

Location and Direction in Waikurúan Languages

Author(s): Verónica Grondona

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Location and Direction in Waikurúan Languages¹

Verónica Grondona
University of Pittsburgh

1. Introduction

The Waikurúan language family comprises two branches: Waikurúan and Southern Waikurúan. The Waikurúan branch includes Mbayá, formerly spoken in the Brazilian and Paraguayan Chaco, and its descendant Kadiwéu, now spoken by about 1,500 people in western Mato Grosso do Sul, Brazil. The Southern Branch includes Mocoví, Pilagá, Toba, and [†]Abipón. Mocoví is spoken in northern Santa Fe and southern Chaco provinces in Argentina, by approximately 7,000 speakers. There are about 4,000 speakers of Pilagá scattered in the northeastern part of Chaco and in eastern Formosa provinces in Argentina. Toba, with 25,000 speakers, is spoken in southern Paraguay and eastern Bolivia, and in the eastern part of Chaco and Formosa provinces in Argentina (approximately 15,000 Toba speakers live in Argentina). Abipón, now extinct, was spoken in eastern Chaco province in Argentina and was very closely related to the other languages in this branch.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 presents a discussion of deictic classifiers in Waikurúan languages, including a table with the forms in each of the languages and example sentences. In § 3 locative/directional verbal morphemes are discussed, a table with locative/directional morphemes is presented, and examples from various Waikurúan languages are provided. Section 4 summarizes the conclusions.²

2. Deictic classifiers

All the Waikurúan languages have a set of nominal, deictic classifiers, which precede the noun in the noun phrase. They mark absence/presence of the noun they modify, as well as motion(coming/going) and position (standing/sitting/lying). They are marked for gender and number (although number in some languages is optional if it is marked on other elements in the noun phrase). They can occur with additional morphology marking distance relative to the speaker (e.g. Plg: *-ča* 'distal', *-ho?* 'proximal', *-mʔe* 'no reference to distance' (Vidal 1997:70); Mcv: *-kerawk* 'far', *-keram* 'farther').³ In some of the languages they can function as third person pronouns (sometimes with additional morphology).⁴

This set of noun classifiers is referred to in this paper as deictic classifiers because of their deictic meanings and their function as noun classifiers. However, they have received different labels in the literature of Waikurúan languages. Klein (1979) describes them as noun classifiers in Toba, Vidal (1997) considers *da?* 'vertically extended', *ñi?* 'sitting/non-extended' and *di?* 'lying/horizontally

extended' as positional classifiers, and *naʔ* 'coming/proximal', *soʔ* 'going away/past', and *gaʔ* 'absent/distal' as deictic classifiers. Sandalo (1995) for Kadiwéu, and Ceria and Sandalo (1995) for Waikurúan and Proto-Waikurúan refer to them as demonstratives.

The deictic classifiers in Waikurúan languages are presented in table 1.

		Kdw	Mcv	Plg	Tb	Abp ⁵
Sg.M	<i>absent</i>	i-ka	(e-)ka	ga?	ka	e-ka
	<i>present</i>					
	<i>mov. coming</i>	i-n:a	(e-)na	na? (~no?)	na	e-na
	<i>going</i>	i-jo	(e-)so	so?	so	e-ha
	<i>pos. standing</i>	i-d:a	(e-)da	da?	ra	e-ra
	<i>sitting</i>	i-n:i	(e-)ñi	ñi? (~ño?)	ñi	e-ñi
	<i>lying</i>	i-d:i	(e-)ji	di? (~dyo?)	ji	e-ri
Sg.F	<i>absent</i>	a-ka	(a-)ka	(ha-)ga?	a-ka	a-ka
	<i>present</i>					
	<i>mov. coming</i>	a-n:a	(a-)na	(ha-)na? (~no?)	a-na	a-na
	<i>going</i>	a-jo	(a-)so	(ha-)so?	a-so	a-ha
	<i>pos. standing</i>	a-d:a	(a-)da	(ha-)da?	a-ra	a-ra
	<i>sitting</i>	a-n:i	(a-)ñi	(ha-)ñi? (~ño?)	a-ñi	a-ñi
	<i>lying</i>	a-d:i	(a-)ji	(ha-)di? (~dyo?)	a-ji	a-ri
Pcl/Pl	<i>absent</i>	i-d:i-wa	ka-wa	ga?	ka:-/ka-wa	e-k-o(a)
	<i>present</i>					
	<i>mov. coming</i>	i-d:i-wa	na-wa	na: (~na?)	na:-/na-wa	e-n-o(a)
	<i>going</i>	i-d:i-wa	sa-wa	sa?	so:-/so-wa	?
	<i>pos. standing</i>	i-d:i-wa	da-wa	dya?	ra:-/ra-wa	e-r-o(a)
	<i>sitting</i>	i-d:i-wa	ña-wa	ña?	ñi:-/ñi-wa	e-ñ-o(a)
	<i>lying</i>	i-d:i-wa	ja-wa	dya?	ji:-/ji-wa	e-ri-o(a)

