The Origin of Purpose Clause Markers in Proto-Omagua-Kokama

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Introduction

• Propose a source for the system of purpose clause (PC) markers in Omagua and Kokama-Kokamilla
  • Tupí-Guaraní (TG) languages of Peruvian Amazonia
• Tupí-Guaraní: one of the most widespread families of Amazonia
  • Omagua and Kokama-Kokamilla form its lexically and grammatically most divergent subgroup (Cabral 1995; Michael 2014; O’Hagan 2011)
• Goals:
  1. Explain a crosslinguistically unusual pattern of alignment and control
  2. Account for a system of purpose clause marking unattested in TG
  3. Delineate the grammatical changes of Proto-Omagua-Kokama (POK)
Tupí-Guaraní (Chousou-Polydouri et al. 2014)
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Proto-Omagua-Kokama (O’Hagan et al. 2013)

proto-omagua-kokama-tupinambá
(POKT)

pre-proto-omagua-kokama
(pre-POK)

contacto con idioma(s)
no-tupí-guaraní(es)

proto-omagua-kokama
(POK)

omagua
(OMG)

kokama-kokamilla
(KOK)

tupinambá
(TPN)
Omagua & Kokama (Michael and O’Hagan to appear)
POK Purpose Markers: Forms

- Three purpose clause markers, two suffixes and an enclitic

<table>
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<th>POK</th>
<th>Omagua</th>
<th>Kokama</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>*-tara</td>
<td>-tara</td>
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<tr>
<td>*-maira</td>
<td>-mira</td>
<td>-mira</td>
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<td>*=tsenuni</td>
<td>=sinuni</td>
<td>-tsen(u)</td>
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- *-tara: PC nominative null; controller = matrix absolutive; OV
- *-maira: PC accusative null; controller = matrix absolutive
- *=tsenuni: all arguments overt; no coreference restrictions
realization and (ii) coreference control. In terms of argument realization, in tara and mira constructions, the target argument in the subordinate clause must be elided, whereas in tsen constructions, all the arguments of the purpose clause have to be expressed. As for the second parameter, in purpose clauses marked by -tara, the absolutive (S/O) argument controls coreference with the nominative (S/A) argument in the subordinate clause. In purpose clauses marked by -mira, the absolutive (S/O) argument controls coreference with the absolutive (O) argument in the matrix clause. In tsen constructions, no coreference is required with any main clause arguments. This is summarized in figure 1.

As figure 1 shows, the choice between -tara and -mira is automatically conditioned by the semantics of reference; however, there is a clear overlap between these two and -tsen, which can occur in any coreference conditions. I come back to this point in 6 below to demonstrate that the choice between -mira/-tara and -tsen is driven by information structure factors. The following subsections offer a brief characterization of each purpose construction. From now on, notations like \([S = S]\) indicate that the main clause controller is an S and the coreferential NP in the subordinate clause is an S.

4.1. Tara constructions. This construction contains minimally a verb (25). Beyond conveying purpose, the subordinator -tara indicates that the A/S argument is missing in the adverbial clause, with its referent being either the S or the O argument of the main clause. In other words, the Absolutive argument of the main clause controls the ellipsis of the Nominative argument in the adverbial clause. Schematically: \([S/O i \ [O \emptyset (S/A)i V -tara]\].

This construction is illustrated in (25)–(28). Examples (25) and (26) have an intransitive main clause and, in each, the S of the main clause, 'my husband', controls referentiality of the missing argument of the adverbial clause.
POK Purpose Markers: *-tara Exemplification

(1) tana= usu __ yapika -tara
1PL.EXCL.MS= go __ sit.down -PURP
‘We went to sit down.’

(2) mi rua ni= usu =usari ikumī __ uwakira sakita -tara
2SG NEG 2SG= go =FUT today __ sugar.cane cut -PURP
‘You are not going to go cut down sugar cane today.’

(3) mukuika papa =na irusu ina= taira =na __
two father =PL.FS take 3PL.FS= son =PL.FS __
yumisarika -tara
play -PURP
‘Two parents took their sons to play.’
POK Purpose Markers: *-maira Exemplification

(4) wiwi aya yumira ta= sinu -mira __
one man get.angry 1SG.MS= hear -PURP __
‘A man got angry so I would hear [him].’

(5) ta= sasta ta= awati atawari =kana iu -mira __
1SG.MS= shell 1SG.MS= corn chicken =PL.MS eat -PURP __
‘I shelled my corn for the chickens to eat.’
POK Purpose Markers: *＝\textit{tsenuni} Exemplification

(6) yapá yini= usu parana =kati yini= yasuka =\textit{sinuni} ikati HORT 1INCL= go river =ALL 1INCL= bathe =PURP there.FS

‘Let’s go to the river to bathe there.’

