Cliticization and Incorporation in Panoan

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SOCIETAS LINGUISTICAS EUROPÆA 48 SEPTEMBER 4TH, 2015
THE UNIVERSITY OF LEIDEN
INTRODUCTION: AFFIXES AND CLITICS IN PANOAN

• Researchers often study affix-clitic distinction with reference to its manifestation in genetically related languages (see Spencer and Luís 2012a: Ch. 5).

• This is mostly applied to European languages that are similar structurally and where the contested analytic space between affixes and clitics is relatively small.
INTRODUCTION: AFFIXES AND CLITICS IN PANOAN

• BUT, there are “polysynthetic languages” where most of the grammatical morphemes fall within a contested analytic space between affixes and clitics.

• I show that the entire synthetic profile of a language (analytic versus polysynthetic) can hinge on where the boundary between affixes and clitics is drawn; this is in contrast to most studies where only a small component of the grammar is at stake (e.g. pronouns).
• Panoan languages are polysynthetic, but many of the morphemes are described as ambiguous with respect to the affix-clitic distinction.

• I argue that, despite superficial similarity across Panoan languages, in some of these languages, the verb template is a word construct, and in at least one other it is a phrasal construct; in the former cases, the languages are polysynthetic, in the latter, the language is analytic.

• The synthetic profile of the languages pivots on the division between affixes and clitics.
**SOME ASSUMPTIONS: AFFIXES AND CLITICS**

- **Affixes**: Affixes are morphologically dependent; they form part of morphological words; they are lexically, not syntactically placed.

- **Clitics**: Clitics are phonologically dependent, independent morphosyntactic words (Peperkamp 1996, 1997; Booij 1996; Selkirk 1996; Hall 1999; Anderson 2005: Ch.2, Spencer and Luís 2012b).
• No Special Syntax: I assume that there is no special syntax or phrasal morphology.

• There is no clear justification for phrasal morphology or special syntax in Panoan languages. The argument is made across all languages in Russell 1998 and Bermúdez-Otero and Payne 2011.
SOME ASSUMPTIONS: NO SPECIAL SYNTAX!

• Rather than see case markers as “phrasal suffixes” forming a separate component of grammar, I assume phrasally placed morphemes are positioned with respect to syntax.

• There is really no justification for the distinction between phrasal suffixes and lexical enclitics suggested in Zariquiey 2011.

[maṣaṣ atṣufi] =nin
stone ONE=INSTR
‘He beat it with a stone.’

Zariquiey (2011: 314)
THE PANOAN LANGUAGES

• Panoan languages are in southwestern Amazonia, there are 18 extant languages, spoken along the borders of Brazil, Peru and Bolivia.

• Data from grammars of well described Panoan languages (Fleck 2003 for Matses; Valenzuela 2003 for Shipibo-Konibo; Zariquiey 2011 and Daniel Valle (personal communication) for Kakataibo; Faust and Loos 2002 and Kelsey Neely (personal communication) for Yaminawa, Sparing-Chavez 2012 for Amawaka).
Chácobo (Southern Panoan of Bolivia)

• Data from my own fieldwork on Chácobo (approximately 12 months between 2011 and 2015) in northern Bolivia.

• This study has a heavy bias towards Chácobo and consists mostly of a comparison of Chácobo with other Panoan languages.

• Facts about Chácobo are also true of Pacahuara.
SYNTHETIC PROFILE OF PANOAN LANGUAGES

- **Polysynthetic**: Verbs in Panoan languages are described as at least mildly polysynthetic (Fleck 2003: 61 for Matses; Valenzuela 2003: 80 for Shipibo-Konibo; Ferreira 2008: 48 for Matis; Zariquiey 2011: 4 for Kakataibo; Barbosa 2012: 6 for Panoan generally).

- **Suffixing**: They are capable of encoding a large number of functional categories through suffixation (Payne 1990: 223; Loos 1999: 234; Fleck 2013: 44).
SYNTHETIC PROFILE OF PANOAN LANGUAGES: NO LEXICAL PHONOLOGY

• There is no clear distinction between lexical and post-lexical phonology in Panoan.

• An enclitic that incorporates into a phonological word is indistinguishable phonologically from a suffix.
PANOAN VERB TEMPLATE

PANOAN VERB: MORPHOLOGICAL WORD UNIT:

(PREFIX) – ROOT – (DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES) – INFLECTIONAL SUFFIXES

• **INFLECTIONAL SUFFIXES**: Encode categories of tense, aspect, modality, switch reference, nominalization and subject agreement in some languages (Valle forthcoming).

