Ciucci, Luca & Pier Marco Bertinetto "Reconstructing the possessive inflection of Proto-Zamucoan"

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Reconstructing the possessive inflection of Proto-Zamucoan

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Overview

- The Zamucoan family (a brief note)

- Zamucoan possessive inflection

- Reconstruction of Proto-Zamucoan possessive inflection

- Areal contact and morphological borrowing

- **The Zamucoan family (a brief note)**

- Zamucoan possessive inflection

- Reconstruction of Proto-Zamucoan possessive inflection

- Areal contact and morphological borrowing

The Zamucoan family

Old Zamuco (OZ)
spoken in the XVIII
century, extinct

Ayoreo (AY)
ca. 4500 speakers

Chamacoco (CH)
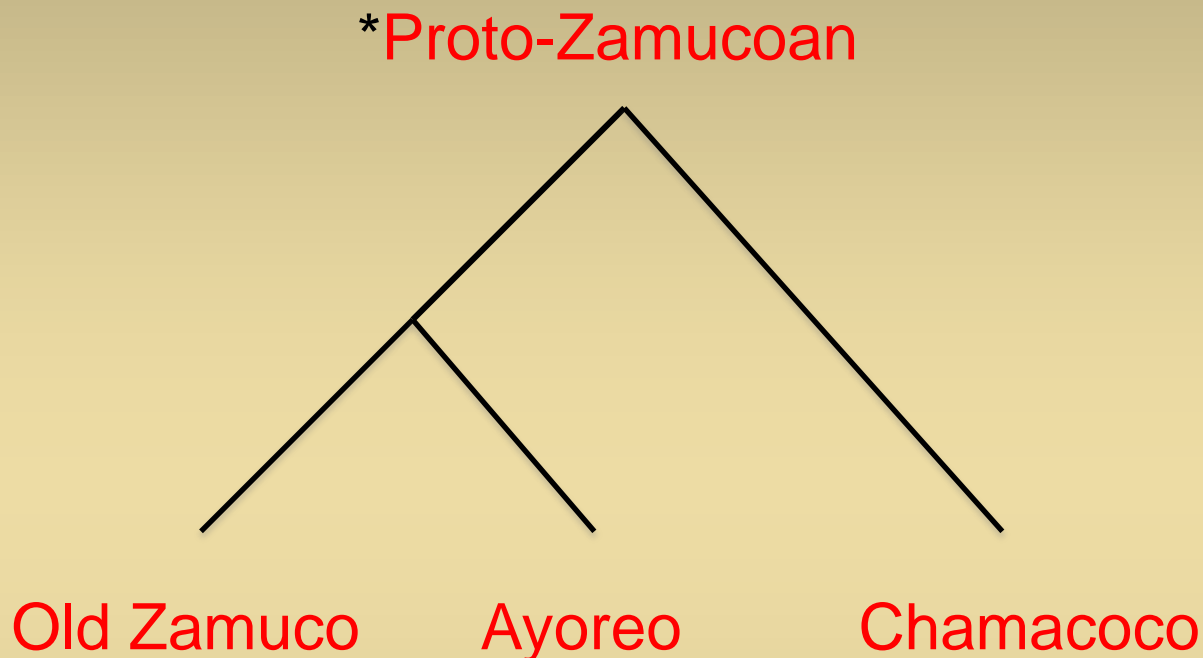(łbɨtoso, Tomarâho)
ca. 1800 speakers

The Zamucoan family

The first stable contact with Zamucoan populations took place in the early 18th century in the reduction of San Ignacio de Samuco.

The Jesuit Ignace Chomé wrote a grammar of Old Zamuco (*Arte de la lengua zamuca*).

The Chamacoco established friendly relationships by the end of the 19th century.

The Ayoreo 'surrended' at the middle of the last century; there are still a few small nomadic bands in Northern Paraguay.

The Zamucoan family: internal classification

*Proto-Zamucoan

Old Zamuco   Ayoreo   Chamacoco

• Old Zamuco and Ayoreo are very close to each other, but share no more than 30% of their lexicon with Chamacoco.

• The split of Chamacoco from Old Zamuco and Ayoreo must have occurred long ago (Holman *et al*. 2011; Müller *et al*. 2013).

