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The development of an inclusive/exclusive split and its reflex in the verbal system: Evidence from Uchumataqu

Uchumataqu belongs to the Bolivian Uru-Chipaya language family (isolate). Around 1950 it became extinct and was replaced by Aymara. However, ample studies on Uchumataqu were conducted during the last 50 years of its existence. Recent research includes studies by Muysken (2000, 2001, 2005) and Hannß (2008), from which the data are taken.

In what follows, I will present data on the inclusive/exclusive split of the 1st person plural in the pronominal and verbal system of Uchumataqu.

The Uchumataqu pronominal system can be sketched as follows (Hannß 2008: 183):

(1) *wir*   'I'   *uchumi*   'we (incl)'
     am   'you'   *wisnaka*   'we (excl)'
     ni   'he, she, it'   *amchuka*   'you'
                                ninaka   'they'

It has been proposed (Hannß 2008: 215ff) that the inclusive/exclusive split in the pronominal system developed only relatively recently under increasing influence from the neighbouring but genetically unrelated Aymara language. This language likewise marks an inclusive/exclusive split in both its pronominal and verbal system. In Uchumataqu, the form that resulted from the constant influence of Aymara is *wisnaka* 'we (excl)'.

In Uchumataqu, person is marked on the verb in only three instances: the marker *-u* signals a 1st person singular in present tense, while *-a* marks a 1st person singular in the future, and *-achu* refers to a 1st person plural exclusive in present tense (cf. table 1). The form *-achu* takes the same slot as *-u* and *-a*, the markers being mutually exclusive. It has to be noted that *-achu* is testified only for the last stage of Uchumataqu after 1930 (Métraux 1935, Vellard 1949-1967).

Since *wisnaka* is attested even in the earliest document on Uchumataqu (Uhle 1894), while the verbal form *-achu* occurs only after 1930, it is possible that the latter was created to reflect the inclusive/exclusive split already existent in the Uchumataqu pronominal system (and to equal the Aymara system, on which the Uchumataqu system was modelled).

When one actually investigates the use of *-achu*, structures as in (2) are found (on funeral rituals and a meal prepared in honour of the deceased):

(2) *uchumi*   *awaris-taki*   *lux-achu-chay*
     we (incl)   soul-BEN   eat-1PL.EXCL-DEC
     'We eat for the soul.'   (Vellard 1949: 167)

What is remarkable is that the marker *-achu*, referring to a 1st person plural exclusive, is used together with the pronoun of 1st person plural inclusive *uchumi*.

In the presentation, I will seek to provide possible grammaticalisation paths (cf. Croft 2003: 253ff) for the form *-achu* and will argue that the pronoun *uchumi* served as a source for the development of the newly invented marker *-achu*. Furthermore, it will also be discussed whether the pronoun *uchumi* in constructions such as (2) can be analysed as being generic (cf. Bickel & Nichols 2007: 227).

Table 1: Overview of tense and person marking suffixes (from: Hannß 2008: 211)

Person	Present tense	Future tense
1st sg	*-u*	*-a*
2nd sg	Ø	*-aki*
3rd sg	Ø	*-aki*
1st pl incl	Ø	*-aki*
1st pl excl	*-achu*	*-aki*
2nd pl	Ø	*-aki*
3rd pl	Ø	*-aki*

Abbreviations

BEN   Benefactive
DEC   Declarative
EXCL   Exclusive
INCL   Inclusive
1PL.EXCL   1st person plural exclusive

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