

On the challenges of letting a language tell its own story:

evidence from the Amazon

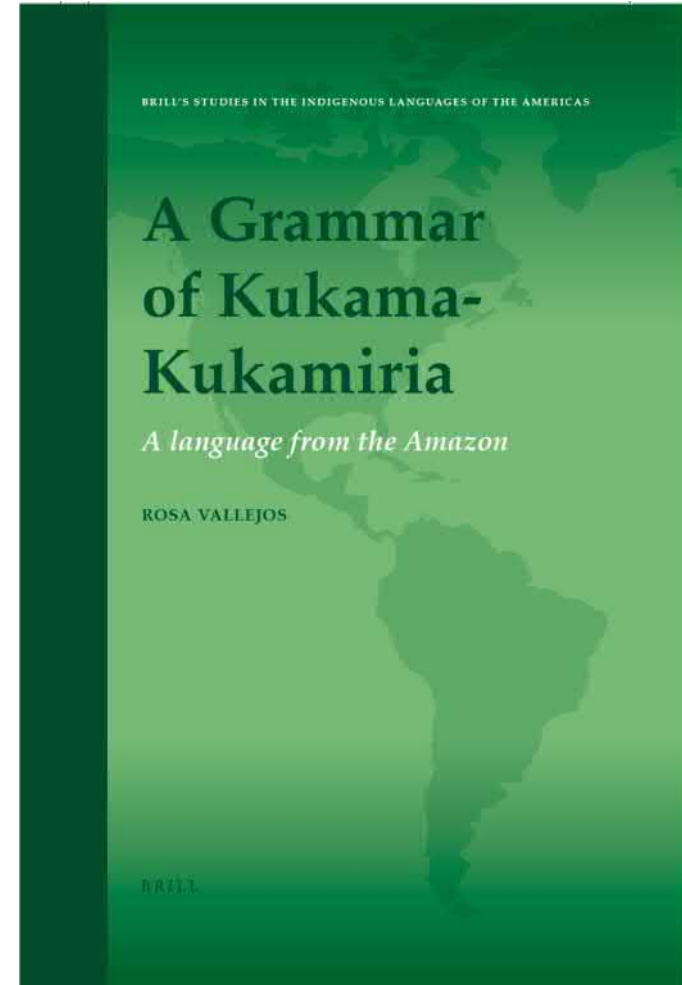


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Any difference?

- A grammar of...
- A reference grammar of...
- A typological grammar of...



Grammar writing

Course Objectives and Student Learning Outcomes

At the end of this course students will be able to:

- understand the goals and limitations of grammars
- develop a template for a model grammar
- make effective use of grammars, both “good” and “bad”
- incorporate new technologies and formats into writing grammars

Apr 5 – Grammar templates

This week students will present the grammar template they have developed for their adopted languages.

Apr 12 – Toward a unified grammar template

Building on the presentations from last week will work together to create a unified template that can be used for writing grammars.

A typology of good grammars (Rice 2005: 395)

- Comprehensive
- Complete
- Clear
- Wealth of data:
 - appropriate and authentic
 - meticulously checked
- Argumentation
- Accessibility
 - Clarity of writing
 - User friendly organization

Grammar writing and theory

- “The grammar should be informed by theory” but “theory is not the goal of a grammar” (Rice 2005: 403)
- “the theory can be likened to a **ghostwriter** – its job is to allow the story of the language to be told, bringing out that story in a compelling way. The theory should let the language reveal itself. Too blind adherence to a theory, any theory, will not allow that genius of the language to shine through. But without the theory, one may not even be able to see aspects of a language.” (Rice 2006: 263)

