A digital sketch grammar of Yawarana

0.0.3.draft2

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2022

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Phonetics and phonology

2.1 Segmental phonetics and phonemes

The consonant phonemes of Yawarana are shown in Table 2.1, vowel phonemes in Table 2.2.

2.1.1 Consonants

· minimal pairs

2.1.1.1 /h/

· glottal fricative insertion after dipththongs

· glottal fricative insertion before occlusives

Table 2.1: Consonant phonemes

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
occlusive	/p/	/t/	/ʧ/	/k/	
nasal	/m/	/n/	/ɲ/		
fricative		/s/			/h/
liquid		/r/			
glide	/w/		/j/		

Table 2.2: Vowel phonemes

	front	central	back
close	/i/	/ɨ/	/u/
mid	/e/	/ə/	/o/
open		/a/	

2.1.2   Vowels

- · minimal pairs

- · vowel plots

- · what about vowel length?

- · variation in *ë*/*o*/*e* and *ï*/*i*/*u*

- · dipththongs

    – /ai/, /aw/, /ei/... test combinations

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· some constructions need a different word class, no meaning change per se

Chapter 4

Nouns

4.1 Pronouns

The personal pronouns of Yawarana are shown in Table 4.1. The system shows the usual Cariban inclusive/exclusive (1+2 and 1+3) distinction, although *ejnë* '1+2PRO' does not have the /k/ found elsewhere in the family. Note that *-kontomo* 'PL' appears to usually be restricted to verbs, while *-santomo* is found with third person pronouns and demonstratives.

Reduced forms of the first and second person pronouns occur as proclitics attaching to nouns to indicate possessor (Section 4.2.4), attached to verbs to indicate subject or object (described in Chapter 6), or attached to postpositions to indicate the object of the postposition (described in Section 8.2):

(1) Yawarana
     uyïwïj yawë usenejkari sukuri jwama
     u-y-ïwïj   *yawë u-senejka-ri sukuri jwama*
     1-LK-house LOC 1-stay-IPFV silently ***
     'I silently stay in my house.'

(2) Yawarana
     mënai wëjkase chijpë wararë
     më-nai-∅ wëjka-se chi-jpë wara=rë
     2-do-IPFV fall-PST COP-PST like=EMP
     'se cayó tu cosa'

Table 4.1: Pronouns

	SG	PL
1	*wïrë*	
1+2		*ejnë*
1+3		*ana*
2	*mërë*	*monkontomo*
3	*tëwï*	*tëwïsantomo*

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Table 4.2: Demonstrative pronouns / articles

	ANIM		INAN	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
PROX	*kërë*	*kërësantomo*	*eni*	*enijne*
medial? near?	*michi* / *misi*	*michisantomo* / *michitomo*	*mërë*	
DIST	*mëjkï*	*mëkïsantomo*	*mëjnï*	*mëjnijne*

(3) Yawarana
    mëyaruwari, mëpëkëpene
    më-yaruwa-ri më-pëkëpene
    2-laugh-IPFV   2-alone
    'You just laugh.'

(4) Yawarana
    moyochi
    moyochi
    spider.(sp.)
    'la araña'

The third person demonstrative pronouns or articles are shown in Table 4.2.
None of them have shortened, phonologically bound counterparts.

· nominal interrogative pronouns:

  – *anikï* 'who' (with *-santomo*)

  – *ati* 'what' (no plural)

  – *ëjkë* 'which? (INAN)'

4.2   Nominal inflection

Nouns in Yawarana may bear suffixes marking their possession status (Section 4.2.1), number (Section 4.2.2), and nominal past tense (Section 4.2.3). Possessed nouns may bear a person prefix, or the linker *y-* (Section 4.2.4).

4.2.1   Suffixes for possessed and non-possessed nouns

In the possession construction in Yawarana, the possessor noun occurs immediately preceding the possessed noun, which is the head of the possession phrase. Alternatively, the possessor can appear as a prefix on the possessed noun. The possessor noun is never marked (for instance, with genitive case), but the possessed noun (the head) is often marked for being possessed by a suffix; an unambiguous label for this counterpart of the genitive is pertensive (**dixon2010basic**). The choice of suffix is lexically conditioned; while most nouns take *-ri* 'PERT', some take *-ti*. Unpossessed nouns generally are unmarked, but some 15 nouns bear the suffix *-të* 'NPERT' when they appear without a possessor.

