

The Southern Clade of Tupi-Guarani Languages: Adposition Issues

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Introduction

- An international collaboration
- A focus on postpositions
- Contribution to the historical comparison of Tupi-Guarani data
 - A glimpse on morphosyntax
 - Little described languages

Funding

DoBeS for Aché Documentation Project

<http://dobes.mpi.nl/projects/ache>

ELDP for Siriono Documentation Project

<http://elar.soas.ac.uk/deposit/0165>

Introduction

A Southern Clade

Situation

Postpositions as Adjunct Markers

Postpositions as Indirect Object Markers

Postpositions as Direct Object Markers

Concluding Remarks

Southern clade

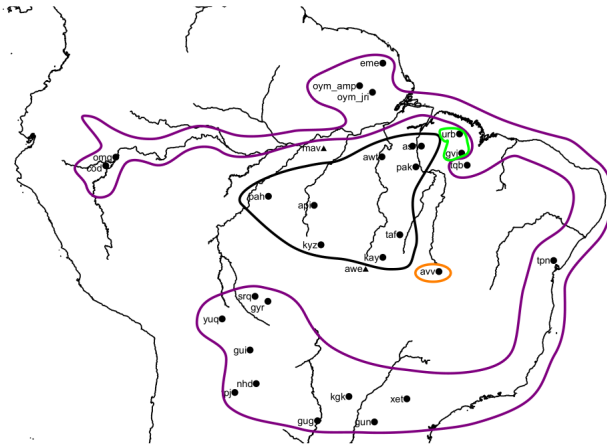


Figure 1: Michael, Lev, Vivian Wauters, Zachary O'Hagan, Keith Bartolomei, & Natalia Chousou-Polydouri. 2013. Tupi-Guarani Comparative Lexical Dataset, Vol. 1.1.0. Digital resource, University of California, Berkeley.

Paraguay



Figure2: Map of subgroup I by the authors, based on Susnik & Chase-Sardi, 1996, p. 317

Subgroup I

Languages	ISO	Grammar	Investigations	Doc.
Aché	guq	(+)	Röbler, Hauck & Thompson (DoBeS project)	4
Paraguayan Guarani	gug	+	Guasch, 1996; Gregores & Suárez, 1967; Tonhauser, 2007-09; Shain & Tonhauser, 2011; Colijn & Tonhauser, 2010	4
Mbyá	gun	+	Dooley, 2006; Thomas, 2012-13	3
Paĩ Tavyterã	pta		Cardoso, 2008	2
Kaiowá	kgk	+		
Ava-Guarani (Chiripá)	ndh	-	Freitas, 2011-2013	2
Chiriguano	grn	+	Dietrich, 1986; Bertinetto, 2005	4
Ñandeva (Tapiéte)	tpj	+	González, 2005	4

Bolivia



Figure3: Map of subgroup II by the authors, based on R. Bazán & A. Cuellar, 1998.

Subgroup II

Languages	ISO	Grammar	Investigations	Doc.
Guarayo	gyr	(+)	Bischoffberger (to start) Hoeller, 1932	2
Pauserna	psm	-	Danielsen & Bischoffberger (to start) Von Horn Fitz Gibbon, 1955	1
Yuki	yuq	+	Villafañe, 2003; Jabin (Ethnography)	3
Siriono	srq	+	Gasparini (in progress) Schermair, 1949	4
Jorá	jor	-	Danielsen & Gasparini (in progress)	1

Tupi-Guarani Southern Clade

Classification Issues

- **Rodrigues** (1984-85, 2010) subgroup I and subgroup II
 - mainly phonetics parameters, improper for subgroup II
 - lack of clarification on some languages/dialects
- **Schleicher** (1998: 324) → Siriono out of Tupi-Guarani
- **Dietrich** (2010: 11) two geographical groups
 - Aché is integrated in subgroup II
- **Walter** et al. (2012) cultural phylogenetics studies
 - cultural relations between Aché and Siriono group
- **Michael** et al.: phylogenetic approach

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Adjunct Markers

Languages	Benefactive	Locative (goal)	Locative (source)	Comitative	Causal	Instrumental
Proto-TG ¹	*pé	*pé	*cuwí	*paβē		*eceβé
Aché-Northern	pe	pe/dji	pe/dji	dji	pe	pe
Aché-Ñacunday	pe	pe/dji	pe/dji/ri	dji/ri	pe	pe
P. Guaraní	pe	pe/gwi	pe/gwi		gwi	pe
Mbyá	pe	py	gui	pe	gui	pe
Paĩ Tavýterã	pe/we	pe/py	gwi	we	we	pe
Chiriguano	we	pe	gwi ~ wi	we	we	pe/gwi
Tapiéte	pe	pe	wi		hese/he	py
Guarayo	upe	be ~ me	wi	pypeb	ve/sui	pype
Pauserna	(re)he	pe	jui	jupi/pe	sui	
Yuki	he	hie/rii~ndii	sui	rese/rii		he
Siriono	he	pe	rui	rese	he	rese

Reflexes of *-pe - Locative/Goal

- (1) Aché (Rößler, 2014: ADOP)

gobu tata ore cho ei'ienda-pe tata mendy
 DEM fire 1PL.EX 1SG mother place-LOC fire burn
 O S X V

‘Later we made a fire back to the camp of my mother.’