The Zamucoan family

Main typological features:

- Fusional structure
- Word order features:
- SVO
- Genitive + Noun
- Noun + Adjective

The Zamucoan family

Chamacoco, my fieldwork

Ayoreo, Pier Marco Bertinetto's fieldwork

Research goals at Scuola Normale Superiore:

-Description of Zamucoan inflectional morphology (Ciucci 2013)
-Descriptive grammar of Ayoreo
-Descriptive grammar of Ancient Zamuco (based on Chomé's data)
-Descriptive grammar of Chamacoco (Ɨbɨtoso)
-Reconstruction of Proto-Zamucoan morphology

- The Zamucoan family (a brief note)

- **Zamucoan possessive inflection**

- Reconstruction of Proto-Zamucoan possessive inflection

- Areal contact and morphological borrowing

Possessive inflection: 3- vs. RFL-person

- In all Chaco languages, including the Zamucoan ones (Fabre 2007), nouns can be possessable or non-possessable.

- With possessable nouns, the morphology of possession is usually expressed by prefixes (or, with the CH plural persons, by free pronouns):

- All Zamucoan languages distinguish between:
  - **3-person** (= non coreferent with the subject)
  - **reflexive 3-person** (= coreferent with the subject; henceforth **RFL**)

CH: p-a-lokot (1S), Ø-a-lokot (2S), Ø-a-lokot (**3**), d-a-lokot (**RFL**), ejok Ø-a-lokot (1Pinc), õrjok Ø-a-lokot (1Pexc), olak Ø-a-lokot (2P) 'nickname'

Possessive inflection: Generic Form (GF)

- Possessable nouns may present an additional form indicating **unspecified possessor**, here called **Generic Form** (henceforth **GF**). This feature characterizes most Chaco languages and has been proposed as a possible areal trait (Campbell & Grondona 2012: 646).

Ayoreo: j-i-go (1S), b-a-go (2S), Ø-i-go (3), d-a-go (RFL), jok-i-go (1P), wak-a-go (2P), **Ø-Ø-ko** (**GF**) 'jar'

Old Zamuco: j-i-geda (1S), a-i-geda (2S), Ø-i-geda (3), da-i-geda (RFL), aj-i-geda (1/2P), **g**-i-geda (**GF**) 'house'

Possessive inflection: Structure

- Depending on **3-person morphology**, one can distinguish between:

<div align="center">

PREFIX + **THEMATIC VOWEL** + **ROOT**

|———————————————————————|

THEME

</div>

(a) **PREFIXAL** nouns: prefix plus theme

<div align="right">

CH *l-a-tahatca* 'stepmother'

</div>

(b) **THEMATIC** nouns: theme

<div align="right">

CH *Ø-e-tcit* 'domestic animal'

</div>

(c) **RADICAL** nouns: pure root

<div align="right">

CH *Ø-Ø-nerpta* 'shirt'

</div>

Possessive inflection: inflectional vowel

- In the **2-** and in the **RFL-person**, **high thematic vowels** are replaced by a **vowel originally belonging to the prefix**, i.e. /**a**/ or /**e**/:

AY j-*i*-go (1S), b-*a*-go (2S), Ø-*i*-go (3), d-*a*-go (RFL), jok-*i*-go (1P), wak-*a*-go (2P), Ø-*Ø*-ko (GF) 'jar'

CH p-*i*-tɨlta (1S), Ø-*e*-tɨlta (2S), Ø-*i*-tɨlta (3), d-*e*-tɨlta (RFL) 'stick'

- Occasionally, the original **high thematic vowel** is not replaced by /**a**/ or /**e**/:

OZ j-*i*-geda (1S), *a*-*i*-geda (2S), Ø-*i*-geda (3), d*a*-*i*-geda (RFL), aj-*i*-geda (1/2P), g-*i*-geda (GF) 'house'

- The Zamucoan family (a brief note)

