



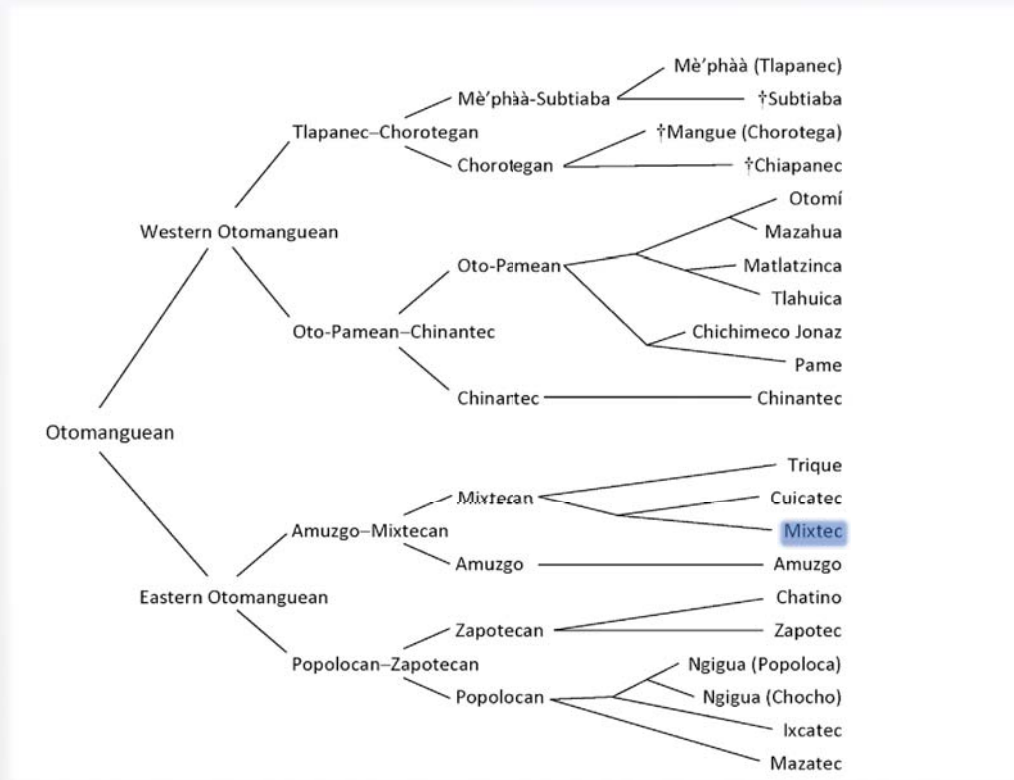
Agent hierarchy and segmental erosion

Allomorphy in dependent pronouns in Yucunani Sà'án Sàvĩ

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Yucunani Sà'án Sàvĩ

- Yucunani, San Juan Mixtepec (Oaxaca, Mexico)
- 105 inhabitants
- Approx. 87 speakers (INEGI 2010)



Campbell 2017: 24



Yucunani Sà'án Sàvĩ in diaspora

- Migration to
 - ❑ Other parts of Mexico (e.g., Abasolo, Veracruz, and the San Quintín Valley, Baja California) (Eberhard et al. 2019)
 - ❑ The US, particularly California (Kresge 2007)
- Diaspora situation widely unknown and understudied
- Different varieties of Mixtec come into contact with each other, English and Spanish (Bax 2020; Reyes Basurto et al. in press)



Mixtec “Classifiers”

- Mixtec languages have a set of 3rd person clitics often called *classifiers* (de León 1988; Small 1990; De Hollenbach, 1995; Macaulay 1996; Ventayol-Boada 2020)
- These *classifiers* can fulfil different functions, most notably person markers, possessors and relativizers.