Grammar writing and typology

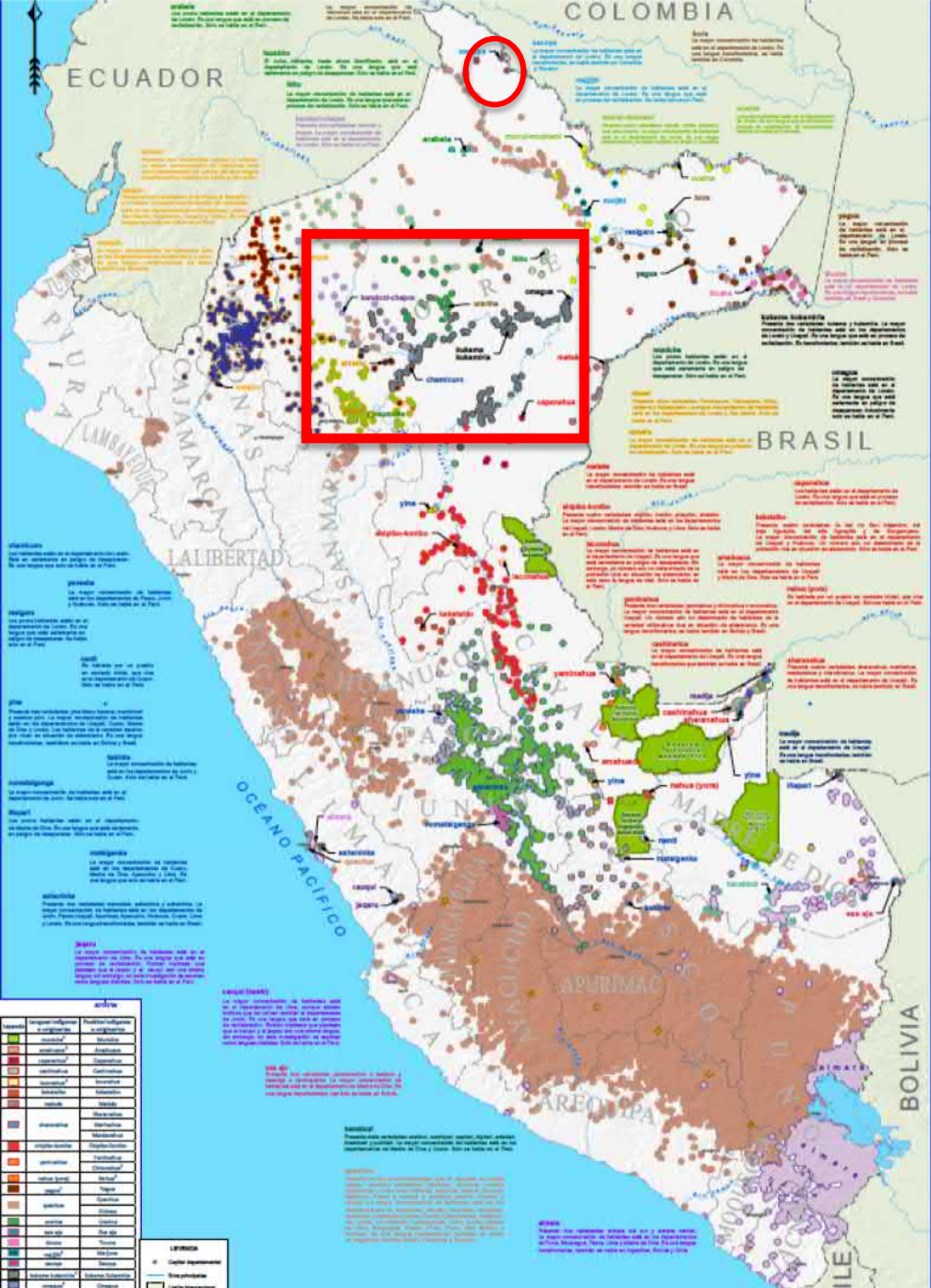
Croft's wish list (*Morphosyntax*, In Prep):

- a “**framework-free**” description
- place the structure of a language in the context of the range of **grammatical variation** of the world's languages
- distinguish language-specific constructions from comparative concepts
- probably the best way to organize (the syntax part of) a grammar is in terms of information-packaging functions

