

State of the Art of Mesoamerican Linguistics , 6.-7. December 2014
Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig

Steffen Haurholm-Larsen, Universität Bern



Exploring grammatical categories of Tol

- a journey into the unknown

Outline of talk

- Introductory remarks:
 - The language, the people and history of research
- Noun suffixes
- Imperfect aspect enclitic
- Information structure particles

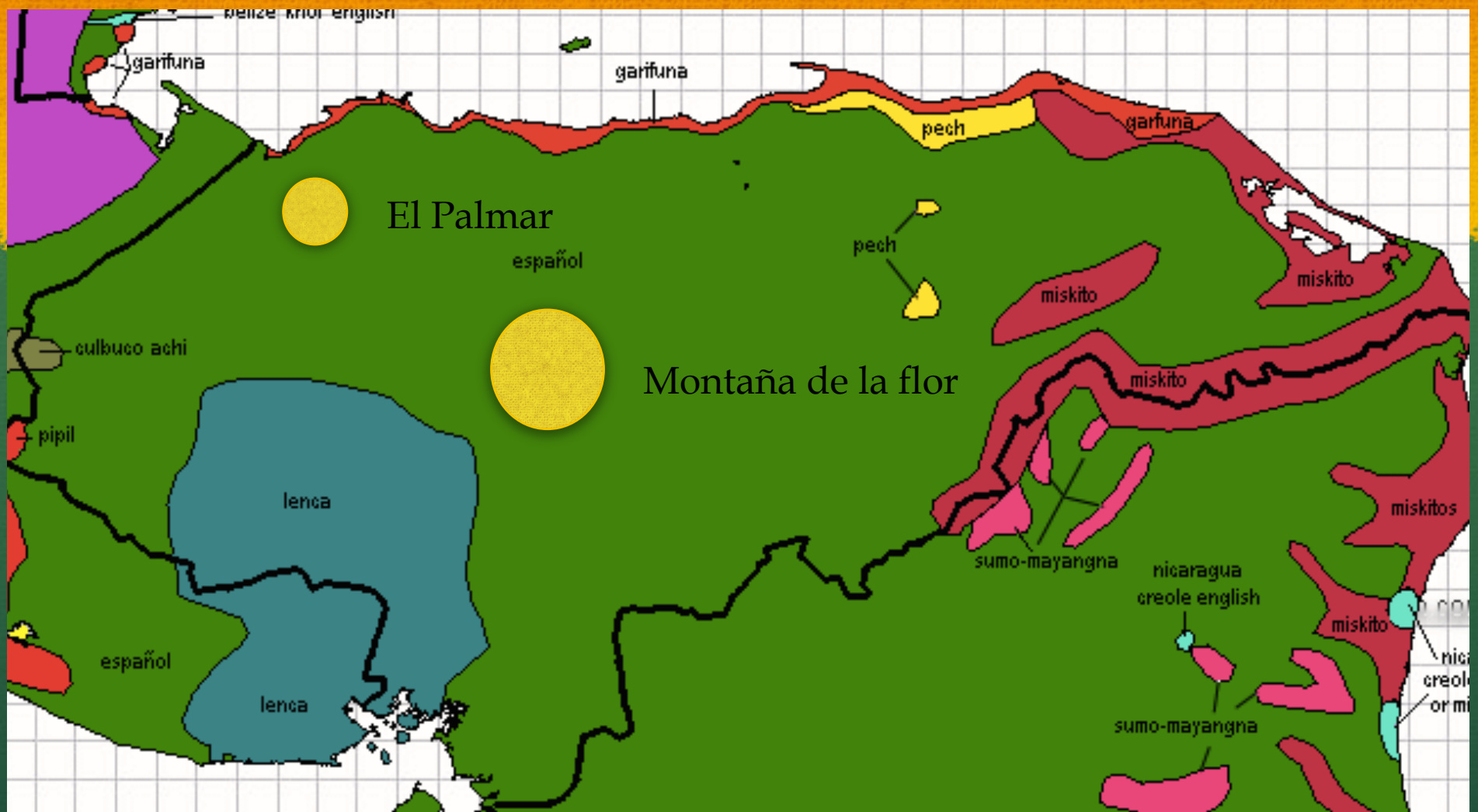
Jicaquean

† Western Jicaque

Location> El Palmar

Tol (Eastern Jicaque)

