

Tense, Aspect and Mood in Awetí Verb-Paradigms: Analytic and Synthetic Forms

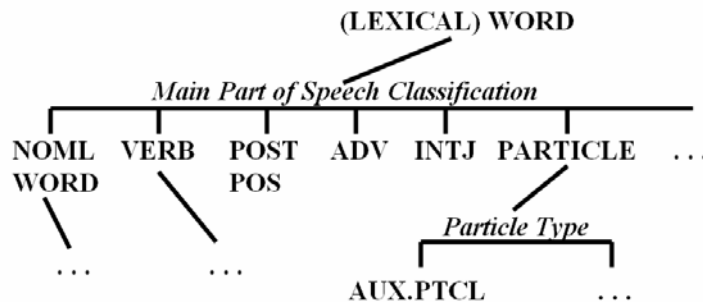
Sebastian Drude, Freie Universität Berlin / Museu P.E. Goeldi
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1. The Awetí and their language

130 Awetí in central Brazil, Xingú headwaters (neighbouring the Kuikuro and Trumai). Awetí is a Tupian language, a sub-family of its own, close to the well-known Tupí-Guaraní branch. My work among the Awetí started in 1998, the DOBES project funded by the Volkswagenstiftung is carried out together with Sabine Reiter under the responsibility of Hans-Heinrich Lieb since 2001.

2. Verbs in a Word-and-Paradigm Approach

Verbs are one class of *lexical words* (opposed to *word forms* that belong to lexical words).



Each lexical word has two components:

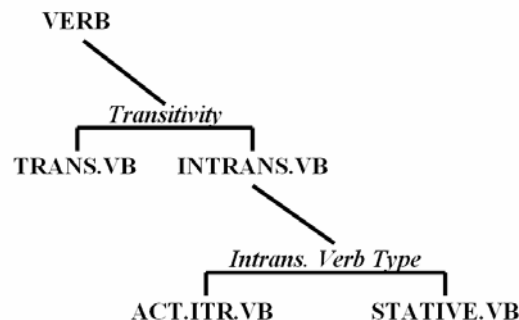
- A word paradigm
- A concept that is a meaning of the paradigm

Example: $tantu^W = \langle tantu^P ; \text{'to run'} \rangle$

Note: This holds even for functional words such as ‘tempus/aspect/mood markers’, even if their paradigms have only one form and their lexical meaning is the empty concept:

Example: $tut^W = \langle tut^P ; b^0 \rangle$ (a ‘future marker’)

3. Awetí Verb Paradigms: the Person-Part



Active Intransitive Verbs:

tantu^P =

- { <*atan* ; {+1; -2; -3; ... }>;
- <*etan* ; {-1; +2; -3; ... }>;
- <*otan* ; {-1; -2; +3; ... }>;
- <*kajtan* ; {+1; +2; ±3; ... }>;
- <*ozotan* ; {+1; -2; +3; ... }>;
- <*e'itan* ; {-1; +2; +3; ... }>;
- ... }

- “First Person Singular”
- “2nd Person Singular”
- “3rd Person”
- “1st Person Plural Inclusive”
- “1st Person Plural Exclusive”
- “2nd Person Plural”

Transitive Verbs: *nātupu* : ‘to see’

Subject-centred forms

- atup* : ‘I saw 2/3’
- etup* : ‘you(sg) saw 3’
- wejtup* : ‘(s)he/they saw 3’
- titup* : ‘we(i) saw 3’
- ozotup* : ‘we(e) saw 2/3’
- pejtup* : ‘you(pl) saw 3’

Object-centred forms

- itup* : ‘2/3 saw me’
- etup* : ‘3 saw you(sg)’ (syncretism)
- kajtup* : ‘3 saw us(i)’
- ozotup* : ‘2/3 saw us(e)’
- e'itup* : ‘3 saw you(pl)’

Stative Intransitive Verbs: *jo'yk* : ‘(to feel) cold’

- itejo'yk* : ‘I feel cold’
- ejo'yk* : ‘you(sg) feel cold’
- tejo'yk* : ‘(s)he/they feel cold’
- kajejo'yk* : ‘we(i) feel cold’
- ozoejo'yk* : ‘we(e) feel cold’
- e'iejo'yk* : ‘you(pl) feel cold’