GENERIC	<i>ñà</i>
INAN	<i>ñà</i>
FORM.PL.HUM	<i>nà</i>
CHILD	<i>tsi</i>
M.FORM	<i>rà</i>
F.FORM	<i>ñá</i>
ZOO	<i>tí</i>
ROUND	<i>tí</i>
TRUNK	<i>tú</i>
LIQ	<i>rá</i>
DEITY	<i>yà</i>

Classifiers of Yucunani Sà'án Sàvĩ (Belmar, Vásquez-Aguilar & Salazar, in progress)



Yucunani Sà'án Sàvĭ

person marking

Enclitic pronouns → possession (in NP), arguments not expressed with a lexical noun phrase (in VP).

Yucunani Sà'án Sàvĭ → complex pronominal system:

- Degrees of formality
- Intensive allomorphy
- Pluralizer enclitic =*kue*
- Somewhat distinct sets of agent-like and patient-like enclitics

		AGENT-LIKE PRONOUNS	
		SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	EXC	=yù / = ^L	=kuê
	INCL	—	=kó / = ^H
2 nd	NFORM	=kú / = ^H	=kue-yú
	FORM	=ní	=kue-ní
3 rd	GNR	=ì / =à(n) / =ñà	=kue-yì
	INAN	=ì / =à(n) / =ñà	=kue-ñà
	FORM	—	=nà / =kue-nà
	CHILD	=tsi	=kue-tsi
	M.FORM	=rà	=kue-rà
	F.FORM	=ì / =á(n) / =ñá	=kue-ñá
	ZOO	=tí	=kue-tí
	ROUND	=tí	=kue-tí
	TRUNK	=tú	=kue-tú
	LIQ	=rá	=kue-rá
	DEITY	=yà	=kue-yà



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		PATIENT-LIKE PRONOUNS	
		SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	EXC	= <i>yù</i>	= <i>kué</i>
	INCL	—	= <i>kue-kó</i>
2 nd	NFORM	= <i>yô</i>	= <i>kue-yú</i>
	FORM	= <i>nĩ</i>	= <i>kue-ní</i>
3 rd	GNR	= <i>ñà</i> / = <i>à(n)</i>	= <i>kue-yì</i>
	INAN	= <i>ñà</i> / = <i>à(n)</i>	= <i>kue-ñà</i>
	FORM	—	= <i>nà</i> / = <i>kue-nà</i>
	CHILD	= <i>tsi</i>	= <i>kue-tsi</i>
	M.FORM	= <i>rà</i>	= <i>kue-rà</i>
	F.FORM	= <i>ñá</i>	= <i>kue-ñá</i>
	ZOO	= <i>tí</i>	= <i>kue-tí</i>
	ROUND	= <i>tí</i>	= <i>kue-tí</i>
	TRUNK	= <i>tú</i>	= <i>kue-tú</i>
	LIQ	= <i>rá</i>	= <i>kue-rá</i>
	DEITY	= <i>yà</i>	= <i>kue-yà</i>



1st person singular in Yucunani Sà'án Sàvĭ

Belmar et al. 2020

1st person singular →

=yù after a low tone (L)

=^L (floating low tone) in other contexts

=^L sometimes realized as a falling tone

Example 1:

Ahă tisaán kuàâ doce á trece kuià ínkáà-yù tá ntsìtsà'àn-yù ntsìsáchuun. [MYUC-1028, 01:14]

àha	tisaán	kuàâ	doce	á	trece	kuià	ínkáà=yù	tá
yes	maybe	approximately	twelve	or	thirteen	years	IPFV.have=1SG	when

ntsìtsà'àn=yù ntsìsáchuun=^L.

HAB.PFV.go=1SG HAB.PFV.work=1SG

‘Yes, I was approximately twelve or thirteen years old when I went to work.’



