$ çowo－ra karral－ca
cL：general．person $\sqrt{ }$ walk－Alt．SG．NTR mountain－OBL．SG
＇He is walking to the mountain．＇

## Pronouns 3．1．4

Apart from $Y ı / W h a t$ ，those being ego singular and plural free pronouns，and Kpakpa，literally ＇forehead＇a common second person pronoun．Many third person pronouns are classifiers．

10）Kpakpalya ymobã kpakañaŋmalyã．［kpąx ${ }^{\mathrm{w}} \mathrm{a}^{\mathrm{y}}$ ª̨ yęmจb̉ą kpąxąñąŋmąlyą］
kpakpa－lya yı－mõ－ba
forehead－ERG EGo．sG．poss－cL：small．domesticated．animal－ACC
$\checkmark$ kpakã〉ca〈ŋmã－lya
$\sqrt{ }$ know $>$ Alt．SG．ACc〈know－Alt．SG．ERG
＂Do you know it？＂

In this instance，＇it＇refers to the speaker＇s dog．

See the dictionary, under §Classifiers for a non-exhaustive list of classifiers (as classifiers represent an open class, this list will never be exhaustive).

## Verbal morphology 3.2

Ømolõ has a verbs.

## Verb Complex 3.2.1

The verb complex of Ømolõ looks as follows:

| P3 | P2 | P1 | Stem | S1 | S2 | S3 | S4 | S5 | S6 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Negation | Valence |  |  | Aspect | Ego agn. | Pat. | Incorp. | Modal |
| Alt agn. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

## Stem, Incorporated Elements, and Prefixes 3.2.2

Stems are the head of the verb complex. Verbs are a closed class of words that is distinct from
nouns. Incorporated elements are incorporated nouns and verbs that modify the meaning of the
stem. These are usually unproductive and fossilized but can be subject to some analogy.
11) Whãn ŋmolnamaarã. [wạṇ ŋməฺḷ̣ąmą:য̣ą]
whãn- $\varnothing \vee$ ŋnmolna- $\sqrt{\text { baa-ra }}$

CL:general.person-NTR $\sqrt{ }$ speak- $\sqrt{ }$ meander-Alt.SG.NTR
"He is slurring his words."
12) Whãn çowobaara. [ẉąn ḳuwuba:ụa]
whãn- $\varnothing$ Vçowo- $\sqrt{\text { baa-ra }}$
cL:general.person-NTR $\sqrt{ }$ walk- $\sqrt{ }$ meander-ALt.SG.NTR
"He stumbles around."

In the above phrases, $\eta$ moln $\tilde{a}-. . .-m a \tilde{a} \tilde{a}$ is the fossilized phrase and çorro-...-baa is the analogy. As we see from 11) and 12) there is some productive analogy; however, this productive analogy is very scarce.

Classifiers can be incorporated into transitive verbs as well.
13) クaalyñ̃ã. [ŋą:1y $1^{\text {nñą] }}$
$\checkmark$ jaa-lyı-ca

Veat-EGO.sG.ERG-ALT.SG.ACC
"I am eating it."
14) ⿹aalyıŋatĩ. [ŋą:1̨̌ŋaçęe:]
$\checkmark$ yaa-lyı-gatı

Veat-EGO.sG.ERG-cL:edible.fruit
"I am eating it (edible fruit)".

This construction deletes the standard alter patient marker.

