

THE FOURTH SYMPOSIUM ON AMAZONIAN
LANGUAGES (SAL 4)
Abstract Booklet

University of California, Berkeley

April 2-3, 2022

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Abstracts

Reality status in Iquito: an expanded description

Christine Beier and Lev Michael

Beier et al. (2011) presents a detailed description of the expression of reality status in Iquito [iqu], a highly-endangered Zaparoan language of Peruvian Amazonia. That paper claims that Iquito "marks a binary distinction between realis and irrealis clauses solely by means of a word order alternation." (Beier et al. 2011:65) Based on more recent fieldwork, in this talk we expand the description of the phenomenon and show that reality status in these types of clauses is in fact multiply expounded by a grammatical (constructional) tonal melody and pronominal allomorphy in addition to the previously described word order alternation.

Reference:

Beier, Christine, Cynthia Hansen, I-wen Lai, and Lev Michael. 2011. Exploiting word order to express an inflectional category: Reality status in Iquito. *Linguistic Typology* 15:65–99.

The usage and formation of plurals in the Wari' verbal number system

Joshua Birchall

In Wari' (Chapacuran), alternate verb forms can be used to express the same concept when one of the verbal arguments is plural. These forms are also sometimes used when the verb expresses multiple occurrences of an action or when the speaker places emphasis on the action itself. This rich system of verbal number is expressed through different morphological processes such as stem suppletion and reduplication. In this study we combine data from a corpus of natural speech, an unpublished dictionary and a questionnaire to better understand and describe how plural verbs are formed and used in Wari'.

Developing a typological database of nasal phonological phenomena for South American languages

Sebastian Clendenning-Jimenez, Myriam Lapierre, Lev Michael, Jasper Talwani

This talk describes the methodology, workflow, and typological framework for a major extension to the South American Phonological Inventory (SAPhon) database, with a focus on nasal alternations and nasal assimilation and harmony processes. This extension enriches SAPhon in three major ways: 1) allophones of each phoneme are now provided; 2) phonological processes linking to allophones to phonemes are given; and 3) phonological summaries from each major source on a language are provided, separate from the synthesis provided by SAPhon. We describe a number quality control methods and consistency checks, as well as challenges faced along the way.

An Arawakan mystery: Laryngeal features in Yanesha' and Chamikuro

Allegra Robertson

Yanesha' and Chamikuro together form Arawak's Western-Maipuran branch (e.g., Payne 1991), which exhibits atypical laryngeal behavior. In addition to familial ties, there is distributional and cognate-based evidence that laryngeals in Yanesha' and Chamikuro pattern similarly. However, whereas Yanesha's laryngeals have been analyzed as a subsegmental component of the vowel segment (Robertson 2021), Chamikuro's laryngeals have been categorized as segments (Parker 1994). In this talk, I examine the phonetic and phonological properties of laryngeals in Yanesha' and Chamikuro in order to determine a possible unified analysis of laryngeals. Pending further investigation, I suggest that Western-Maipuran laryngeals emerged for prosodic reasons in association with vowels.

Typology of Local Nasal and Oral Assimilation

Myriam Lapierre

This talk discusses which types of nasal and oral assimilation systems are (un)attested in the world's languages, as well as the restrictions that hold on particular types of systems. The typology reveals that edges of adjacent segments overwhelmingly tend to share the same value for the feature $[+/-\text{nasal}]$, which may be attributed to some mechanical properties of the velum. When only the edges of segments agree for the feature $[+/-\text{nasal}]$, this results in complex nasal segments. I argue that the specific assimilation strategy employed by a given language to resolve this type of nasal-oral mismatch at a segment boundary is predictable from the language's system of contrasts.

