A second comparison of Cariban pronouns and deictics

Since Meira's (2002) seminal contribution on pronominal and demonstrative forms in Cariban languages, not much comparative work has been done. New data[1] and comparative work (Meira & Franchetto 2005; Meira et al. 2010) make another investigation worthwhile. For this study, every pronominal or deictic form in Cariban is being annotated for form, meaning, and (partial) cognacy in a CLDF (Forkel et al. 2017) lexical database, to be processed with e.g. `lingpy` (List et al. 2021). The goals are to 1) reconstruct the Proto-Cariban system bottom-up using methods from digital historical linguistics, 2) identify new genealogical subgroupings or strengthen suggested ones, 3) investigate parallel developments in the pronominal systems, 4) make the dataset available for further research. Here, some preliminary results will be presented.

Meira (2002) provides a careful comparison of pronominal and deictic forms, and tentatively reconstructs Proto-Cariban forms. The cognate sets he identified are used here, as well as the established classification of third person forms (Meira 2002: 265–266; Derbyshire 1999: 54). The main improvement in the present study is careful etymological annotation: forms like Wayana *əməramkom(o)* '2PL'[2] (Tavares 2005: 180) are segmented into partial cognates (*əmə+r+am+komo*). Examples for newly identified cognates are Ikpeng *oren* 'PROX.ANIM' and *wam* 'PROX.ANIM.PL' (Pachêco 2001: 120) as reflexes of Proto-Cariban **mətjə* and **mətjamo*. Due to the bottom-up approach, pronominal systems of intermediate proto-languages are reconstructed. Such reconstructions – representing typical Cariban systems – are exemplified in Tables 1 and 2. Many of the comparative issues encountered throughout the family also appear in these tables.

The non-reconstructiblity of Proto-Parukotoan 1+2 forms is due to Proto-Waiwaian having a reflex of **ki-wɨ*, but its sister Werikyana a reflex of **ki-mə*. The first part is a 1+2 prefix, while the second part is a synchronically meaningless base (Meira 2002: 261), a formative. One of these two variants was likely found in Proto-Cariban, but their distribution in the family (Fig. 1) makes a reconstruction impossible. Closely related languages do not necessarily agree about the etymology of the 1+2 pronoun, and even dialects (Kari'ña) or SG/PL forms (Ye'kwana) may disagree. Interestingly, these two formatives correspond to the second syllables of the first and second pronouns (**əwɨ* and **əmə*), respectively.

Another obstacle for reconstruction are widespread reflexes of the emphatic marker **rə* (Meira 2002: 258). It has been grammaticalized several times, in different pronouns, in almost all branches of the family. While related languages can diverge with respect to the presence (and position) of **rə*, there are some preliminary patterns (Table 3): second person pronouns are a frequent target, along with medial animate demonstratives.

A clear shared innovation in the pronominal system is the development of first person **əwɨ* to **ju* in Proto-Panare-Pemongan. A potential additional criterion for the suggested Venezuelan branch (Gildea 2003; Mattéi-Müller 2002; Gildea 2015) is the loss of the initial syllable of **məkɨ-rə* 'MED.ANIM', see Akawaio *kɨrə*, Panare *kən*, or the Ye'kwana plural *kanno* (Stegeman & Hunter 2014: 85; T. E. Payne & D. L. Payne 2013: 89; Cáceres 2011: 122).

There are also potential contact effects: the southern Pekodian languages Bakairi and Ikpeng (but not more Northern Arara) share with Upper Xingu Carib the loss of initial **m* in the same pronoun: Arara and Ikpeng *mogɨn* and *ugun* 'DIST.ANIM' (Alves 2017: 72; Pachêco 2001: 119), Bakairi and Upper Xingu Carib *akaemo* and *akaɣo* 'DIST.ANIM.PL' (Meira 2022; dos Santos 2007: 55). Finally, Arara and Ikpeng *ug(o)+ro+ŋmo* '1+2PL' (de Souza 1993; Pachêco 2001: 119) etymologically correspond to Upper Xingu Carib *kuku+ɣe+ko* (dos Santos 2007: 55), though this may be a coincidence.

