



Split intransitivity and non-canonical S order in Yukuna

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The issue

- ▶ Non-canonical S and the notion of ‘Subject’

Our aims:

- ▶ Synchronically:
 - ▶ Properties of canonical and non-canonical subjects
- ▶ Diachronically:
 - ▶ Evolution of split intransitivity system of Proto-Arawak

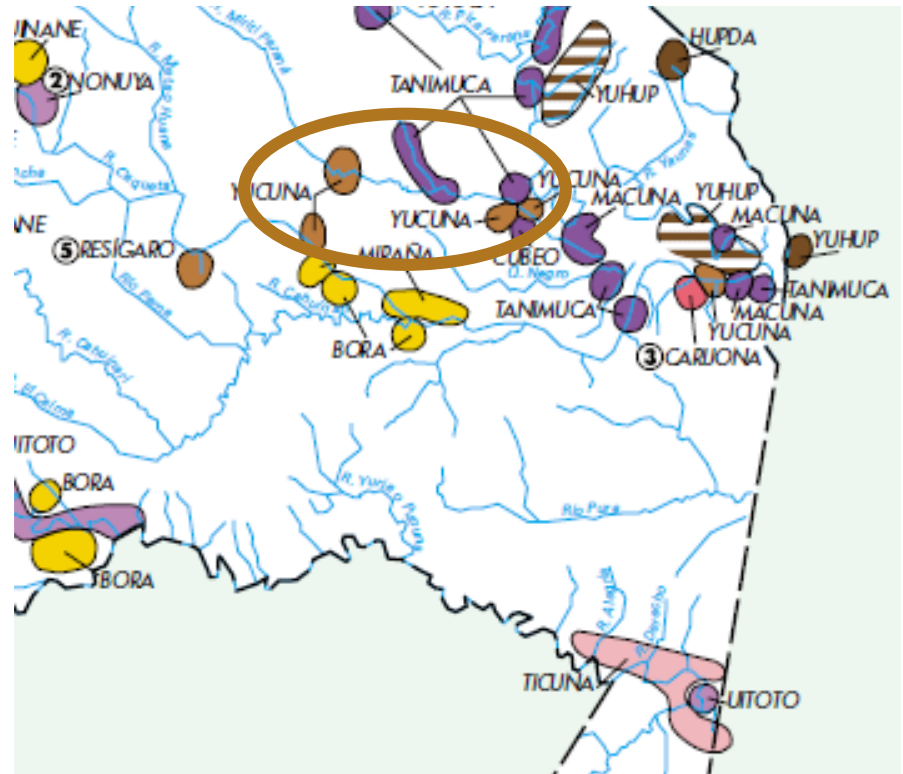
Outline

Introduction

- I. Canonical A/S/O
 - II. Non-canonical S (S_{nv})
 - III. Comparative and diachronical perspective
- Conclusion

Introduction

- ▶ Yukuna language and speakers
- ▶ Arawak language
- ▶ Spoken in Colombia
- ▶ 1000~1500 speakers



(Queixalos & Renault-Lescure 2000)

Introduction

Data for this study:

- ▶ First hand, spontaneous & elicited.
 - ▶ Magdalena Lemus Serrano: fieldwork data, ~2h of transcribed and annotated texts.
 - ▶ Tom Durand: fieldwork data.
- ▶ Other sources:
 - ▶ Laurent Fontaine: online corpus of transcribed texts <http://site.laurentfontaine.free.fr/>
 - ▶ Schauer et al. (2005): Yukuna/Spanish dictionary.

Introduction

- ▶ Active-Stative alignment



- ▶ Split intransitivity in Yukuna:

A - Agent of Transitive clauses

O - Object of Intransitive clauses

S_v - Subjects of verbal clauses

S_{nv} - Subjects of Non-verbal clauses

Split intransitivity in Yukuna

▶ Transitive clause

1. *Kája* *na-nó-cha* *rikhá*
already 3PL-kill-REC 3SG.NF
'They already killed it.' (ycn0151,149)

▶ Intransitive verbal

2. *Kája* *na-i'jĩ-chá*
already 3PL-go-REC
'They already went.' (ycn0068,60)

▶ Intransitive non-verbal

3. *A'jne-jí=tá* *rikhá*
food-UNPOSS=EMPH 3SG.NF
'it is food too.' (ycn0063,144)



1. Canonical A/S/O

Canonical A

A - Agents of transitive verbal clauses

- ▶ Indexation on the verb with a person prefix.
- ▶ Pre-verbal NP
- ▶ Canonical word order: A V O

4. *Kája na-nó-cha rikhá*
already 3PL-kill-REC 3SG.NF
'They already killed it.' (ycn0151,149)

5. *Kanumá=tá achi'-yá na-pirá.*
Kanumá=EMPH steal-REC 3PL-pet
'Kanumá stole their pet!' (ycn0068,30)

Canonical O

O - Objects of transitive verbal clauses

- ▶ Not indexed on verb, overt NP or pronoun
- ▶ Postverbal position (pragmatically unmarked)
- ▶ Can be fully omitted.