1st person exclusive plural in Yucunani Sà'án Sàvĩ

Belmar et al. 2020

1st person exclusive plural → pluralizer (=kue) + =L

Example 2:

Sáná ntsà'àn-kuê ntsítsá'an-kuê ra ñàà, nùú xina ñú'u ntsítsá'àn ku ñàà, McDonald's-ka ra ñàà, ntsàtsi iin hamburguesa. [MYUC-1008, 02:06]

sáná	ntsà'àn= kue =L	ntsítsá'an= kue =L	ra	ñàà
then	PFV.go=PLZ=1SG	PFV.eat=PLZ=1SG	?	DISC
nùú	xina-ñú'u	ntsítsá'an=L	ku	ñàà
OBL	first.time	PFV.eat=1SG	COP	DISC
McDonald's=ka	ra	ñàà		
McDonald's=ANA	?	DISC		
ntsàtsi=L	iin	hamburguesa.		
PFV.eat=1SG	a	burger		

‘Then we went to eat and where I ate for the first time was there in McDonald’s, I ate a burger.’



1st person inclusive plural in Yucunani Sà'án Sàvǐ

1st person inclusive plural →

=*kó* Sometimes realized as [yó] or coloring the last vowel, especially /u/

Sometimes realized as a high or a rising tone, depending on the melody of the phrase

Example 3:

Sua'a sua'a-ni kú sa'á suaà... suaà kú nkòò nùú kú nkù'ǎn ra ñàà. [MYUC-1008, 01:17]

sua'a	sua'a=ni	kú	sa'a= kó	suaà			
this	this=EMPH	FUT	POT.do=1PL.INCL	this.way			
suaà	kú	nkòò	nùú	kú	nkù'ùn= kó	ra	ñàà.
this.way	FUT	POT.be	OBL	FUT	POT.go=1PL.INCL	?	DISC

‘This and this, we are going to do like this... this is going to be where we go.’



2nd person in Yucunani Sà'án Sàvǐ

2nd person singular non-formal →

=*kú* Sometimes realized as [yú] or coloring the last vowel / Depending on the tonal melody, it may be realized with a rising tone instead

If the last vowel is /u/, it is realized as a high tone

Example 4:

Và'a nchuà'a vídà yéǎ rì meú ra kuě tsíní-ñú'ú sáchuún táná sáchuùn ra ñàà, ne'ǎ ñàà kátsǎ káchâ. [MYUC-1006, 01:05]

và'a	nchuà'a	vídà	yéè= kú	rì	meé= kú	ra	kuě
good	very	life	IPFV.exist=2SG.NFORM	because	TOP=2SG.NFORM	?	NEG
tsíní-ñú'u= kú		sáchuun= kú		táná	sáchuun= ^L	ra	ñàà
IPFV.need=2SG.NFORM		IPFV.work=2SG.NFORM		like	IPFV.work=1SG	?	DISC
ne'ě= kú		ñàà	kátsí= kú		káchì=ñà.		
PURP.get=2SG.NFORM		REL	PURP.eat=2SG.NFORM		IPFV.say=2SG.NFORM		

‘You have a very good life because you don’t have to work like I work to get food, he said.’



3rd person generic

3rd person generic →

=*i* Often coloring the last vowel

=*à(n)* If the word ends with /i/, =*à(n)* is used instead

=*ñà*

Example 5:

Nùú ñu'í ra ñàà kú nkìtsáì sáchuun sara ñàà ntsìni-à. [MYUC-1006, 00:35]

nùú	ñu'ú= ñà	ra	ñàà	kú	nkìtsáá= ñà	sáchuun= ñà
OBL	land=3.GNR	?	DISC	FUT	POT.start=3.GNR	IPFV.work=3.GNR

sara	ñàà	ntsìni= ñà .
then	DISC	PFV.see=3.GNR

‘On his land, he was going to start to work, then he saw.’



3rd person feminine

3rd person singular feminine →

=*i* Often coloring the last vowel

=*á(n)* If the word ends with /i/, =*à(n)* is used instead

=*ñá*

Example 6:

Ntàtsààí ra ñàà sáná níkítsi-kué tsi-án. [MYUC-1008, 00:59]

ntàtsàà=**ñá** ra ñàà

PFV.come.back=3SG.F.FORM ? DISC

sáná níkítsi=kue=^L tsi=**ñá**.

then PFV.come=PLZ=1SG COM=3.F.FORM

‘She came back, and then we went back with her.’