Examples (1a-f) from Mocoví show the same noun *ʔalo* 'woman' modified by different deictic classifiers.

- | | | | |
|--------|---|---------------|-------------------------|
| (1) a. | a-ka
F-class(absent) | ?alo
woman | ‘that woman (absent)’ |
| b. | a-na
F-class(coming) | ?alo
woman | ‘that woman (coming)’ |
| c. | a-so
F-class(going) | ?alo
woman | ‘that woman (going)’ |
| d. | a-da
F-class(standing) | ?alo
woman | ‘that woman (standing)’ |
| e. | a-ñi
F-class(sitting) | ?alo
woman | ‘that woman (sitting)’ |
| f. | a-ji
F-class(lying) | ?alo
woman | ‘that woman (lying)’ |

In example (2) from a Mocoví text, different deictic classifiers are used with the different nouns in the sentence, depending on the absence/presence, motion or position of the nouns they modify. The deictic classifier *so* ‘going’ modifies the noun *qom* ‘person’ since it refers to a person walking on a field; the deictic classifier *ka* ‘absent’ modifies *lepetaganagat* ‘food’ since it refers to the food the man is looking for, therefore absent; and finally the deictic classifier *ji* ‘lying/horizontally extended’ modifies the noun *no?we:naca* ‘field’.⁶

ka	lepetaganagat	yowo:tako?	ki	ji	no?we:naga.
Ø-ka	l-epetaganagat	y-owo:-tak-o?	ke	Ø- ji	n-o?we:naga
M-class (absent)	abs-food	3ag-walk-prog-pst	prep	M-class (lying)	abs-field

‘That man was looking for food, (he) was walking on the land (=field).’

Examples (3) and (4) from Pilagá show the different deictic classifiers modifying different nouns, again depending on their absence/presence, motion or position.

'Seraki put the knife in the box.' (Vidal 1997:59)

(4) **ñi** **mayo?** **netaye** **qa?li?** **ha-da** **epaq** (Plg)
class(sitting) **bird** **loc** **before** **F-class(standing)** **tree**
 ‘The bird was on the tree.’ (Vidal 1997:76)

In example (5) from Klein (1979) the classifier *ra* 'standing' modifies the noun *lma?* 'house' referring to a house that is being built, and is already off the ground. However, in example 6 the house is just about to be built and is barely off the ground, so the classifier *ʔi* 'lying' is used.

- (6) hiʔottak ʒi lmaʔ (Tb)
 he.is.building **class(lying)** house
 'He is building a house.' (it is just about to be built, is only barely off the ground) (Klein 1979:89)

In example (7) the deictic classifier *so* 'going' modifies the nouns *piʔoq* 'dog' and *roʔo* 'hat' when describing a situation in which the dog is biting on a hat and the dog is moving. Example 8 refers to a similar situation, in which a dog is biting on a hat. However in this case both the dog and the hat are out of sight, so the deictic classifier *(ha-)ka* 'absent' is used for the same nouns.