Examples (5-8) illustrate the possible patterns of markedness for nouns when possessed and unpossessed. The vast majority of nouns in our corpus are unmarked when unpossessed, but when possessed the suffix *-ri* 'PERT' occurs (5). A handful of nouns is marked with *-ri/-ti* 'PERT' when possessed and with *-të* 'NPERT' when not possessed (6). Another handful is unmarked when possessed and marked with *-të* 'NPERT' when not possessed (7). The fourth logical category, where neither possession or non-possession is marked, contains very few members (only one attested so far). For these nouns, the difference is marked only by the presence or absence of a possessive prefix or free-form possessor (8).

(5) Nouns that take a suffix only when possessed:

akajra-ri	'X's bow'	*akajra*	'bow'
y-amaka-ri	'X's yucca'	*amaka*	'yucca'
y-ántë-ri	'X's fishhook'	*antë*	'fishhook'
y-ateri-ri	'X's garden/field'	*ateri*	'garden/field'
ënu-ru	'X's eye'	*ënu*	'eye'
y-ëpi-ri	'X's medicine'	*ëpi*	'medicine'

(6) Nouns that take one suffix when possessed and another when unpossessed:

yë-ri	'X's tooth'	*yë-të*	'tooth'
pata-ri	'X's place'	*pata-të*	'(part of name) San Juan de Manapiare'
y-ese-ti	'X's name'	*ese-të*	'name'
y-ase-tï	'X's cord'	*ase-të*	'cord'

(7) Nouns that take a suffix only when unpossessed:

yëjpë	'X's bone'	*yëjpë-të*	'bone'
petï	'X's thigh'	*petï-të / pej-të*	'thigh'
y-aponi	'X's stool'	*apon-të*	'stool'

(8) Nouns that never take a suffix, whether possessed or unpossessed:

i-jmëy	'his egg'	*ëjmëy*	'egg'

4.2.2   Number suffixes

There are three plural suffixes that can occur on nouns, apparently freely interchangeable. What conditions the choice of suffix is not clear as of yet.

· *-kontomo*

(9) Yawarana
waijtatomo ëjwenakase
waijta-tomo   ëj-wenaka-se
mouse-PL   DETRZ-vomit-PST
'The mice vomited.'

Table 4.3: Possessive prefixes on nouns

	_C	_V
1	*u-*	*u-y-*
2	*më-*	*më-y-*
3	*i-*	*t-*

(10)   Yawarana
       tipapëjsejne waijtajne
       tipa-pëj-se-jne   *waijta-jne*
       go.in.group-PLUR-PST-PL mouse-PL
       'the mice went away.'

4.2.3   Nominal tense

· *-jpë* 'PST'

4.2.4   Argument prefixes

Person prefixes on nouns are conditioned by the initial segment (Table 4.3). C-initial nouns take *i-* '3', and first and second person are bare *u-* '1' and *më-* '2'. On V-initial nouns, third person is marked with *t-* '3', and the first and second person prefixes combine with the linker *y-* 'LK'. Some examples are shown in (11-15).

(11)   Yawarana
       aaa usukuru morone ta wïrë usujta ta ne
       aaa u-suku-ru   morone ta-∅   wïrë u-sujta-∅   ta   ne
       ah   1-urine-PERT hurting say-IPFV 1PRO 1-urinate-IPFV like INTS
       'My urine hurts, I will urinate.'

(12)   Yawarana
       uyïwïj yawë usenejkari sukuri jwama
       u-y-ïwïj   yawë u-senejka-ri sukuri   jwama
       1-LK-house LOC   1-stay-IPFV   silently ***
       'I silently stay in my house.'

(13)   Yawarana
       mënai wëjkase chijpë wararë
       më-nai-∅ wëjka-se chi-jpë   wara=rë
       2-do-IPFV fall-PST   COP-PST like=EMP
       'se cayó tu cosa'

Table 4.4: Archaic possessive prefixes on nouns

	_C	_V
1	*u-*	*u-y-*
2	*a-*	*a-y-*
3	*i-*	*t-*

(14) Yawarana
tïwïj yaka waraijtokomo manikijpë
t-ïwïj   yaka waraijtokomo manikijpë
3-house ALL   man   ***
'He went to his house.'