- “1.Sg” : +1 -2 -3
- “2.Sg” : -1 +2 -3
- “3.” : -1 -2 +3
- “1.Pl.In” : +1 +2 ±3
- “1.Pl.Ex” : +1 -2 +3
- “2.Pl” : -1 +2 +3

Pref.	Series		1. P. Sing.		2. P. Sing.		1.P.Pl.incl.		1.P.Pl.excl.		2. P. Pl.		3. P. †		3. P. Refl.		
	+C	+V	+C	+V	+C	+V**	+C	+V	+C	+V	+C	+V	+C	+V	+C	+V	
'active'	intr. Vb.		<i>a-</i>	<i>aj-</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>e-/ej-</i>	<i>kaj-</i>		<i>ozo-</i>		<i>e'i-</i>		<i>o-</i>	<i>o-/w-⁺</i>	—		
	trans. Vb.	SbjCnt	<i>a-</i>	<i>at-</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>et-</i>	<i>ti-</i>	<i>tit-</i>	<i>ozoj-</i>	<i>ozojt-</i>	<i>pej-</i>	<i>pejt-</i>	<i>wej-</i>	<i>wejt-</i>	—		
ObjCnt		<i>i-</i>	<i>it-</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>e-/ej-</i>	<i>kaj-</i>		<i>ozo-</i>		<i>e'i-</i>		—					
'nominal'	stative Vb.		<i>i-</i>	<i>it-</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>e-/ej-</i>	<i>kaj-</i>		<i>ozo-</i>		<i>e'i-</i>		<i>i-</i>	<i>t-</i>	—		
	Noun		<i>i-</i>	<i>it-</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>e-/ej-</i>	<i>kaj-</i>		<i>ozo-</i>		<i>e'i-</i>		<i>nä-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>t-</i>	<i>o-</i>

*) Two allomorphs exist for most prefixes: one stands before consonants (+C), one before vowels (+V).

***) If there are two forms in this column, the second, *ej-*, is used before /a/, and the first, *e-*, elsewhere.

+) The possible re-syllabification of *o-* depends of several factors, such as the quality of the following vowel, the accentuation and, probably, the speech register (degree of formality). Before (even accentuated) /u/, the form is *o-*.

†) In the row for prefixes used with nouns, there are two forms each. The left one, respectively, is used by men (this is, in the male variety), the right one by women.

4. T-A-M Category Affixes

Permissive Mood Person Prefixes:

Singular: i- /jo-

<i>itan</i> ! : ‘(you(sg) may) run!’	-- cf. <i>etan</i> : ‘you(sg) ran’	(intrans.Vb.)
<i>jotup</i> ! : ‘(you(sg) may) see!’	-- cf. <i>etup</i> : ‘you(sg) saw 3’	(trans.Vb.)
[?] <i>iti’āpu’yp</i> ! : ‘(you(sg) may) whistle!’	-- cf. <i>eti’āpu’yp</i> : ‘you(sg) whistled’	(stative Vb.)

Plural: pej-

<i>pejtan</i> ! : ‘(you(pl) may) run!’	-- cf. <i>e’itan</i> : ‘you(pl) ran’	(intrans.Vb.)
<i>pejtup</i> ! : ‘(you(pl) may) see!’	-- cf. <i>pejtup</i> : ‘you(sg) saw 3’	(syncretism, trans.Vb.)
[?] <i>pejti’āpu’yp</i> ! : ‘(you(pl) may) whistle!’	-- cf. <i>e’iti’āpu’yp</i> : ‘you(pl) whistled’	(stative Vb.)

Progressive Aspect: -ju

<i>atanju</i> : ‘I am/was running’	(<i>tantu</i> : ‘to run’)	Progressive	(intrans.Vb.)
<i>etapeju</i> : ‘you(sg) are/were hoeing sth.’	(<i>tapu</i> : ‘to hoe’)	Progressive	(trans.Vb.)
<i>takuweju</i> : ‘its getting hot’	(<i>takup</i> : ‘hot’)	Inchoative	(stative Vb.)
<i>ijemeju</i> : ‘its stinking’	(<i>ijem</i> : ‘to stink’)	Progressive	(stative Vb.)