- (7) **so** piʔoq hinaktapigi **ha-so** roʔo (Tb)
 class(going) dog is.biting.on **F-class(going)** hat
 ‘The dog is biting on a hat.’ (and the dog is moving in such a way that
 both it and the hat are almost out of sight of the speaker) (Klein 1979:87)

- (8) **ka** pi?oq hinaktapigi **ha-ka** ro?o (Tb)
class(absent) dog is.biting.on **F-class(absent)** hat
 'The dog is biting on a hat.' (and both the dog and the hat are out of sight
 of the speaker) (Klein 1979:87)

Example (9) from a Kadiwéu text shows the classifier *ika* ‘absent’ used when referring to a situation in the past, in which the various nouns are ‘absent’ from the visual field.

- [illegible]

ika ly:onig:i datematiqatema (Kdw)
i-ka l-y:o-nig:i y-d:-atemati-qan-t+e-ma
M-class(absent) 3poss-son-Mdim 3sgS-theme-tell-val-rel+3sgCL-ben
‘As for the Kadiwéus, the ancient people used to teach their sons telling stories to them.’

(Lit: 'These ancient people these Kadiwéus used to teach their sons telling stories to them.')(Sandaló 1995:87)

To summarize, then, deictic classifiers in Waikurúan languages have very similar meanings, very similar functions, and very similar forms. They mark absence/presence in the visual field as well as motion and position of the noun

they modify; they precede the noun in the noun phrase, and they are marked for gender and (optionally) number.

3. Locative/directional verbal morphemes

All the Waikurúan languages show a set of locative/directional (loc/dir) verbal morphemes that mark the location and/or direction of the action expressed by the verb. Although the exact position of these morphemes varies slightly from language to language, in all the Waikurúan languages these loc/dir morphemes are part of the verb form and they follow person number and aspect markers within the verb form. In Toba and Kadiwéu some of them can co-occur, however it is not clear whether this is the case for Mocoví, Pilagá and Abipón. In Mocoví and Kadiwéu these loc/dir morphemes are described as clitics. In Toba and Abipón they are described as suffixes. It is not clear whether they are clitics or suffixes in Pilagá.

Examples (10)-(14) from Mocoví show some locative/directional morphemes added to the same verb root, *añogot* 'hide'.

- | | | | | |
|------|---|-------------------|------------------|-------|
| (10) | lwis nanogočicit | ada | qoʔpaq | (Mcv) |
| | lwis Ø-n-añogot+igit | a-da | qoʔpaq | |
| | Luis 3ag-hither-hide+ behind | F-class(standing) | tree | |
| | 'Luis hides behind the tree.' | | | |
| (11) | lwis nañogotowgi | ñi | ʔimek | (Mcv) |
| | lwis Ø-n-añogot+owgi | Ø-ñi | ʔimek | |
| | Luis 3ag-hither-hide+ tds.the.inside | M-class(sitting) | house | |
| | 'Luis hides inside the house.' | | | |
| (12) | lwis nañogočiʔñot | ʃi | nkiʔyagala | (Mcv) |
| | lwis Ø-n-añogot+iʔñot | Ø-ʃi | n-kiʔyagala | |
| | Luis 3ag-hither-hide+ under | M-class(standing) | abs-table | |
| | 'Luis hides under the table.' | | | |
| (13) | lwis nañogohlek | ñi | ʔimek lelaq | (Mcv) |
| | lwis Ø-n-añogot+lek | Ø-ñi | ʔimek l-elaq | |
| | Luis 3ag-hither-hide+ on | M-class(sitting) | house 3poss-roof | |
| | 'Luis hides on the roof of the house.' | | | |

- 'Luis hides on the other side of the river.'

Examples 15-19 show sentences from Mocoví, Pilagá, Toba, Abipón and Kadiwéu, with the same loc/dir morpheme meaning ‘up/upwards’ (+*šigim* (Mcv)/-*sem* (Plg)/-*šigem* (Tb)/-*hegem* ~ -*ihegem* (Abp)/+*bigim* (Kdw) ‘upwards’).