(15) Yawarana
pïrarë ti iwenaru wejsapë
pïrarë   ti   i-wena-ru   wej-sapë
nothing HSY 3-vomit-PERT COP-PFV
'Their vomit was not there.'

The linker also occurs with (pro-)nominal possessors:

(16) Yawarana
ejnë yemekunu
ejnë   yemekunu
1+2PRO ***
'la mano de uno'

There are some nouns that take an apparently older old second person *a-* '2' (Table 4.4).

4.2.5   Root suppletion in nominal possession

· 'father':

  – 1 *papa*
  – 2 *ëmë* / *omo* / *ëmo* (?)
  – 3 *imu*
  – NP *yïmï*

candidates:

· 'arrow'

· 'house'

- 'poop'

- 'mother'

- 'hammock string'

4.3   Nominal Derivational Morphology

- V → N

    – *-ri* 'action NMLZ'
    – *-jpë* 'PST.ACNMLZ'
        * also 'PST.ABS.NMLZ'
    – *-në* 'INF' or 'generic action nominalizer'
        * *wënkej-në* from transitive *wënkepï* 'forget'
    – *-ni* 'AGTNMLZ'
    – *n-V-ri* only with *yeme* 'eat (fruits, eggs, soup)'
    – *-sapë* 'ABS.NMLZ' (contrast with *-jpë* 'PST.ACNMLZ')
    – *-topo* 'CIRC.NMLZ'
    – *-pïnï* 'PRIV.NMLZ'

- Adv → N

    – *-mï* 'NMLZ'
    – *-ano* 'NMLZ'
    – absence of *-ato* 'NMLZ'

- Postp → N

    – *-ano* 'NMLZ'

- N → N

    – discuss *pïjkë* and *sere-kë* 'manioc-DIM' , reference sections
    – *-imë*: e.g., *wara* 'woman' *waraimë* 'married woman' (dictionary)

- What about *-jpë* 'PST.ACNMLZ' on AD forms? Does it derive a noun?

    – histyarirdi-0592 *pata penarëjpë*

Chapter 5

Verbal roots and stems

5.1 Classes of verbs

Yawarana verb roots can be divided into those yielding an intransitive stem, and those yielding a transitive stem. The only inflectional criterion distinguishing the two classes is the third person prefix *ta-*, which can only occur on transitive stems. Thus, transitive *yawanka* 'kill' can take *ta-* (17a), but intransitive *yaruwa* 'laugh' does not (**??**).

(17) a. Yawarana
          iyawë chipëkë, tayawankase
          i-yawë chi-∅=pëkë   ta-yawanka-se
          3-LOC   COP-IPFV=about   3P-kill-PST
          'por eso, la mató'

   : -nëpëkë and -tëpëkë)

   · detransitive

   · ditransitive

   · "n-adding"

   · accidental lability

   · ijtëri

   · Note that all transitive verbs are consonant-initial, whether etymologically or not because *y-* 'LK' is added to all vowel-initial roots

   · the *y-* disappears when preceded by the detransitivizer

5.2 Verbalizing suffixes

None of these are productive, although there are many lexemes derived with them.

Table 5.1: Lexemes derived with *-ta*

Base	Derivation

5.2.1   Intransitive

5.2.1.1   -ta / -na

-ta 'VBZ.INTR' derives intransitive verbs.

5.2.1.2   *-pamï* / *-mamï*

5.2.2   Transitive

5.2.2.1   -ka

-ka 'VBZ.TR' derives transitive verbs.

5.2.2.2   *-jtë / -të*

· benefactive

5.2.2.3   *-ma / -pa*

· causative

5.3   Valency-changing affixes

5.3.1   Detransitivizing prefixes

1. *s-*

2. *ëj-*

3. *at-*

5.3.2   Transitivizing suffixes

· *-ma*

·

· does *-ka* 'VBZ.TR' go on intransitive verb stems?

5.3.3   Ditransitivizing suffixes

· *-po*

5.4   Meaning-changing suffixes

· DES

· PLUR

· CESS

Chapter 6

Verbal inflection

6.1 Person prefixes

Verbs are inflected for person with a set of prefixes, shown in Table 6.1. First and second person prefixes show ergative alignment, expressing s and P. Intransitive verbs are not overtly inflected for third person, while transitive verbs show an optional *ta-* in 3>3 scenarios.

