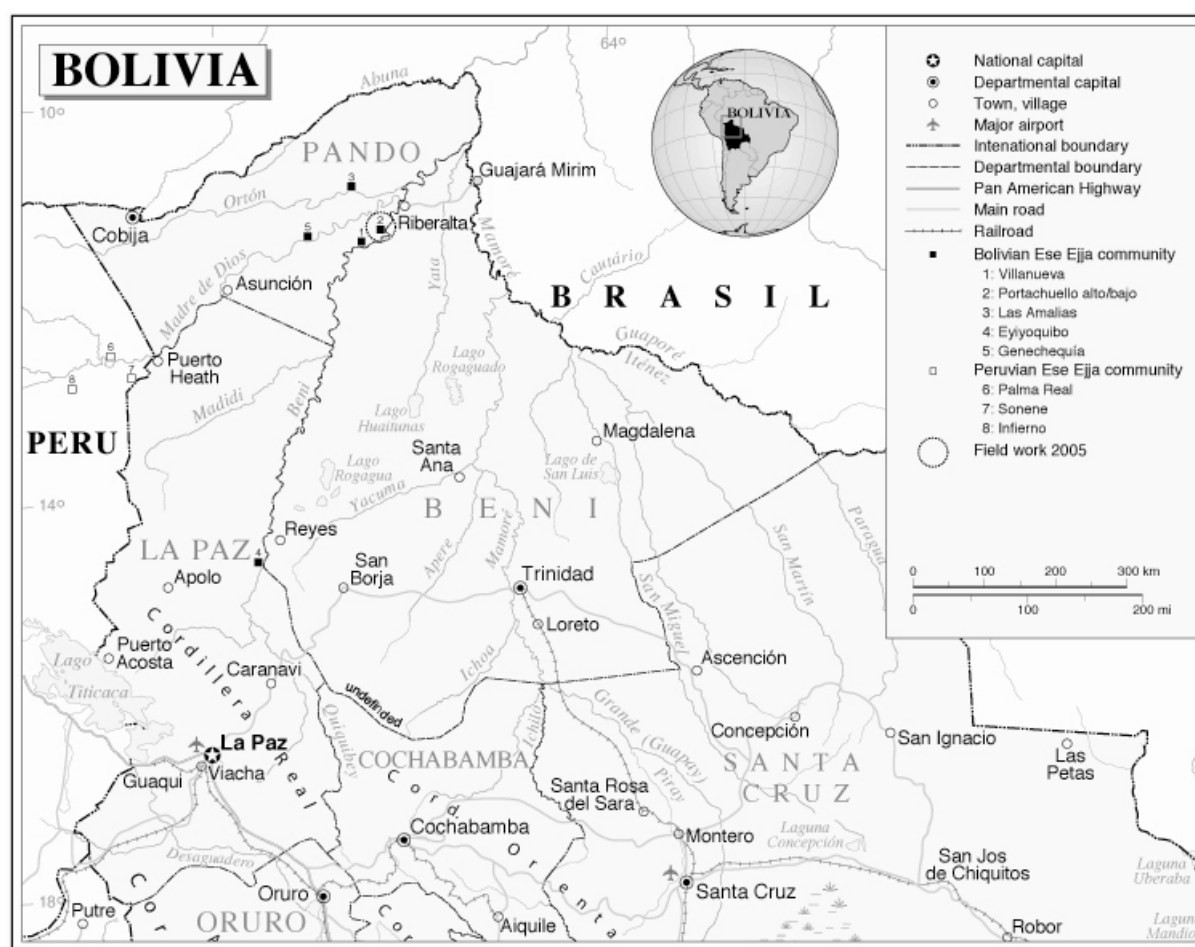


Double Object Constructions and –ka Suffix: Two Special Features of Ese Ejja (Tacana)

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1. Location, people and language

1.1. Geographic location



- 2 fieldworks in 2005 in Portachuelo Bajo (2 months);
- next fieldwork in the same community (5¹/₂ months)

1.2. Sociolinguistic data

- 1300 Ese Ejja in both Peru and Bolivia (Chavarría, 1996, Vuillermet, 2005)
- variation in one community in Peru
- better language vitality in Bolivia

