5th Symposium on
Amazonian Languages

March 29 - 30, 2024
University of New Mexico, Albuquerque

The Department of Linguistics at UNM is proud to host SAL 5

Dane Smith Hall (DSH) 333

Contact: sympamazlang@gmail.com

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5th Symposium on Amazonian Languages

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University of New Mexico, Albuquerque

Friday, March 29, 2024			Saturday, March 30, 2024		
Time	**Presenter(s)**	**Title**	**Presenter(s)**	**Title**	
8:30 – 9:00	BREAKFAST			BREAKFAST	
9:00 – 9:30	Myriam Lapierre[1], Ella De Falco[2], Alessio Tosolini[3], and Jeremy Steffman[4] University of Washington[123] and University of Edinburgh[4]	The Acoustics of Panãra Vowels	Lev Michael University of California, Berkeley	Language classification, language contact, and the Arawakan settlement of the Ucayali basin	
9:30 – 10:00	Christine Beier University of California, Berkeley	Even 'zero' tones have F0: Pitch interpolation in Iquito (Zaparoan, Peru)	Sunkulp Ananthanarayan, Emily Luedke, Myriam Lapierre, and Shane Steinert-Threkeld University of Washington	Some flavors out of stock: On the small lexical inventory for the expression of modality in Panãra	
10:00 – 10:30	David Ginebra Domingo Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona and Lumière Université Lyon 2	The third high vowel in Yamalero (Guahiban): arguments favouring /ɯ/ instead of /i/	Fabian Malaver and Jorge Roses University of Alberta	Body-part terms in Sáliba: A historical comparison	
10:30 – 11:00	BREAK			BREAK	
11:00 – 11:30	Adam Singerman Syracuse Univeristy	Information structure and the organization of the Tuparí clause	Maria Cheremisinova University of Texas, Austin	Temporal remoteness systems in western Amazonia	
11:30 – 12:00	Justin Case University of Ottawa	Where licensing meets focus: an approximation to differential case marking in Ecuadorian Siona	Stephanie Farmer and Zachary O'Hagan University of California, Berkeley	Perfectivity without Time: The Case of Caquinte	
12:00 - 12:30	Zachary O'Hagan University of California, Berkeley	The Taushiro "passive" is an alignment split	Guillaume Thomas University of Toronto	Understanding the loss of object prefixes in Mbya Guarani	
12:30 – 14:00	LUNCH			LUNCH	
14:00 – 14:30	Noemy Condori[1] and Oscar Rojas[2] University of California, Santa Barbara[1] and University of Texas, Austin[2]	Morphophonological deletion in monolingual speech of South Bolivian Quechua in Carrasco	Simeon Floyd Universidad San Francisco de Quito	Toponymy of the lost Quijos language of the Ecuadorian Amazon	
14:30 – 15:00	Jessamine Jeter, Naja Ferjan Ramírez, and Myriam Lapierre University of Washington	Language Environments and Language Development : A Case Study from Panãra	Rosa Vallejos University of New Mexico	Demonstrative selection in Secoya	
15:00 – 15:30	Jens Van Gysel University of New Mexico	Competition between two first person singular possessive prefixes in Sanapaná	Visit to the Petroglyph National Monument (https://www.nps.gov/petr/index.htm), one of the largest petroglyph sites in North America featuring designs and symbols carved onto volcanic rocks by Native Americans and Spanish settlers 400 to 700 years ago. **Please let us know via email if you would like to participate.**		
15:30 – 16:00	BREAK				
16:00 – 16:30	Bruno Pinto Silva and Joshua Birchall University of New Mexico	Using archival materials to develop a Salamãi multimedia dictionary			
16:30 – 17:00	Kristina Balykova University of Texas, Austin	From venitive to benefactive in Guató			

Abstract Booklet

5th Symposium on Amazonian Languages

Albuquerque, New Mexico
March 29-30, 2024

Some flavors out of stock: On the small lexical inventory for the expression of modality in Panãra

Sunkulp Ananthanarayan, Emily Luedke, Myriam Lapierre, and Shane Steinert-Threkeld
University of Washington

Panãra (Jê, Glottocode: pana1307) expresses temporality largely through a realis/irrealis distinction, relying more on exponents of modality than tense. In this talk, we analyze elicitation based on Vander Klok's (2021) survey and incidental utterances from other elicitation, stories, and conversations, and find that the modal inventory of Panãra is extremely limited and underspecifies most force-flavor combinations. Additionally, we show that discourse modality (Portner 2009) must be further investigated to reify a description of possibility and necessity in Panãra. We do so through discussing preliminary findings from our sentential and sub-sententantial modality, and positioning this inventory in the broader typology.