Non-moraicity and weight augmentation: the case of Shiwilu (Kawapanan) mid-central vowel

Alonso Vásquez Aguilar

This paper proposes that that the vowel /ə/ is non-moraic in Shiwilu, following Moraic Theory (Hyman 1985, Hayes 1989) using quantitative methods and naturalistic data. The ability of /ə/ to be stressed, or even to surface, would be due to a mora augmentation strategy consisting of the gemination of the following segment in syllables having /ə/ as nucleus. Two pieces of evidence are considered: the duration of the mid-central vowel, and the gemination of the consonant following /ə/. Results from this study enrich both typological knowledge about the phonological behavior of central vowels and the mora augmentation strategies observed cross-linguistically.

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Hayes, Bruce. 1989. Compensatory lengthening in moraic phonology. *LI* 20. 253–306. Hyman, Larry. 1985. *A theory of phonological weight*. Dordrecht: Foris.

A novel approach to reduplication across Tupi-Guaraní

Katherine Russell

In contexts of reduplication in Paraguayan Guaraní [gug, Tupi-Guaraní, Paraguay], two syllables are copied. The position of the reduplicant is variable, but morphophonologically conditioned. With data from base-reduplicant mismatches, I evaluate three possible analyses of reduplication. Contrary to previous analyses of reduplication in Tupi-Guaraní (Rose 2005, Hamidzadeh 2013), I argue that the reduplicant in Paraguayan Guaraní is best analyzed as an infix: specifically, a suffix to a stressed vowel. Drawing on a survey of 30 Tupi-Guaraní languages, I demonstrate that my analysis can be extended to account for reduplication patterns across the Tupi-Guaraní family, and makes accurate predictions about those patterns.

Sound change in Guató: evidence from a nineteenth-century manuscript

Kristina Balykova

The oldest available source on the Guató language (isolate, Brazil) is a wordlist collected by Johann Natterer in 1826. The comparison between forms registered in the manuscript and those recorded recently with the last Guató speakers allows us to identify sound changes that have affected the language over the last two centuries, most notably, deletion of /h/ between vowels and rhotacization of /d/ to /r/. Further examples of conservative forms that later underwent the changes come from wordlists by Castelnau (1851) and Schmidt (1905). Variation related to the aforementioned processes also appears to exist in the last speakers' speech.

Sources of Subordination in Nheengatu

Daven Hobbs

This study investigates processes of change in the development of Nheengatu by focusing in on the domain of subordination. Two Nheengatu subordination constructions—one purposive and one relative construction—are chosen as case studies and analyzed diachronically. Drawing data from grammatical descriptions and texts for three stages of the language, this study finds empirical support for the following claims: (1) both constructions developed through the “restructuring” of their respective source constructions, (2) in both cases, this restructuring involved the finitization of subordinate clauses, (3) these processes of restructuring can be modeled in terms of the cognitive mechanism of blending.

Phonological adaptation of Amazonian and Andean loanwords in Yanesha’ (Arawakan)

Nick Emlen, Lev Michael, and Roberto Zariquiey

In this talk we examine the phonological adaptation of loanwords from Andean and Amazonian languages in Yanesha’, an Arawakan language of the Peruvian Andean piedmont. Donor languages include varieties of Quechua, Panoan languages (mainly Kakataibo) and Arawakan languages of the Nihagantsi branch (mainly Ashéninka). We demonstrate that the adaptation patterns are generally systematic and constitute ‘optimal’ solutions to the differences between the phonologies of Yanesha’ and the varied donor languages, but also examine cases where Yanesha’ exhibits more than one solution to the adaptation problem, as well as one case where phonological adaptation of Quechuan loanwords appears to be ‘non-optimal’.

Motion events and the expression of manner and path in Secoya

Rosa Vallejos Yopán

Is Secoya an equipollently-framed language (Slobin 2004)? To explore whether path and manner receive relatively equal weight in the description of motion events, I collected data from three speakers using 55 video-clips (Ishibashi *et al.* 2006) controlled for figure, path, direction, manner, and boundary crossing. Manner includes *walking*, *jumping*, and *running*. Results show that while *jumping* and *running* are almost always encoded in the main verb or serialized to a path verb, *walking* is only implied. Walking events are consistently described by directional verbs (go/come/go-up/go-down). Thus, the encoding of manner and path seems to depend on whether manner is marked.