Location> Montaña de la flor



www.muturzikin.com/cartesamerique/ameriquecentrale.htm

	<i>Bilabial</i>	<i>Alveolar</i>	<i>Alveopalatal</i>	<i>Velar</i>	<i>Laryngeal</i>
<i>Stops, plain</i>	p	t	c	k	ʔ
<i>aspirated</i>	p ^h	t ^h	c ^h	k ^h	
<i>glottalized</i>	p'	t'	c'	k'	
<i>Fricatives</i>	β	s			h
<i>Nasals</i>	m	n		ŋ	
<i>Liquid</i>		l			
<i>Semivowels</i>	w	ɣ	y		

Holt 1999

	<i>Front</i>	<i>Back</i>	
		<i>Unrounded</i>	<i>Rounded</i>
<i>High</i>	i	ɪ	u
<i>Mid</i>	e		o
<i>Low</i>		a	

Holt 1999

Tol – a profile

- SOV (consistently head final)
 - Pronouns > different orders for emphasis
- Inflection (verbs, nouns)
 - Person, number, tense > poly-exponential
 - Pre-, in- and suffixation and ablaut
 - Independent pronouns (suppletive paradigms)
 - Tense is also expressed by particles
 - Number is only marked in NP's with animate referents

m-wayúm

'my husband'

w-y-ayúm

'your husband'

woyúm

'her husband'

k^his wayúm

'our husband'

his wayúm

'your husband'

his wayúm

'their husband'

- nap^h üsü mü^ʔüs 'I am drinking water'
- hip^h üsü müs 'you are drinking water'
- hup^h üsü mü 'he is drinking water'
- kup^h üsü misk^hék^h 'we are drinking water'
- nun üsü müsk^hé 'you are drinking water'
- yup^h üsü mi^ʔün 'they are drinking water'

Tol – a profile

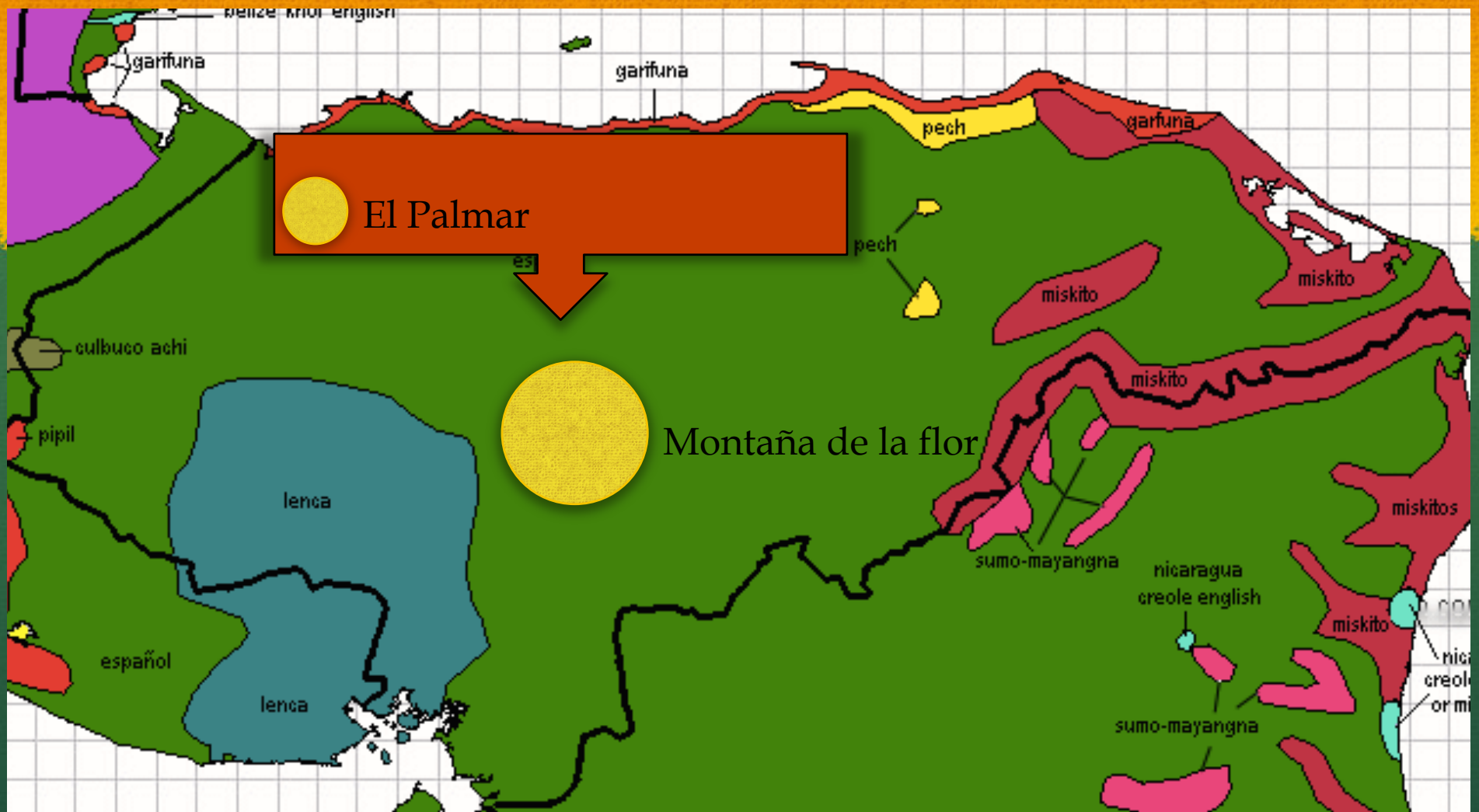
- SOV (consistently head final)
 - Pronouns > different orders for emphasis
- Inflection (verbs, nouns)
 - Person, number, tense > poly-exponential
 - Pre-, in- and suffixation and ablaut
 - Independent pronouns (suppletive paradigms)
 - Tense is also expressed by particles
 - Number is only marked in NP's with animate referents
 - ne-
 - -pan
 - wit^hák^h