References

Portner, P. (2009). Modality. Oxford University Press.
vander Klok, J. V. (2022). 3 Discourse contexts targeting modality in fieldwork: A revised modal questionnaire.

From venitive to benefactive in Guató

Kristina Balykova
University of Texas, Austin

During my documentation work on Guató, a highly endangered isolate from Brazil, a set of benefactive applicative suffixes has been identified: *-gi* 'BEN.1', *-mahe* 'BEN.2', and *-ga* 'BEN.3'. They are clearly related to the deictic venitive suffixes found in the language: *-ki* 'VEN.1', *-ma* 'VEN.2', and *-ka* 'VEN.3'. In addition, the 2nd person benefactive *-mahe* is a combination of *-ma* 'VEN.2' and *-he*, used to mark 2nd person absolutive arguments on verbs. I will characterize the Guató benefactive applicative construction from a typological viewpoint and discuss its development in light of what is known about diachronic sources of benefactive applicatives.

Even 'zero' tones have F0: Pitch interpolation in Iquito

Christine Beier
University of California, Berkeley

Iquito (Zaparoan, Peru) exhibits a complex tone system whose tone-bearing unit (TBU) is the mora and whose moraic tone inventory is /H, L, ø/. These two claims are illustrated by the minimal pair /túùkù/ (HLL) 'ear' and /tuuku/ (øøø) 'tumpline'. But what does it mean

to claim that one of the tone specifications in Iquito is 'zero' (ø)? This talk addresses some descriptive and theoretical considerations invoked by proposing ø-tone in Iquito, focusing our attention on the phonology/phonetics interface and on how meaningful contrasts in tone map on to utterance-level pitch trajectories in Iquito.

Where licensing meets focus: an approximation to differential case marking in Ecuadorian Siona

Justin Case
University of Ottawa

Ecuadorian Siona ([snn] - Western Tukanoan) exhibits differential case marking (DCM) on subjects, (in)direct objects, (static) locations, and locative goals. These have not all received equal attention. This talk provides a handful of novel observations, which point to previously unnoticed points of convergence across these DCM sub-patterns, in addition to recognizing the asymmetries between subjects and objects already noted in the literature. These points of divergence/convergence fall out naturally under the **Licensing split approach** (cf. Kalin 2014, 2018; Levin 2019). Ultimately, all Siona DCM is best viewed as driven by a principled conspiracy of referential properties (φ) and discourse management factors (δ).

Temporal remoteness systems in western Amazonia

Masha Cheremisinova
University of Texas, Austin

Some languages, apart from differentiating between past, present, or future tense, also further distinguish various degrees of remoteness. The markers of remoteness indicate the temporal distance between the topic time and the utterance time.

This talk shares preliminary observations on temporal remoteness systems in 18 languages of western Amazonia, as this region seems to be prolific in distinguishing various remoteness degrees. I analyze the possible distinctions that languages with remoteness systems make. Additionally, I investigate the diachronic sources of the markers, aiming to establish potential pathways of grammaticalization that have contributed to the development of such systems.

Morphophonological deletion in monolingual speech of South Bolivian Quechua in Carrasco

Noemy Conduri[1] and Oscar Rojas[2]
University of California, Santa Barbara[1] and University of Texas, Austin[2]

The morphological elision phenomena manifest predominantly in phrase-final positions involving the omission of one morpheme at a time. Quechua employs a distinctive mechanism to signify morphemic deletion, where stress persists on the syllable immediately preceding the elided morpheme.

This research examines the patterns and sistematicity of these elisions in naturalistic speech, scrutinizing the frequency of elided morphemes and the specific phrase types where this occurs, as well as, the stress and intonation patterns of words affected by elision, which is distinct from change seen with other suffix additions to a root, emerges as a strategy through which Quechua marks morphological elision.

Perfectivity without Time: The Case of Caquinte -(a)k

Stephanie Farmer and Zachary O'Hagan
University of California, Berkeley

The suffix *-(a)k* in Caquinte, a vital Arawak language of Peru, has been described as expressing perfective aspect (Swift 1988:50-51; O'Hagan 2020:228-230), whereby a topic time "is partly included in the post-time" of a situation (Klein 1994:109). We question this perfective analysis, and indeed any analysis that frames *-(a)k* in terms of time. Our analysis reframes the aspectual notion of 'topic time' in interactional terms. We argue that the Caquinte "perfective" expresses the speaker's belief that the addressee is attending to a situation other than the one described by the verb, and that temporal interpretations emerge through inference.