1.3. The Tacana language family

- 4000 speakers in the Amazonian part of Bolivia (Crevels, 2002): Araona, Cavineña, Reyesano, Tacana, and Ese Ejja
- link to the Pano languages (Key: 1968; Girard: 1971)

2. Phonetics and Phonology

2.1 Consonants

	bilabial	alveolar dental	alveo- palatal	velar	labio- velar	glottal
occlusive	p	t	ch [tʃ]	K [k ~ q]	kw [kw ~ ^k w ~ ^g w ~ʔgw]	' [ʔ ~ ʔ ¹]
implosive	b [ɓ]	d [ɗ ~ ʔ ~ ʋ]				
fricative		s	sh [ʃ ~ ʃ ^j]	x [χ ~ x~ ç ~ xw]		j ² [h ~ fi]
nasal	m [m ^b ~ b~m]	n [n~d~n ^d]	ñ [ɲ]			
approx.	w		y [j]			

- free variation
- rare bilabial and alveolar voiceless implosives

2.2 Vowels

	front	back
high	i [i(:) ~ ɪ(:) ~ i̟(:) ~ i̠]	
mid	e [e(:) ~ ε(:) ~ ɛ(:)]	o [o(:) ~ ɔ(:) ~ ɔ̟(:) ~ ɔ̠]
low		a ³ [a(:) ~ ɑ(:) ~ ɑ̟(:) ~ ɑ̠]

- free variation
- 4-vowel-language (like 5% of the world languages)

2.3 Syllable structure, stress pattern

- (C)(G)V(G)
- intensity stress, sometimes combined with highness, on the penultimate syllable

¹ ʔ means the laryngalisation of the vowel phonological glottal.

² Can be confusing, but the orthography is logic from a bolivianist point of view, this sound in Bolivian Castellano corresponding to the Spanish jota <j>

³ It is classified as a back vowel, as it follows rather the same pattern as /o/ in morpho-phonology.

3. Main clause structure

3.1. Case marked ergative language

- A (agent-like argument) encoded with the suffix *-(y)a*
- U (unique) and P (patient-like) are zero-marked (see 1&2).

- (1) **UV** (SWAF.021)
Esho'i taaani.

Esho'i - \emptyset taaani.
NPF- child - \emptyset shout -PROG

The child is shouting.

- (2) **PAV** (SWAF.033)
Iñawewa winia kekwakani.

Iñawewa - \emptyset wini -a kekwa -ka -ani
dog - \emptyset bee -ERG bite -KA -PROG

Bees bite the dog.

3.2. UV/APV basic word order

- UV/APV as the unmarked word order, but rather flexible depending on the focus (3 vs 4)

- (3) **PV** (KBab.039)
[...shakakabewejo iñapowimaxe pa] epowi **ishikaninaje**.

[shakakabewe -jo iña -epowi -maxe pa] epowi ishi -ka -ani -naje
tree.sp -LOC squeeze -payuje -after EVID payuje drink -KA -PROG -PAST

... it is said that they were drinking payuje after it had in shakakabewe.

- (4) **VA** (KBab.040)
Ishikapokianinaje eseja anokwa eseja babakwa.

ishi -ka -pokia -ani -naje ese -ja ano -kwana ese -ja baba -kwana
drink -KA -be.used.to -PROG -PAST 1.pl.excl? -GEN grand.mother -PL 1.pl.excl? -GEN grand.parent -PL

Our grand mothers and our grand fathers, they were used to drinking some.

- obliques usually following the predicate (UVX, APX) but very flexible too

- (5) **ULVX** (SWAF.036)
Esho'i pya'ay **xanidoxojo** ani **akwi byaxe**.

e- sho'i pya'ay xani -doxo -jo ani akwi -byaxe
NPF- child also cave - inside -LOC be tree -on

The child is inside the hole on the tree.

- (6) **UVL** (SRad.013)
Oya kyapame ani oja **anojo**.

oya kya- pame ani oja ano -jo
3sg.ABS APF- good be 3sg.POSS grand.mother -LOC

She feels well at her grand mother's.

- copula subject C_s and copula complement C_c position may be inverted
- but no example of the copula complement (C_c) after the verb (as in Cavineña, Guillaume 2004: 98)

(7) C_sC_cC (BWAf.016)

Majoya oya **kyapame** kwanaje.
majoya oya kya- pame kwa -naje
then 3sg.ABS APF- good be -PAST

He felt good.