• **DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES**: Derivational suffixes encode transitivity, valency, adverbial, aspectual, aktoinsart, number, tense and associated motion categories (Payne 1990: 229-230; Loos 1999: 234).
2. Kakataibo:

ROOT  –DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES  –INFLECTIONAL SUFFIXES


‘(After coming), they made (someone) eat again a long time ago.’
(Zariquiey 2011: 176)
Derivational suffixes can recursively concatenate and express categories with relatively high lexical content. For some researchers this is partly what endows Panoan languages with polysynthetic status (e.g. Payne 1990: 214; Mattissen 2006: 291).

Derivational suffixes are not described in a uniform manner with respect to the affix-clitic distinction; “less-fixed clitics” (Valenzuela 2003: 145); “enclitics… that operate as derivational suffixes” (Zariquiey 2011: 214).

The reason for this is that many derivational suffixes can occur inside or outside of the “word”.

INCORPORATION OR ENCLISIS?

Chácobo:
3. a. \textit{hakiriki–tikin} honí awa his–ki
   then–\textbf{AGAIN} man::ERG anteater look–\textbf{PST}

b. \textit{hakiriki} honí awa \textit{his–tikin–ki}
   then man::ERG anteater look–\textbf{AGAIN–PST}

‘And then the man saw the ant eater again.’

• All Panoan languages that have been described in detail all have morphemes like this.
The verb complex = one prosodic word

- Metrical footing, stress and tone facts show that the verb complex in Panoan maps to one prosodic word.
- In the example in question, there is one H-tone and primary stress and bisyllabic trochaic feet.

**Prosodic Word**

- **Foot 1:**
  - **Syllable (s):** his-
  - **Tone:** Ø

- **Foot 2:**
  - **Syllable (w):** tì
  - **Tone:** L

- **Foot 3:**
  - **Syllable (s):** ki
  - **Tone:** H

- **Foot 4:**
  - **Syllable (w):** –kì
  - **Tone:** L
**Incorporation or Enclusis?**

**As Incorporand:**

- \( \text{tsaya} \text{=tikin} \text{=ki} \)
- see–AGAIN–PST
- (Other Panoan languages)

**As Enclitic:**

- \( \text{tsaya} \text{=tikin} \text{=ki} \)
- see–AGAIN–PST
- (Chácobo, Pacahuara, maybe Amawaka?)

\( V \)

\( V \)

(Chácobo, Pacahuara, maybe Amawaka?)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Other Panoan Languages</th>
<th>Chañibo/Pacahuara</th>
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<td>Phrasal constituent (verb):</td>
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<td>(Prefix) — Root</td>
<td>(Prefix) — Root</td>
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<td>—(Derivational suffixes)</td>
<td>—(Valence suffixes)</td>
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<td>—Inflectional suffixes</td>
<td>—(Lexical enclitics)</td>
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**Evidence**

1. Promiscuous selection of inflectional suffixes/enclitics
2. Variable ordering of derivational suffixes/lexical enclitics
3. Enclitic elision
4. Full stem reduplication

(see Spencer and Luís 2012a,b and sources cited therein)
In Chácobo, the verb stem can be interrupted from its lexical and inflectional enclitics by a full subject noun phrase.

An analogous structure is not present in other Panoan languages: Shipibo-Konibo, Matses, Kakataibo, Yaminawa.
PROMISCUOUS SELECTION IN CHÁCOBO

Chácobo:

4. a. \([\tilde{t}i\tilde{t}i\tilde{k}a=ka \ h\tilde{o}ni]_NP \ [\ h\tilde{a}\tilde{b}a\tilde{m}\tilde{i}ś=\tilde{t}i\tilde{k}i=\tilde{ki}]_V\)
   tall=REL man run-MAL:HAB=AGAIN=PST

b. \([\ h\tilde{a}\tilde{b}a\tilde{m}\tilde{i}ś]_V \ [\tilde{t}i\tilde{t}i\tilde{k}a=ka \ h\tilde{o}ni]_NP \ [\tilde{=t}i\tilde{k}i\tilde{=}ki]_V\)
   run-MAL:HAB tall=REL man =AGAIN =PST

‘The man who is tall ran again, instead of someone else (as he typically does).’
Restrictions on variable ordering with affixes

• Derivational suffixes in Panoan and lexical enclitics in Chácobo can be variably ordered, usually producing differences in scope.