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[2]1 first person, 1+2 first and second person, 1+3 first and third person, 2 second person, 3 third person, ANIM animate, DIST distal, EMP emphatic, INAN inanimate, MED medial, PL plural, PROX proximal, SG singular.

Table 1: Proto-Pekodian

(a) Pronouns

	SG	PL
1	*u+rə	
2	*əmə+rə	*əmə+rə+jamo
1+2	*uku+rə	
1+3	*t͡ʃi+mna	

(b) Deictics

	ANIM.SG	ANIM.PL	INAN.SG
PROX	*məte(+rə)	*mət+jamo	*(t͡ʃ)erə/(t͡ʃ)en
MED			*mərə
DIST	*məkɨ	*mək+jamo	*mən

Table 2: Proto-Parukotoan

(a) Pronouns

	SG	PL
1	*owɨ(+ro)	
2	*omo+ro	*om+jamo(+ro)
1+2	*kɨ+ʔ(+ro)	*kɨ+ʔ+jamo(+ro)
1+3	*amna	
3ANIM	*noro	*in+amo+ro
3INAN	*iro	

(b) Deictics

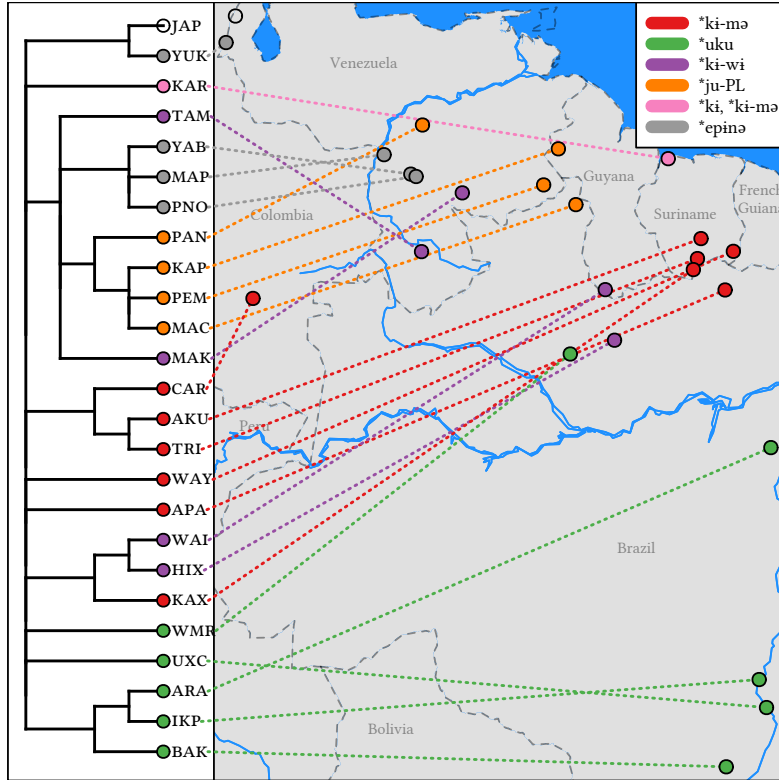|	ANIM.SG	ANIM.PL	INAN.SG
PROX	*moso(+ro)	*moʔ+t͡ʃamo(+ro)	*soro/onɨ
MED	*moko+ro	*mok+jamo(+ro)	*moro
DIST	*mokɨ	*mok+jamo	*monɨ

Figure 1: Geographical and genealogical distribution of 1+2 cognates

Table 3: Distribution of grammaticalized emphatic markers

Pronoun	With EMP	Total	Ratio
2	20	24	83.33%
MED.ANIM	14	17	82.35%
2PL	19	24	79.17%
1+2PL	11	16	68.75%
3.ANIM.PL	8	12	66.67%
MED.ANIM.PL	8	14	57.14%
1+2	9	20	45.00%
1	11	25	44.00%
PROX.ANIM.PL	7	20	35.00%
PROX.ANIM	4	20	20.00%
DIST.ANIM.PL	1	15	6.67%
PROX.INAN-1	1	16	6.25%
MED.INAN	1	22	4.55%

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