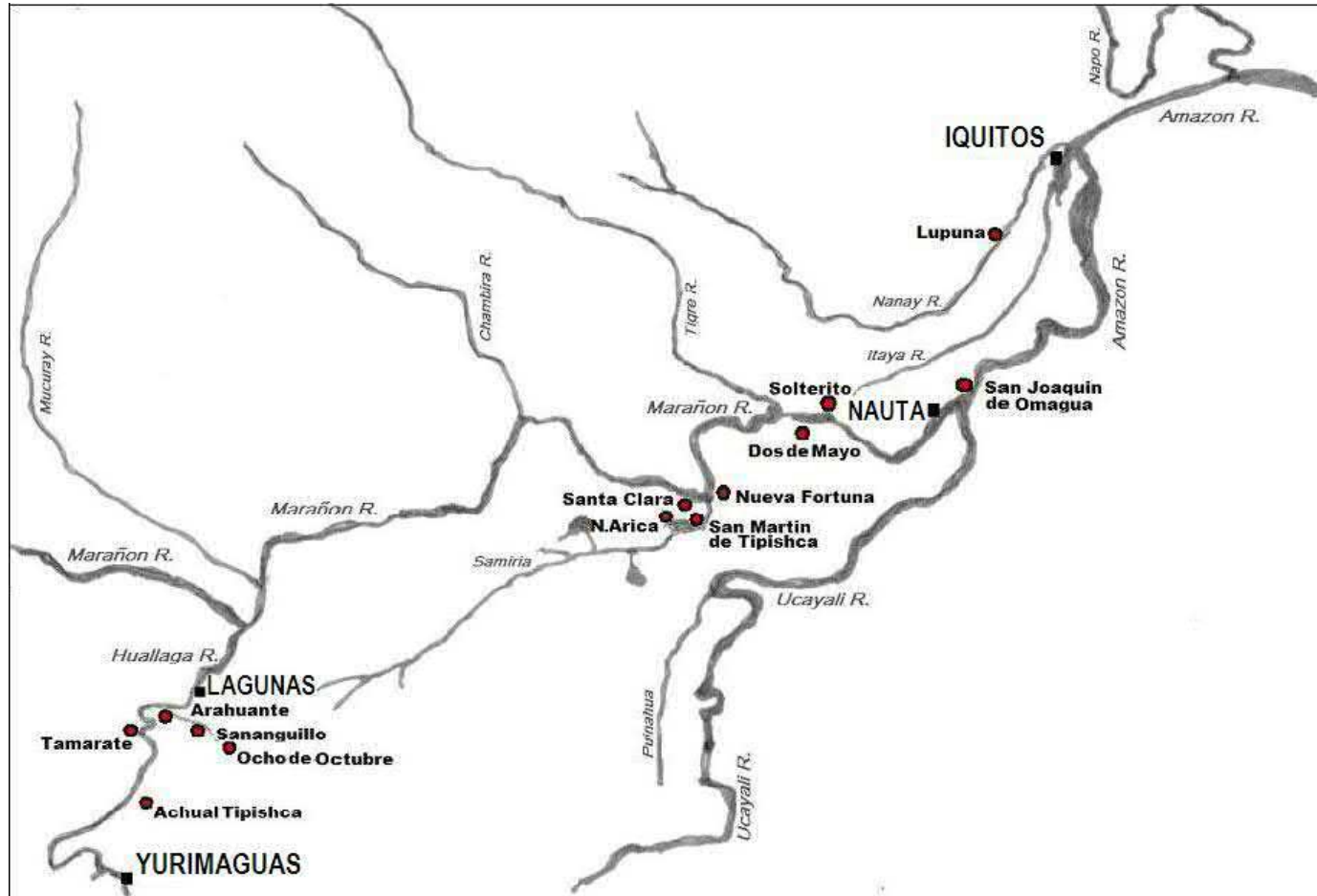
Peruvian Amazonia

Secoya

Kukama-Kukamiria



Kukama-Kukamiria



Ethnic population: ~20,000
Speakers: 1,185 (Census 2017)



Gender indexicality

- Encoding of the social gender of the speech act participants
- Haas's (1944) typology:
 - ✓ Type 1: gender of the speaker
 - ✓ Type 2: gender of the addressee
 - ✓ Type 3: relational gender
- The domains in which gender of the speech act participants is indexed:
 - ✓ phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon

(Levinson 1983, Fleming 2012, Rose 2015)