- one attested case of *ta-* '3>3' on the lexical verb of a *-pëkë* construction w/ 2nd person A on AUX

    - Ø- '3P' with transitive verbs with 1A or 2A

- one example of *më-* '2' '2A' on imperative verb

- **t-V-se* is no more — the *t-* is gone, except in lexicalized items

6.2 Main clause tense-aspect-mood-polarity suffixes

Verbs in main clauses are inflected for TAMP with a set of suffixes, shown in Table 6.2. They are discussed in Sections 6.2.1 to 6.2.5.

Misc:

- *-se=pano* 'PST=CONCL'

- *-saj=pano* 'PFV=CONCL'

- *-sarë=pano* 'IMN=CONCL'

Table 6.1: Person marking prefixes on verbs

	INTR	TR
1	*u-*	*u-*
2	*më-*	*më-*
1+2	*ej(n)-*	*ej(n)-*
3	∅	*ta-*

Table 6.2: Verbal TAM suffixes

Suffix	Function
-ri	imperfective
-jpë	past
-se	past perfective
-sapë	perfect
-sarë	imminent future
-nëpëkë	PROG.INTR
pëkë	PROG.TR
-tojpano	FUT
(*-tojpe*)	FUT
-ja	NEG
-se-mï	'obligation'
-në	impersonal S
-topo	

Table 6.3: Non-declarative suffixes

Suffix	Function
-jrama	PROH
-i	JUSS
*-kë	-të-kë*	IMP / IMP.PL
*-ta	-tantë-kë*	IMP.MOT / IMP.MOT.PL

6.2.1   *-ri*

- allomorphy:

    - *-∅* 'IPFV', phonetic loss

    - *-ru* 'IPFV', assimilation

    - what about *-rï* 'IPFV'? looks like the most conservative form

- diachrony: *-ri* 'ACNNMLZ'

- pluralization?

- combines with *-jra* 'NEG; PRIV':

(18)   Yawarana
　　　wïrë yaruwarijra###
　　　wïrë　yaruwa-ri-jra
　　　1PRO laugh-IPFV-NEG
　　　'I don't laugh.'

6.2.1.1 Semantics

· not specified for tense, just imperfective aspect:

- – past (19)
- – future (20)
- – gnomic/present? (21)

(19) Yawarana
irëjpë tëwï waijtatomo nwajtëri
irëjpë tëwï waijta-tomo nwajtë-ri
then 3PRO mouse-PL dance-IPFV
'Then the mice were dancing.'

(20) Yawarana
¿ kwase ejnë yaruwari?
kwase ejnë yaruwa-ri
how 1+2PRO laugh-IPFV
'How will we laugh?'

(21) a. Yawarana
wïrë yaruwarijra###
wïrë yaruwa-ri-jra
1PRO laugh-IPFV-NEG
'I don't laugh.'

b. Yawarana
uyïwïj yawë usenejkari sukuri jwama
u-y-ïwïj   yawë u-senejka-ri sukuri jwama
1-LK-house LOC 1-stay-IPFV silently ***
'I silently stay in my house.'

6.2.2   *-jpë*

· allomorphy: none?

· diachrony: from *-jpë* 'PST.ACNMLZ'

6.2.3   *-se*

· allomorphy: *-se*/*-che* 'PTCP; SUP'

· diachrony: from *-se* 'PTCP; SUP'

6.2.4   *-sapë*

· diachrony: from *-sapë* 'ABS.NMLZ'

· distribution: only occurs on the copula?

· allomorphy: *-sapë* and *-saj*

· negation: with *-ja* 'NEG' on lexical verb (22-24)

(22)   Yawarana
irë wejtane mujyampe patakaja wejsapë
irë   wej-tane   mujyam-pe   pataka-ja   wej-sapë
DEM COP-CNCS pregnancy-ESS take.out-NEG COP-PFV
'a pesar de eso no salió embarazada'

(23)   Yawarana
apatakaja pïnïka wejsapë
apataka-ja   pïnïka   wej-sapë
come.out-NEG PROB   COP-PFV
'tal vez no salió (embarazada)'

(24)   Yawarana
tayakïjtëja pïnika wejsapë
tayakïjtëja pïnika wej-sapë
***   PROB   COP-PFV
'tal vez no se acostó con ella'

· what about (25)? is that existential negation?