(8) C_cC_sC (BWAf.018)

Kyapame oya kwanaje.
kya- pame oya kwa -naje
APF- good 3sg.ABS be -PAST

He felt (very?)good.

3.3. Pronoun particularities

- pronoun only can appear as substitutes for [+human], or maybe [+animate]
- zero-anaphora-principle: S, A and P therefore often implicit (even for SPA)
- two sets of pronouns, but rare (absent!) from the corpus.

Independant/main clause	1	2	3
ABS	eya	miya	oya
ERG	eyaya	miyaya	owaya ⁴

Subordinate clause	1	2	3
ABS	e	mi ⁵	o
ERG	eya ⁶	miya	owa

(9) UV (BWAf.005)

Oya pokinaje.
oya poki -naje
3sg.ABS go -PAST

She went away.

(10) APV (KVid.014)

Jama xeya eyaya oya wanapwa.
jama xeya eya -ya oya wana -pwa
that's.why 1sg.ABS -ERG 3sg.ABS marry -R.PAST

That's why I married her.

⁴ /ojaja/ : [j] tends to alternate with [w] in the context of a back vowel.

⁵ Non attested, neither in the texts, nor on elicitation.

⁶ See footnote 5.

- (11) UV[APV] (SWAF.011)
 Ñawewa pya'ay kwijikwijiani ojaya owa zapato jyasowakajo.
 ñawewa pya'ay kwijikwijiji -ani ojaya_i o_i -a zapato jyasowa -ka -jo
 dog also be.on.all.fours -PROG 3sg.POSS 3sg -ERG shoe lift -INV -LOC

The dog_i is on all fours while he_i is on all fours.

4. Double absolutive construction

- no example of verb without valency-changing mechanism: any basic double abs. construction?
- T (Theme) and R (Receiver) both encoded as P (Patient like argument)
- meaning not to infer from the word order

- (12) ARTV (SWAF.003)
 Esho'ia ñawewa taxakaka bameekani.
 e- sho'i -a ñawewa_R -∅ taxakaka_T -∅ ba -mee -ka -ani
 NPF-child-ERG dog -∅ frog -∅ see -CAUS -KA -PROG

The child is showing (is making X see Y) the frog_T to the dog_R.
 (or, with a different context : *The child is showing the dog_T to the frog_R.*)

- (13) RAV? (elicitation)
 A'ya esho'ia taxakaka_T bameekani?
 a'ya e- sho'i -a oyataxakaka_T -∅ ba -mee -ka -ani
 INT NPF-child-ERG 3sg.ABS frog -∅ see -CAUS -KA -PROG

To whom is the child showing the frog ?
 (or, with a different context : *What is the child showing to the frog?*)

- if independent pronouns, only one at a time

- (14) (elicitation)
 Esho'ia oya taxakaka bameekani.
 e- sho'i -a oya taxakaka_T -∅ ba -mee -ka -ani
 NPF-child-ERG 3sg.ABS frog -∅ see -CAUS -KA -PROG

The child is showing it_T to the dog_R.

- (15) (elicitation)
 Esho'ia ñawewa oya bameekani.
 e- sho'i -a ñawewa_R -∅ oya ba -mee -ka -ani
 NPF-child-ERG dog -∅ 3sg.ABS see -CAUS -KA -PROG

The child is showing the frog_T to it_R.

- (16) (elicitation)
 *Esho'ia oya oya bameekani.
 e- sho'i -a oya oya ba -mee -ka -ani
 NPF-child-ERG 3sg.ABS 3sg.ABS see -CAUS -KA -PROG

**The child is showing it_T to it_R.*

5. –KA suffix

(17)

(18)

(19) \ftn Cuando sube su zapato, gatea su perrito.

(20)

Glose :

A : Agent-like argument ; ABS : ABSolutive ; APF : Adjective-prefix ; C : Copula ; C_c : Copula Complement ; C_s : Copula Subject ; CAUS : CAUSative ; ERG : Ergative ; LOC : Locative ; GEN : Genetive ; NPF : Noun-prefix ; P : Patient-like argument ; PROG : progressive ; R : Receiver ; T: Theme ; U : Unique argument ;

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