There are three prefix types in Ømolõ. Negation is prefixally marked in non-future verbs. This
is marked by the prefix Ta-. Valence is marked with passive, causative, and anti-causative prefixes, $L o-$, $k a$-, and $k a o-$, respectively. Lastly, semi-modals refer to a set of prefixes that
coöccur with the irrealis modal－gbo to specific potential，necessary，and desiderative modality．

These prefixes also occur the subordinating／nominalizing suffix－dal，as these，historically，
were constructed with subordinate clauses．－dal can surface as－cayl under palatal harmony，
when preceding syllable contains a palatal consonant．

## Aspect and Modality 3．2．3

Ømolõ aspects are as follows：

| Name | Description of Usage | Morpheme |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Gnomic | Indicates general truths． | －wo <br> クmolnawõ＇I speak＇ |
| Progressive | Indicates an action that is ongoing． | クmolnã ‘I am speaking’ |
| Habitual／ <br> Frequentive | Indicates actions that happen habitually or frequently | －kaa <br> Dogba kpakakaañãã <br> ＇I habitually see the dogs．＇ |
| Perfective | Used to refer to actions as a complete whole． | －baba <br> Dogba kpakababañãã ＇I saw the dogs．＇ |
| Momentane | Used for actions that are sudden and short lived | －çaba～－daba <br> Dogba kpakaçabañããa＇I saw the dogs suddenly．＇ |
| Inchoative | Used to refer to the beginning of a state／action． | －bado <br> クmolnabanõ <br> ＇I began speaking．＇ |


| Cessative | Used to refer to the end of a state or <br> action. | -lyowo $\sim$-lowo <br> クmolnalowo <br> 'I stopped speaking.' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |

Modality is conferred through 8 modal particles.

| Epistemic | Used to encode information that a speaker infers is true from outside factors. This is also used for suppositions. | -taal ~ -çaayl <br> Ømolnalowotaarrã. <br> 'They may have stopped speaking.' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Future | Used to encode information that will happen in the future. | -gawha <br> Ømolnalowonawharã. <br> 'They will stop speaking.' |
| Negative <br> Future | Used to encode information that will not happen in the future. | -gaowha <br> クmolnalowonaowharã. 'They won't stop speaking.' |
| Deontic / Irrealis | Used to encode commands, permissions, and requests. It is also used for conditionals and wishes. | -gbo Kpakpa ymolnalowoymoranãl? 'May you stop speaking?' |
| Potential | Used for actions that are within one's ability. | bo ${ }^{1}-\ldots$ gbo <br> Kpakpa moŋmolnaymoranãl. <br> 'You can speak (it is within your ability).' |
| Circumstantial | Used to encode information that is possible given a set of circumstances. | -rol <br> Kpakpa pmolnapadororrã. <br> 'You may begin speaking.' |
| Necessary | Used to encode that which is a necessity. | $\mathrm{caa}^{1}-\ldots \text {-.gbo } \sim \mathrm{daa}^{1}-\ldots \text {-gbo }$ <br> Kpakpa ñaŋmolnaŋmoranãl. <br> 'You must speak.' |
| Desiderative | Used to encode information that is desired. | gbaa ${ }^{1}$-...-gbo |


|  |  | クmaanmolnaŋmoranãl. <br> 'I want to speak.' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Interrogative | Used to ask questions. | ka' $-\ldots$-gbo <br> Taobaagbaogboradal? <br> "Is that true?" |

Constructions featuring a semi-modal prefix generally take the suffix -dal, which is a
subordinator, as these come from historically subordinate clauses.

Requests and commands, the deontic function of $-g b o$, will always coöccur with a perfective aspect, either the plain perfective or momentane, inchoative, cessative. Future and negative future also most often take a perfective aspect.

## Modal Stacking 3.2.3.1

Ømolõ can have extensive stacked modals. Observe the following sentences:
15) Kalakpagaıwhara. [kaḷaxªg̉arẉạ̣a]
$\checkmark$ kalakpa-gaıwha-ra

Vrain-FUT-ALT.SG.NTR
"It will rain."
16) Kalakpagaıwhataarra. [kaḷaxwag̉arwaṣa:̣̣a]
$\sqrt{ }$ kalakpa-gaıwha-taa-ra
$V$ rain-FUT-EVID-ALT.SG.NTR
"(It seems) that it may rain."

