

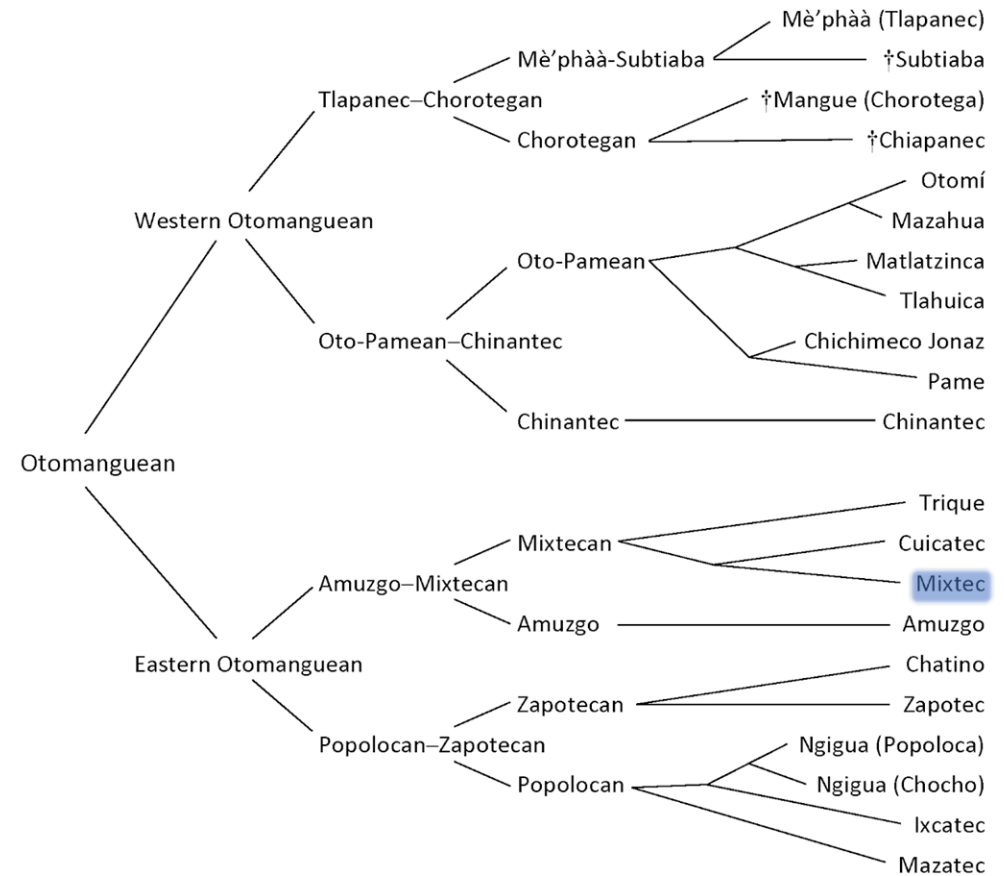


Allomorphy in personal pronouns in Yucunani Sà'án Sàvĩ

Alonso Vásquez-Aguilar, Guillem Belmar & Jeremías Salazar

Yucunani Sà'án Sàvĩ

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



Campbell 2017: 24



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 marking, possessors and relativizers.

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

Classifiers of Yucunani Sà'an Sàvi (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 (the latter of which can attach to the post-verbal NP functioning as agent)

		AGENT-LIKE PRONOUNS	
		SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	EXC	=yù / = ^L	= <i>kué</i>
	INCL	—	= <i>kó</i> / = ^H
2 nd	NFORM	= <i>kú</i> / = ^H	= <i>kue-yú</i>
	FORM	= <i>ní</i>	= <i>kue-ní</i>
3 rd	GNR	= <i>ì</i> / = <i>à(n)</i> / = <i>ñà</i>	= <i>kue-yì</i>
	INAN	= <i>ì</i> / = <i>à(n)</i> / = <i>ñà</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>í</i> / = <i>á(n)</i> / = <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>



Yucunani Sà'án Sàvĩ

person marking

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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>yó</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:

Àhă tisaán kuàâ doce á trece kuìà ínkáà-yù tá ntsìtsà'àn-yù ntsìsáchuùn. [MYUC-1028, 01:14]

àha	tisaán	kuàâ	doce	á	trece	kuìà	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 Sàvĭ

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, ntsàtsĭ 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=A N A	?	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 Sàví

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 nkòo nùú kú nkò'ǒn 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	nkòo	nùú	kú	nkù'un= 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 Sàvĭ

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 yéŭ rì meú ra kuě tsíní-ñú'u sáchuún táná sáchuùn ra ñàà, ne'ŭ ñàà kátsŭ 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 singular non-formal →

=*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 nkìtsáà sáchuun sara ñàà ntsìnì-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	ntsìnì= 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:

Ntàtsàìí ra ñàà sáná nìkìtsi-kuê tsi-án. [MYUC-1008, 00:59]

ntàtsàà=**ñá** ra ñàà

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

sáná nìkìtsi=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:

- *yùʔù > =yù > =L [1sg]
- =kú > =ú > =H [2sg.nform]
- =kó > =ó > =H [1pl.incl]
- ñà > =à(n) / =ì [3.gnr]
- *yáʔáʔ > ña'á > ñá > =á(n) / =í [3.f.form]

Proto-forms from Josserand 1983 and Dürr 1987

Example 7:

Vichi kú ntàkanì iin ñàà kuéntù, ñàà ntsintàkani mátsá'nù nùù 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 nìkǎchì-yù tsi-nà ñàà (...) cha a kúu chinta'í-yù sáchuùn tienda [MYUC-1028, 06:57]

cha	nìkǎchì=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