The marking of conditional clauses in Maropa, a Takanan language of the Bolivian Amazon

Gabriel A. Gallinate

In this presentation, I aim to describe how conditional clauses are marked in Maropa, a Takanan language from the Bolivian Amazon in danger of disappearing since there are less than 10 fluent speakers left (Guillaume, 2010, 2012).

Conditional clauses are complex constructions in terms of Hetterle (2015:48), mainly composed by a protasis (the condition or *if* clause) and an apodosis (the result state of the condition). These have been described as to be one of the few marked dependent clauses in Maropa. They are formed by appending the conditional morpheme *-kwatse* (Guillaume, 2012:222) in the protasis as shown in (1).

- (1) [M-e-kachi-ta-**kwatse**] m-a-manu-a =jeda =chenu.
 1SG-IPFV-bite-3A-**COND** 1SG-PST-die-PST =UNCERTAIN =EMP
 ‘If it (the snake) had bitten me, I would have died.’ mo020 (Guillaume, 2012:222)

However, I argue that this type of clauses is not marked by a morph, but by a suprasegmental modification. In (2), I show sentences that illustrate the following evidence to support my claim: (i) conditional clauses do not always appear with an instance of *-kwatse* as (2a, b); and (ii) the suffix *-kwatse* can appear in both the protasis and the apodosis as (2c). Note that (2a, b) are realis conditional clauses and (2c) is a hypothetical one, and that I am glossing *-kwatse* (also realized as *-kwarse*) as ‘hypothetical’ and adding an intonational clitic =’ as the marker for the protasis.

- (2) a. e-ani te eja=’ eja=neje te k-e-nyha.
 IPFV-exist BM egg=**COND** egg=INSTR BM 1PL-HORT-eat
 ‘If there are some eggs, let’s eat it (the rice) with eggs.’ rey_014:43
- b. ei mi-pu-da te chu eka yhusu, eka kúa=’
 believe 2SG-AUX.ITR-HAB BM that our god our mother=**COND**
 daime mi-da.
 good 2SG-do
 ‘If you believe in our God and in our mother, you will do well.’ rey_025:4
- c. mie mi-shanapa-kwarse te eme=’ mi-mbaja-kwarse te
 2SG 2SG-know-**HYP** BM 1SG=**COND** 2SG-ask.for-**HYP** BM
 eme te yuwi.
 1SG BM water
 ‘If you knew me, you would ask me for water.’ rey_004:13

My proposal states that a rising intonation that falls on the last element of the protasis serves as a marker of these adverbial clauses. On top of that, the protasis always precedes the apodosis (which ends in a falling pitch) and the rise in pitch is mostly followed by a pause, which all may serve as correlates for clause marking as *Figure 1* shows.

That being said, my statements are backed up by the above examples from data that comes from different sources: (i) my own recordings of elicitations, short narratives and visual stimuli from 2017 and 2021; (ii) Lena Sells’s recordings from her