17）Kalakpagaıwharorra．［kaḷaxªg̉aıẉạ̣ụ̣：a］

Vkalakpa－gaıwha－rol－ra

Vrain－FUT－CIRC－Alt．SG．NTR
＂（Given that clouds come）it will rain．＂

18）Kakalakpagaıwhagboradal？［kaxaḷax ${ }^{\text {w }}$ ag̉aıẉagb̉uụaḍađ̣］
ka〉\kalakpa－gaıwha〈gbo－ra－dal

WH〉Vrain－FUT＜IRR－ALT．SG．NTR－NMZ
＂Will it rain？＂

## Person markings 3．2．4

Verbs are marked in 3 places for person，suffix position 2，3，and 5．ŋmolõ person markings
function around 2 axes of person，ego and alter，two axes of number，singular and plural，and three axes of case．Observe the following table：

|  |  | Ego |  | Alter |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Singular | Plural | Singular | Plural |
|  | Intransitive | $\varnothing$ | - whal | $-r a$ | $-r a a$ |
| Patient | Ergative | $-l y l$ | $-l y a l$ | $-l y a$ | $-l y a a$ |
|  | Accusative | $-c l$ | $-c a l$ | $-c a$ | $-c a a$ |

Reflexive and reciprocal markers are considered patient markers because they occupy the
patient slot, even though the verb they attach to is always anti-causative, and therefore,
intransitive. See §4.1.2.

These onsets can be affected by core-harmony. Palatal harmony causes -t to shift to -ç.

Retroflex harmony causes $-l y-c$ to shift to $-l-d$.

## Syntactic Shenanigans 4

Ømolõ has a syntax

## Conjunctions 4.1

Ømolõ has several conjunctions:

The conjunction kaça functions similarly to "and" and "but":
19) Mamõ dogba lakaalynñã kaça balaad ŋmoñaobã lakaalyñ̃ã. [mąmǫ: ḍugb̉a ḷąxą:1y $1^{y}$ ñą kax̃a
baḷa:ḍ ŋməñąąpą ḷąxą:1y ${ }^{\text {y }}$ ñą]
ba-mõ dog-ba Vlakãã-lyı-ca

ART-CL:small.domesticated.animal dog-ACC $\sqrt{ }$ have-ego.sg.ERG-Alt.ACC
kaça ba-laad ŋmoñao-ba Vlakãã-lyı-ca
and art-cl:shearable sheep-acc $\sqrt{ }$ hold-ego.sg.erg-alt.acc
"I have a dog and a sheep for shearing."
20) Mamõ dogba lakaalynñã kaça balaad ymoñaobã talakaalynñã. [mąmǫ: ḍugb̉a ląxą:ly̨̌ñą
kaxa baḷa:
ba-mõ dog-pa Vlakãã-lyı-ca

ART-CL:small.domesticated.animal dog-ACC $\sqrt{ }$ have-EGo.sG.ERG-ALT.ACC
kaça ba-laad ŋmoñao-ba ta-Vlakãã-lyı-ca
and Art-cl:shearable sheep-ACC neg-Vhold-ego.sg.erg-Alt.acc
"I have a dog but I don't have a sheep for shearing."

Pal functions as 'so, therefore':
21) Whãn lyaaçakac baabaobabalira pal ymolnamamamaarã. [ẉạṇ $1^{\text {¹ }}$ a:xaxaĝg b̉a:b̉aub̉ab̉aḷ̣̣a pax̣ ymって!ṇąmąmąmą:ד̣ą]
whãn- $\varnothing$ lyaaça-kac $\sqrt{ }$ baabao-baba-lı-ra

CL:general.person-NTR hungry-ADVZ Vdrink-PFV-alcohol-ALT.SG.NTR
pal $\sqrt{ }$ gmolnã-baba- $\sqrt{\text { baa-ra }}$
so $\sqrt{ }$ speak-PFv- $\sqrt{ }$ meander-Alt.SG.NTR
"He drank a lot, so he was slurring his words."