Imperfective (Inchoative) Aspect: -zoko

<i>atozoko</i> : ‘I am about to go / I always go’	(<i>totu</i> : ‘to go’)
<i>etawoko</i> : ‘you(sg) are about to / always hoe sth.’	(<i>tapu</i> : ‘to hoe’)
<i>iti’āpu’ywezoko</i> : ‘he always whistles’	(<i>ti’āpu’ywytu</i> : ‘to whistle’)

Circumstantial Mood (‘Indicative 2’, in matrix clauses): -tu

<i>mimo itantu</i>	‘yesterday (<i>mimo</i>) I run’
<i>mimo etupu</i>	‘yesterday he saw you(sg)’
<i>ituwokotu</i>	‘he watched me all the time’

Subjunctive Mood (in subordinate clauses): -tu

<i>ekwawap itantu</i>	‘you know (<i>ekwawap</i>) that I run/ran’
<i>akwawap etupu</i>	‘I know (<i>akwawap</i>) that he saw you(sg)’
<i>ekwawap mimo itantu</i>	‘you know that I run yesterday (<i>mimo</i>)’
<i>ekwawap itane’ympu</i>	‘you know that I did not run’
<i>akwawap epotupu mōj</i>	‘I know that you(sg) saw a snake (<i>mōj</i>)’

‘Gerund’ Mood: -aw

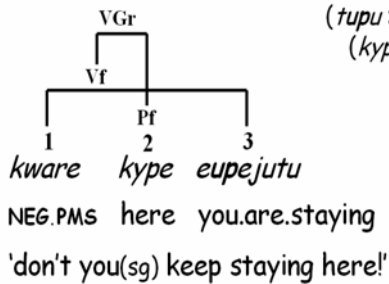
<i>ato itatukaw</i>	‘I went (<i>ato</i>) (in order) to take my bath’	(<i>tatuku</i> : ‘to take a bath’)
<i>ozout e’itupaw</i>	‘we came (<i>ozout</i>) to see you(pl)’	(<i>tupu</i> : ‘to see’)
<i>ajut itantaw</i>	‘I came (<i>ajut</i>) running’	(<i>tantu</i> : ‘to run’)
<i>ajatuk itoaw</i>	‘I went to take my bath’	

5. T-A-M Category Auxiliary Particles

Negated Permissive Mood: *kware*

<i>kware etotu</i>	'don't go!'	(<i>totu</i> : 'to go')
<i>kware nākȳjtu</i>	'don't kill him/her/it!'	(<i>tokȳjtu</i> : 'to kill')
<i>an atoka</i>	'I didn't / don't go'	
<i>an wejȳjyka</i>	'he didn't / doesn't kill him'	

Constituent Structure of a sentence with a discontinuous occurrence of a verb form with *kware*, and representation of such forms in the paradigm



<i>tupu</i> P =	
{ < <i>ajup</i> ¹ ; }	{ +1; -2; -3; Ind; Pos; Pfv;... } >;
< <i>pejup</i> ¹ ; }	{ -1; +2; +3; Pms; Pos; Pfv;... } >;
< <i>euwyka</i> ¹ ; }	{ -1; +2; -3; Ind; Neg; Pfv;... } >;
< <i>kware eupejutu</i> ; ... }	{ -1; +2; -3; Pms; Neg; Prog;... } >;

Future Tense: *tut*

<i>ato tut</i>	'I will go'	(<i>totu</i> : 'to go')
<i>ko'jem tut itotu</i>	'tomorrow (<i>ko'jem</i>) I will go'	
<i>an tut atoka ko'jem</i>	'I will not go tomorrow'	

'Reassuring' Future Tense/Mood: *ari*

<i>ato ari</i>	'(don't you worry,) I will go'
<i>ko'jem ari itotu</i>	'(don't worry,) tomorrow I will go'

Irrealis Mood: *tutepe*

<i>an tutepe atoka</i>	'I wouldn't go / I wouldn't have gone'
<i>mimo tutepe itotu</i>	'yesterday I would have gone'

