The emergence of articles in Mojeño

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Mojeño
- Endangered language spoken in lowland Bolivia
- Arawak family, Southern Arawak branch
- Two living dialects, Ignaciano (Olza Zubiri, et al. 2002) & Trinitario (Rose to appear, fieldwork since 2005)
- Historical data (Marbán 1702, Cardús 1886, Marbán 1975 [1702])

Articles are:
- not a common category in Amazonian languages (Krasnoukhova 2012: 56)
- not reconstructed for Proto-Arawak (Aikhenvald 1999)
- not found in the historical data of Mojeño (17th and 19th centuries)
- highly frequent in present-day Mojeño
  → recent emergence

1. The articles of Mojeño: forms and use (data from Mojeño Trinitario)

1.1. Forms

- One paradigm of 5 CV forms + alternate eCV form in the Ignaciano dialect (Olza Zubiri, et al. 2002: 11)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(e)to</th>
<th>non-human</th>
<th>NH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(e)no</td>
<td>human plural</td>
<td>PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e)su</td>
<td>human singular feminine</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e)ñi</td>
<td>human singular masculine (female speaker)</td>
<td>$M\♀$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e)ma</td>
<td>human singular masculine (male speaker)</td>
<td>$M\♂$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Semantic distinctions of ± human, number, gender & gender of the speaker

Figure 1. Semantic sub-categorization of articles
• An NP-initial independent word (not affected by trisyllabic word-internal vowel deletion rule $t\text{-siso}$, $\text{\'chane}$, Cf. (Rose 2011)).

(1) ene takepo [ma t-siso $\text{\'chane}$] ma-m-po [ma $\text{\'chane}$] and then ART.M 3-black person 3M-take-PERF ART.M person "And then the black man took the man away."

1.2. Use in discourse

• Very frequent

Out of a text with 191 discourse units, 259 articles (288 nouns, 464 verbs).

• Obligatory with referential nouns, whatever their definiteness (2), specificity (3) or genericity (4).\(^1\) Combine with numerals and possessive prefixes, but not with demonstratives.

(2) v-echji-s-o-yre $\text{ma}$ $\text{\'m\text{"o}peru}$ te to ma-peno, [INDEFINITE / DEFINITE] 1PL-talk-ACT-APPL-FUT ART.M child in ART.NH 3M-house 'We are going to tell about a boy in his house.'

(3) ene v-yon-yore u-tan-ko-yre to carretilla. [NON-SPECIFIC] and 1PL-go-FUT 1PL-look_for-ACT-FUT ART.NH hand-cart 'And we are going to look for a hand-cart.'

(4) juiti n-echji-s-o-yre [...] $\text{ma}$ t-k-esané-ra'i. [GENERIC] today 1SG-speak-ACT-APPL-FUT ART.M 3-VZ-field-HAB.A.NZ 'Today I am going to speak about… the farmer (introduction to an expositive text on farm life in general).'

• Articles also appear before proper names (5), nominalized verbs and finite subordinate clauses (6).

(5) "pi-joore-k-po-ro DonCaye?", ñi-jich-po-pka ñi Jasinto. 2SG-damage-ACT-PERF-but DonCaye 3M-say-PERF-HYP ART.M Jacinto "Well, you ruined them Don Caye!", said Jacinto.

(6) eto n-im-o-gne te to n-itori-s-ra NH 1SG-see-ACT-PAT.NZ PREP ART.NH 1SG-live-ACT-ACN.NZ te to n-juu-ko-po. SUB ART.NH 1SG-grow-ACT-PERF 'This is what I have seen in my life when I grew up.'

\(^1\) A referential noun has for referent an entity the existence of which the speaker acknowledges in a situation of reference; with an identifiable noun (here specific), the speaker hypothesizes that the addressee knows the entity to which it refers (on the basis of the information given in the NO, the context or knowledge of the situation of reference); definite nouns are generalized to prototypes, abstract nouns, activities (Creissels 2006).
• Articles do not appear with non-referential nouns: vocatives (5), modifying nouns (7), "labels" (8), generic spatial or temporal location (9), predicate (10) and in equative constructions with identity (1) or inclusion meanings (12).

(7) ñi-juk-pu-iji [...] ñi 'chane paku-miro
3M-smell-PERF-REP ART.M person dog-face
'The man with dog-face smelled him. (Lit. The person dog-face smelled him."

(8) eto t-k-ijare San José
3NH 3-VZ-name San José
'This (village) is called San José.'

(9) t-yom-po te smeno
3-go-PERF PREP wood
'He went to the woods.'

(10) nuti p-chicha-nu
1SG 2SG-child-1SG
'I am your son.'

(11) Noe s-apijane su meme (12) nuti trinrano.
Noe 3f-last_name ART.F mother.1SG 1SG Trinitario
'Noe is my mother's last name.'