## Subordinate and Insubordinate clauses 4.1.1

Subordinate clauses are suffixed with -dal, a suffix frequently associated with nominalization. It
is thought that -dal, merged with an older subordinating suffix.
22) Whãn ŋmolnamamamaara lyaaçakac baabaobabalıradal. [ẉạṇ yməฺḷ̣ąmąmąmą:ạą

1ª:xaxaĝ b̉a:b̉aub̉ab̉aḷ̣̣aḍax̣]
whãn- $\varnothing \vee$ ŋnmolna-baba- $\sqrt{\text { baa-ra }}$

CL:general.person-NTR $\sqrt{ }$ speak-PFV- $\checkmark$ meander-Alt.NTR
lyaaça-r(r)ac $\sqrt{ }$ baabao-baba-lı-ra-dal
hungry-ADVZ Vdrink-PFV-alcohol-ALt.SG.NTR-NMZ
"The man was slurring because he had drank a lot."
23) Mõ lakaamamanãã mõ yaamamanãl. [mq: lạxą:mąmạną: mQ: ŋą:jęmąmąną̨]]
mõ $V$ lakãã-baba- $\varnothing$-daa mõ $\vee$ naa-baba- $\varnothing$-dal
very $\sqrt{ }$ have-PFV-EGO.SG.NTR-fear very Veat-PFV-EGO.SG.NTR-NMZ
"I was so scared that I was eating a lot."

The initial clause, "Whãn ymolnamamamaara" and "Mõ lakaapapnãã" can be elided, however, to just leave the non finite verb:
24) Lyaaçarrac baabaobabalıradal. [lyª:xạ̣:aĝ b̉a:b̉aub̉ab̉aḷ̣aḍax] ]
lyaaça-r(r)ac $\sqrt{ }$ baabao-baba-l1-ra-dal
hungry-ADVZ Vdrink-PFV-alcohol-ALT.SG.NTR-NMZ
"Because he drank a lot."
25) Mõ yaamamanãl. [mǫ: ŋą:mąmąṇąđ]]
mõ $\sqrt{ }$ ๆãã-baba- $\varnothing$-dal
very Veat-PFv-EGO.sG.NTR-NMZ
"[I was so scared that] I was eating a lot."

Subordinate clauses can also be introduced with the phrase Kaad "when, if, whether".
26) Kaad tanã kalakpagboradal, kpakpaba bolyıcagaıwha. [ka:ḍ ṭąną kaḷaxªgb̉uụaḍax kpaxwaba bully ${ }^{\text {y }}$ ĝag̉arwa]
kaad tanã $\sqrt{ }$ kalakpa-gbo-ra-dal
if blood $\sqrt{ }$ rain-IRR-ALT.SG.NTR-NMZ
kpakpa-ba $\sqrt{ }$ bo-lyı-ca-gaıhwa
forehead-Acc $\sqrt{ }$ marry-EGO.SG.ERG-ALT.ACC-FUT
"If it were to rain blood, I will marry (you)."

Even bowocaly can be elided from these as well to give an insubordinate clause:
27) Kaad tanã kalakpagboradal. [ka:ḍ ṭąą kalax ${ }^{\mathrm{w}}$ agb̉ụ̣aḍađ̣]
kaad tanã $\sqrt{ }$ kalakpa-gbo-ra-dal
when blood $\sqrt{ }$ rain-IRR-ALT.SG.NTR-NMZ
"If it were to rain blood."