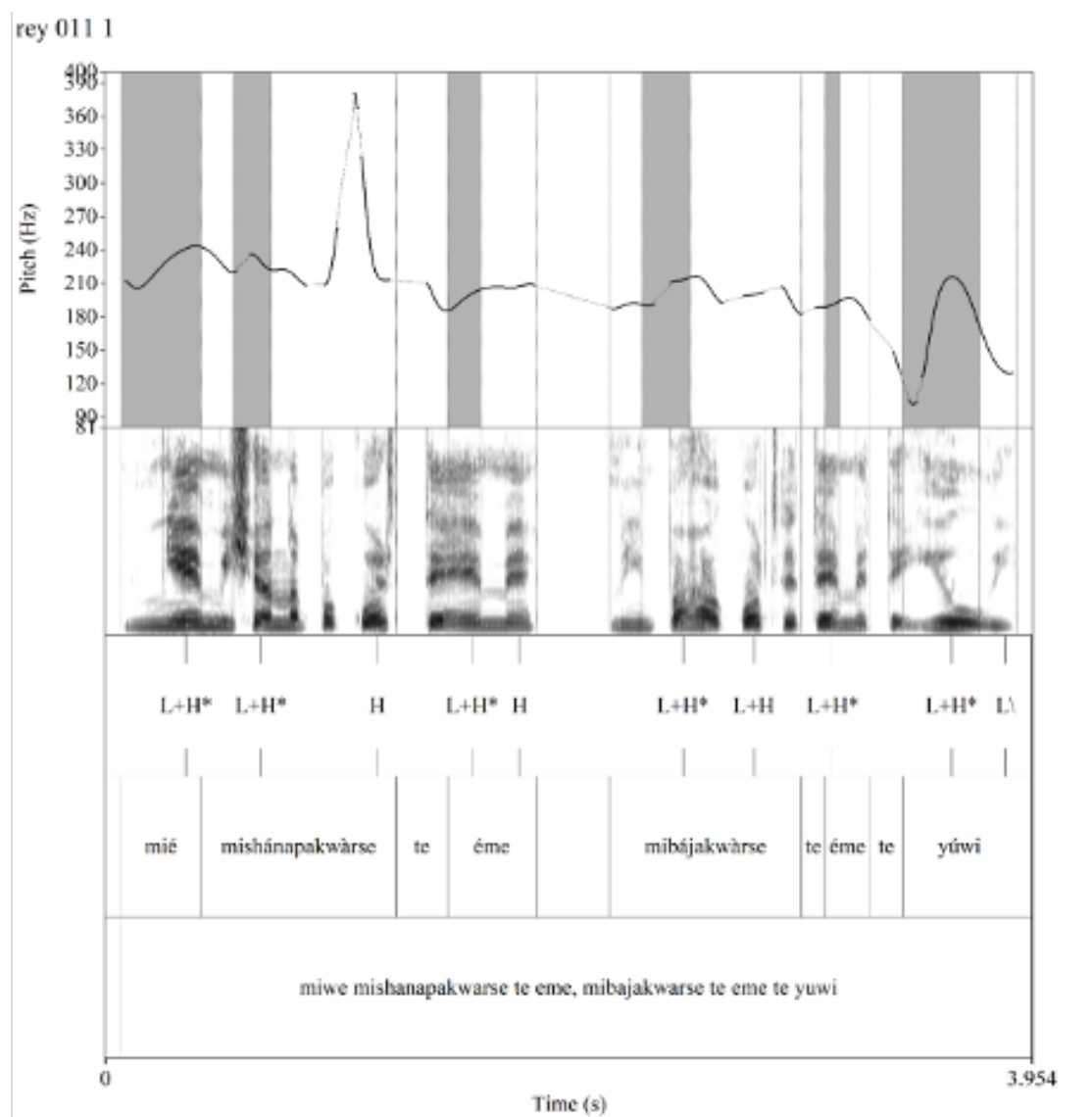


Figure 1. Pitch track of the conditional complex sentence in (2c).

work in 2019; and (iii) Antoine Guillaume’s work on the language (Guillaume, 2012). The main goal of this study is to shed more light on how conditional clauses are marked in Maropa in an unusual way via intonation only.

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From lexical verbs to function words in Enlhet-Enenlhet

John Elliott, Raina Heaton, and Jens Van Gysel

Across the Enlhet-Enenlhet languages, two nominalized verb forms with contrasting TAM semantics (perfective and imperfective) tend to grammaticalize into e.g. subordinators and negators. Different languages grammaticalize nominalizations of different stems for these functions (e.g. Enxet Sur *-yaqwam-* ‘arrive’ vs. Sanapaná *-teny-* ‘seek’ for purpose clauses), and differ on whether the perfective or imperfective is used. Using data from Sanapaná, Enxet Sur, Enlhet Norte, Enenlhet, and Guaná, this comparative study investigates (1) what morphosyntactic features distinguish productive uses of these forms from grammaticalized ones and (2) which semantic or morphosyntactic factors, if any, determine whether the perfective or imperfective form grammaticalizes.

