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Uncovering Patterns of Verbal Prefixes in Kawaiwete Transitive Sentences

BACKGROUND

Introduction:

- Kawaiwete (ISO code: kyz) is a language spoken by around 2,200 people in the Xingu Indigenous Land in Mato Grosso, Brazil (Lapierre, 2021).
- Language documentation is important for
 - preserving the language as the number of speakers decreases, and
 - expanding linguists' knowledge of the variation in the world's languages.
- Kawaiwete verbal prefixes show rare and unique interactions not well understood by previous field linguistics.

Background:

- Kawaiwete transitive sentences (i.e., sentences with a subject and object) tend to have relatively free word order and verbs must take one prefix (Dobson, 1988/2005).
- Kawaiwete grammar and word order encodes a 1>2>3 person hierarchy.
 - O When a first person 1sG argument ("I", "me") is the subject and a third person 3sg/3pl ("he", "she", "they") is the object, the hierarchy is **respected**.
 - O When 3sg/3pl arguments are the subject to a 1sg argument, the hierarchy is violated.
 - Equally ranked subjects and object respect the hierarchy.
 - In general, if the subject of the sentence is lower on the hierarchy than the object, the verb takes the **special rprefix** to encode this.
- The a- prefix *tends* to be used for 1sg subjects.

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Verb	Subject		Object
a-esat	je	miara	jemiwara
a-see	1	jaguar	eating
(1) 'I see the jaguar eating.'			

The w- prefix tends to be used for 3sg/3pl subjects.

Subject		Object	Verb
kujã	kunumi	'nga	w-esat
woman	child	he (male speech)	w-see
(2) 'The woman sees the child.' (male speech)			

The r- prefix *tends* to be used when the object directly precedes the verb.

Object	Verb	Subject	
je	r-esak	miara	
	r-see	jaguar	
(3) 'The jaguar sees me.'			

The rules of thumb above do not fully describe all the variation in the verbal prefixes.

Research Questions:

- What describes the variation between a-, w- and r- verbal prefixes?
- When free word order allows for multiple verbal constructions, which are grammatically correct?

r- Prefix

Pronouns Always Respect the 1>2>3 Hierarchy:

- The 1sg pronoun always precedes a 3sg/3pl pronoun.
- Word order must change to allow for this.
- The r- prefix is used iff the object directly precedes the verb.

Person Hierarchy Violations:

- The person hierarchy is **violated** when the sentence's subject is lower on the 1>2>3 hierarchy than the object (e.g. 3^{rd} person subject and 1^{st} person object, written 3 > 1).
- When the hierarchy is violated, the prefix r- must be used and the object must be placed before the verb.
- The pronoun order must still respect the 1>2>3 hierarchy.

Object	Verb	Subject
je	r-esak	'nga
	r-see	him (male speech)
(4) 'He sees me.' (male speech)		

• The r- prefix **must** be used for 3 > 1 sentences. No other construction is grammatically correct.

Optional r- Prefixation in 3 > 3 Sentences:

r- may **optionally** be used for 3rd person subjects and objects, if the object precedes the verb.

Object	Subject	Verb	
akusia	'nga	r-esak	
agouti	him (male speech)	r-see	
(5) The agouti sees him			

TOPICALIZATION

General:

Topicalization allows a speaker to move the object to the front of the sentence, **emphasizing it** in the sentence.

Topicalization in 3 > 1 sentences:

- One **exception** to the person hierarchy:
- Topicalized 3rd person objects can be **fronted**,
 - though the sentence's constituents still violate the 1>2>3 hierarchy.
- Thus, the r- prefix must still be used and the 1sg pronoun must be placed before the verb.

Topic (Subject)	Object	Verb
miara	je	r-esak
jaguar	1	r-see
(6) 'The jaguar sees me.' (same meaning as sentence 3)		

Topicalization in 1 > 3 sentences:

- Topicalized 3rd person objects can still be fronted, but may not directly precede the verb, since objects can only directly precede the verb if the verb takes r-.
- The verbal prefix varies since the meaning is unambiguous.

Topic (Object)	Subject	Verb
miara jemiwara	je	w-esak
jaguar eating		w-see
(7) 'I see the jaguar eating.' (same meaning as sentence 1)		

Pronouns may not be topicalized; in sentences with only pronouns, je 1sg always precedes 'nga 3sg.

1 > 3 Freedom of Agreement

- Since r- is used in situations of hierarchy violation, in 1 > 3 transitive sentences, there is **no ambiguity** about the role of the constituents.
- This allows us to use either the a- 1sg or the w- 3sg/3pl prefix, as it is syntactically unambiguous that 1sg is the subject and 3sg/3pl is the object.

Verb	Subject	Object	
w-esat	je	'nga	
w-see	1	him (male speech)	
(8) 'I see him.' (male speech)			

- Similarly, for topicalized 1 > 3 sentences, there is no ambiguity about the role of the constituents since the rprefix is not used.
- This allows the verb to agree with either constituent, depending on what the speaker wants to emphasize.

Topic (Object)	Subject	Verb
miara	je	w-esak
jaguar	1	w-see
(9) 'I see the jaguar.'		

DISCUSSION AND FUTURE CONSIDERATIONS

Discussion:

- The results show that Kawaiwete verbal prefixes pattern differently based on whether the sentence's subject and object follow or violate the 1>2>3 person hierarchy.
- 1st person constituents precede 3rd person constituents.
- If the hierarchy is **violated**, then the verb **must take the r**prefix and the object must directly precede the verb.
- If the hierarchy is **respected**, then the verb **may choose to** agree with either constituent since doing so does not result in syntactic ambiguity.
- Third-person non-pronoun constituents may be topicalized and moved to the front of the sentence, if the previous two constraints are respected.

Future Considerations:

- The results here **only draw conclusions** between 1st and 3rd person pronouns.
- How do the prefixation patterns differ with second person constituents?
- Do the following prefixation rules apply to sentences containing a 1PL plural pronoun?

FOR DETAILS ON THE LANGUAGE DOCUMENTATION PROCESS, PLEASE VISIT "PANÃRA AND KAWAIWETE LANGUAGE DOCUMENTATION PROJECT" BY MADDY GRASSY, DAOMING LIU, AND ALISON VAN SHAAR

References:

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