2. Articles in Mojeño: emergence of a category

• Proto-Arawak:
  - no independent category/paradigm of articles but:
  - "in almost every [Arawak] language third person pronouns can be used as proximate demonstratives, and as definite articles with nouns." (Aikhenvald 1999: 85).
  - 'It is common to use numeral *pa- 'one' in the function of an indefinite pronoun 'one, someone', 'another' (Aikhenvald 1999: 85).

• Other Southern Arawak languages:
  - without articles: Campa (Michael, p.c.); Iñapari (Parker 1995); Pareci (Brandão in preparation); Yanesha (Duff-Tripp 1997).
  - without articles, but pronouns used in apposition to N in Apuriña (Facundes 2000: 382) or as modifiers in Paunaka (Terhart p.c.).
  - with articles: Baure to (Danielsen 2007); Chamicuro na definite.present/future, ka definite.past (Parker 1999); Terena ne (Butler 2003); Yine specific sati/sato, non-specific pa, referential wa (Hanson 2010: 41-45).

→ likely independent developments
• 17th century Mojeño, data from a grammar and a catechism
  - Generally no articles in NPs (Marbán 1975 [1702]: 3).

(13) **ayaze ma-achane-chío-bó ma-chicha Maymoná?**
    where 3M-person-VZ-MID 3M-son God
  'Where did the son of God become Man?'

(14) **tayee su-huecuquie Virgen Santa Maria**
    in 3F-belly Holy Virgin Mary
  'in (the) womb of (the) Holy Virgin Mary'

Constructive equivalents in present-day Trinitario:

(15) **ooyo ma-chane-cho-wo ma ma-chicha ma Viya?**
    where 3M-person-VZ-MID ART.M 3M-son ART.M God
  'Where did the son of God become Man?'

(16) **te to s-ju'e su Virgen Santa Maria**
    in ART.NH 3F-belly ART.F Holy Virgin Mary
  'in the womb of the Holy Virgin Mary'
  - some uses of PRO before NPs (Marbán 1975 [1702]: 2).

(17) **Maymoná esu V.S. Maria?**
    God PRO.F Holy Virgin Mary
  'Is the Holy Virgin Mary God?' (1st introduction of HVM in the catechism)

(18) **Taha-zero esu?**
    what-but-then PRO.F
  'But then what is she?'

• 19th century Mojeño, 27 sentences elicited by a missionary (Cardús 1886)
  - Generally no articles in NPs.

(19) **ni-capa-ca chini te taquiriqui**
    1SG-kill-ACT tiger PREP arrow
  'I killed a tiger with the arrow.'
  - One example with PRO before a N:

(20) **t-enpo kope ema tatini.**
    3-die yesterday PRO.M father.1SG-PAST
  'My late father died yesterday.'
  → articles are recent
  → older construction: pronouns used as nominal determiners
3. The articles of Mojeño: possible sources

3.1. Sources for articles in the literature

- Literature on the rise of articles (Greenberg 1978, Himmelmann 2001, Heine and Kuteva 2006). Most common developments:
  - from pronouns (often demonstratives, less often personal or possessive) to definite articles
    Mojeño articles ≈ demonstratives (i.e. su ART.F, (p)-su-ka DEM-F-PROX)
  - from the numeral 'one' to indefinite articles
    Mojeño non-human article (e)to ≈ numeral 'one' (eto+classifier)
  - minor sources: from nouns (honorific articles), from intensifier 'self'.

3.2. A universal person paradigm in Mojeño

- Five articles in Mojeño ≈ 5-form universal person paradigm:
  - articles: (e)CV
  - person prefixes on nouns and verbs CV
  - independent pronouns: eCV
  - demonstratives: (p)-CV-CV_{DEM}.

Similar forms, same pattern of sub-categorization.

Table 2. Mojeño's series of third person markers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Articles</th>
<th>Pronouns</th>
<th>In demonstratives</th>
<th>Prefixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3M♀</td>
<td>(e)ma</td>
<td>ema</td>
<td>ma-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3F♀</td>
<td>(e)nī</td>
<td>eñi</td>
<td>nī-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3F♂</td>
<td>(e)su</td>
<td>esu</td>
<td>su-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL♂</td>
<td>(e)nō</td>
<td>eno</td>
<td>no-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3NH♂</td>
<td>(e)to</td>
<td>eto</td>
<td>jō ~ to- ma- (PL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>'other'</td>
<td></td>
<td>ti (on verbs only)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Source of Mojeño articles: pronouns
  - same form in Ignaciano, reduced form in Trinitario (without e, sometimes 'to after PREP te)
  - pronouns already used as modifiers in 17th and 19th
  - a typologically attested development (from personal pronouns to articles)

"In many languages, personal pronouns can be used adnominally as in "we students". This use, however is generally severely constrained by grammatical and semantic factors and rather infrequent overall. In a few languages spoken in Central Australia […], third person pronouns are regularly used in anaphoric mentions. […] This can be interpreted as the beginning of the grammaticisation of an article from a pronoun". (Himmelmann 2001: 838-839)
3.3. From pronouns to articles

- Adnominal use of pronouns = preliminary stage for decategorization.

\[
[\text{[PRO]}\text{NP} \ [\text{N}]_{\text{NP}}] \rightarrow \ [\text{[PRO} \ [\text{N}]]_{\text{NP}}]
\]

- reanalysis as one NP
- 1\text{st}/2\text{nd} person: deitic; 3\text{rd} person: anaphoric
- distribution more reduced than that of articles.