6. Post dative O

Na-a'-chá *píño* *ri-jló* *kujnú.*
3PL-give-REC again 3SG.NF-to cassava
'They gave him cassava again.' (ycn0068,153)

7. Pre-verbal, topicalized O

Rikhá *na-a'-khé* *na-jimá* *chuwá*
3SG.NF 3PL-give-FAR.PST 3PL-face on
'They put it on their faces.' (ycn0151,46)

Canonical S_v

S_v – Sole argument of intransitive verbal clauses

▶ Same coding properties as A:

- ▶ Person prefix on verb
- ▶ Preverbal NP

8. *É kája ru-i'jĩ-chá mená e'yajě*
then 3SG.F-go-REC cropland towards
'Then she went to the cropland.' (ycn0089,24)

9. *Kája pi-aló i'jĩ-chá kajírú jña'-jé*
already 2SG-mother go-REC manioc take-LOC.NZ
'Your mother already went to take manioc.' (ycn0089,31)

Canonical S_v

- ▶ S_v has same coding properties in:
 - ▶ Clauses with semantically stative verbs
 - ▶ Clauses with verbal copula and Non-verbal predicates.

10. *É kája* *na-kamáti-ya-o.*
then **3PL**-sleep-REC-INTR
'Then they fell asleep.' (ycn0063,76)

11. *Kalapíchina* *já'-lo* *ru-i'mi-chá*
animal_sp tribe_member-F **3SG.F**-COP-REC
'She was a female member of the tufted capuchin tribe.' (ycn0068,119)

12. *Na-ñakaré* *i'mi-chá* *jupichúmi.*
3PL-house COP-REC old
'Their house was old.' (ycn0151,4)

Canonical Subjects (A + S_v)

Syntactic properties of A + S_v (Dixon 1994)

► Control of Imperatives

13. Transitive Verb

“*Chúwa pi-la'á kujnú*” *ké ri-ímí-cha.*
now 2SG-do cassava COMP 3SG.NF-say-REC
“‘make cassava!’ he said.’ (ycn0068_144-145)

14. Intransitive Verb

Majõ i-pa'-ó.
here 2PL-come_back-INTR
‘Come back here!’ (ycn0068_057)

Syntactic properties of A + Sv

▶ Control of Imperatives

15. Verbal copula (Imperative, unmarked)

llé=ja *pi-i'má,* *pi-ña-níña-o*
there=EMPH 2SG-COP 2SG-escape-PROH-INTR

‘Stay right there (lit. be right there), don’t escape!’ (ycn0041, 28)

16. Verbal copula (Prohibitive, V-*níña*)

Nu-ítu, *pi-i'ma-níña* *kawale'ke-ru*
1SG-daughter 2SG-COP-PROH big_eater-F

‘My daughter, don’t be a big eater.’ (Elicited, temp3-34)

Syntactic properties of A + S_v

► Coreferential A/S_v in Complementation

17. Intransitive Verb

Main clause

[**Nu**-wáta

1SG-want

Complement clause

[nu-okúru

1SG-aunt

éjõ

towards

i'jna-kána]]

go-ACN.NZ

‘I want to go to my aunt’s.’ (Elicited)

18. Verbal copula

Main clause

[**Pi**-wáta

2SG-want

Complement clause

[pikhá-o

2SG-REFL

i'ma-kána]]

COP-ACN.NZ

‘You want to be by yourself.’ (ycn0068,52)

Syntactic properties of A + S_v

- ▶ Control of G/N Agreement in
 - ▶ Main clauses, new discourse contexts
 - ▶ V without person prefixes, and with G/N suffixes agreeing with A/S_v
 - ▶ Suffixes compatible with 1/2/3 persons.