- (2) Guarayo (Armoye, 2009:30)

e-tso jerokitsa-be
 2SG.IMP-go school-LOC
 S-V X

‘Go to school!’

- (3) Paĩ Tavỹterā (Cardoso, 2008:103)

araka'e typo o-ho-ta pyelo-py
 when guy 3SG_A-go-FUT town-LOC
 S-V X

‘When this guy is going to town.’

Reflexes of *-cuwí - Locative/Source

- (4) Aché (Rößler, 2014: ADOP)

cho ekō-ma ka-dji

1SG arrive-NF forest-LOC

S V X

‘He came from the forest.’

- (5) Tapiéte (Gonzalez, 2005: 220)

a-ru ndi-he-wi

1SG-bring 2SG-REC-LOC

S-V X

‘I bring from you.’

- (6) Siriono (Gasparini, VJ 38)

ake amĩ si kia e-rui ake

LOC old.man COP PAS 3SG-REC-LOC LOC

S V X

‘The old man came after him.’

Adjunct marking system

Languages	Benefactive	Locative (goal)	Locative (source)	Comitative	Causal	Instrumental
Proto-TG	*pé	*pé	*cuwí	*paβë		*ecejé
2						
Aché-Northern	pe	pe/dji	pe/dji	dji	pe	pe
Aché-Ñacunday	pe	pe/dji	pe/dji/ri	dji/ri	pe	pe
P. Guaraní	pe	pe/gwi	pe/gwi		gwi	pe
3						
Mbyá	pe	py	py	pe	gui	pe
Paĩ Tavýterã	pe/we	pe/py	gwi	we	we	pe
Chiriguano	we	pe	gwi ~ wi	we	we	pe/gwi
4						
Tapiéte	pe	pe	wi		hese/he	py
Guarayo	upe	be ~ me	wi	pypeb	ve/sui	pype
Pauserna	(re)he	pe	jui	jupi/pe	sui	
Yuki	he	hie/rii~ndii	sui	rese/rii		he
Siriono	he	pe	rui	rese	he	rese

- Continuum inside Southern Clade
- Generalization/Specialization process

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Indirect Object Markers

Languages	Benefactive		Locative	
Proto-TG ²	*cupé			
Aché-Northern	pe	pe	pe/dji	pe/dji
Aché-Ñacunday	pe	pe	pe/dji	pe/dji
Paraguayan Guaraní	pe/me/ve	pe	pe	pe/gwi
Mbyá	pe/me/ve	pe	pe	py
Paĩ Tavýterã	pe/we	pe/we	pe	pe/py
Chiriguano	pe/we	we		pe
Tapiéte	pe	pe		
Guarayo	pe/upe	upe		
Pauserna				
Yuki	he	he		
Siriono	he	he		

Indirect Object Markers

(7) Aché

(Röblier, 2014: ADOP)

cho mē'ē-ma chipolla de-pe
 PRON1SG give-NF manioc 2SG-BEN
 S V O IO

'I give manioc to you.'

(8) Guarayo

(Hoeller, 1932:12)

a-mondo abachi guyraī upe
 1SG-give maize bird BEN
 S-V O IO

'I give maize to the birds.'

(9) Siriono

(Gasparini, 2013: ELI)

ibasī t-a-mondo nde-he
 maize OPT-1SG-give 2SG-BEN
 O S V

'I will give maize to you.'

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Direct Object Marking

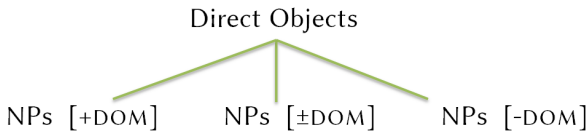
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Differential Object Marking (DOM)

Two Dimensional [DOM] System (Aissen, 2003)

Animacy Scale: HUMAN > ANIMATE > INANIMATE

Definiteness Scale: PERSONAL PRONOUN > PROPER NAME > DEFINITE NP
> INDEFINITE SPECIFIC NP > NON-SPECIFIC NP



Inanimate 3rd ps Direct Objects: [-DOM]

