

Yakkha: markedness and neutralization

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Yakkha verbs

We consider four forms: the infinitive, the negative converb, the 3SG subject past tense form (with a clitic =*na*), and the 3SG subject + 3SG object past tense form (also with =*na*). For reasons that we cannot go into here, we should treat the 3SG>3SG marker as consisting of two suffixes /a+u/ underlyingly. The 3SG>3SG form is for obvious reasons absent for intransitive verbs.

The transcriptions are given in slightly stricter IPA.

| Infinitive | NEG.CVB | 3SG.PST | 3SG>3SG.PST | Gloss |
|---------------------|------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| waʔma | měwaʔle | wajana | wana | 'wear' |
| soʔma | mensoʔle | sojana | sona | 'look at' |
| piʔma | membɪʔle | pjana | pina | 'give' |
| cama | menʒale | cajana | cona | 'eat' |
| ama | měale | ajana | | 'descend' |
| sima | mensile | sjana | | 'die' |
| lapma | mělaple | labana | labuna | 'seize' |
| apma | měaple | abana | abuna | 'come' |
| jokma | mějokle | jogana | joguna | 'search' |
| p ^h aʔma | memp ^h atle | p ^h atana | p ^h atuna | 'help' |
| keʔma | menʒetle | ketana | ketuna | 'bring up' |
| liʔma | mělitte | litana | lituna | 'plant' |
| t ^h uʔma | ment ^h uʔle | t ^h urana | t ^h uruna | 'sew' |
| poʔma | memboʔle | porana | poruna | 'topple' |
| c ^h uma | menc ^h ule | c ^h usana | c ^h usuna | 'shrink' |
| jama | mějale | jasana | jasuna | 'be able (to do)' |

Reconstruct, as much as you can, the paradigm for the following infinitives:

- *cima* 'cool down'
- *cokma* 'do'
- *hoʔma* 'crumble, fall apart'

Yamphu verbs

This is a very artificially constructed dataset from the related language Yamphu. The patterns are similar to those of Yakkha, and will perhaps help you make more sense of the latter. The forms given are again the infinitive, as well as two negative non-past forms: the 1PL inclusive subject and the 1PL exclusive subject. You will need to make an additional generalization about the distribution of the suffixes.

| Infinitive | 1PL.INCL | 1PL.EXCL | Gloss |
|------------|----------|-------------|-----------------|
| apma | abini | abiŋmani | 'come' |
| kepma | kebini | kebiŋmani | 'stick' |
| kʰa:kma | kʰa:gini | kʰa:giŋmani | 'scrape throat' |
| tʰeʔma | tʰeʔni | tʰeduŋmani | 'lift' |
| hæ:ʔma | hæ:ʔni | hæ:duŋmani | 'bite' |
| leʔma | ledini | lediŋmani | 'be brief' |
| siʔma | siʔni | sit:uŋmani | 'hit' |

Considering what you have been able to figure out about Yamphu, reconstruct as much as you can of the the paradigms of the following verbs:

- *ʔokma* 'find'
- *triʔma* 'be contrary'

The data also attests patterns exemplified by *asiʔ* 'previously' ~ *asiʔ-em-ba* 'before'. How do they fit in with the previous data?