

Morphology of the World's Languages

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

Evidence from Uchumataqu

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Outline

- 1) Introduction to the Uchumataqu language
- 2) Grammaticalisation parameters and contact-induced grammaticalisation
- 3) The development of an inclusive/exclusive opposition in Uchumataqu
- 4) Incomplete grammaticalisation
- 5) Conclusions



(http://www.compassion.com/countrymaps/BO_map.jpg)

Parameters of grammaticalisation

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- c. **deategorialisation**: loss of morphosyntactic properties
- d. **erosion** (or “phonetic reduction”): loss of phonetic substance

(Heine and Kuteva 2005: 80)

Contact-induced grammaticalisation

Model Language (M)

versus

Replica Language (R)

(Heine and Kuteva 2005)

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- c. To this end, they draw on *universal strategies* of grammaticalisation, using construction **Ry** in order to develop **Rx**.
- d. They *grammaticalise* **Ry** to **Rx**.

(Heine and Kuteva 2005: 81, markings KH)

Contact-induced grammaticalisation

M = Aymara (L2)

Mx = incl/excl split

in 1st pl

R = Uchumataqu (L1)

Rx = incl/excl split in 1st pl

Ry = pronouns of 1st sg *wir* and 1st pl *uchumi*

Ry —————> **Rx**

The Uchumataqu pronominal system

The pronominal system of Uchumataqu before 1930

<i>wir</i>	‘I’	<i>uchumi</i>	‘we’
<i>am</i>	‘you’	<i>amchuka</i>	‘you’
<i>ni</i>	‘he, she, it’	<i>niwichi</i>	‘they’

The Uchumataqu pronominal system

The pronominal system of Uchumataqu before 1930

		<i>uchumi</i>	1 + 2 1 + 2 + 3
1	<i>wir</i>		1 + 3
2	<i>am</i>	<i>amchuka</i>	2 + 3
3	<i>ni</i>	<i>niwichi</i>	3 + 3

(cf. Cysouw 2002: 47)

The Uchumataqu pronominal system

Changes around 1930

niwichi

ni-wichi

3rd-PL

‘they’

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ni-naka (< Aymara)

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wisnaka

wir + *-naka* (< Aymara)

1st-PL

‘we (excl)’



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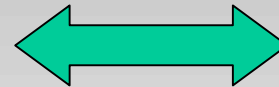
wisnaka

wir + *-naka* (< Aymara)

1st-PL

‘we (excl)’

uchumi + incl



The Uchumataqu pronominal system

The Uchumataqu pronominal system after 1930

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before 1930

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2	<i>am</i>	<i>amchuka</i>
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after 1930

		<i>uchumi</i>	1 + 2
			1 + 2 + 3
1	<i>wir</i>	<i>wisnaka</i>	1 + 3
2	<i>am</i>	<i>amchuka</i>	2 + 3
3	<i>ni</i>	<i>ninaka</i>	3 + 3

(cf. Cysouw 2002: 47)

The Uchumataqu verbal system

The Uchumataqu verbal system before 1930

Person	Present tense	Future tense
1 st sg	<i>-u</i>	<i>-a</i>
2 nd sg	∅	<i>-aki</i>
3 rd sg	∅	<i>-aki</i>
1 st pl	∅	<i>-aki</i>
2 nd pl	∅	<i>-aki</i>
3 rd pl	∅	<i>-aki</i>

The Uchumataqu verbal system

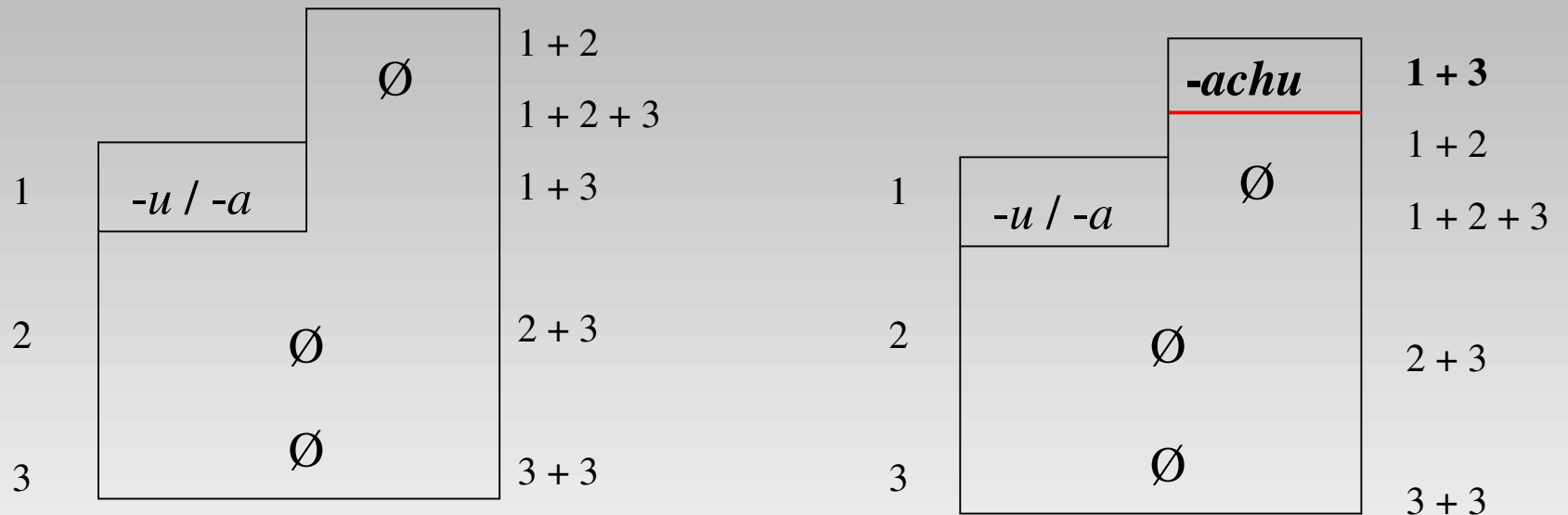
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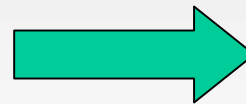
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3 rd sg	∅	<i>-aki</i>
1 st pl incl	∅	<i>-aki</i>
1 st pl excl	<i>-achu</i>	<i>-aki</i>
2 nd pl	∅	<i>-aki</i>
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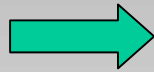