- The Zamucoan possessive inflection

- **The reconstruction of Proto-Zamucoan possessive inflection**

- Areal contact and morphological borrowing

	Old Zamuco	Ayoreo	Chamacoco	Proto-Zamucoan
1S	j-V-root tɕ-/s-V-root	j-V-root	p-V-root	*j-V-root
2S	Ø-a/V-root	b-a/V-root	Ø-a/e/V-root	*a-V-root
3	Ø-V-root Ø-Ø-root d-V-root g-V-root	Ø-V-root Ø-Ø-root d-V-root g-V-root k-V-root p-V-root j-V-root	Ø-V-root Ø-Ø-root d-V-root w-V-root k-V-root j-V-root	*Ø-V-root *Ø-Ø-root *d-V-root *g-V-root
RFL	d-a/V-root	d-a/V-root	d-a/e/V-root	*da-V-root
1P	aj-V-root as-V-root	jok-V-root	–	*aj-V-root *as-V-root [rare]
2P	aj-V-root as-V-root	wak-a/V-root	–	?
GF	p-V-root d-V-root Ø-Ø-root	p-V-root dVk-V-root g-V-root k-V-root Ø-Ø-root	dVk-V-root d-V-root k-V-root Ø-Ø-root o-[3-person]	*p-V-root *dVk-V-root *k-V-root *d-V-root *Ø-Ø-root

First-person singular

	Old Zamuco	Ayoreo (AY)	Chamacoco (CH)	Proto-Zamucoan
1S	**j**-V-root tɕ-/s-V-root	**j**-V-root	**p**-V-root	***j**-V-root
GF	**p**-V-root d-V-root Ø-Ø-root	**p**-V-root dVk-V-root g-V-root k-V-root Ø-Ø-root	dVk-V-root d-V-root k-V-root Ø-Ø-root o-[3-person]	*p-V-root *dVk-V-root *k-V-root *d-V-root *Ø-Ø-root

- Loss of **1S** *j*- in **CH**. However, *j*- is found in some **CH** relics:

CH josĩrsĩrtɕ (non-possessable) 'merciful person'
AY j-o-sõrasõri (1S), Ø-o-sõrasõri (3) 'merciful person'

CH j-o-te (1S) 'mother' (Johann Natterer, first half of the 19th century)

➔ Colonization of the **CH 1S** by the **GF** (prefix *p*-)

Second-person singular

	Old Zamuco (OZ)	Ayoreo (AY)	Chamacoco (CH)	Proto-Zamucoan (PZ)
2S	**Ø-a**/V-root	**b-a**/V-root	**Ø-a/e**/V-root	*a-V-root
RFL	d-a/V-root	d-a/V-root	d-a/e/V-root	*da-V-root

- All Zamucoan languages show the vowel /a/ in the **2S-** and in the **RFL**-person; originally a prefix, it is now part of the theme.

- In many cases, **OZ**/**AY** /a/ > **CH** /e/.

- The **OZ** and **CH** **2S**-person are **prefixless**. The **AY** **2S**-prefix *b*- is an innovation, possibly deriving from the labial feature of the 2S-pronoun *wa* < **PZ** *wa*

Third person

	Old Zamuco (OZ)	Ayoreo (AY)	Chamacoco (CH)	Proto-Zamucoan (PZ)
3	Ø-**V**-root	Ø-**V**-root	Ø-**V**-root	*Ø-**V**-root
	Ø-Ø-root	Ø-Ø-root	Ø-Ø-root	*Ø-Ø-root
	d-V-root	**d**-V-root	**d**-V-root	*d-V-root
	g-V-root	**g**-V-root	**j**-V-root	*g-V-root
		k-V-root	w-V-root	
		p-V-root	k-V-root	
		j-V-root		
RFL	d-a/V-root	d-a/V-root	d-a/e/V-root	*da-V-root

- All languages show the same inflectional classes:

  thematic nouns: Ø-**V**-root → CH Ø-**e**-*tɕit* 'domestic animal'
  radical nouns: Ø-Ø-root → CH Ø-Ø-*nerpta* 'shirt'
  prefixal nouns: **C**-**V**-root → CH **l**-**a**-*tahatɕa* 'stepmother'

- The **3**-prefix *d*- is found in all languages (besides being the most common **RFL**-person marker).