• But in Chácobo, the variable ordering of enclitics is more limited compared with other Panoan languages.

• Lexical enclitics cannot be variably ordered with valency changing derivations in Chácobo while they can in Kakataibo.
RESTRICTIONS ON VARIABLE ORDERING WITH AFFIXES

VALENCE–ADVERBIAL

5.
Aguaytía Kakataibo: ✓

pi-mi-tikin-kan-aki-s-a
eat-CAUS-AGAIN-PL–REMPST–3–NONPROX

Chácobo: ✓

pi-ma=tikin=kan=ní=ki
eat-CAUS=AGAIN=PL–REMPST=PST

‘Again, they made him/her eat a long time ago.’

(Zariquiey 2011: 183)
RESTRICTIONS ON VARIABLE ORDERING WITH AFFIXES

ADVERBIAL–VALENCE

6.

Aguaytía Kakataibo: √

\[ pi_{\text{tikin}}-mi-kan-aki-\varsigma-a \]
\[ \text{eat-AGAIN-CAUS-PL-REMPST-3-NONPROX} \]

(Zariquiey 2011: 183)

Chácobo: ×

\[ *pi=\text{tikin}-ma=kan=ní=ki \]
\[ \text{eat=AGAIN-CAUS=PL=REMPST=PST} \]

‘They made him/her eat again a long time ago.’
ELISION OF INFLECTIONAL ENCLITICS

• Chácobo’s verb phrase final inflectional enclitics can elide in coordinate constructions.

• This property is more associated with function words rather than affixes.

• Inflection elision is not attested in other Panoan languages (except perhaps Shipibo·Konibo).
Elision of inflectional enclitics

7. Chácobo:
\[ kaa \ honi =nì=ki \quad kaa \ yọṣa =nì=ki \]
go man =REMPST=PST go woman =REMPST=PST
‘The man went and the woman went.’

Shipibo-Konibo:
\[ ino–ribi \ hini–nko \ ka–ki \ ʂai–ribi \ hini–nko \ ka–ki \]
‘...the jaguar went to the river and the sloth went to the river too.’
Valenzuela 2003: 505
FULL REDUPLICATION IN PANOAN

• In Panoan languages, reduplication expresses iterativity, continuity, and other aspectual categories.

• Most Panoan languages have different types of reduplication processes. **Full reduplication**, which is present in Matses, Shipibo-Konibo, Kakataibo and Chácobo, copies the entire verb *stem*. In Matses and Kakataibo, this includes the root + derivational suffixes (internal morphemes).
FULL REDUPLICATION IN MATSES

8. Matses:
   a. tuska\textit{tan} tuska–\textit{tan}–o–\textit{ʂ}
      REDPL sew–GO–PST–3
      ‘He repeatedly went to sew.’

   b. toṣoke\textit{bud} toṣoke–\textit{bud}–e–\textit{k}
      REDPL cough–CONT–NONPST–INDIC
      ‘He repeatedly and continuously coughs.’

Fleck 2003: 194
'It is said that, making a ladder, trying it several times while going upwards, doing it a long time, he said…’

(Zariquiey 2011: 454-455)
FULL REDUPLICATION IN CHÁCOBO

• In Chácobo, reduplication only ever copies the root and valence changing derivations, other functional categories, i.e. lexical enclitics, cannot be copied as in Matses and Kakataibo.

• This can be accounted for if we assume the functionally analogous morphemes of Chácobo are independent morphosyntactic words, while in other Panoan languages they are suffixes.
FULL REDUPLICATION IN CHÁCOBO

10. Chácobo:
   a.  *tsayabona~tsaya=bona=ki
       REDPL~see=GO:TR=PST
   b. tsayá~tsaya=bona=ki
       REDPL~see=GO:TR=PST
      ‘He went visiting (lit. seeing)’
CONCLUSION: THE AFFIX CLITIC DISTINCTION

• Chácobo’s verb complex is a phrasal, rather than a word, construct.

• We find that according to 4 criteria (distributional promiscuity, affix constructions, elision, and stem reduplication) those morphemes responsible for the polysynthetic designation of other Panoan languages, are prosodically dependent function words in Chácobo.

• Adopting the canonical theory of clitics à la Spencer and Luís makes Chácobo a morphologically analytic language.
IMPlications: MORPhological VERSUS PHONOlogical SYNTHESIS

• Chácobo is not polysynthetic *morphologically* but the language does construct holophrastic *prosodic* words through cliticization.