after 1930

(cf. Cysouw 2009: 47)

The grammaticalisation of *-achu*

uchumi



-achu

The grammaticalisation of *-achu*

uchumi

u-chu-mi

1-PL-ADD

The grammaticalisation of *-achu*

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u-chu-~~mi~~

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**u-chu*

1-PL.EXCL

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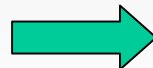
*~~u~~-*chu*

1-PL.EXCL



*-*chu*

1PL.EXCL



-*a-chu*

EP-1PL.EXCL

The inclusive/exclusive split after 1930

basis	resulting form	meaning
<i>wir + -naka</i>	> <i>wisnaka</i>	1 st pl excl (pronoun)
<i>uchumi</i>	> <i>-achu</i>	1 st pl excl (verbal marker)
<i>uchumi</i>	> <i>uchumi</i>	1 st pl incl (?) (pronoun)

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gap filling



structural isomorphism

Examples

(1) *chi-un toxtsa xoxa kon[a]-t-kala=chay*
one-RED stranger thunder kill-RES-CERT=DEC
'The thunder could kill only a stranger.'

ana wisnak[a] chichul-mi s-kon[a]-t
NEG we (excl) someone-ADD SU-kill-RES
xoxa ask-ta=chay
thunder long-LOC=DEC

'In a long time, thunder has not killed any of us.'

(Vellard 1949:166)

Examples

(2) *ana sis-achu=chay kwas-na lax=ki*
NEG know-1PL.EXCL=DEC water-LOC swim=TOP
'We do not know how to swim in the water.' (Vellard 1967: 4)

Examples

(2) *ana sis-achu=chay kwas-na lax=ki*
NEG know-1PL.EXCL=DEC water-LOC swim=TOP
'We do not know how to swim in the water.' (Vellard 1967: 4)

(3) *uchumi tako=chay ni=ki*
we (incl) language=DEC that=TOP
'That is our language.' (Métraux 1935: 99)

The inclusive and exclusive combined

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

(Vellard 1949: 167)

The inclusive and exclusive combined

- (4) *uchumi* *awaris-taki* *lux-achu=chay*
we (incl) soul-BEN eat-1PL.EXCL=DEC
'We eat for the soul.' (Vellard 1949: 167)
- (5) *ana [u]chumi* *sis-achu=l=chay*
NEG we (incl) know-1PL.EXCL=CL.1=DEC
'We do not know.' (Vellard 1951: 34)

Incomplete grammaticalisation

Replica categories ...

- a. are used *less frequently*.
- b. appear in a *smaller range of contexts*.
- c. are *less clearly* associated with the *grammatical meaning*.
- d. are determined by *discourse-pragmatic* than by morphosyntactic parameters.
- e. are *optional* rather than obligatory [...].

(cf. Heine and Kuteva 2005: 119; markings KH)

Incomplete grammaticalisation of the inclusive/exclusive split

- is due to the form *uchumi*, which is less clearly associated with the grammatical meaning of an inclusive marker and is only infrequently used as such;
- its use is more likely to be determined by discourse-pragmatic than by morphosyntactic parameters.

(6)	<i>pikiltani</i> the two	<i>kes-kesu</i> close-RED	<i>[u]chumi</i> we	<i>litrat</i> portait	<i>asi=ki</i> now=TOP
	<i>uchumi</i> we	<i>skat[a]-aki=chay</i> send-FUT=DEC			

“[You made] a portrait of the two of us (C.K. and his wife); now, [you will] send it to us.”
(Vellard 1949: 168)

Incomplete grammaticalisation of the inclusive/exclusive split

- is optional rather than obligatory;
- as such, it is used inconsistently.

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	exclusive	inclusive	neutral
<i>uchumi</i>	---	---	X
<i>wisnaka</i>			
<i>-achu</i>	X	---	---

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wir + -naka > *wisnaka* [+ exclusive]

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- The latter is responsible for the incomplete grammaticalisation of an inclusive/exclusive split in Uchumataqu.