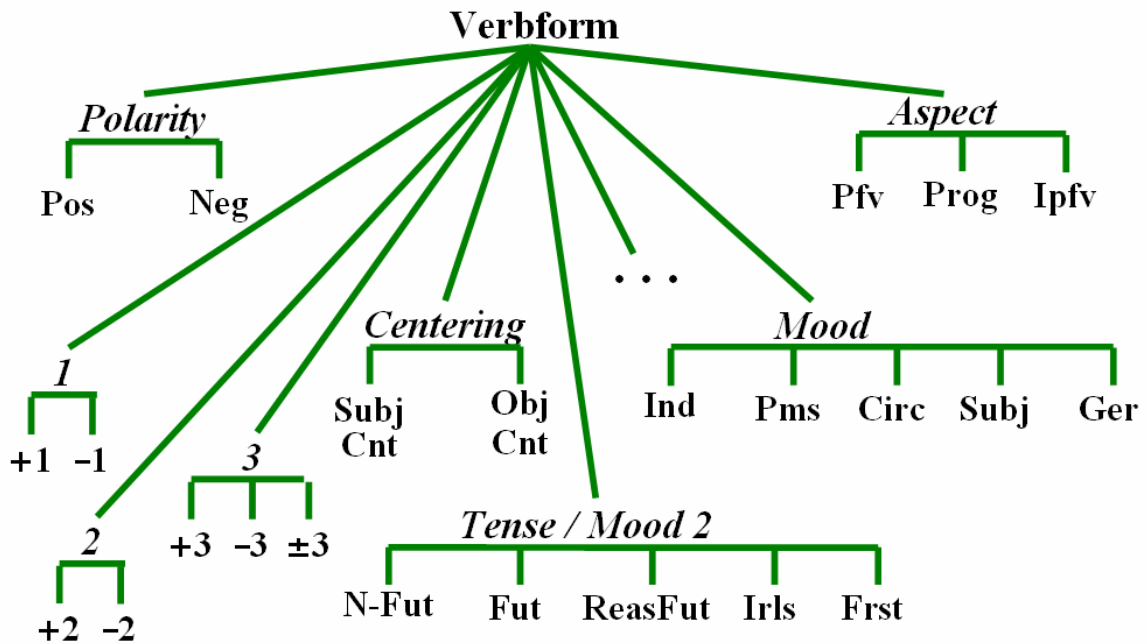
Frustrative Mood: *tepe*

<i>atet tepe</i>	'I slept in vain'	(<i>tetu</i> : 'to sleep')	(e.g.: I slept, but I'm still tired)
<i>mimo tepe etotu</i>	'yesterday you went in vain'		(e.g.: you went there, but you didn't achieve or get what you wanted)

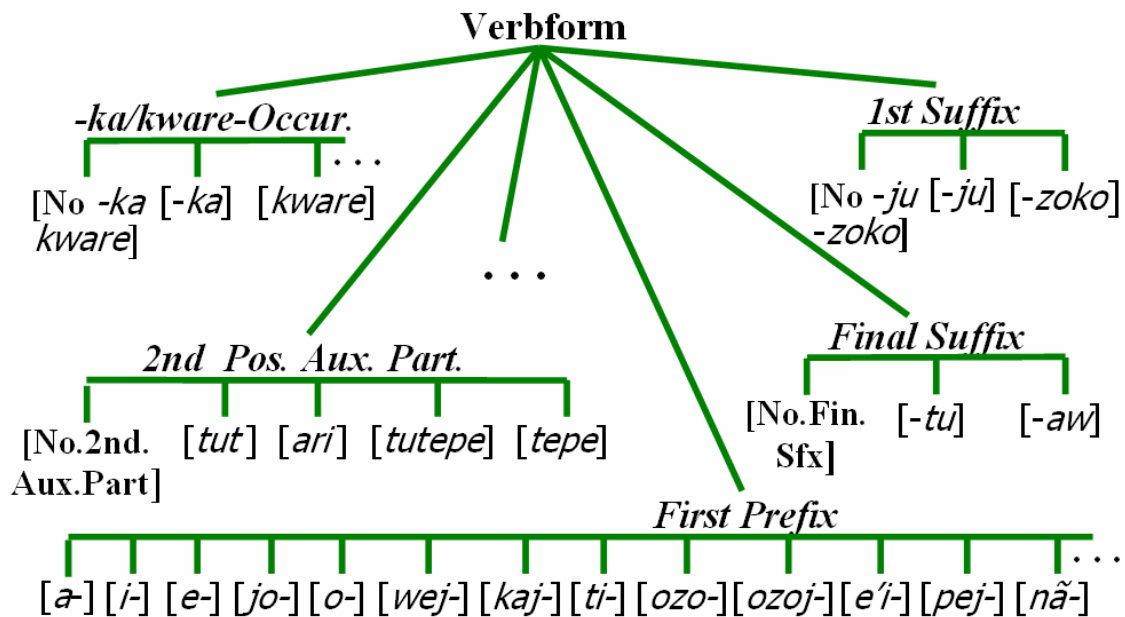
6. Other Candidates for Auxiliary Particles