(7) ta= muruka akia tuyuka ta= yanukata 1SG.MS= furrow DEM.PROX.MS soil 1SG.MS= place =\textit{sinuni} yawiri iwa =PURP manioc stalk

‘I make furrows in the soil in order to place manioc stalks.’
Sources: TG Nominal Tense, Nominalizers, & PPs

- Nominal tense (Jensen 1998:544):
  - *-am ~ -ram NOMINAL FUTURE (C-final ~ V-final)
- Nominalizers (Jensen 1998:539-544):
  - *-ar ~ -tsar ~ -tar AGENT NOMZ (C-final ~ V-final ~ G-final)
  - *-βaʔé CLAUSAL NOMZ
- Postposition (Jensen 1998:514)
  - *enoné ‘ahead of’

(8) \( \text{iwasu osasaβaʔerama} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
i & \quad \text{-wasu o-} \quad s- \quad \text{asaβ} \quad -βaʔé \quad -\text{ram} \quad -a \\
\text{water} & \quad \text{-AUG} \quad \text{3.ERG-} \quad \text{3.ABS-} \quad \text{cross} \quad \text{-NOMZ:CL} \quad \text{-FUT.NOM} \quad \text{-ARG}
\end{align*}
\]

‘he who will cross the river’

(Tupinambá; Lemos Barbosa (1956:256))
Grammaticalization: *-*

*tar-am > *tara

Figure 1: Change in Form

‘future X-er’ > ‘in order to X’

Figure 2: Change in Meaning
Grammaticalization: *-*\textit{maira}

*\textit{bære-ram} > \textit{ma?eram} > \textit{ma?iiram} > \textit{mairam} > *\textit{maira}

\textbf{Figure 3:} Change in Form

‘what Z will X’ > ‘in order to X’

\textbf{Figure 4:} Change in Meaning
Grammaticalization: *＝tsenuni

*tsenoné > tsenoni > *tsenuni

Figure 5: Change in Form

‘ahead of (SPAT)’ > ‘before (TEMP)’ > ‘in order to (PURP)’

Figure 6: Change in Meaning
Sound Change

The sound changes necessary to explain the phonological shape of PCMs are attested elsewhere in Omagua and Kokama

1. \(*\text{tar-am} > *\text{tara}\)
   - Preservation vs. loss of coda nasal (e.g., \(*pem\) ‘weave’ > \(*\text{yupe}\) )

2. \(*\beta\text{a?é-ram} > *\text{maira}\)
   - Categorial loss of *?
   - Raising of final stressed *e to *i
   - Preservation vs. loss of coda nasal (e.g., \(*pem\) ‘weave’ > \(*\text{yupe}\) )
   - \(*\beta\) vs. \(*mb\)

3. \(*\text{tsenoné} > *\text{tsenuni}\)
   - Categorial raising of *o to *u
   - Raising of final stressed *e to *i
Monophthongization

- Monophthongized Omagua -\textit{mira} is unexpected (O’Hagan and Wauters 2012)
- The TG clausal nominalizer is retained in both Omagua and Kokama

\[\text{(9)}\] \text{kati yuká \textit{jiri} =mai =k'ara} \\
\quad \text{yonder DEM.DIST.MS be.muddy =NOMZ:INACT =INE} \\
\quad \text{‘yonder in that mud’} \\
\quad \text{Omagua (MCT:C4.S1)}

- Kokama monophthongized diphthongs in non-initial syllables
- Omagua -\textit{mira} must represent an early influence from Kokama
  - Co-residence on Jesuit missions from at least 1750s (Uriarte [1776]1986)
Sound Change & *-ra

• A coda nasal was lost in exactly the morpheme in question *-ra
  • A reflex of nominal future *-ram

• Licenses an oblique argument denoting the purpose of an event

(10) \[\text{ta= kaitza iwira =kana =ui ta= uka -ra} \]
1SG.MS= cut tree =PL.MS =PST:PROX 1SG.MS= house -PURP
‘I cut trees for my house.’
Kokama (Vallejos 2010:291)

• The purpose is typically to bring the nominal root into existence

• Plausible extension of future temporal semantics even in PTG
Changes in Meaning Revisited

• *-tara Grammaticalization

  ‘in order to be an X-er’ > ‘in order to X’

  Figure 7: Change in Meaning

*-maira Grammaticalization

  ‘for what Z will X;’ > ‘in order to X’

  Figure 8: Change in Meaning
Changes in Meaning Revisited

(11) \[\text{mi rua ni=} \text{usu =usari ikumī ᖇ uwakira sakīta -tara} \]
2SG NEG 2SG= go =FUT today __ sugar.cane cut -PURP
[‘You are not going to go in order to be a sugar cane cutter today.’] S=A

(12) \[\text{ta=} \text{sasta ta=} \text{awati atawari =kana ri} \text{-mira __} \]
1SG.MS= shell 1SG.MS= corn chicken =PL.MS eat -PURP __
[‘I shelled my corn for what the chickens will eat.’] P=P
Tupí-Guaraní Context: Kamaiurá (Seki 2000:187-188)

(13) Sapaí -a a- enõj __ moĩ -a juka -tar -am
    Sapaí -ARG 1SG.ERG- call __ snake -ARG kill -NOMZ -ATTR
    ‘I called to Sapaí so he would kill the snake.’ P=A

(14) Kawa a- enõj __ i- jo -taw -am
    Kawa 1SG.ERG- call __ 3.ABS- go -NOMZ -ATTR
    ‘I called Kawa to go.’ P=S

(15) kaʔaher -a a- mepi je= r- emi- etsak -am
    paper -ARG 1SG.ERG- buy 1SG.ABS= REL- NOMZ- see -ATTR
    ‘I bought the book to read [it].’ P=P
References