(21) \(\text{taa } \text{p-emtone } \text{piti } \text{Kristianu } \text{te } \text{pjoka vi-ousara'ii'i } \text{viti } \text{pako-no ?} \)
What 2SG-work 2SG human in DEM 1PL-habitat 1PL dog-PL
'What are you, human, doing here in our place, of us dogs?' [he says] ®

(22) \(\text{n-im-'o-po } \text{ema } \text{ma } \text{t-k-ijare } \text{Julia } \text{Ma'e. 'chosi-po } \text{ema } \text{'chane.} \)
1SG-see-ACT-PERF PRO3M ART.M 3-VZ-name JuliaMa'e old-PERF PRO3M person
'I saw the one called Julia Ma'e. This man is already old. ®

- Then extension of use (to all functions of articles) and phonetic erosion (ex. (1) to (6)).

- Additional construction: combination of pronouns with anaphoric value and articles

\[
[\text{[PRO]}\text{NP} \ [\text{ART N}]_{\text{NP}}] \rightarrow \ [\text{[PRO} \ [\text{ART} \ [\text{N}]]_{\text{NP}}]
\]

- \([\text{PRO]}\text{NP} \ [\text{ART N}]_{\text{NP}}\) (rare). Emphatic use of pronoun with juxtaposed NP, here as a left-detached topic (reintroduction of a given participant).

(23) \(\text{ema } \text{ma } \text{'móperu, te to } \text{ma-u-ri-ko } \text{piti-ku, to yoti,} \)
PRO.M ART.M child SUB ART.NH 3M-be.at-PLURAC-ACT house-CLF ART.NH night
\(\text{ene } \text{eto } \text{ma-ko-chane } \text{to } \text{ma-ye'e } \text{paku.} \)
and PRO.NH 3M-VZ-person ART.NH 3M-POSS dog
'The boy, when he is inside, at night, then he is with his dog.' ®

Context: First sentence of the text: 'We are going to tell about a boy in his house.'

- \([\text{PRO ART N}]_{\text{NP}}\) : generally for a participant previously mentioned (24), or for a new participant, with a modified noun (24). Always specific.

(24) \(\text{ene } \text{te s-ero-po } \text{eto to } \text{sawari-omo…} \)
and SUB 3F-drink-PERF PRO.NH ART.NH tobacco-liquid
'And when she drank the tobacco juice, …' ®

Context: Preceding text: I gave her tobacco juice (to sawariomo) to drink. I chewed the tobacco juice (to sawariomo). I gave her the tobacco juice (to sawariomo) to drink, one spoon of the tobacco juice (to sawariomo) I had chewed, I gave it to her to drink.

(25) \(\text{ene } \text{ty-ute-k-pu-iji } \text{ema } \text{ma } \text{viya t-eke-ri-k-ri'i, […]} \)
and 3-come-ACT-PERF-REP PRO3M ART.M Sir 3-transform-PLURAC-ACT-ASS
'Then came the man who transforms people, [and he transformed them].' ®
3.4. Role of language contact

- Contact can result in:
  - Article borrowing (Stolz 2010)
  - Development of articles with internal material (Heine and Kuteva 2006)
  - Modifications of the function and use of articles (Campbell 1987)

- Contact history of Mojeño with Spanish:
  - Loose contact with Spanish since 17th century. Mojeño was a *lengua general* ('general language' in Spanish), Spanish then little used.
  - More intense contact. Spanish = national language (independence 1825)
  - Nowadays much bilingualism, especially in towns.

  - NP-initial articles, unstressed
  - Semantic distinctions: 3 genders, number
  - delimit/identify/individualize the referent of N + deictic, generic, emphatic and possessive values + substantivizes ADJ, PP & subordinate clauses
  - indefinite determiners with pronominal function as well

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG DEF ART</th>
<th>PL DEF ART</th>
<th>SG INDEF ART</th>
<th>PL INDEF ART</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>el</td>
<td>los</td>
<td>un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>las</td>
<td>una</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>lo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Possible influence of Spanish on Mojeño
  - no borrowing of markers (matter)
  - no borrowing of internal distinctions (gender, definite vs. indefinite)
  - possible influence on the use of the category

Conclusions

- Internal development of articles out of personal pronouns
- Intermediary stage: adnominal use of pronouns
- Possible additional external influence on an internal development
- On-going adnominal uses of pronouns, with unexpected combination of PRO& ART as a double determiner.

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2 Saito (2009) gives an analysis of the language policy in the Jesuit Missions (1669-1767). It followed the colonization policy called 'reduction': various indigenous people were brought and offered them a *lengua general*, i.e. a lingua franca used for collective life in the missions, especially for evangelization. The children were taught this language in school.
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