• Footing, stress and H-tone in following example show that it is under one prosodic word, even though syntactically its a verb phrase.

10. \textit{tʃani=ri`a=tıkin=k`ara=k`as=yo=k`an=yamıt=a=ǹa}\ask=\textit{INTENS=AGAIN=PROB=DES=ALL=PL=DISTPST=PST=NMLZ}

‘Its been one month since they all probably wanted to really ask again’
• If this construct consisted of more than one prosodic word there would be more than one H-tone and stress.
• If this construct consisted of more than one prosodic word there would be more than one H-tone and stress.
IMPLICATIONS: THE DIACHRONIC PANONQ QUESTION?

• Which model of the verb complex reflects the situation in Proto-Pano?

  Pano (synthetic or analytic?)

  Mayoruna branch  Mainline branch

  Matses  Kasharari  Kakataibo  Nawa Group

  Chácobo  Pacahuara

  Bolivian  Chama  Headwaters

  Shipibo  Konibo  Kashinawa

  Chácomo, Pacahuara, (and maybe Amawaka) seem to be the only languages that have discontinuous inflectional morphemes; these languages do not form their own branch.

  Marubo  Isconahua

  Marubo  Katukina

  Yaminawa  Amawaka?
IMPLICATIONS: THE DIACHRONIC PANOAAN QUESTION?

• Some reasons we might think Chácobo reflects the situation in Proto-Panoan:

• **Innovative morphology?**: While lexical items are show a shallow time depth, grammatical morphology shows a higher degree of divergence across Panoan languages (see Girard 1971, Loos 1999); could suggest that grammaticalization is recent? (future research project)

• **Cline kills majority rules**: Furthermore, if it is discovered that there is more of a cline between analyticity and polysynthesis, the majority wins argument no longer follows.
Implications: The Diachronic Panoan Question?

- Contact effects?: Chácobo and Pacahuara are geographically and culturally split off from the rest of Panoan languages, which are in a contact zone with synthetic languages (Payne 1990), which could have made them polysynthetic from a previously more analytic state.
IMPLICATIONS: POLYSYNTHESIS AND CLITICS

• Does the structure of Chácobo reflect the situation in other languages regarded as polysynthetic?

• In Mattissen’s (2004, 2006) structural typology of polysynthesis, the analysis of word is taken for granted; We could be conflating prosodic dependence with morphological complexity here (see Woodbury 1996 for a similar point).

• In Fortescue’s (2007) diachronic typology of polysynthetic languages, Wakashan is considered polysynthetic, although clitics are partly responsible for the language’s polysynthetic status (see Woodbury forthcoming for the opposing view for Eskimo-Aleut).
IMPLICATIONS: THE TYPOLOGICAL QUESTION AND METHODOLOGICAL OPPORTUNISM?

• To what extent does this study, and others like it, suffer from *methodological opportunism*? (see Croft 2003; Haspelmath 2011)

• A type of methodological opportunism: The languages that are chosen for a study shape the contested analytic space that define the affix-clitic distinction?

• More concretely, if Matses was compared to Central Alaskan Yupik rather than Chácobo would Matses’ verb complex turn out to be a phrasal construct, i.e. would Matses look like Chácobo structurally? How do we overcome this problem?
• This material is based on work supported by the National Science Foundation under Grant No. 1360783, and the Endangered Language Documentation Fund under Grant No. IGS02030.

• I am deeply grateful to my Chácobo colleagues, in particular, Caco Moreno Ortiz, Miguel Chavez Ortiz, Gere Ortiz Soria, Milton Ortiz Vaca, and Paë Yaquë Roca for help in this work.

• Helpful comments were provided by Anthony Woodbury, Patience Epps and Daniel Valle.
“Operators are suffixes and some function as clitics that are phonologically bound to a noun or pronoun, or case markers to the verb phrase. Likewise, clause-level operators can be suffixes to almost any constituent. There is a strong indication that the whole sentence, rather than the constituent marked, is the scope of affixation.” (Sparing-Chavez 2012: 1)
NOTES ON AMAWAKA

Amawaka:

tapaz-mun-ax han-hquit-nu
house.build-TH-PAST.PF he-3ACT-DECL
‘He has build a house.’ (lit. he is doing house-building) (Sparing-Chavez 2012: 8)

tapaz-min-xanhqui han-hquiqi-un
house.build-TH-IMM.FUT he-3ACT-DECL
‘I am going to build a house’ (lit. I am going to do house-building) (Sparing-Chavez 2012: 9)