19. **Nukhá** *arápa'-yo.*
1sg dance-F
'I dance. (female speaker)' (Elicited)

20. **Pikhá** *i'ma-jé-ri* *atiñá=wáni.*
2sg COP-FUT-NF man=INT
'You will be the bravest.' (ycn0169,15)

Syntactic properties of A + S_v

- ▶ Control of G/N Agreement in
 - ▶ Coreferential A/S_v in Clause-linking

21. *É* *ri-iphí-cha,* *amá-ri,* *kája unká*
then **3SG.NF**-arrive-REC see-NF already NEG
inauké *i'ma-lá-cha.*
person COP-NEG-REC
'Then he_i arrived, and saw_i, and there wasn't anyone.'
(ycn0108,77)

22. *Ri-e'weló* *i'mi-chá-yo,* *pi'-chá-yo* *kája*
3SG.NF-sister COP-REC-F return-REC-F too
'There was his sister_i, (she_i) returned too.' (ycn0041,172)

Syntactic properties of A + Sv

- ▶ Control of G/N Agreement in:
 - ▶ A/Sv focalization

23. Transitive Verb

Pikhá, **pikhá** *ati'-yá-ri* *wa-pirá*
2SG **2SG** steal-REC-NF 1PL-pet

'You, you stole our pet!.' (ycn0068,40)

24. Intransitive Verb

Kanumá=tá *káta-ri-o* *wa-náku*
Kanumá=EMPH play-NF-INTR 1PL-on

'It's Kanumá who is playing with us.' (ycn0068,32)

25. Copular clause

Rikhá *i'ma-khé-ri* *na-le'jé* *piréña.*
3SG.NF COP-FAR.PST-NF 3PL-LK scissors

'Those were their scissors.' (ycn0089,78)



2. Non canonical S (S_{nv})

Non canonical S (S_{nv})

- ▶ Sole argument of non-verbal clause.
- ▶ Juxtaposition of Predicate and Theme
- ▶ Unmarked word order: PRED S
- ▶ Stative clauses (absence of copulas correlates with stability, Pustet 2003)

26. *Itewí kélé piyuté*
tree_sp that boa
'That boa is a moriche palm tree.' (ycn0108,142)

27. *A'jne-jí=tá rikhá.*
food-UNPOSS=EMPH 3SG.NF
'It is food too.' (ycn0063,144)

Non canonical S (S_{nv})

- ▶ G/N agreement on PRED
- ▶ Variations in word order
- ▶ No verbal morphology (TAM, etc.)

29. *Kaphi-runa nu-éjéna.*

hard-PL **1SG-siblings**

‘My brothers are strong.’ (Elicited, temp3,17).

28. *Inaná-ru kajú-ru palá-ru.*

woman-F big-F good-F

‘The woman was fat and pretty.’ (ycn0063,75)

30. *Unká kaphí-rúna kalé nu-éjéna.*

NEG hard-PL NEG **1SG-siblings**

‘My siblings aren’t strong.’ (Elicited, temp3-12)

Shared properties of S_{nv}/O

- ▶ Coding properties: different from A/S_v , similar to O
 - ▶ No person indexation
 - ▶ Post predicate NP/pronoun (pragmatically unmarked)
 - ▶ Pragmatically marked pre-predicate position

Shared properties of S_{nv}/O

- ▶ Syntactic properties: mostly different from A/S_v
 - ▶ **S_{nv}** incompatible with imperatives, completives, clause chaining.
 - ▶ Verbal copula with prototypical S_v required instead.

31. Kawale'ke **nukhá.**
big_eater **1SG**
'I'm a big eater.' (Elicited, temp3-33)

32. *Nu-ítu,* **pi-i'ma-níña** *kawale'ke-ru*
1SG-daughter, **2SG-COP-PROH** big_eater-F
'My daughter, don't be a big eater.' (Elicited, temp3-34)

Shared properties of S_{nv}/S_v

- ▶ S_{nv} in complementary distribution with S_v
- ▶ S argument non-omissible (person prefix or overt S NP necessary)
- ▶ Control of agreement suffixes on the predicate

33. *Inaná-ru* *kajú-ru* *palá-ru.*
woman-F big-F good-F
'The woman was fat and pretty.' (ycn0063,75)

34. *Nu-puláa'pe-ru* *mathi'-yá-yo* *nukhá.*
1sg-in_law-F cut-REC-F 1sg
'My sister in law cut me.' (ycn0089,93)

Non canonical S (S_{nv})

Conclusion

- ▶ Lack of most properties of canonical subjects
- ▶ But, complementary distribution with S_v
- ▶ Canonical S_v more frequently used.
- ▶ Restriction against marking of verbal categories (person prefixes, TAM, etc.) on non-verbal predicates.