Negation strategies in Northern Pastaza Kichwa

Alexander Rice

This paper presents strategies of negation in Northern Pastaza Kichwa [ISO 639-3: qvz], a variety of Amazonian Kichwa (Quechuan, Ecuador). As in many Quechuan languages, standard negation (Payne 1985) is expressed with the negative adverb *mana*, and can be employed with the irrealis enclitic *=chu* to create non-standard negative constructions (Pineda-Bernuy 2014). In Northern Pastaza Kichwa, *mana* and *=chu* are also used to form negative polarity items and discourse stance markers. This small inventory of forms being used in a relatively wide range of constructions is an example of ‘root economy’ in Quechuan languages (Adelaar & Muysken 2004: 233).

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Negation in co-speech gestures of spoken Ka’apor (Tupian) and in Ka’apor signed language

Gustavo Godoy

Ka’apor people have a manual negation morpheme that functions as a conventional gesture used by speakers/hearings and as a lexeme in their signed language. The sign functions as a word and as a suffix. The gesture is regularly associated with negation spoken morphemes. Beyond the conventional gesture, Ka’apor speakers also use non-standardized gesticulation to convey negation. I analyze the similarities and differences of spoken-gestural language and signed language considering the typology of negation in signed languages and the kind of gestures that display interruption, which is called “open hand prone” or “away gestures”.

Caquinte Indefinites Pronouns

Zachary O’Hagan

Caquinte (Arawak; Peru) has three indefinite pronouns: *taaka* ‘someone, something’; *kerika/keroka* ‘whoever (m/f), wherever’; *teekatsi* ‘no one, nothing.’ The first two originate in the interrogative pronouns *taa* ‘who, what’ and *ke* ‘which, where,’ and modal =*ka*; the latter in the negator *tee*. I describe the morphosyntactic and semantic properties of each, showing that the first two retain properties of interrogatives (e.g., anti-agreement). I argue that *taaka* is an NPI (1), found only in conditionals and negated clauses (and in questions), contexts that license NPIs. I contrast a construction with the verbal suffix *-ji* ‘someone’ for indefinite subjects in positive polarity contexts.

- (3) ...aatonijite taaka oabakempi...
 aato =niji =te **taaka** og -ab -k -i -mpi
 NEG =PURP =CE something happen.to -DIR -PFV -AR -2

...so something doesn't happen to you...

Split ergatives or splitting hairs? Alignment in Nadëb

Pattie Epps, Karolin Obert, and Emily Luedke

Unlike its sister languages, Nadëb (Naduhup family) displays ergative-absolutive alignment, and Martins Martins (1999:263) even assess it as “one of the most ergative languages of Amazonia”. However, new data from recent fieldwork suggest that ergativity is less pervasive in Nadëb than has been previously implied, and that neutral, nominative-accusative, and even tripartite alignment are also attested. Here, we assess Nadëb alignment across morphology and syntax, as attested in pronominal prefixing on verbs, constituent order and deletion patterns, and other phenomena. Diachronically, we argue that a number of these patterns are probably innovative, motivated by contact with neighboring Arawakan languages.

(What happened to) dative subjects in Panará

Bernat Bardagil

Recent years have seen a small surge of interest in non-canonically case-marked subjects in Jê languages, specifically in the Northern branch with work by Alves (2018) on Canela and by Gomes (2021) on Mbêngôkre. This talk explores the Panará cognate roots of Jê verbs that denote mental or physical states, and it shows that they are no longer syntactically encoded with dative subjects, but instead became regularized with absolutive or ergative subjects. The talk also discusses this issue in the broader scope of the syntactic realignment undergone by all Panará verbs.

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A'ingae pied-piping: A Q-based analysis

Maksymilian Dabkowski

I describe and analyze pied-piping in A'ingae (ISO 639-3: con), an understudied and endangered Amazonian isolate. A'ingae shows obligatory pied-piping of DPs and optional pied-piping of TPs. Secondary WH-movement is obligatory in DPs, but not in TPs. I analyze the A'ingae pattern in Cable's (2010) Q-based theory of pied-piping, which proposes that pied-piping results from the movement of a phrase headed by a question (Q) particle and correctly predicts the range of A'ingae pied-piping structures. All the data were collected by the author.