Third person: Marginal allomorphs

	Old Zamuco (OZ)	Ayoreo (AY)	Chamacoco (CH)	Proto-Zamucoan (PZ)
3	Ø-V-root	Ø-V-root	Ø-V-root	*Ø-V-root
	Ø-Ø-root	Ø-Ø-root	Ø-Ø-root	*Ø-Ø-root
	d-V-root	d-V-root	d-V-root	*d-V-root
	g-V-root	g-V-root	j-V-root	*g-V-root
		k-V-root	w-V-root	
		p-V-root	k-V-root	
		j-V-root		

- **CH** does not have the phoneme /**g**/. Regular correspondence **OZ**/**AY** /**g**/ ~ **CH** /**j**/ or **Ø**:

  AY **g**-a-ṇesõri (3) ~ CH **j**-ɨ-nsĩrtɕ (3) 'owner, master'
  AY **g**-a-tɕit (3)   ~ CH **Ø**-e-tɕit (3) 'pet, domesticated animal'

- **AY** *k*- and *j*- and **CH** *k*- and *w*- are rare allomorphs.

- **AY** *p*- stems from the most frequent GF allomorph

First and second person plural 1

	Old Zamuco (OZ)	Ayoreo (AY)	Chamacoco (CH)	Proto-Zamucoan (PZ)
1P	**aj**-V-root **as**-V-root	**jok**-V-root	–	***aj**-V-root ***as**-V-root [rare]
2P	**aj**-V-root **as**-V-root	**wak**-a/V-root	–	?

- In **OZ**, **1P** and **2P** coincided

- **CH** has lost the **1P**/**2P** inflection (free pronouns are used instead); **AY** created new person prefixes out of the free pronouns *jok* (**1P**) and *wak* (**2P**)

- It is not possible to reconstruct the **2P**-person of **PZ**

1P- and 2P-person: Historical data

	Old Zamuco (OZ)	Ayoreo (AY)	Chamacoco (CH)	Proto-Zamucoan (PZ)
1P	aj-V-root as-V-root	jok-V-root	–	*aj-V-root *as-V-root [rare]
2P	aj-V-root as-V-root	wak-a/V-root	–	?

- Some **CH** relics documented in the first half of the 20th century indicate that **CH** displayed the 1P-prefixes *as-/aj-*

  CH **as**-ut (1P) ʻmotherʼ (Baldus 1932: 393)
  OZ **as**-ote (1P) ʻmotherʼ

  CH **aj**-r-u-m̥e (1P) ʻhandsʼ (Baldus 1932: 392)

Reflexive person

	Old Zamuco (OZ)	Ayoreo (AY)	Chamacoco (CH)	Proto-Zamucoan (PZ)
RFL	d-a/V-root	d-a/V-root	d-a/e/V-root	*da-V-root
2S	Ø-a/V-root	b-a/V-root	Ø-a/e/V-root	*a-V-root

- The **RFL**-prefix *d*- is documented in all Zamucoan languages

- *d*- is preceded by the same **vowel** found in the **2S**-person (as already mentioned, part of the original prefix: **a*- for **2S** and **da*- for **RFL**-person)

The generic form

	Old Zamuco (OZ)	Ayoreo (AY)	Chamacoco (CH)	Proto-Zamucoan (PZ)
GF	**p**-V-root **d**-V-root **Ø**-Ø-root	**p**-V-root **dVk**-V-root **g**-V-root **k**-V-root **Ø**-Ø-root	**dVk**-V-root **d**-V-root **k**-V-root **Ø**-Ø-root **o**-[3-person]	***p**-V-root ***dVk**-V-root ***k**-V-root ***d**-V-root ***Ø**-Ø-root
1S			**p**-V-root	

- In **OZ** and **AY** the most frequent **GF**-prefix is *p*-, reinterpreted as **1S**-prefix in **CH**

- *o*- is a **CH** innovation to compensate the pervasive loss of **GF**-inflection

- All Zamucoan languages have the 'radical' **GF** allomorph (Ø-Ø-root)

GF: Intra-family correspondences

	Old Zamuco (OZ)	Ayoreo (AY)	Chamacoco (CH)	Proto-Zamucoan (PZ)
GF	**p**-V-root **d**-V-root **Ø**-**Ø**-root	**p**-V-root **dVk**-V-root **g**-V-root **k**-V-root **Ø**-**Ø**-root	**dVk**-V-root **d**-V-root **k**-V-root **Ø**-**Ø**-root **o**-[3-person]	***p**-V-root ***dVk**-V-root ***k**-V-root ***d**-V-root ***Ø**-**Ø**-root
1S			**p**-V-root	