3. Comparative and diachronical perspective

Types of split-intransitivity in Arawak languages

- ▶ Most Arawakan languages are characterized by one of two types of split intransitivity (Perlmutter 1978, Merlan 1985, Durand 2016)
 - ▶ Some intransitive predicates with A marking, others with O marking
 - ▶ A marking is formed by person prefixes, proclitics and/or preverbal (pro)nouns.
 - ▶ O marking - be it with suffixes, enclitics, pronouns or NP – is strictly postverbal.
- ▶ **Two types of split**
 - ▶ Grammatical split: one predicate allows both encoding, according to semantico-pragmatic or morphosyntactic motivations like TAM markers.

Types of split-intransitivity in Arawak languages

▶ Lexical split with two predicate classes

- ▶ Active/stative verbs (see also the event factor in Mithun 1991)
- ▶ Verbal/non-verbal predicates,
- ▶ or active verbs/stative verbal and non-verbal predicates

Mojeño

35. *N=ute-k-po*

1SG=come-ACT-PERF

'I came.'

(Rose 2011 : 472-3)

36. *N=uuna*

1SG=be.good

'I am good.'

37. *'jiro=nu-po*

man=**1SG**-PERF

'I was then a man.'

Piapoco

38. *Nu-bala-ka*

1SG-fish-REAL

'I fish.'

(Durand, own data)

39. *Inu-ka*

feel.lazy-REAL **nua**
1SG

'I feel lazy.'

40. *Medico*

doctor **nua**
1SG

'I am a doctor.'

Strategies of non-verbal predication

- ▶ Non-Verbal predication in Arawakan:
 - ▶ Several strategies in competition: verbal copulas, invariant copulas, juxtaposition, person marking on NV predicates.
 - ▶ Copulas restricted to specific constructions.

	EXIST	LOC	EQUAT	POSS
Piapoco	Copula Juxtaposition	Copula O marking	Juxtaposition	Oblique marking O marking Juxtaposition
Baniwa of Guainia	Copula	A/O marking	Juxtaposition O marking	Oblique marking O marking

- ▶ Possessive predication in Piapoco:

41. *Ka-pira-ka* *nua*

ATTR-cheval-REAL 1SG

‘I have a horse.’

42. *Nu-denia* *auli*

1SG-have dog

‘I have a dog.’ (Durand’s data)

Word order in Arawakan languages

- ▶ Most frequent patterns: SVO, VSO and free order.
- ▶ Northern Arawak branch: mostly SVO
- ▶ Affixes indexing A and O allow argument identification with free word order

Apurinã:

43. O s-V S
txipokoru *o-txima-ãpo-ta-pe* *hãtakoro*
fruit 3SG.F.S-eat.fruit-RANDOM-VBLZ-PFTV girl
'The girl would go eating fruit.'

44. S V-o O
hãtakoro *apa-nanu-ta-ru* *aõtu*
girl fetch-PROG-V.ST-3SG.M.O umari(fruit)
'The girl is fetching umari (fruit).' (Facundes 2000b: 273)

Diachronic Perspective: Appearance of the verbal/non-verbal split

- ▶ Yukuna probably had Active/Stative verbal split, with O marking on non-verbal predicates. Same as proto Arawak (Aikhenvald 1999, 2006: 245).
- ▶ Current Yukuna system: Verbal predicates take A marking; Non-verbal take O marking, as in Mojeño or Baure.



- ▶ Main hypothesis: Yukuna lost its Active/Stative Verbal split, as Stative verbs were nominalized with G/N markers, and reanalyzed as Non-Verbal predicates.

Appearance of the verbal/non-verbal split

- ▶ The use of G/N markers as nominalizers is not uncommon in Arawakan (Durand 2016).
- ▶ Predicates with G/N markers in Yukuna:

45. Verbal predicate (-ri/-yo/-ño set):

<i>Ru-pulá'peru</i>	<i>i'jĩ-cha-<u>yo</u></i>	<i>mená</i>	<i>e'yajé</i>
3sg.F-sister_in_law	go-REC- <u>F</u>	cropland	towards

'Her sister in law went to the cropland.' (ycn0089,19)