- 'We lift the bag up to the tree.'

- 'He plans to build a house.' (Vidal 1997:92)

- (Klein 1981:228)

- 'You are standing (=you are up, you are standing up)' (Najlis 1966:40)

Table 2
Locative/directional verbal morphemes in the Waikuruan languages

	Kdw	Mcv	Plg	Tb	Abp
'downwards'	+nigi ~ +n:	+fi dwn(wds)		-ñi	-añi ~ -iñi down
'hither'		+o ~ +wo		-get	
'inside'	!+n going inside	+kena tds.here +ñigi +awgi in (?)		-ngi -igi	-oa
'inwards, into'	+w ~ +wgi inwds	+owgi ~ +iwgi into		-wo	inwds
'on'		+lek on, over	-lege on (?)	-lek	-alge~elge
'on/to.other.side.of'		+a!ta on/to.other.side		-ata -?oga -wek	across -ooge ~ -ook out(wds) -aa outside
'outwards'	+ke	+eg ~ +weg		-ot	
'towards'	+gi:	+igi	-ge	-sigem	-hegem ~ -ihagem up(wds)
'under'		+ot		-peget	
'upwards'	+bigim	+šigim	-sem	-ga:ma	tds.water/town
'with'	!+wag going together	+e'e		-teg	straight
'towards water'	!+ko going, straight			-?a	fixed place
'straight'	+ka absent	+igit behind	-ma ?	-asop next.to	around, near
	+we bckwds	+peget? upto	-pe ?	-wag tds.fire	
	+kwak apart		-ya ?	-pe	circular
	!+jo going		-wo ?		
	!+get going.against				

These morphemes in Kadiwéu are the *dirI* clitics in *CL/ITIC* 2 position in the verb form and they all express 'motion'. All others express 'direction' and occur are the *dirII* clitics in the *CL/ITIC* 2 position in the verb form.

- (19) nekenigo walokoditibigimed:i nalagate (Kdw)
 neke-nigo w-alokon-d-t+bigem+e-d: nalagate
 dog-class 3sgS-run-atel-rel+upwds+3sgCL-theme mountain
 'The dog ran up the mountain.' (Sandalo 1995:55)

Examples (20)-(23) show sentences with the loc/dir morpheme 'out' or 'outwards'. Mocoví + *weg* 'out(wards)' in example (20), Pilagá -*gek* 'outwards' in (21), Toba -*wek* 'out' in (22) and Abipón -*ge* 'outwards' in (23).

- (20) yim sa:**wek** ke ĵi noʔwe:naga (Mcv)
 yim s-a:+**weg** ke Ø-ĵi noʔwe:naga
 1pron 1ag-go+**outwds** prep M-dem(lying) field
 'I go (out) to the fields.'
- (21) naegaʔ awa-pya-**gek** naʔ l-apat (Plg)
 interrog 2sg-cut-**outwds** class(prox) 3poss-meat
 'What do you cut meat with?' (Vidal 1997:79)
- (22) senoganagawek (Tb)
 s-enogan-ag-**wek**
 1S-go-1pl-out
 'Let's get out of here, we are leaving for outside.' (Klein 1981:232)
- (23) ñatagaoge (Abp)
 ñ-atagao-ge
 1S-spit-**outwds**
 'I spit (outside)'

In summary, then, all the Waikurúan languages have a set of locative/directional morphemes encoding the location and/or direction of the action expressed by the verb. Although not all the loc/dir morphemes occur in all the languages, most of them occur in two or more Waikurúan languages, and in those cases the forms are very similar. The structure of the verb form in the Waikurúan languages is very similar, and these loc/dir morphemes occur in very similar positions within the verb form.

4. Conclusions

All the Waikurúan languages have a set of deictic classifiers which precede the noun in the noun phrase and express the absence/presence, motion (coming/going) and position (standing/sitting/lying) of the noun they modify. These deictic classifiers have very similar forms, functions, and meanings. However, a few questions still remain unanswered. What is the form of the third person pronoun

in all the Waikurúan languages. In those languages for which the deictic classifiers can be used as third person pronouns, do they occur by themselves or do they require additional morphology, and if they do require additional morphology, what are those morphemes?