- **dVk**- and **k**- are found in both **AY** and **CH**, and can thus be reconstructed for Proto-Zamucoan (although they are not documented in **OZ**)

- Similarly, **d**- can be traced back to Proto-Zamucoan, for it is observed in **OZ** and **CH** (although absent in **AY**)

GF and 3-person interferences

	OZ		AY		CH	
	3-person	GF	3-person	GF	3-person	GF
p-		+	+	+		+
dVk-				+		+
d-	+	+	+		+	+
g-	+	+	+	+		
k-			+	+	+	+
j-			+		+	
w-					+	
bare root	+	+	+	+	+	+
o- (pre-prefix)						+
thematic form	+		+		+	

- Since **3**- and **GF**-prefixes often coincide, an interaction may have occurred...

- It is however difficult to determine the direction of the change (except for the **AY** **3**-prefix *p*-)

- The Zamucoan family (a brief note)

- The Zamucoan possessive inflection

- The reconstruction of Proto-Zamucoan possessive inflection

- **Areal contact and morphological borrowing**

Areal contact in possessive inflection 1

• Zamucoan languages present no genetic relationship with other linguistic families. Yet, according to Comrie *et al.* (2010), the Chaco constitutes a **linguistic area** (but see Campbell & Grondona 2012b).

• **Some areal features:**
-possessable vs non-possessable (Fabre 2007)
-possessive affixes
-possessive classifiers (Fabre 2007, Campbell & Grondona 2012)
-elaborate deictic systems
-para-hypotaxis (Bertinetto & Ciucci 2012)

• **Ciucci (2014) identified a number of morphological borrowings in the Zamucoan family…**

Chaco languages	
Family	**Languages**
Chiquitano	Chiquitano (Bésɨro)
Enlhet-Enenlhet	Angaité, Enlhet, Enenlhet-toba, Enxet, Guaná, Sanapaná
Guaykuruan	†Abipón, Kadiwéu, †Mbayá, Mocoví, Pilagá, Toba
Lule-Vilela	Lule, Vilela
Mataguayan	Chorote, Maká, Nivaklé, Wichí
Tupí-Guaranían	Ava-Guaraní (Chiriguano), Tapiete
Zamucoan	†Old Zamuco, Ayoreo, Chamacoco

Areal contact in possessive inflection 2

	Proto-Zamucoan
1S	***j**-V-root
2S	***a**-V-root
3	*Ø-V-root
	*Ø-Ø-root
	***d**-V-root
	*g-V-root
RFL	***da**-V-root

*/l/ is absent in OZ and AY, and in free variation with /d/ in CH

1S: **GUAYCURUAN**: Abipón *i*-, Kadiwéu *j*-, e*j*-, *i*-, Mocoví *j*-, *i*-, Pilagá *j*-, *ji*-, Toba *j(V)*-, a*j*-, *i*-. **MATAGUAYAN** Chorote *i*-, *j*-, Maká *ji*-, *j*-, *i*-, Nivaclé *i*-, *ji*-, Wichí (Weenhayek dialect) *j*-, *ja*-, -*ʔi* (Viegas Barros 2013b: 314, ex. 96).

2S: **MATAGUAYAN** Chorote *a*- (-C) / Ø- (-V) (2S), Maká *V*- / Ø-, Nivaclé *a*- / Ø-, Wichí *a*- (Ciucci 2014: 20-21).

3: **GUAYCURUAN** Abipón *l*-, Kadiwéu *l:(i)*-, e*l:(i)*-, a*l*-, Mocoví *l*-, a*l*-, Pilagá *l*-, ha*l*-, Toba *l*-, a*l*-. **MATAGUAYAN** Chorote *ł*-, *xi*-, Maká *ł(V)*-, Nivaclé *ł*-, *ła*-, Wichí *le*- (Viegas Barros 2013b: 315), Wichí (Bermejo) *la*- (Comrie *et al*. 2010).

Eruej ute
End   this
(Ayoreo)

Sht ele no ma
Only this no more
(Chamacoco)

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