Tol vs. Jicaque

- Used for the people, language family and language
 - Jicaque (older literature)
 - Used by settlers from New Spain
 - Meaning: non-sedentary people of various ethnicities
 - Etymology: Nahuatl *xikkawa* 'to let oneself decay'
xikkaw-keh [ʃikkahkeh] → Sp. jicaque
 - Autodenomination
 - Tol
 - Tol-pan [torupan] (plural form for humans)

The tolpan people

- Believed to have migrated from the north coast due to pressure from colonial power



www.muturzikin.com/cartesamerique/ameriquecentrale.htm

The tolpan people

- Believed to have migrated from the north coast due to pressure from colonial power
- Organized into 6 tribes
 - San Juan > the great majority of speakers
 - Closest contact to main road / surrounding society
 - Ceiba > small number of speakers
- Survey > almost 500 L1 speakers
 - Spanish > minor role
 - high level of language tolerance (Haurholm-Larsen, 2012)

Research history

- Early descriptions (1897-1923)
- Word lists
 - Membreño (1897)
 - Lehmann (1920)
 - Conzemiuis (1923)

Research history

- Comparative studies (1953-1995)
 - Greenberg and Swadesh (1953)
 - Oltrogge (1977)
 - Campbell and Oltrogge (1980)
 - Yasugi (1995)

Research history

- Later descriptive work
 - Nouns Dennis and Flemming (1976)
 - Dictionary Dennis and Dennis (1983)
 - Verbs Dennis (1990)
 - Summary / Holt (1999)
grammar sketch

Genetic relationships

- Classification of Tol still an open question
 - Before 1953
 - Tol was considered an isolate
 - Greenberg and Swadesh (1953)
 - add Tol to the Hokan stock (Dixon and Kroeber (1913))

Genetic relationships

- Oltrogge (1977)
 - Tol-Tequistlatec-Subtiaba
 - Hokan and Otomanguean ties left open
- Campbell and Oltrogge (1980)
 - not Hokan
 - Tequistlatec probable

Genetic relationships

- Hokan affiliation supported by
 - Dennis and Flemming (1975)
 - Kaufman (2006) (no mention of Tol-Tequistlatec-Subtiaba hypothesis)
- Tequistlatec-Subtiaba supported by
 - Suarez (1983)

Genetic relationships

- Yasugi (1995)
 - Doubts both Hokan and Tequistlatec-Subtiaba connection

xxxxxxxxxxxxx End of introduction xxxxxxxxxxxxx

And now to the noun suffixes...