These languages have a set of loc/dir morphemes which have similar forms, similar meanings, and which occur in similar positions within the verb form. However, the set of loc/dir morphemes is not complete yet. It is not clear whether they can co-occur in all the Waikurúan languages, and if they can, what the restrictions are, if any. Further research is needed to find out how these loc/dir interact with the noun phrases in the sentences. In Mocoví, they seem to modify the argument structure of some of the verbs they attach to, and it is not clear whether this is the case as well in other Waikurúan languages.

This is only the first step in a comparative study of location and direction in Waikurúan languages. A few questions still remain to be answered. These will be the basis for future research.

Notes

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² List of abbreviations: Abp, Abipón; Kdw, Kadiwéu; Mcv, Mocoví; Plg, Pilagá; Tb, Toba; Wkr, Waikurúan; 1, first person; 2, second person; 3, third person; abs, absolutive; ag, agent; CL, clitic; class, classifier; dem, demonstrative; F, feminine; loc, locative; M, masculine; non-ag, non-agent; O, object; pcl, paucal; pl, plural; poss, possessive; pron, (independent) pronoun; S, subject; sg, singular; stdng, standing; tds, towards; val, valency; †, extinct language.

³ Phonemic inventory of the Waikurúan languages:

Kadiwéu: stops and affricates: p, b, b:, t, d, d:, j, č, k, g, g:, q; fricatives: ɣ; nasals: m, m:, n, n:; approximants: l, l:, w, w:, y, y:; vowels: a, a:, e, e:, i, i:, o, o:.

Mocoví: stops and affricates: p, t, d, č, j, k, q, ʔ; fricatives: (ɸ), s, š, ɣ, ɣ:; nasals: m, n, ñ; approximants: l, r, λ, h; vocoids: w, y. Vowels: i, i:, e, e:, a, a:, o, o:.

Pilagá: stops and affricates: p, t, d, k, q, ʔ, g, č; fricatives: s, (x), ɣ; nasals: m, n, ñ; approximants: l, r, w, y, h; vowels: a, e, i, o.

Toba: stops and affricates: p, t, č, j, k, q, g, ʔ; fricatives: s, š, ɣ; nasals: m, n, ñ; approximants: l, λ, r, w, y, h; vowels: a, a:, e, e:, i, i:, o, o:.

Abipón: stops and affricates: p, t, č, k, q, g, {ʔ}; fricatives: ɣ; nasals: m, n, ñ; approximants: l, r, w, y, h; vowels: a, e, ě, i, o.

() marks a phoneme which occurs only in loanwords; { } marks a phoneme that seems to have existed in Abipón but is not marked in the sources.

⁴ In Pilagá there is an additional classifier *hen* 'general classifier', used only when pointing out an entity physically proximate to the speaker. It can be used also with mass nouns with no specific reference and with nouns such as 'sky', 'land/earth', 'moon' or 'sun'. (Vidal 1997:82-83)

- (1) qomí? sa-liena-k hen lapat (Plg)
pron.1pl 1-eat-pl class meat
'We eat meat.' (Vidal 1997:82)

- (2) wʔo hen noop (Plg)
exist class water
'There is water.' (=pointing at it) (Vidal 1997:82)

⁵There are some discrepancies among the sources for Abipón. However, I have taken Najlis (1966) as a source for the classifiers listed in the table since her work is based on that of the other sources.

⁶ The examples from Mocoví are from my own fieldwork. Examples from other languages are taken from various sources. The source of each example is provided in parenthesis in the last line. Whenever possible, morpheme-by-morpheme glosses are provided for all the examples, even if they are not given in the original sources. The language that each example corresponds to is provided in parenthesis in the first line. The examples are organized as follows: the first line is a phonetic or phonemic transcription (depending on the source); the second line provides a morpheme-by-morpheme breakdown; the third line shows morpheme-by-morpheme glosses; and the fourth line is a free translation.

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