(10) Paraguayan Guaraní

(ADOP, 2014, ELI Q4, MigHa)

ha'e o-japo-ma ajaka-Ø/-pe*
PRON.3SG 3SG_A-make-COMPL basket-DOM/*+DOM
S V O3

[-DOM] 'He/she makes the/a basket.' (specific reading)

[+DOM] ungrammatical, possible reading: 'He/she makes (something) within the basket.' (adjunct)

(11) Ava-Guaraní

(ADOP, 2014, ELI Q4)

ha'e o-h-echa tata'i-Ø/-pe*
PRON.3SG 3SG_A-R-see stars-DOM/*+DOM
S V O3

[-DOM] 'He sees/saw the/a stars.' (specific reading)

[+DOM] ungrammatical, possible reading: 'He sees (something) near the stars.' (adjunct)

(12) Aché - Northern Dialect

(ADOP, 2009-07-27-040-015)

Chachugi eruma nokō-Ø/-pe*
Chachugi bring-COMPL basket-DOM/*+DOM
S V O3

[-DOM] 'Chachugi brings the/a basket.' (specific reading)

[+DOM] ungrammatical, possible reading: 'Chachugi brings (sth.) within the basket.' (adjunct)

Animate 3rd PS [+HUM] Direct Objects: [±DOM]

(13) Paĩ - Tavÿterã

(ADOP, 2014, ELI Q4)

Juan o-johu kuña-Ø/-me
Juan 3SG_A-R-found woman-DOM/+DOM
S V O3

[-DOM] 'He found/saw (some/several) woman.' (generic reading)

[+DOM] 'He found/saw a/the woman.' (specific reading)

(14) Mbya-Guaraní

(ADOP, 2014, ELI Q4)

Juan o-echa taychy-Ø/-pe
Juan 3SG_A-R-see woman-DOM/+DOM
S V O3

[-DOM] 'He found/saw (some/several) woman.' (generic reading)

[+DOM] 'He found/saw a/the woman.' (specific reading)

(15) Aché-Ñacunday Dialect

(ADOP, 2014, ELI Q4)

Juan mechã-ma kudjã-Ø/-pe
Juan see-NFT woman-DOM/+DOM
S V O3

[-DOM] 'He found/saw (some/several) woman.' (generic reading)

[+DOM] 'He found/saw a/the woman.' (specific reading)

Animate 3rd PS [+HUM] Direct Objects: [-DOM]

(16) Paraguayan Guaraní

(ADOP, 2014, ELI Q4 MigHa)

*Juan kuña-**Ø/*-me* *o-johu*
 Juan woman-DOM/+DOM 3SG_A-R-found
 S O3 V

[-DOM] ungrammatical

[+DOM] 'He found a/the woman.'

(17) Aché-Ñacunday Dialect

(ADOP, 2014, ELI Q4)

*Juan kudjä-**Ø/*-pe* *mechā-ma*
 Juan woman-DOM/+DOM see-NFT
 S O3 V

[-DOM] ungrammatical, alternative reading: 'The woman saw Juan(FOC).'

[+DOM] 'He saw a/the woman.'

S V O3±DOM

S O3+DOM V

Animate 3rd PS -[HUM] Direct Objects: [\pm DOM]

(18) Paraguayan Guaraní

(ADOP, 2014, ELI Q4, MigHa)

Juā o-juka jaguarete -Ø/-pe*
Juan 3SG_A-kill jaguar -DOM/+DOM
s v o3

[-DOM] 'Juan killed jaguars.' (non-specific, generic reading)

[+DOM] 'Juan killed a/the jaguar.' (specific, definite reading)

(19) Paĩ Tavỹterã/Kaiowá

(ADOP, 2014, ELI Q4)

Juan o-ñembia ka'aguypporaire-Ø/?-pe
Juan 3SG_A-kill jaguar-DOM/?+DOM
s v o3

[-DOM] 'Juan kills a jaguar.' (non-specific, generic reading)

[+DOM] [not great]

(20) Aché - Northern Dialect

(ADOP, 2014, ELI Q4)

Juan djywō-we djamo-Ø/-pe
Juan kill-PAS jaguar-DOM/+DOM
s v o3

[-DOM] 'Juan killed jaguars.' (non-specific, generic reading)

[+DOM] 'Juan killed a/the jaguar.' (specific, definite reading)

Animate 3rdPS [-HUM] Direct Objects: [\pm DOM]

(21) Paĩ Tavỹterã/Kaiowá

(ADOP, 2014, ELI Q4)

Juan o-ñembia jagua-Ø/-pe

Juan 3SG_A-kill dog-DOM/+DOM

s v o3

[-DOM] 'Juan kills (some) dogs.' (non-specific, generic reading)

[+DOM] 'Juan kills a/the dogs.' (specific, definite reading)

(22) Aché - Northern Dialect

(ADOP, 2014, ELI Q4)

Juan pachoma tatu-Ø/?-pe

Juan kill(hit)-NF tatu-DOM/?+DOM

s v o3

[-DOM] 'Juan killed tatu.' (non-specific, generic reading)

[+DOM] 'Juan killed a/the tatu.' (specific, definite reading)

1st/2nd PS PRON Direct Objects: [+DOM]

(23) Mbya Guaraní

(ADOP, 2014, ELI Q4)

ha'e che-r-echa riae che-^{}Ø/-ve*
PRON3SG 1SG_A-R-see always PRON1^{*}-DOM/+DOM
S V O

[+DOM] 'Carlos always sees me.'