Toponymy of the lost Quijos language of the Ecuadorian Amazon

Simeon Floyd
Universidad San Francisco de Quito

Colonial documents mention a people known as the Quixos in the early colonial period inhabited upper Amazon rainforest in the north Andean foothills to the east of Quito, in the region of the headwaters of the Coca and Napo rivers. While one or more local languages are alluded to by early colonial documentation, by the 17th and 18th Centuries most or people had shifted to the Quechuan "general language of the Inca" which was introduced by Spanish missionary society in places like Baeza, Archidona and Ávila, eventually leading to the development of the modern Napo variety of Amazonian Kichwa. Aside from some remaining non-Quechuan family names and flora/fauna terms, the sparse remaining evidence of the original Quijos language consists almost entirely of local toponyms. This study is a first survey of the toponyms of the Quijos region, considering their formal properties and potential cases for connecting them to other language families of the region.

The third high vowel in Yamalero (Guahiban): arguments favouring /ɯ/ instead of /ɨ/

David Ginebra Domingo
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona and Lumière Université de Lyon 2

Guahiban and Amazonian languages have often been characterized with the following three high vowels: /i/, /u/ and /ɨ/. However, in this presentation, I will show that the Yamalero system is better described with an /ɯ/ than with an /ɨ/. First, I will present spectogrms and vowel plots featuring an acoustic analysis. Then, I will show how the height assimilation process that turns /ai/ into [ɛj] and /au/ into [ɔw], also turns /aɯ/ into [ʌɯ] (and not into [əɯ]). Finally, I will argue for the existance a [ɯ̥] allophone that also fits better with an /ɯ/ than with a /ɨ/ phoneme.

Language Environments and Language Development : A Case Study from Panãra

Jessamine Jeter, Naja Ferjan Ramirez & Myriam Lapierre
University of Washington

While existing research on language acquisition suggests that child-directed speech (CDS) is an ideal type of input, this focuses on children in Western settings where CDS is the cultural norm (e.g. ManyBabies Collaborative, 2017). In some communities, cultural practices result in comparatively less traditional CDS, yet language acquisition is still successful. Panãra cultural practices differ greatly from Western practices: Panãra society is not child-centered, and ethnographic reports suggest CDS is very infrequent. To investigate this language environment, 18 day-long recordings of Panãra infants were collected. Preliminary data suggests that much of the language input comes from other-directed speech (ODS). This is the first study of the linguistic environment of Panãra children and its impacts on language development, and aims to inform our understanding of first language acquisition.

The Acoustics of Panãra Vowels

Myriam Lapierre[1], Ella De Falco[2], Alessio Tosolini[3], & Jeremy Steffman[4]
University of Washington[123] and University of Edinburgh[4]

The acoustic formant space of vowels has been shown to undergo two forms of prominence strengthening. The sonority expansion hypothesis predicts that the acoustic space of prominent vowels is lowered, resulting in greater vowel sonority. The hyperarticulation hypothesis predicts that the acoustic space of prominent vowels is expanded overall, with peripheral vowels showing a more extreme articulation. This paper investigates the vowels of Panãra (Jê, Brazil), comparing the F1-F2 space of stressed and unstressed short and long oral vowels. We find an overall expansion of the acoustic

space for long compared to short vowels, but not for stressed compared to unstressed vowels. This expansion is observed as a raising and backing of the acoustic space of long vowels, consistent with the predictions of hyperarticulation.

Body-part terms in Sáliba: A historical comparison

Fabian Malaver and Jorge Roses
University of Alberta

In this presentation, we provide a comparison and an internal reconstruction of body-part terms in Sáliba (ISO 639-3: slc), a seriously endangered Sáliban language spoken in Colombia and Venezuela. Using manuscript and field audio data from different doculects spanning 200+ years (from the late 18th century to the present), we discuss sound changes and morphological changes in the language's body-part lexicon. This research contributes to the reconstruction of Proto-Sáliban and to studies of language change more generally.