46. Non-verbal predicate (-ni/-ru/-runa set):

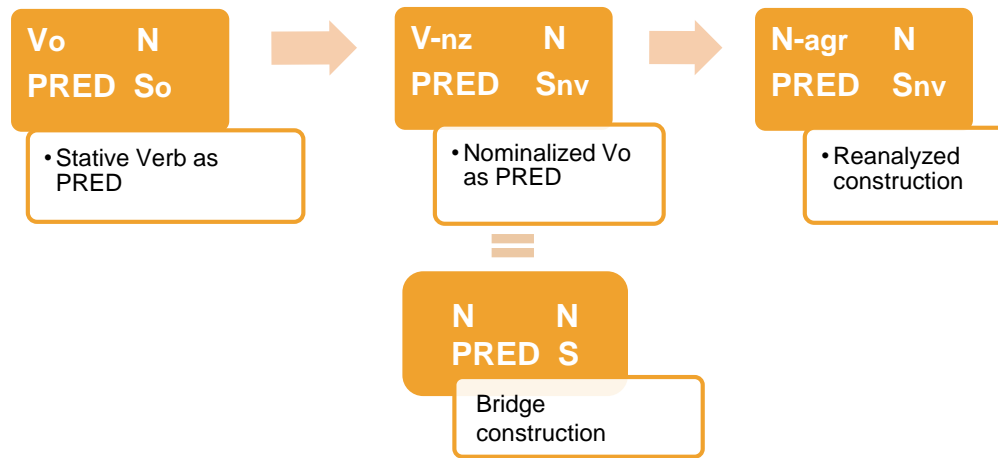
<i>Kamachá-<u>ni</u></i>	<i>kujnú</i>
hard- <u>NF</u>	cassava

'The cassava is hard.' (Elicited, temp3-60)

(Tentative) Diachronic pathway

► Possible origin of postverbal subjects:

1. Hypothetical Old Yukuna's active/stative split: Post-predicative subjects for stative verbs and non-verbal predicates.
2. Stative verbs: Nominalized with G/N markers.
3. Nominalized verbs: Used as NV Predicates, with PRED S word order.
4. REANALYSIS: Nominalized V reanalyzed as Nouns, due to structural similarities with nominal predicates (bridge construction)



Alignment change on copulas

- ▶ North Arawak languages: variety of coding strategies for non-verbal predications.
- ▶ Copulas in North Arawak: varied forms, relatively recent innovation.
- ▶ Our hypothesis:
 - ▶ Verbal/Non-verbal predicate split led to loss of finiteness of a subgroup of nominalized verbs (Stative)
 - ▶ This process is more advanced in Yukuna than in other languages (Piapoco or Achagua): nominalized verbs have various TAM markers.
 - ▶ In Yukuna, the need of marking TAM in main clauses motivated the use of copulas.

Remaining issues

- ▶ Old Yukuna's word order:
 - ▶ Difficult to evaluate.
 - ▶ Argument indexing on verbs often allows free word order in Arawakan.
 - ▶ Position of A/Sa argument remains uncertain.
- ▶ G/N marking also found on active verbs:
 - ▶ V nominalized with G/N (-ri/-yo/-ño)
 - ▶ Used with pre-verbal Subjects.
 - ▶ Diachronic pathway of this construction: remains to be studied.

Conclusion

- ▶ Differences between Predicates with G/N in Yukuna reflect Arawak Active/ Stative distinction.
- ▶ Hypothesis: A marking used with finite verbs (semantically Active or Stative)
- ▶ O marking - post-predicative subjects - is used for nouns and nominalized Stative verbs taking G/N markers.
- ▶ Subjects in Yukuna reflect Proto-Arawak event and argument structure.
- ▶ Current Yukuna: Stronger link between A primitive and Subject, as in NOM-ACC languages.



Thank you!

Abbreviations

ACN.NZ	Action Nominalizer	NEG	Negation
ACT	Active	NF	Non-feminine
ATTR	Attributive	PERF	Perfective
COMP	Complementizer	PFTV	Perfective
COP	Copula	PL	Plural
EMPH	Emphatic Particle	PROG	Progressive
F	Feminine	PROH	Prohibitive
FAR.PST	Far Past	RANDOM	Random Events
FUT	Future	REAL	Realis
INT	Intensifier	REC	Recent Past/Future Tense
INTR	Intransitive	REFL	Reflexive
LK	Linker	SG	Singular
LOC.NZ	Locative Nominalizer	UNPOSS	Unpossessed
M	Masculine	V.ST	Verb Stem
		VBLZ	Verbalizer

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