(25)   Yawarana
pïrarë ti iwenaru wejsapë
pïrarë   ti   i-wena-ru   wej-sapë
nothing HSY 3-vomit-PERT COP-PFV
'Their vomit was not there.'

6.2.5 *-sarë*

· once a converb, now 'imminent future'

(26) Yawarana
irëjpë ta ti ta konopo wejsarë konopo wejsarë

irëjpë ta-∅   ti   ta   konopo wej-sarë konopo wej-sarë
then   say-IPFV HSY   like rain   COP-IMN   rain   COP-IMN

'Then they said: "it's raining, it's raining".'

(27) Yawarana
moyochi tasarë, moyochi chipokono kojpaye pïnika warotari

moyochi   ta-sarë   moyochi   chi-∅=poko-no   kojpaye   pïnika   warota-ri
spider.(sp.) say-IMN   spider.(sp.) COP-IPFV=about-NMLZ night.ADVZ   PROB   work-IPFV

'le dicen araña, tal vez porque la araña trabaja de noche'

6.3 Subordinate Clause markers

· Nominalizations

  – *-ri* 'ACNNMLZ'
  – *-jpë* 'PST.ACNMLZ'
  – *-topo* 'CIRC.NMLZ'

· Adverbial Clauses (S/A)

  – *-se* 'supine'
  – *-tane* 'concessive'
  – *-sarë* 'converb'
  – *-yapo* 'neg.purp'
  – others?

· Nominalization + postposition (S/P)

  – *-∅* 'IPFV' *yawë* 'simult'
  – *-∅* 'IPFV' *pe* 'ESS' 'when'
  – *-saj* 'ABS.NMLZ' *yawë* 'simult'
  – *-tojpe* 'purpose'
  – (-jpë)=tërë 'after'
  – on auxiliary: *-ri* + *po* 'CTRF'

· not attested:

  – *se* 'DES'
  – *-ajtawï* 'if when'

6.4   Number

- *-ri=kontomo*
- *saj=kontomo*
- *-pëj-se=jne*
- *-se=jne=kontomo*
- *-se=jne=pano* (*-se=jne=kontom=pano*?)
- *-të-kë* for the imperative
- what about *-i* 'JUSS'?

6.5   Copula / Auxiliary

- there is stem allomorphy: *chi, wej*
- *mare* 'REL.INAN' and *manikï* 'REL.ANIM'

Chapter 7

Adverbs

- copredicative function (resultative, depictive), (S/P pivot)

- also adverbial modification (S/A pivot)

- no person inflection

7.1   Inflection

- negation with *-jra* 'ɴᴇɢ; ᴘʀɪᴠ'

- plural with *-jnë* 'ᴘʟ'?

7.2   Simple adverbs

7.3   Derived adverbs

Morphemes deriving adverbs:

- *-pe* 'ᴇss'

- *-re* 'ᴀᴅᴠᴢ'

    - *-ye* 'ᴀᴅᴠᴢ'
    - vowel change?

- *-rë*

- potentially *-se, -ke, -ne*

- formatives & etymology

Table 7.1: Adverbs formed with *-re/-ye*

-re	*-ye*
aponore 'narrowly'	*mëtëjye* 'thin'
chipire 'yellow'	*chiramujye* 'mangy'
chitënore 'whole'	*chirimujye* 'moldy'
kojpayere 'early in the morning'	*kojpaye* 'at night'
korore 'always'	*pekuye* 'full'
këmure 'purulent'	*pijye* 'fat'
këyare 'alive'	*potijye* 'smelly'
mesujre 'bloody'	*pëjye* 'bent'
mesure 'bloody'	*rajye* 'sour'
nakire 'thirsty'	*romoye* 'downriver'
pëjre 'bent'	*takiye* 'full'
tajchiwëre 'tangled up'	*tënuyaye* 'sensible'
tajwere 'sweet'	*wanëmojye* 'round'
tapasajre 'muddy'	*wanamojye* 'round'
tapire 'red'	*yësajye* 'sour'
tasujre 'wet'	
turupore 'voluntarily'	
tënkëyare 'competent'	
tënsamire 'jealous'	
tëpujre 'clingy'	
tëpîre 'flowery'	
waimure 'speaking'	
wajyare 'happy'	
yëmïre 'hungry'	