Coordination, coherence and A'ingae clause linkage

Scott AnderBois and Daniel Altshuler

In this talk, we examine bridging clause linkage in A'ingae, an isolate spoken in Amazonian Ecuador and Colombia. Recent typological work (e.g. Guérin Aiton 2019) has emphasized temporal sequentiality in bridging cross-linguistically along with providing more informal insights on its pragmatic contributions to discourse. Here, we develop a formal account drawing on independently motivated theories of discourse coherence such as SDRT. We show that this account captures various intuitions about bridging precisely, and helps elucidate the connections between bridging and other formally related constructions in A'ingae, most notably asyndetic coordination and certain kinds of adverbial clauses.

Linguistic structure in Iskonawa narratives

Carolina Rodriguez Alzza

Iskonawa is an endangered language spoken in the Peruvian Amazon. Since many decades ago, this Panoan language has been in contact with another language of the same family, the Shipibo-Konibo. Approximately 100 persons recognize themselves as Iskonawa, but the speaker's number is less. This presentation discusses the grammar structure of Iskonawa narratives. First, I will offer a brief typological description of Iskonawa, considering an overview of the Panoan language family. Based on a corpus of narrations, I will analyze (i) the pronominal system to express narrator positionality and (ii) the time/aspect to mark temporality in the narrations. Finally, I will comment Shipibo-Konibo borrows in Iskonawa narratives.

Antipassive prefixation and noun incorporation in Guarani

Bruno Estigarribia

Paraguayan Guarani is assumed to lack an antipassive (Dryer & Haspelmath 2013; Heaton 2017, 2020). We provide naturalistic and elicitation evidence that the verbal prefixes *poro-* and *mba'e-* are antipassive markers (1, 2).

- (4) a-**poro**-juka.
1SG.ACTIVE-**ANTIPASSIVE.HUMAN**-kill
'I kill (people).'
- (5) a-**mba'e**-jogua.
1SG.ACTIVE-**ANTIPASSIVE.NONHUMAN**-buy
'I buy (things).'

We show that *poro-/mba'e-* prefixation has properties typical of antipassives and others shared by some types but not universal. Since *poro-/mba'e-* prefixation has been analyzed as noun incorporation (Velázquez-Castillo 1995), we discuss Guarani noun incorporation properties absent from *poro-/mba'e-* prefixation and conclude that these are different mechanisms.

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Suppletion, agreement, and multiple exponence in Tuparí, a Tupían language of Brazil

Adam Singerman

Tuparí exhibits suppletion in a set of verbs of motion and existential verbs as well as in auxiliaries that mark aspect/tense/mood. All of this suppletion is sensitive to the category of number; for certain verbs/auxiliaries, it is additionally sensitive to posture: horizontal versus vertical. Combined with the evidential suffix (which agrees with the subject in number) and the resultative suffix (which agrees with the subject in both posture and number), the suppletion facts from Tuparí constitute a multiple exponence problem that diverges markedly from the suppletion typology explored in recent literature. This talk explores those divergences and their theoretical ramifications.

Relativization in Kawahíva

Wesley dos Santos

I present novel data on relative clauses from two dialects of Kawahíva, Júma [ISO jua] and Uru Eu Wau Wau [ISO urz], an underdocumented Tupí-Guaraní language. I show how the pattern of relativization found in Kawahíva is akin to sister languages, like Kamaiurá (Seki 2000: 177-183), as in the existence of cognate affixes that co-vary with the syntactic function of the head of the relative clause, i.e., *remi-*, *-ipyt*, *-tat*, *-tap*, *-ama'e/-uma'e*, and *-wat* (ibid. p. 182). However, I also show important differences found in the Kawahíva pattern, as the possibility of co-occurrence of these affixes, not previously attested in any language of the family, to my knowledge.