This kind of formation, the introduction of an impossible and fantastic subordinate clause to answer a request is a common way of saying no in ⿹molõ. Usually, however, it is ironic, unlike
the examples above. The resulting insubordinate is very broad, however, and it can be used to respond to many requests.
'Like, as' adverbial clauses are suffixed with -darra, another subordinator.
28) Whãn balara bata toto karragradarra. [ẉąn b̉aḷạ̣a baṣa ṭuṣu: kaụ:ag̣̣̣ạ̣aụ:a]
whãn- $\varnothing \sqrt{ }$ bala-ra

CL:general.person-NTR Vset_off-Alt.NTR.SG
ba-ta toto $\sqrt{ }$ karrag-ra-darra

ART-CL:flying.animal bird Vfly-Alt.NTR.SG-SUB
"The man sets off like a bird flies." (Zeph test \#147)

These two can have their dependent clause elided:
29) Bata toto karragradarra. [baṣa ṭuṣu: kaụ:ağ̣ạ̣ạ̣:a]
ba-ta toto $\sqrt{ }$ karrag-ra-darra
art-cl:flying.animal bird Vfly-alt.ntr.sG-SUB
"Like a bird flies."

It is thought that originally there were two subordinators, -darra 'like, as' subordinator and another one that merged with -dal, which was a general subordinator.

Lastly, as mentioned in several sections before. Semi-modal prefixes also require the subordinating / nominalizing suffix -dal as well.

$\checkmark$ ŋmolnã－lyowo－gbo－ra

Vspeak－cess－deon－Alt．NTR
＂May［you］stop speaking？＂

mo＞Vnmolnã＜gbo－ra－dal

POT〉speak＜IRR－ALT－NMZ
＂［You］can speak（it is in your physical ability）．＂

ca〉V1molnã－lyowo＜gbo－ra－dal

NEC〉speak－CESS〈IRR－ALT－NMZ
＂［You］must stop speaking．＂

gbaa＞$\$ nmolna－lyowo＜gbo－$\varnothing$－dal

DES $>$ speak－CESS－EGO．SG．NTR〈IRR－NMZ
＂I want to stop speaking．＂
＂A－Like＂Clauses and Agent－Patient Alteration，Causatives，and Anti－Causatives 4．1．2

A certain set of intransitive verbs will be considered $A$-like in that their semantic agent takes
the accusative case and functions syntactically as a patient. Many of these are stative
intransitive verbs and take the prefix baa-, which is thought to be a fossilized causative prefix.

Take the verb Maataanã.
34) Maatanañılyã. [mą:ṣąṇąñc̨1ª̨ ${ }^{\text {ª }}$ ]
$\checkmark$ maatanã-cı-lya

Vbe_red-ego.sG.Acc-Alt.SG.ERG
"I am red / flushed."
35) Maatanañalyañãyl toto. [mą:ṣąnąñą ${ }^{y} a ̨ \tilde{n} a ̨ \lambda^{y}$ ṭuṣu:]
$\checkmark$ maatanã-ca-lya-dal toto

Vbe_red-Alt.SG.Acc-Alt.SG.ERG-NMZ bird
"The red hen"

These verbs are distinct from productive causatives as they are lexically bound to this, being a closed class. Productive causatives are formed with the prefix ko-. See tanã and kotanã.
36) Tanã. [ṭąṇą]
$\checkmark \operatorname{tanã}-\varnothing$

Vbleed-ego.sg.NTR
'I am bleeding.'
37) Whanlã kotanañılyã. [ẉąṇ̣a kpṣąṇąñ̨̨1 ${ }^{\mathrm{y}}$ ą]
whãn-lya ko-Vtanã-cı-lya

CL:general.person-ERG.SG CAUS-ل\bleed-EGO.SG.ACC-ALT.SG.ERG
'He is making me bleed.'

Anti-causative verbs are formed with the prefix kao-. Anti-causatives are also used with reflexive and reciprocal markers.
38)Kaotanã. [kąحṣą̣ą]
kao-Vtanã- $\varnothing$

ANTIC-Vbleed-EGO.SG.NTR
'I am being made to bleed.'
39) Kaotanatĩ. [ką̨ṣąṇą]
kao-Vtanã-tı

ANTIC-Vbleed-EGO.REFL
'I am making myself bleed.'
40) Kaotanatãã. [ką̨ș̣ạąąą̨̨]
kao-Vtanã-ta1

ANTIC-Vbleed-EGo.recip
'We are making eachother bleed.'