Noun suffixes

- Most nouns take suffixes which are of three shapes
 - $-(sV)s$
 - $-(V)N$
 - $-(V)k^h$
- Nouns that never take suffixes refer to:
 - Body parts
 - Kinship terms

Noun suffixes

Short form	Long form	Gloss
-(s)Vs forms		
wa	wo-sís	house
ʔawa	ʔowú-s ʔowü-s	fire
ʔulúla	ʔululá-s	raccoon
malán	malan-ás	pig
wáka	woko-sás	cow
püʔá	püʔá-s	puma
k ^h ísyá	k ^h ísyá-s	grass
nu	nu-s	pumpkin
k ^h e ^h ele	k ^h e ^h elé-s	bone
pis	pis-ís pwis-ís	meat
ʔos	ʔos-ís	blood

Noun suffixes

Short form	Long form	Gloss
-(V)N forms		
sit ^h	sit ^h -ím	avocado
til	til-ím	tapir
yom	yom-én	man
kep ^h	kep ^h -án	woman
pe	pe-n / pwe-n	stone
c ^ʔ ec ^h	c ^ʔ ec ^h -ém	tortilla
tüt ^ʔ	tüt ^ʔ -üm	louse
k ^h ul	k ^h ul-ún	fish

Noun suffixes

Short form	Long form	Gloss
-(V)k^h forms		
k ^h an	k ^h on-ík ^h	bed
p ^h ul	p ^h ul-ák ^h	star
lup ^h	lup ^h -úk ^h	hail
c ^h in	c ^h in-ák ^h	bean
c ^h ew	c ^h ew-ék ^h	scorpion
mac ^ʔ	mac ^ʔ -ík ^h	pozol

Noun suffixes

Dennis and Flemming (1976)

"Los sufijos realizan relaciones sintácticas que no son muy bien entendidas todavía"

"... a veces se encuentran formas con sufijos cuando el sustantivo se refiere a un objeto o una persona que no sean sujeto el verbo. Sin embargo hay casos en los cuales esto no ocurre."

"... estos no representan tres morfemas distintos, sino que son formas alternas de un solo morfema."

Noun suffixes

Holt (1999)

"In many (but not all) instances in which a noun serves as the grammatical object of a sentence, the noun will appear with an added object-suffix...this process generally does not take place with inalienably possessed nouns (body-parts and kinship terms, etc.) and a few others."

"There are three lexically determined forms of the objective suffix *-k^h*, *-s* and *-m/-n* depending on the particular noun involved."

The sum of the above quotes

- 1) the three forms of noun suffix are allomorphs of a single morpheme
- 2) they mark grammatical object or non-subject argument
- 3) the marking is not obligatory
- 4) obligatorily possessed nouns do not take a suffix

Questions

- Are the three noun suffixes allomorphs of a single morpheme?
- Are these suffixes really object/non-subject marking?
 - If not, what are they?
- Are they really optional
 - if not, what are the conditioning factors?

Are the three noun suffixes allomorphs of a single morpheme?

- So far I have found no noun which takes more than one of the three suffixes.
- Nouns ending in vowel > -(sV)s
 - *pe-n* only exception

Are the three noun suffixes allomorphs of a single morpheme?

- *yom / yom-én* 'man'
- *ne-yóm* 'men'
- *no-yom-és* 'men'

* *no-yom-én*

- see (1)

Are these suffixes really object markers?

- *yom* / *yom-én*
- *wáka* / *woko-sás*
- *p^hul* / *p^hul-ák^h*

Are these suffixes really object markers?

- *yom-én* 'man'
- *woko-sás* 'cow'
- *p^hul-ák^h* 'star'

If these suffixed forms are optional object markers, they may be absent even in O function, but they should always be absent in A or S function.

However, this is not the case as shown in (2)

Attested argument functions of suffixed nouns

		A	S	O
yom-en	'man'	yes	yes	no
woko-sás	'cow'	no	yes	yes
p ^h ul-ak ^h	'star'	no	yes	yes

Attested argument functions of bare nouns

	A	S	O
yom	yes	yes	yes
waka	no	yes	yes
p ^h ul	yes	yes	yes

If the suffixes are not case markers, what are they?

Looking at *yom(-en)* in a sample text:

- definiteness
- specificity
- topic vs. comment
- spatial deixis

yom-en in a sample text:

- always definite
 - always specific
 - always topic
-
- *yom* can be indefinite and unspecific or both
 - *yom* can be used either in topics or comments

niná + noun (-suffix)

	short	long	total long
man	12	121	196
men	5	19	54
woman	3	7	46
child	4	0	19
stone	11	5	77
book	8	2	471
day	0	2	375

Imperfective past c^ha

- "The imperfect-suffix $-c^ha$ can apparently be added to any present-tense verb-form (?); e.g. $hák-c^ha$'s/he came'; $hós-c^ha$'s/he wanted'." Holt (1999:30)
- Clitic
 - Can also appear on other parts of speech, cf. (5)
 - Does not affect stress pattern
 - $t^he-véle-c^ha$ 'he said' (not $t^he-velé-c^ha$)
- compatible with other tense-aspect markers