Gender indexicality in Kukama

- 1) a. *raepe ta umi ikian awa=kana=uy tana taira=muki*
then.M 1SG.M see this.M person=PL.M=PAS 1PL.M son.M.EGO=COM
- b. *yaepe tsa umi ajan awa=minu=uy penu mimira=muki*
then.F 1SG.F see this.F person=PL.F =PAS 1PL.F son.F.EGO=COM

‘Then I saw these people with our son’

(Vallejos 2015)

Gender indexicality in Kukama

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TABLE 1.4 *Female speech versus male speech*

Gloss	FS	MS
1 person singular	<i>tša, etše</i>	<i>ta</i>
1 person plural exclusive	<i>penu</i>	<i>tana</i>
3 person singular short form	<i>ya</i>	<i>ra</i>
3 person singular long form	<i>ai</i>	<i>uri</i>
3 person singular object	<i>ai</i>	<i>ura</i>
3 plural	<i>inu</i>	<i>rana</i>
plural clitic	<i>=kana</i>	<i>=nu</i>
proximal demonstrative	<i>ajan</i>	<i>ikian</i>
distal demonstrative	<i>yukun</i>	<i>yukan</i>
indefinite demonstrative	<i>yama/yamua</i>	<i>rama/ramua</i>
like this	<i>ajaya</i>	<i>ikiara</i>
like that	<i>ya</i>	<i>ria</i>
also	<i>yai</i>	<i>riai</i>
but	<i>iyän</i>	<i>urian</i>
there, then	<i>yaepe</i>	<i>raepe</i>
after that	<i>yaepetsui</i>	<i>raepetsui</i>
exhortative	<i>yawa</i>	<i>rawa/riawa</i>
Interjection: pain	<i>akatsai</i>	<i>akatai</i>
Interjection: frustration	—	<i>atatai</i>
Interjection: cheer-up	—	<i>atašai</i>

Possession

- possession is a universal phenomenon
- cross-linguistic observations:
 - i. languages have conventionalized means of encoding possession
 - ii. there is not a universal linguistic structure to all possessive constructions
 - iii. possessive constructions can also express concepts other than ownership
 - iv. possessive concepts can be expressed by linguistic forms not generally associated with the domain of possession; and,
 - v. there is not necessarily a one-to-one correspondence between possessive form and possessive meaning

(Heine 2001: 39)

Subtypes (Heine 1997:34-35):

X = possessor, Y = possessum

- 1. Physical:** Y is physically contiguous to X:
 - *I want to fill in this form; do you have a pen?*
- 2. Temporary:** X temporarily controls Y:
 - *I have a car for commuting but it belongs to Judy.*
- 3. Permanent (Alienable):** X owns Y:
 - *Judy has a car but I use it all the time.*
- 4. Inalienable:** Y is a kin relation/body part of X:
 - *I have brown eyes/one brother.*
- 5. “Abstract”:** Y is an intangible/invisible entity:
 - *He has no time/no mercy/the flu.*

Stassen's 2009 strategies:

(see also Givón 1984, Heine 1997)

Topic possessive	PSSOR=subj, PSSUM=subj	<i>As for me, a knife exists</i>
Locational possessive	PSSUM=subj, PSSOR=dat, loc	<i>To/At me (is) a knife</i>
With-possessive	PSSUM=subj, PSSOR=ins, com	<i>I am with a knife</i>
Have possessive	PSSOR=subj, PSSUM=obj	<i>I have a knife."</i>
Adnominal possessive	PSSOR=gen, PSSUM=subj	<i>My knife exists</i>
Predicative possessive	PSSOR=subj, PSSUM=predicate	<i>I am knife-having</i>

Possession in Kukama-Kukamiria

- The language does not have verb such as *have, belong*.
- There is not a grammatical construction specifically dedicated to encoding possession
- Possession is inferred from several other constructions
- Do possessive expressions reflect cultural practices?

(Aikhenvald and Dixon, 2013:46-47)

Vallejos (submitted)

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Vallejos (2016)

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TABLE 10.1 Mapping constructions and semantic functions

		Constructions	Semantic Functions
JUXTAPOSITION	1	NP(MOD) (NEG) NP _(T)	Equative & proper inclusion
	2	NP (NEG) NP- <i>yara</i> _(T)	Possessive & proper inclusion
	3	NP (NEG) NP- <i>ra</i>	Attributive & proper inclusion
	4	NP (NEG) [V _{sta} - <i>n</i>] _(T)	Attributive & proper inclusion
EXISTENTIAL	5	(NEG) <i>emete</i> (MOD) NP _(T)	Basic existential
	6	(NEG) <i>emete</i> [PSSR PSSD] _(T)	Existential & possessive
	7	NPI, (NEG) <i>emete</i> [PSSR _i PSSD] _(T)	Existential topic & possessive
	9	NP= _{LOC} (NEG) <i>emete</i> NP _(T)	Existential locative & possessive
LOCATIVE	10	(NEG) NP PP	Locative
	11	PP (NEG) NP	Locative
	12	NP (NEG) [N N _{relational}] _(T)	Locative

Juxtaposition: [PSSOR]NP [PSSUM-yara]NP

- (1) a. *mijiri* *ɨara-yara*
Miguel canoe-owner
'Miguel has a canoe'
(Lit. Miguel is canoe-owner') [PT: permanent]
- b. *wepe* *kuniati* *tɨma* *mena-yara*
one girl NEG husband-owner
'One girl doesn't have a husband' [PT: inalienable, social relationship]
(Lit. One girl is not a husband-owner')

Stassen's predicative possession

Juxtaposition: [PSSOR]NP [PSSUM-yara]NP.

yara is still use as a noun in the language.

- (3) a. *ra=yara* *umi=ura*
3SG.MS=owner see=3SG.MS.OBJ
'Its owner sees it'
- b. *raepe* *ikian* *uka-yara* *yawachima*
then this house-owner arrive
'Then, this house owner arrives'

Juxtaposition: [PSSOR]_{NP} [PSSUM-yara]_{NP}.

- (3) a. *ikian niapitsara uka-yara=tsuriay*
this man house-owner=PAS3
'This man was the owner of the house'
(Lit. This man was the house owner) [PT: permanent ownership]
- c. *imīnan=tsui=ka kukama=kana tima pitsa-yara=tsuriay*
long.ago-ABL=LOC kukama=PL NEG fish.net-owner=PAS3
'A long time ago, the Kukama-Kukamiria people used to not have fishnets'
(Lit. From long time ago, the Kukama-Kukamirias were not fishnet owners) [PT: permanent]

Existential genitive: [*emete* [PSSOR PSSUM]_{NP}]

- (4) a. *emete tsa mimirakunia=nu ai ikua*
exist 1SG.FS daughter=PL.FS 3SG.FS know
yauki-tara=nu
make-REL.A=PL.FS
'I have daughters who know how to make it' (fan)
(Lit. There are my daughters who know how to make it)
- b. *emete y=irua*
exist SG.FS=mate
'He has a partner'
(Lit. His partner exists)

Stassen's adnominal possession

Existential genitive: [*emete* [PSSOR PSSUM]_{NP}]

(4) c. *ikia=ka emete ta irua=chasu*
here=LOC exist 1SG.MS mate=AFF
'Here (in this village) I have my partner'
(Lit. My partner is in this village)

d. *emete=taka na iki*
exist=UNC 2SG chili
'You might have chili'
(Lit. Maybe there is your chili)

Existential topic: [TOP_i *emete* [PSSOR_i PSSUM]_{NP}]

(5)

b. *iwirati tsanuya_i tima emete ya_i tsuwi*
forest rat NEG exist 3SG.FS tail

‘The wild rat doesn’t have a tail’

(Lit. As for the wild rat, its tail doesn’t) [PT: inalienable, body part]

c. *animaru=kana_i emete inu_i piruara tsa*
animal=PL.MS exist 3PL.MS skin hair

‘Animals have skin hair’

(Lit. As for animals, their skin hair exists)

Stassen’s topic possession

Existential locative: [PSSOR_{LOC} *emete* PSSUM_{NP}]

(6) a. *awiri* *kuriki* *emete* *na=ka*
how.much money exist 2SG=LOC
'How much money do you have?'
(Lit. How much money exists on you?)

b. *Mijiri=ka* *emete* *tapira* *tsu*
Miguel=LOC existe sachavaca carne
b1: 'Miguel has sachavaca meat'
b2: 'There is tapir meat at Miguel's'

c. *tša* *ritama-kuara* *emete* *wepe-nan* *yumitawara*
1SG.FS village-INE exist one-only teacher
c1: 'My community has only one teacher'
c2: 'In my community there is only one teacher'

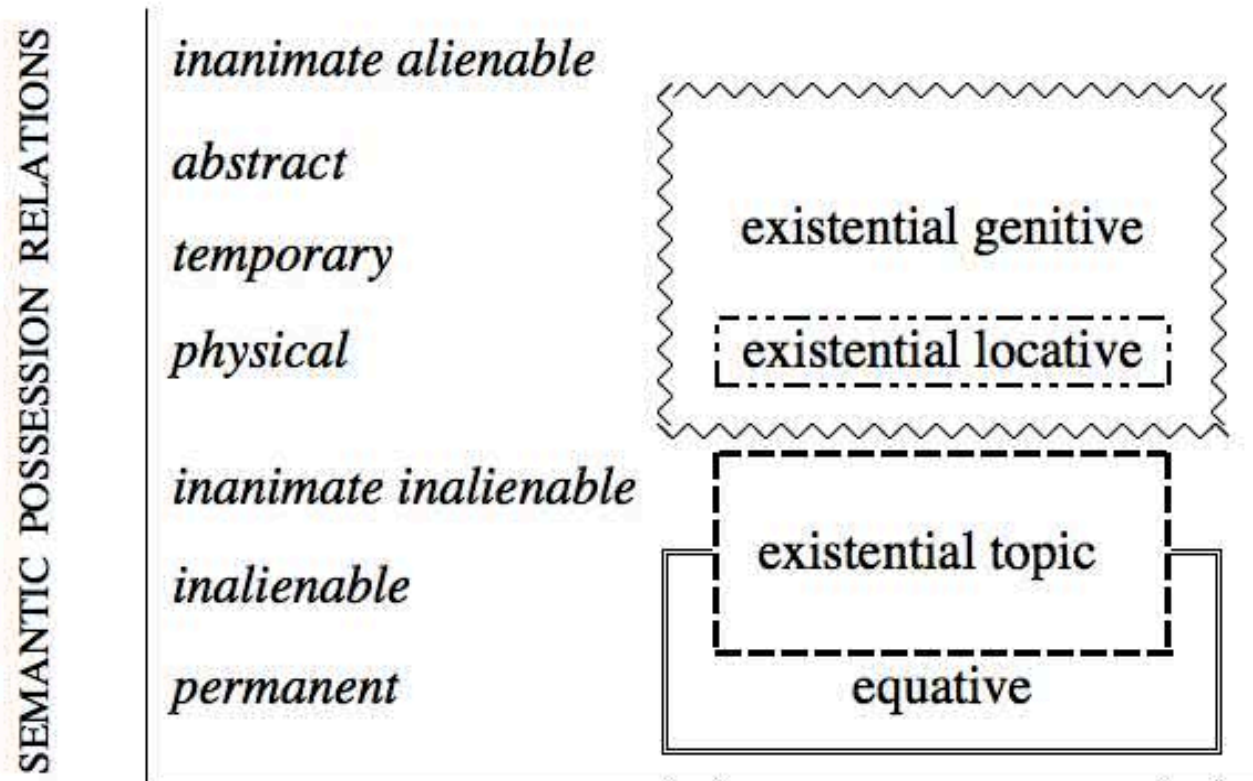
Stassen's locative possession

Correlations between construction types and possessive relations

(adapted from Heine 1997)

CONSTRUCTION TYPES	POSSESSIVE SEMANTIC RELATIONS
Locative schema	physical and temporary possession
Existential schema (genitive, loc, topic)	permanent & inalienable possession
Comitative schema	physical, temporary & alienable possession
Equative schema (juxtaposition)	all but physical possession

Semantic possessive relations and construction types (Vallejos 2018)



Final remarks

- Did I produce something for multiple audiences?
- Can this grammar serve language revitalization efforts?

¡Gracias!

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