Segmental erosion

Segmental erosion refers to the loss of a phonological segment:

- *yù'ù > =yù > =L
- =kú > =ú > =H
- =kó > =ó > =H
- ñà > =à(n) / =í
- *yá'á' > ña'á > ñá > =á(n) / =í

Proto-forms from Josserand 1983 and Dürr 1987

Example 7:

Vichi kú ntàkanì iin ñàà kuéntù, ñàà ntsintàkani mátsá'nù nùû tá luù. [MYUC-1011, 00:37]

vichi	kú	ntàkani=L	iin	ñàà	kuéntù	ñàà	ntsintàkani
today	FUT	POT.tell=1SG	one	DISC	story	REL	HAB.PERF.tell
mátsá'nu=L	nùú=L	tá	luu=L.				
grandmother=1SG	OBL=1SG	when	small=1SG				

‘Today I am going to tell a story that my grandmother used to tell me when I was a child.’



Grammaticalization: Agent hierarchy

1s > 2s > 1pl > 3 (adapted from Silverstein 1976)

Example 8:

Cha nikächì-yù tsi-nà ñàà (...) cha a kúu chinta'í-yù sáchuùn tienda [MYUC-1028, 06:57]

cha	nikächì=yù	tsi=nà	ñaà			
and	PFV.say=1SG	COM=3PL.HUM	COMP			
cha	a	kúu	chinta'á=ñà=yù	sáchuun=L	tienda.	
and	Q	POT.be	POT.send=3.A=1SG.P	IPFV.work=1SG.A	shop	

‘And I told them (...) if they could send me to work at the shop.’

Example 9: *Kú nà'ú-yù* [Elicitation]

kú	nà'a=kú=yù.	
FUT	remember=2SG.NFORM.A=1SG.P	

‘Remember me’



Grammaticalization: PAS

(Du Bois 1987; 2003)

- One Lexical Argument Constraint
- Nonlexical A Constraint
- One New Argument Constraint
- Given A Constraint

→ A tend to be Given (very commonly 1 and 2 person)

→ O tend to be New

→ S tend to be introductions (3 person is often expressed with lexical NPs)



Grammaticalization: Frequency

- “Frequency-driven morphologization considers de markedness and frequency of the pronoun-verb cooccurrences” (Ariel 1988)

Example 10:

Tá kée-kue-yì skuélà jara tsá'ìn sá'ì tarea-ñà. [MYUC-1028, 07:23]

tá	kée=kue=ñà	skuélà	jara	tsá'àn=ñà	sá'a=ñà
when	IPFV.leave=PLZ=3.GNR	school	then	HAB.IPFV.go=3.GNR	IPFV.do=3.GNR

tarea=ñà.

task=3.GNR

‘When they leave school then they go to do their homework.’



Grammaticalization: Analogy

- 3.GNR: ñà > =à(n) / =ì
- 3.F.FORM: ñá > =á(n) / =í

Example 11:

Iin kii káchǎ ñàà... ntàkani-á iin kuéntù ñàà. [MYUC-1006, 00:25]

iin	kii	káchì=ñá	ñàà
one	day	IPFV.say=3.F.FORM	DISC
ntàkani=ñá	iin	kuéntù	ñàà.
PFV.tell=3.F.FORM	one	story	DISC

‘One day she says... she told a story.’



Conclusions

Allomorphy in Yucunani Sà'án Sàvi dependent pronouns:

- To what extent and in what order?
 - Agent hierarchy (Silverstein 1976) **1s > 2s > 1pl > 3**
- Why?
 - Discourse and information management - PAS (Du Bois 1987; 2003)
- Frequency
 - 3rd person generic is by far the most common 3rd person enclitic
- Analogy
 - 3rd person feminine is segmentally identical to 3rd person generic, so it undergoes the same processes of segmental erosion



Tá tsà'vǐ-kue-ní!