7.3.1   *-re*

7.4   Nominalizing adverbs

1. *-ano* 'NMLZ'

2. *-mï* 'NMLZ'

Chapter 8

Postpositions

8.1 Defining the category

· monomorphemic vs bipartite (vs 'stacked')

8.2 Inflectional morphology

Postpositions take the same inflectional prefixes as nouns (Section 4.2.1).
Also:

· *-kontomo* 'PL'

· *ësë-*

8.3 Locative Postpositions

· clear bipartite Ground+Path

· unproductive Bipartite X+Path?

· other forms

· *poye* 'above'

· *po* 'locative'

Table 8.1: Person marking prefixes on postpositions

1	*u-*
2	*më-*
3	*i-/t-*

Table 8.2: Locative postpositions

	ALL	LOC
inside	*yaka*	*yawë*
aquatic	?	?

- *yatë* 'locative'

- *yapo* 'negation'?

- allative:

(28) Yawarana
      tichikimuru, peti warë patakasapë Yakucho pana
      tichikimuru peti-∅   warë pataka-sapë   yakucho   pana
      ***   leg-PERT thus take.out-PFV Ayacucho DAT
      'su rodilla, su pierna, salió (llaga) hacia Ayacucho'

8.4   Nonlocative Oblique Postpositions

- *pana* 'DAT'

- *ke* 'INS'

- *wanai*

8.5   Misc

- *chi* 'COP' combines with *yawë* 'LOC; COND; CTMP', sometimes spelled *chi yawë*, sometimes *chawë*.

- syllable reduction

- postpositions on bare verbs? (e.g. *wejtawë*)

Chapter 9

Particles, ideophones and interjections

9.1   Particles

Three kinds of particles elsewhere in the family:

1. second position (modals, focus)

2. phrasal (focus)

3. clause boundary

· prosodic effects?

9.2   Ideophones

· constructions with *warë* 'thus' (example with *pïtï* 'paint')

9.3   Interjections

· kind of particle?

Chapter 10

Negation

· probably relevant morphemes:

- *-ja* 'NEG'
- *-jra* 'NEG; PRIV'
- *-jnari* 'NEG'
- *-jrama* 'PROH'
- *-kempïnirë* 'PTCP.NZR.GNO:NEG'
- *pïnirë* 'nothing'
- *pïrarë* 'nothing'
- *-yapo* 'neg.purp'

Chapter 11

Auxiliarized constructions

claim: everything can take an auxiliary, except *-kë* 'ɪᴍᴘ'

11.1   Defining auxiliaries

11.2   Main clauses

· multiple auxiliaries

11.3   Subordinate clauses

· *chi=pëkë*

· *chi=yawë/chawë*

· *chi-ripo*

· *wej-tojpe*

Chapter 12

Phrases

Chapter 13

Nonverbal predications

Spike for PC:

- Nsubj + Npred: nominal (juxtaposition) predication. Limited in functional domains.
- Nsubj + COP + Adverbial (adverbs/postpositional phrases). Fairly unlimited.

Innovations:

- Nsubj + COP + Npred (S&M 2009)
- Nsubj + Adverbial
- Take functional approach, go through kinds of NVP & find constructions

    – Interrogation
    – Negation

- What are particles doing?
- What is word order doing?

Chapter 14

Simple verbal clauses

- order of arguments re: the verb (and each other)
- case marking patterns
- indexation
- clausal particles

Chapter 15

Questions

Chapter 16

Multiclausal

- argument of the matrix clause
- adverbial adjunct
- relative clause
- differences & similarities to simple verb clauses?
- order of arguments re: the verb (and each other)
- case marking patterns
- indexation
- clausal particles
- +mapping between matrix and subordinate

Chapter 17

Word order variation

Chapter 18

Pragmatically marked constructions

· participant nominalizations for pseudo-clefts

Chapter 19

Detransitive voice

- functions of DETRZ

  - antipassive
  - passive
  - reflexive
  - reciprocal
  - anticausative

- other strategies for removing participant:

  - *-se-mï* 'gnomic'
  - *-në* 'INF'

- what is not used for voice?

  - *-sapë*
  - participle