[-DOM] [ungrammatical]

(24) Mbya Guaraní

(ADOP, 2014, ELI Q4)

ha'e che-r-echa riae pẽ'ẽ-^{}Ø/-me*
PRON3SG 1SG_A-R-see always PRON1SG-^{*}-DOM/+DOM
S V O

[+DOM] 'Carlos always sees you.'

[-DOM] [ungrammatical]

(25) Mbya Guaraní

(ADOP, 2014, ELI Q4)

ha'e che-^{}Ø/-ve che-r-echa riae*
PRON3SG PRON1SG-^{*}-DOM/+DOM 1SG_A-R-see always
S O V

[+DOM] 'Carlos always sees me.'

[-DOM] [ungrammatical]

1st/2nd PS PRON Direct Objects: [+DOM]

(26) Aché - Northern Dialect

(ADOP, 2014, ELI Q4)

*awegi mechā-ma cho- *Ø/-pe*

DEM see-NF PRON1SG*-DOM/+DOM

S V

[+DOM] 'He always sees you.'

[-DOM] [ungrammatical]

(27) Aché - Northern Dialect

(ADOP, 2014, ELI Q4)

*awegi cho- *Ø/-pe mechā-ma*

DEM PRON1SG*-DOM/+DOM see-NF

S O V

[+DOM] 'He always sees you.'

[-DOM] [ungrammatical]

S V O1+DOM

S O1+DOM V

Differential Object Marking in... Guarayo (subgroup II)

(28) Guarayo

(Hoeller, 1932: 58)

o-mimbi che-u
3SG_A-blind PRON.1SG+DOM
V O

[+DOM] 'It blinds me.'

(29) Guarayo

(Hoeller, 1932: 58)

a-purandu che-ru-pe aitoĩ r-etse
1SG_A-ask 1SG-father+DOM my.mother R-CIRC
V O X

[+DOM] 'I asked my father about my mother.'

(30) Guarayo

(Hoeller, 1932: 20)

a-tsepia che renta-Ø
1SG-see PRON.1SG house
V S O

[-DOM] 'I see my house.'

Differential Object Marking in... Chiriguano (subgroup II)

(31) Chiriguano

(Dietrich, 1986: 129)

o-porándu mburuvicha chu-pe
 3SG_A-ask chief PRON.3SG+DOM
 V S O

[+DOM] 'The chief asked him.'

(32) Chiriguano

(ADOP, 2014, ELI Q4)

nde che-ve ñoico che-r-echa
 PRON.2SG PRON.3SG+DOM 1SG-R-see
 S O X

[+DOM] 'You sees me.'

(33) Chiriguano

(Bertinetto, 2005: 24)

michi-ãe a-je-akyo i-u-Ø
 smallness-NOM 3SG-REFL-break 3SG-leg
 S V O

[-DOM] 'The child broke his leg.'

Direct Object Markers

Languages	1 st & 2 nd person	3 rd person	Nasal Variant
Aché-Northern	pe	pe	
Aché-Ñacunday	pe	pe	
Paraguayan Guaraní	ve	pe	me
Mbyá	ve	pe	me
Paï Tavýterã	vy	pe	me
Chiriguano	ve	pe	
Tapiéte			
Guarayo	u	pe	
Pauserna			
Yuki			
Siriono			

Two Dimensional [DOM]

Relevant NP features [\pm ANIMATE] [\pm SPECIFIC]

[+DOM]	PRON[+HUMAN]	
[\pm DOM]	DEM or NP[+HUMAN]	> NP[-HUMAN; +ANIMATE; +SPECIFIC]
[-DOM]	NP[+ANIMATE; -SPECIFIC]	> NP[-ANIMATE]*

Word order

S	V	O.3[\pm DOM]		S	O.3[+DOM]	V
S	V	O.1/2[+DOM]		S	O.1/2[+DOM]	V

Concluding Remarks

- A glimpse into the morphology of Tupi-Guarani Southern clade
- Adjuncts markers show a continuum with three groups
- Indirect object markers show a reduce system
- Direct object marking: consistant DOM system in almost all of TG1 and most likely in Guarayo
- Parallel elicitation methods yields reliable morphosyntatic data on little described languages

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