Language classification, language contact, and the Arawakan settlement of the Ucayali basin

Lev Michael
University of California, Berkeley

The Ucayali River basin and its immediate vicinity is home to two branches of the Arawakan family, the Nihagantsi branch (comprised of Asháninka, Ashéninka, Caquinte, Matsigenka, Nanti, and Nomatsigenga) and the Western Maipuran branch (comprised of Chamicuro, Morike, and Yanesha'), as well as Yine, a member of the Purús branch (which includes Apurinã and Iñapari). In this talk I provide a historical account of the process by Arawakan languages entered the Ucayali River basin, diversified, and subsequently reached their modern locations, based on a phylogenetic analysis of the genealogical relationships among these languages, calibrated by archaeological finds in the region.

The Taushiro "passive" is an alignment split

Zachary O'Hagan
University of California, Berkeley

In the first grammatical description of Taushiro, an isolate of Peru now with one known first-language speaker, Amadeo García, it was claimed that the language exhibited a passive construction (Alicea Ortiz 1975:20-22). In this presentation, based on documentary research carried out with Mr. García in 2023, I demonstrate that the Taushiro "passive" is a split alignment pattern conditioned by aspect. In this pattern, transitive subjects are morphologically dative in most person configurations, dative subjects co-

occur with a special verbal suffix with unique allomorphy in the language, agreement is absolutive instead of nominative-accusative, and verbs occur in a special stem form.

Using archival materials to develop a Salamãi multimedia dictionary

Bruno Pinto Silva and Joshua Birchall
University of New Mexico

Over this past year we have been working with archived recordings from one of the last two known speakers of Salamãi (Mondé/Tupian) to produce a multimedia dictionary for the heritage language community. In this talk we present the little-known history and current situation of the Salamãi people, and then discuss the process by which the data were collected and analyzed. We then show how this project ties into a larger initiative in Brazil to use language documentation collections to produce community-oriented materials that also make information on these languages accessible to the broader scientific community.

Information structure and the organization of the Tuparí clause

Adam Singerman
Syracuse University

Tuparí has a case suffix, *-t/n/et/ēn*, without clear cognates elsewhere in the Tuparían branch of the Tupían family. The distribution of this case suffix has been described in prior literature as sensitive to definiteness/topicality. In this talk I show this case suffix is in fact ANTI-FOCAL: it shows up on all NP subjects and NP objects that are not focused. When the NP subject is itself the focus, the case suffix appears on the predicate instead. I demonstrate that explaining this case's distribution via definiteness/topicality is less successful than appealing to (anti)focus.

Understanding the loss of object prefixes in Mbya Guaraní

Guillaume Thomas
University of Toronto

In Jensen's (1990, 1998) reconstruction of Proto-Tupi Guarani, a third person object prefix intervenes between a transitive root and a subject prefix in the 1 > 3 and 2 > 3 direct order (*a-i-potar* 'I like it'; *a-c-epjak* 'I met him'). In contemporary TG languages this object prefix has been partially or totally lost. In Mbya Guarani, it is only attested with a subset of transitive roots. To some extent, this can be attributed to lenition of the *c allomorph of the prefix with class II roots (*c > h > ø). However, the *i and *j allomorphs of the prefix are still attested with some but not all class I roots (cf. *o-j-ao'i* 'She covers it' vs *o-aka* 'She chides her'), which cannot be explained by lenition. In this talk, I explore semantic,

morphological and contact factors that may explain the loss of object marking prefixes with class I roots in Mbya Guarani.

Demonstrative selection in Secoya

Rosa Vallejos
University of New Mexico

This talk deals with the factors influencing demonstrative selection in Secoya. This language has a tripartite system. Data from a corpus and from an elicitation task reveal that Secoya exhibits features of person-oriented systems (Anderson & Keenan 1985), insofar as the selection of the items seems sensitive not only to the distance between referent and speaker, but also to the distance between referent and addressee, as well as to the space between speaker and addressee. These results have implications for Tukanoan studies, as they challenge the supremacy of the speaker as the only deictic point in the selection of demonstratives, as has been reported for most languages of the family.

Competition between two first person singular possessive prefixes in Sanapaná

Jens Van Gysel
University of New Mexico

In Sanapaná (Enlhet-Enenlhet, Paraguay), inalienable nouns obligatorily take a prefix that marks referential features of their possessor. There are two competing prefixes to mark first person singular possessors. Some nouns categorically take *as-* (e.g. *ask-etka* 'my child'), others categorically take *e-* (e.g. *e-patek* 'my head'), and yet others show seemingly free variation (e.g. *e-yahleng* or *as-yahleng* 'my younger sibling'). Etymologically, the *e-* variant is more conservative. In this talk, I investigate the sociolinguistic factors underlying the gradual shift towards *as-* for first person singular possessive marking, and relate them to the process of language shift Sanapaná is undergoing.