<i>ato wian itatukaw</i>	'I go/went temporarily to take my bath'.	Interim Aspect?
<i>ito itsan</i>	'(you(sg) may) go for a while!'	Interim Aspect?
<i>atozoko wian</i>	'I am about to leave (but later I will return)'	Interim Aspect?
<i>oto ti</i>	'he went (they say, I was told)'	Reportative Mood?
<i>oto a'ang</i>	'he went, it seems'	Duvidative Mood?
<i>kype ti</i>	'(it was) here, they say'	
<i>kype a'ang</i>	'(it was) apparently here'	
<i>oto me</i>	'he went'	Definite?
(the speaker thinks the hearer considered his going, e.g., the speaker asked ' <i>did he go?</i> ')		
<i>oto a'yn</i>	'he went'	Indefinite?
(the speaker thinks this fact is totally new to the hearer)		

7. The Functional Verb Form System



8. The Formal Verb Form System



9. Awetí Verb Paradigms: Examples

The interaction of the formal with the functional categories is represented in the “system connecten” (assignment of functional category sets to formal category sets, being element of all the formal categories is a sufficient condition for assigning the form to all the functional categories). The characterization of this component of paradigm bases is one of the most fundamental tasks in language description.

The part of the system connection that is used for constructing the following paradigm elements:

[a-]	:	+1, -2, -3, Ind, SubjCnt
[e-]	:	-1, +2, -3
[i-], [-tu]	:	+1, -2, -3, Circ
[i-], [-tu]	:	+1, -2, -3, Subj
[i-], [No Fin.Sfx], [itr.VSt]	:	-1, +2, -3, Pms
[itr.VSt.]	:	SubjCnt
[-ju]	:	Prog
[-ka]	:	Neg, Ind
[No 2nd.A.P.]	:	N-Fut
[No -ju -zoko]	:	Pvf
[No -ka kware]	:	Pos
[pej-]	:	-1, +2, +3, SubjCnt
[pej-], [tr.VSt.]	:	Ind
[pej-], [tr.VSt.]	:	Pms
[tepe]	:	Frst
[tut]	:	Fut

*atupeju*¹ is element of : [No -ka kware], [No 2nd.Aux.Part], [a-], [No Fin.Sfx], and [-ju].

Therefore, the following elements of the system connection apply:

[a-]	:	+1, -2, -3, Ind, SubjCnt
[No 2nd.A.P.]	:	N-Fut
[No -ka kware]	:	Pos
[-ju]	:	Prog

So the form belongs to the following functional categories: +1, -2, -3, SubjCnt, Pos, Prog, N-Fut, and Ind. This means that the following pair can be determined as an element of the verb *nātupu*^W ‘to see’:

<*atupeju*¹; {+1; -2; -3; SubjCnt; Pos; Prog; N-Fut; Ind; . . . }>;

In the same way, we obtain the following elements of the following two paradigms:

<i>totu</i> ^P =	
{ < <i>tut etoka</i> ; {-1; +2; -3; SubjCnt; Neg; Pvf; Fut; Ind; . . . } >;	(‘you(sg) will not go’)
< <i>itotu tepe</i> ; {+1; -2; -3; SubjCnt; Pos; Pvf; Frst; Circ; . . . } >;	(‘I went in vain’)
< <i>ito</i> ¹ ; {-1; +2; -3; SubjCnt; Pos; Pvf; N-Fut; Pms; . . . } >;	(‘go!’)
. . . }	
<i>nātupu</i> ^P =	
{ < <i>atupeju</i> ¹ ; {+1; -2; -3; SubjCnt; Pos; Prog; N-Fut; Ind; . . . } >;	(‘I am looking’)
< <i>pejtup</i> ¹ ; {-1; +2; +3; SubjCnt; Pos; Pvf; N-Fut; Ind; . . . } >;	(‘you(pl) see’)
< <i>pejtup</i> ¹ ; {-1; +2; +3; SubjCnt; Pos; Pvf; N-Fut; Pms; . . . } >;	(‘you(pl) may look’)
. . . }	