Irrealis use of $c^h a$

- past conditional (6a)
- hortative (6b)
- dubiative (6c)

Discourse organizing clitics

- *ne* 'and' 'but' 'because / for that reason'
- *wa* 'also' 'and then'
- *ha*[?] 'ATTENTION'

Discourse organizing clitics

- *ne*
 - is a coordinating connective
 - main clauses (7)
 - subordinate clauses (8)
 - Interrogative sequences (9)
 - Interrogative constructions *ne ... haʔ* (9b)

Discourse organizing clitics

- *wa* points to an antecedent
 - adverbial (10)
 - 'not either' (11)
 - 'another' (12)
 - topical (13)
 - all-new sentences (14)

Discourse organizing clitics

- *haʔ*
 - regain attention
 - series of questions *ne ... haʔ* (15)
 - imperative constructions (16)
- "pay attention now (again)"
- purely pragmatic -> does not show up in written text or elicitation
- contrast (14c) with (14k) – slight difference in meaning

References

- Campbell**, Lyle. 1997. *American Indian Languages*. Oxford University Press.
- Campbell**, Lyle, and David Oltrogge. 1980. Proto-Tol (Jicaque). *International Journal of American Linguistics* 46(3): 205–223.
- Chapman**, Anne. 1992. *Masters of Animals: Oral Traditions of the Tolupan Indians, Honduras*. Taylor & Francis.
- Conzemius**, Edward. 1923. The Jicaques of Honduras. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 2(3/4): 163–170.
- Dennis**, Ronald K. 1990. La conjugación del verbo en idioma tol (jicaque). Tegucigalpa, D.C., Honduras: Instituto Hondureño de Antropología e Historia; Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
- Dennis**, Ronald K, and Margaret Royce de Dennis. 1983. *Diccionario tol (jicaque)-español y español-tol (jicaque)*. Tegucigalpa, Honduras: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano en colaboración con el Instituto Hondureño de Antropología e Historia.
- Dennis**, Ronald K, and Ilah Flemming. 1976. La Lengua Tol (Jicaque): Los Sustantivos. *In Las fronteras de Mesoamérica*. Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología, ed. México: La Sociedad.
- Dixon**, R. B., and Alfred L. Kroeber. 1913. New Linguistic Families in California. *American Anthropologist* 15(4): 647–655.
- Greenberg**, Joseph Harold, and Morris Swadesh. 1953. Jicaque as a Hokan Language. Berkeley, CA: California Indian Library Collections [distributor].
- Grønn**, Atle. 2013. Aspect and Tense in Counterfactual Main Clauses: Fake or Real? *In Studies in Language Companion Series*. Folke Josephson and Ingmar Söhrman, eds. Pp. 133–158. Amsterdam: John Benjamins
- Von Hagen**, Victor Wolfgang. 1943. *The Jicaque (Torrupan) Indians of Honduras*. New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye foundation.
- Haurholm-Larsen**, Steffen. 2012 ¿A Quién Le Importa? Una Encuesta Sociolingüística de La Lengua Tol O Jicaque de Honduras. *In* . Vienna.
- Holt**, Dennis Graham. 1999. Tol (Jicaque). München: LINCOM Europa.
- Iatridou**, Sabine. 2000. The Grammatical Ingredients of Counterfactuality. *Linguistic Inquiry* 31(2): 231–270.
- Kaufman**, Terrence. 2006. Hokan Languages. *In Concise Encyclopedia of Languages of the World*. Elsevier.
- Lehmann**, Walter. 1920. *Zentral-Amerika 1. Die Sprachen Zentral-Amerikas in ihren Beziehungen zueinander, sowie zu Süd-Amerika und Mexiko*. Berlin: Reimer.
- Membreño**, Alberto. 1897. *Hondureñismos*. Tegucigalpa, Honduras: Editorial Guaymuras.
- Oltrogge**, David Frederick. 1977. Proto-Jicaque-Subtiaba-Tequistlateco: A Comparative Reconstruction. *In Two Studies in Middle American Comparative Linguistics*. Irvine Davis and Virgil Poulter, eds. [Dallas, TX]: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Suarez**, Jorge A. 1983. *The Mesoamerican Indian Languages*. Cambridge University Press.
- Yasugi**, Yoshiho. 1995 Native Middle American Languages: An Areal-Typological Perspective. National Museum of Ethnology.

Thank you!

The Hans Rausing
Endangered
Languages Project

Through Arcadia



ARCADIA

FNSNF

SWISS NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION