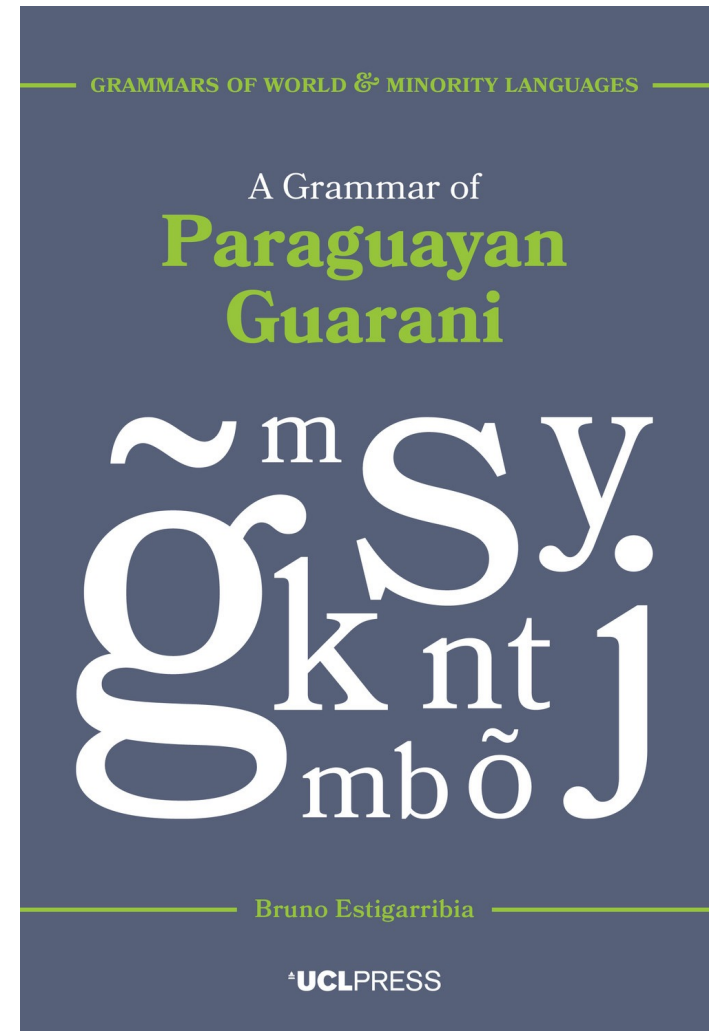


Language speakers
language grammars
language lives

A linguist's approach to indigenous
languages

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Linguistic research intersects with

- language identity
- language ownership
- political issues
- language planning

The researcher:

- picks a "community" and "representative speakers"
- works within some sort of framework that guides the questions that are asked, what is considered interesting, what is actual data, how it is acquired, segmented, classified, interpreted
- decides what products to produce
- decides on dissemination

However:

- Language identity
 - Who is a speaker of the language, according to themselves and to the speech community?

However:

- Language ownership
 - To what extent are researchers justified in imposing their analyses onto a language? Our theoretical frameworks are not culturally neutral

However:

- Political issues:
 - Language description has political implications.
 - “Politics exists wherever people interact with one another to make decisions that affect them collectively.” (Rom, Hidaka, Walker 2002)

However:

- Language planning
 - Communities are most often interested in developing orthographic systems, otherwise their language is not felt as a true language, that is, it does not have the overt prestige that comes with standardization.

what are we not seeing?

Paths



History and sociolinguistics of Guarani



Figure 1.1 Putative Proto-Tupian homeland (Tupian Urheimat)

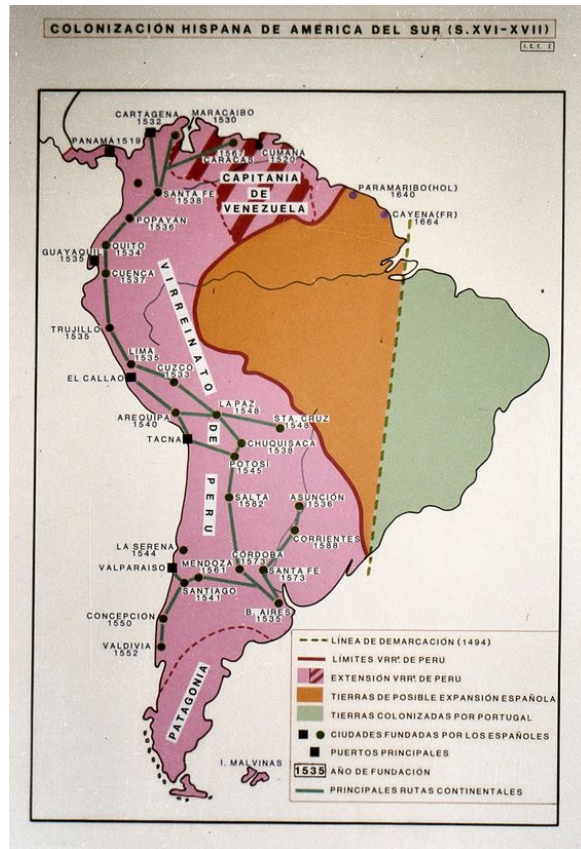


Figure 1.2 Reconstructed migrations yielding the current Tupi-Guarani spread

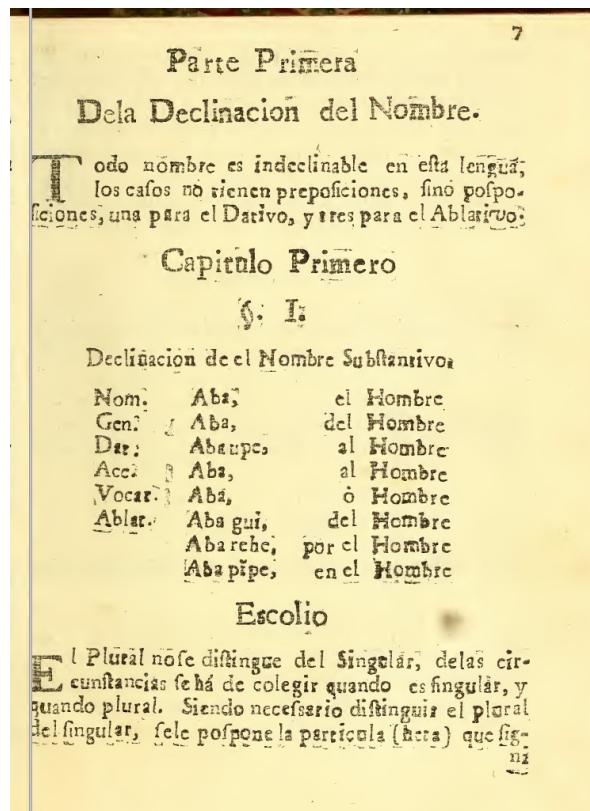
Note: The smaller central white area is the Tupi early migration; the magenta area to its north-east, the second expansion; the larger number of black lines correspond to Tupi-Guarani later migratory waves; finally, the two small cyan lines represent a later Tupi-Guarani return to their homeland.

Source: Original figure from Walker *et al.* (2012), recoloured for colour-blind accessibility.

History and sociolinguistics of Guaraní



History and sociolinguistics of Guarani



History and sociolinguistics of Guarani



- Guerra grande (1864-1870)

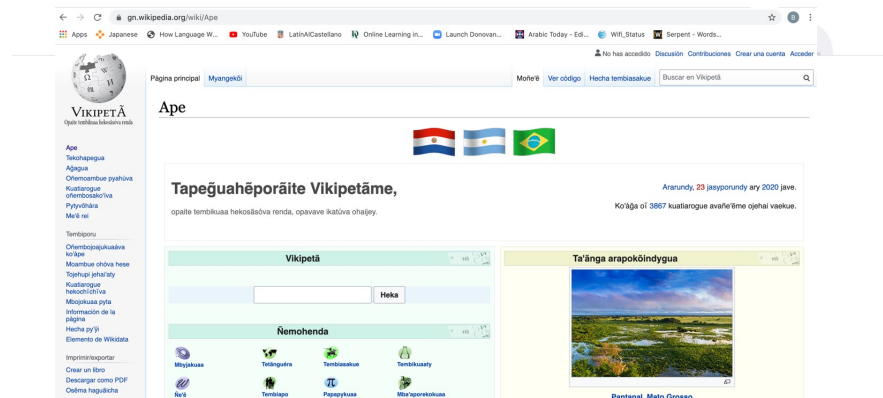
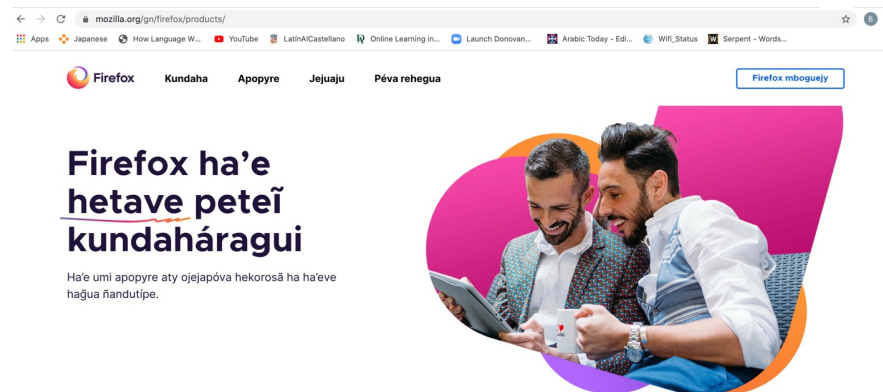


Guarani = Paraguayan identity
covert prestige

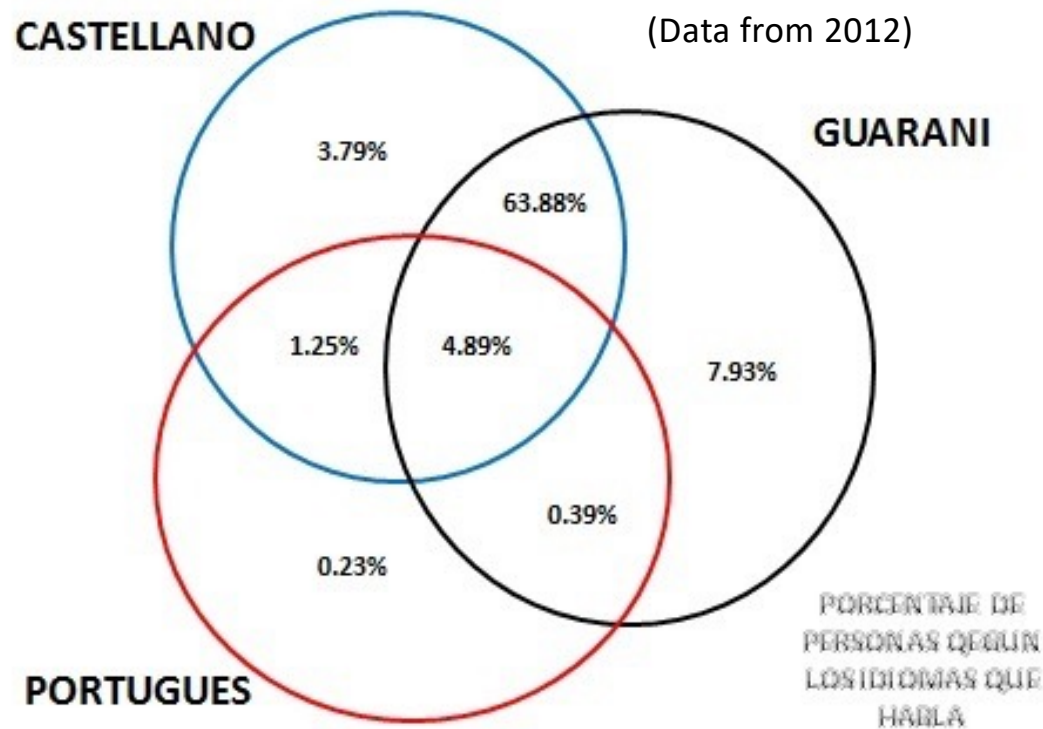
- Guerra del Chaco (1932-1935)

History and sociolinguistics of Guarani

- 1992: Guarani official language
- Relatively strong internet presence



History and sociolinguistics of Guarani



Data from 2023:

- Guarani \approx 33%
- Guarani / Castellano \approx 34%
- Castellano \approx 30%
- Otros \approx 3%

History and sociolinguistics of Guarani



TUBS (Wikimedia Commons)

- Dealing with variation
- Dealing with historical depth
 - The idea that earlier periods of the language are more pure or represent a gold standard or an ideal to return to
 - But the historical depth involves extensive contact
 - And contact produces visible outcomes
 - (visible to whom? Why?)

Modern Paraguayan colloquial registers



7 Cajas (7 Boxes)
Maneglia & Schembori 2014

Guarani-Spanish Mixing: Jopara

(84) *cuando salí(s) la iglesia=gui*
when you.exit the church=ABL
'when you come out of church'

(16) *o-ganá-porã militar=kuéra voi*
3.ACT-win-well soldier=PL EMPH
'soldiers really make good money'

(85) *vamo(s) sin falta infierno=pe*
we.go without fault hell=LOC
'we go to hell for sure'

(12) *che-acompaña-mí-na ña-vendé agua*
1SG.INACT-accompany-DIM-REQ 1PL.ACT.INCL-sell water
'would you come with me to sell water'

Jopara

GE= Chéve roguarâ avy'avéta ore mbovyrô *porque, tengo mis justificadas razones,*
'For me, I'll be happier if there are just a few of us because I have my reasons.' (GE, female, 25 years old, Encarnación, López Almada 2011)

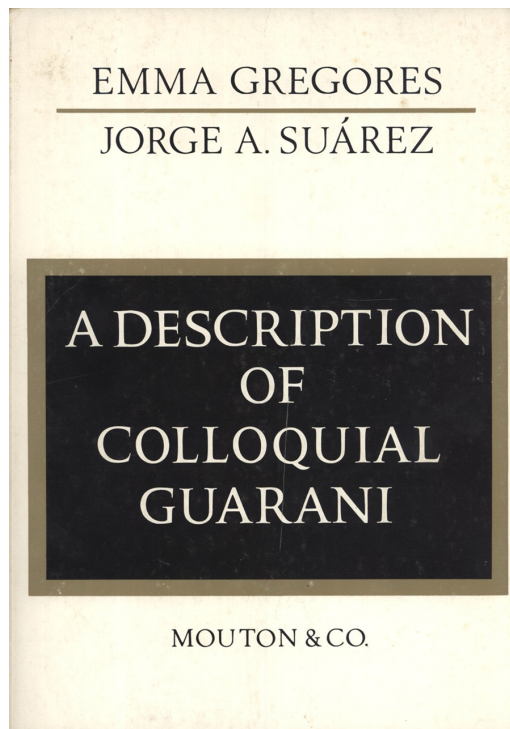
LA= *Ha mba'émbo oime'arâ, oimeneko la ifalta'arâ el día en que ijedad hahora*
roguarâ oguereko aunque sea peteîmi uno o dos la ocuida haguâ hesekuéra, el día
que ituja, oñantoja chéve nga'u, oiméneko cada uno oguereko su opinión mba'e, o
sea alguno la ndaikatúï voi.

'Surely the day may come in when they get old and they'll need even just one or two who can take care of them.' (LA, male, 55 years old, Edelira, López Almada 2011)

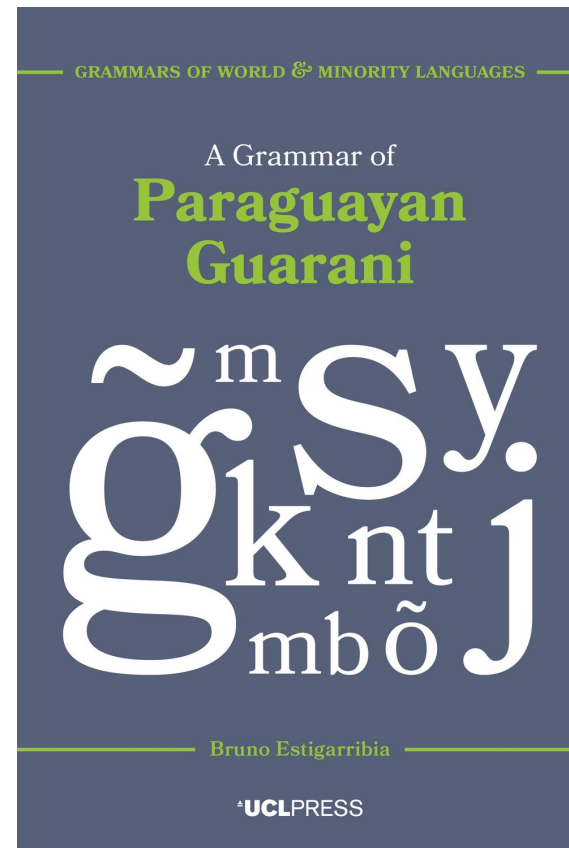
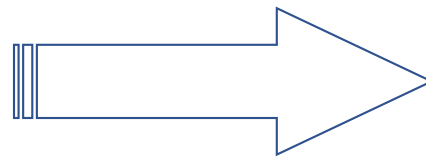
Some questions

- Is this a third language?
- How does a language/practice like this come about?
- How can we characterize the types of mixing?
- How can we separate “legal” mixings from “illegal” ones?

Linguistic Analysis & Description of Guarani

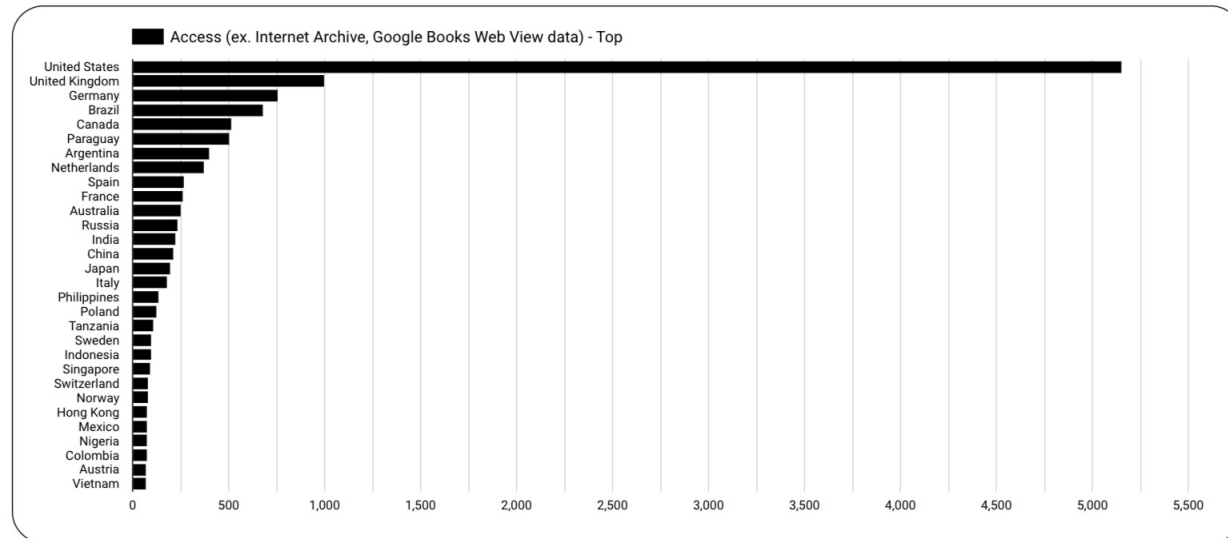
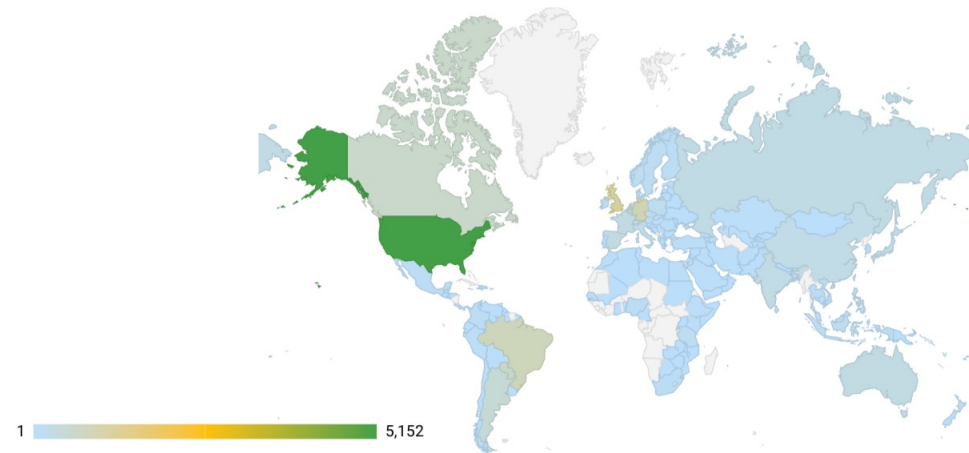


1967

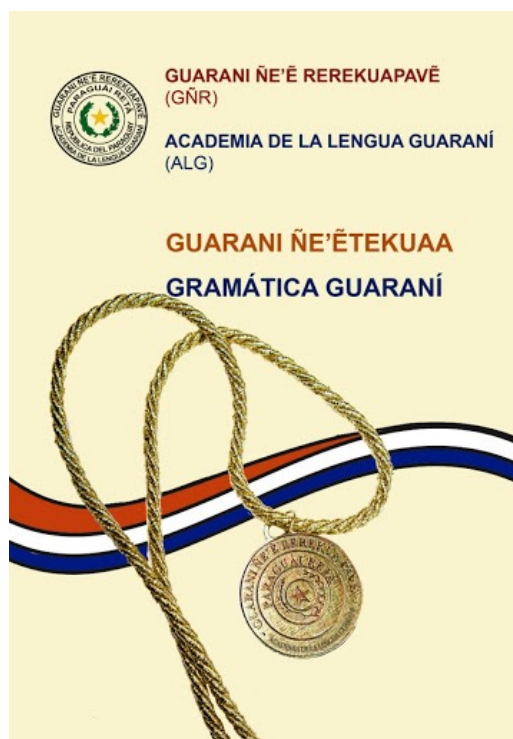


Global reception

Global Reach



Need for a reference grammar



4. Accidente de grado del sustantivo

Indica la intensidad de la cualidad. Los grados básicos son tres: positivo, comparativo y superlativo.

4.1. Grado positivo del sustantivo: Es el sustantivo, sin especificación alguna de su cualidad. No adhiere ninguna partícula de grado.

Ejemplos: Yvoty. kuñatai. Karia'y. Kuimba'e

4.2. Grado comparativo del sustantivo: cuando establece relación entre sustantivos. Se divide en tres niveles que son:

4.2.1. Grado comparativo de igualdad: Indica la igualdad entre dos términos, sin distinción de ninguno. Utiliza la partícula “**icha**” como sufijo de uno de los términos.

Ejemplos:
Ko kuña iporã mbyjá**icha**
Pe mitã oñani kavajú**icha**.

4.2.2. Grado comparativo de superioridad: Se pone en relación dos nombres para destacar la superioridad de uno de ellos con la partícula sufija “**ve**”. El otro término lleva a su vez, la posposición “**gui**”.

Ejemplos: Kóva ogave amóv**agui**.

4.2.3. Grado comparativo de inferioridad: Pone en relación dos términos para destacar la inferioridad de uno de ellos. Utiliza la partícula “**ive**”. Uno de los términos debe llevar la posposición monosilábica **gui**.

Ejemplo: Arami ipy'**ive** che sý**gui**.

4.3. Kokatu ombotuichaitevéva. Ko kokatu oñanduka téra ñemongakuaave, ñembotuichatuichave. Ombojoaju térare ñe'ëky upeigua “**ete**”, ijapýrõ pu'ae kangýpe (i – ÿ – u – ù – y – ý); ha “**ite**”, téra opárõ pu'ae atãme (a – ã – e – ë – o – õ).

Tembiecharã: karia'y-**ete**
kuña-**ite**
kuimba'e-**te**

4.3.1. Kokatu ombotuichaiteivéva. Kóva ombojoaju térare ñe'ëky upeigua “**eterei**”, tero ijapýrõ pu'ae kangýpe (i – ÿ – u – ù – y – ý); ha “**iterei**”, tero opárõ pu'ae atãme (a – ã – e – ë – o – õ). Ñe'ë opáva “e” pe oiporu “**terei**”

Tembiecharã:
Karia'y**eterei**.
Kuña**iterei**.
Kuimba'**eterei**.

4.3.2. Kokatu ombotuicharasáva: Ohechauka tero tuicha-veha tuichavévagui. Ombojoaju teróre ñe'ëky upeigua “**rasa**”.

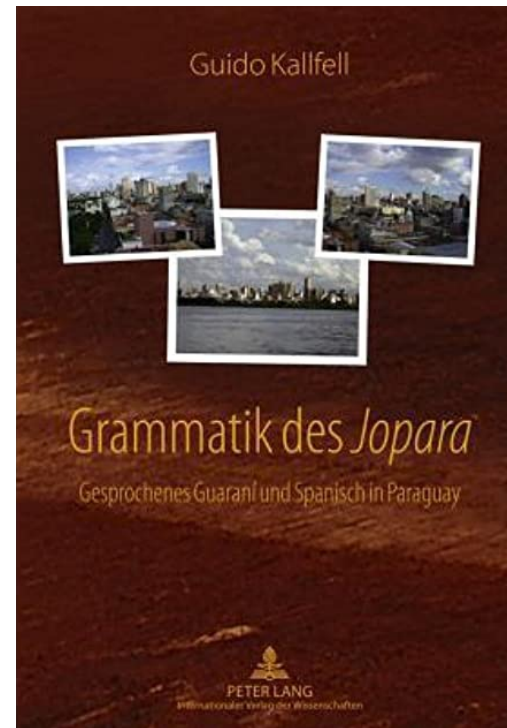
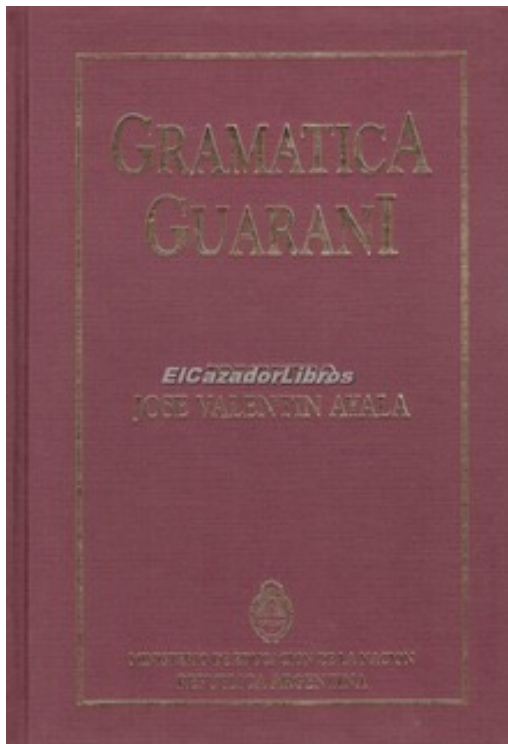
Tembiecharã: Karia'y**rasa** – karairasa – mitã**rasa**.

4.3.3. Kokatu ombotuichaiteirerasáva: Kóva ombojoaju térare ñe'ëky upeigua “**etereirasa**”, téra ijapýrõ pu'ae kangýpe; ha “**itereirasa**”, téra opárõ pu'ae atãme.

Tembiecharã: Karia'y**etereirasa**, mitã**itereirasa**.

4.3.4. Kokatupavé: Ko kokatu upe tuichaitevéva, opavavégui ha ijojaha'ýva. Kóva ombojoaju térare ñe'ëky upeigua “**pavé**”, “**vete**” téra “**vusu**”.

Need for a reference grammar



Goal

- English-language
- Linked to modern linguistic theory and current typology
- Broad audience (not ignoring pedagogical issues)
 - Usability both by researchers and by students
 - Spanish translation in progress for community usability
- Open access

Challenges &
Solutions:
variety
selection
(non-
selection?)

Guaraniete

Chepytyvõmína.

che-pytyvõ-mi-na

1SG.INACT-help-PLEAD-REQ

'Help me, please.'

Guarañol

Cheayudamína.

che-ayuda-mi-na

1SG.INACT-help-PLEAD-REQ

'Help me, please.'

Castení

Ayudámena.

ayuda=me-na

help=me-REQ

'Help me, please.'

Challenges & Solutions: Data



Clear exemplification



Ecological validity

Challenges & Solutions: Learner- oriented sections

1.6 Contact with Spanish and other languages

Guarani (as I mentioned in 1.3) is spoken by between 5.5 and 6 million Paraguayans. Of particular importance for the learner or researcher is the fact that, due to a long history of language contact, today's Guarani can show varied degrees of mixing with Spanish. This depends both on the relative competence of the speaker in each language (that is, whether they are dominant in Guarani or in Spanish), as well as on which language is required by the specific communicative situation (Guarani historically has tended to be used in the private, intimate sphere, and Spanish in the public sphere).

Paraguayans have a name for this mixing: *Jopara* (meaning 'mixed'). They use this term to refer to any sentences that mix Guarani and Spanish, independently of whether they are mostly Guarani with Spanish elements or mostly Spanish mixed with Guarani elements. By way of an example, all four of the sentences below can be used in Paraguay today to convey the meaning 'help me please', going from Guaraniete (literally, 'true Guarani'; that is, as free of Spanish influence as possible) to Paraguayan

Challenges & Solutions: Learner-oriented sections

Word	Meaning	Original Spanish word
<i>agarra</i>	'to grab'	agarrar
<i>ajuda</i>	'to help'	ayudar
<i>algúno</i>	'some'	alguno
<i>aramboha</i>	'pillow'	almohada
<i>aramirõ</i>	'starch'	almidón
<i>arriéro</i>	'peasant; man'	arriero
<i>entéro</i>	'all'	entero
<i>gusta</i>	'please'	gustar
<i>havõ</i>	'soap'	jabón
<i>kamiõ</i>	'truck'	camión
<i>kamisa</i>	'shirt'	camisa
<i>kavaju</i>	'horse'	caballo
<i>kavara</i>	'goat'	cabra
<i>kesu</i>	'cheese'	queso
<i>Kirito</i>	'Christ'	Cristo
<i>kora</i>	'pen (enclosure for animals)'	corral
<i>korasõ</i>	'heart'	corazón
<i>kosina</i>	'kitchen'	cocina
<i>krivi, ehkrivi</i>	'to write'	escribir

Challenges & Solutions: Learner- oriented sections

1.4 Basic pronunciation summary

At this point, it is useful to give a basic pronunciation summary to read the examples in the sections that follow (see [2](#) for more details):

- Words should be stressed on the vowel that carries an acute stress mark (´) or a nasal tilde (~). If the word is not marked, pronounce it with stress on the last syllable.
- Vowels and consonants are reasonably similar to those you may know from Spanish. Single vowels never have off-glides as they do in English (cf. Spanish ‘no’ versus English ‘no’). The only difference is that Guarani has nasal vowels, like Portuguese, French or Polish, for example.⁴
- Articulation of consonants and vowels is much more relaxed than it is in English. Languages like English or French generally produce their sounds with more tension in the articulators in the mouth (tongue, lips), whereas languages like Spanish and Guarani generally have less tense vowels and consonants.

Challenges & Solutions: Learner- oriented sections

Some pointers for pronunciation:

- All of these vowels (especially /e/ and /o/) are pure vowels; they do not have final glides into /i/ or /u/ as in English. They are very similar to Spanish vowels, except for /i/ <y>.
- The **open** (or **low**) **central oral vowel** /a/ <a> can be produced by starting with the back vowel in 'father' and slowly fronting the tongue body to say the word 'fat'. The Guarani /a/ sound is in between, exactly like the Spanish sound.
- Correct pronunciation of the **close** (or **high**) **central oral unrounded vowel** /i/ <y> can be achieved by positioning the mouth to pronounce /i/ and, without rounding the lips or opening the jaw, moving the tongue body (not the tip of the tongue!) backwards in the mouth as if to pronounce /u/. Alternatively, one can start by positioning the mouth as if to pronounce /u/ and then, without moving the tongue or opening the jaw, spreading (that is, un-rounding) the lips as if to pronounce /i/. Similar vowel sounds are found in other widely spoken languages such as Mandarin (Pinyin <i>), Russian (<ы>) and Turkish (<ı>).

Challenges & Solutions: Learner- oriented sections

Deviations from the norms adopted in this book	Non-standard example found in other texts	Normalized example
Use of <x> instead of <ch>	<i>xe</i> 'I'	<i>che</i>
Use of <j> instead of <h>	<i>ja</i> 'and'	<i>ha</i>
Use of <jh> instead of <h>	<i>jha</i> 'and'	<i>ha</i>
Use of <y> instead of <j>	<i>yuka</i> 'to kill'	<i>juka</i>

Challenges & Solutions: Learner-oriented sections

Use of instead of <v>	<i>aba</i> 'indigenous man, person'	<i>ava</i>
Use of <w> instead of <v>	<i>howy</i> 'blue'	<i>hovy</i>
Use of <c> instead of <k>	<i>añangareco</i> 'I take care of'	<i>añangareko</i>
Use of <c> instead of <s>	<i>tacê</i> 'cry'	<i>tasê</i>
Use of <ç> instead of <s>	<i>guaçu</i> 'big'	<i>guasu</i>
Use of <i> instead of <y>	<i>guïpe</i> 'under'	<i>guype</i>
Use of <- > instead of <' >	<i>ka-i</i> 'monkey'	<i>ka'i</i>
Use of < ^ > instead of < ~ >	<i>aguî</i> 'near'	<i>aguï</i>
Use of < " > instead of < ~ >	<i>ÿ</i> 'without'	<i>ÿ</i>
Use of < ~ > instead of < ~ >	<i>tĩ</i> 'nose'	<i>tï</i>
Use of <gü> instead of <gu>	<i>ichugüi</i> 'from him/her'	<i>ichugui</i>
Use of <gw> instead of <gu>	<i>gwarani</i> 'from him/her'	<i>guarani</i>
Use of <qu> instead of <ku>	<i>quarepotitĩ</i> 'silver'	<i>kuarepotitĩ</i>
Use of <qu> instead of <k>	<i>aque</i> 'I sleep'	<i>ake</i>
Redundant use of <g̃> and <ã>	<i>haḡuã</i> 'for'	<i>haguã</i> or <i>haḡua</i>
Overmarking of nasality	<i>põrã</i> 'good' <i>ãguĩ</i> / <i>ãguĩ</i> 'near'	<i>porã</i> <i>aguï</i>
Unattached person prefixes	<i>che kane'õ</i> 'I am tired' <i>nde juka</i> 'he killed you'	<i>chekane'õ</i> <i>ndejuka</i>
Unattached bisyllabic postpositions / enclitics	<i>che ndive</i> 'with me' <i>mymba kuéra</i> '(domesticated) animals'	<i>chendive</i> <i>mymbakuéra</i>
Use of Spanish stress marking conventions	<i>che aiporuva pe kysé</i> 'I am in the habit of using that knife'	<i>che aiporúva pe kyse</i>

Challenges & Solutions: Learner- oriented sections

1.8 Pointers for students

Speaking a language involves four basic skills that, although interrelated, are somewhat independent of one another and therefore must each be practised using different techniques: spoken production, oral comprehension, written production and written comprehension. The table below shows which language-related activity mainly exercises each basic skill.

	Production (expressive language)	Comprehension (receptive language)
Speech	Talking practice	Listening practice
Literacy	Writing practice	Reading practice

In what follows, I will try to give some general pointers for anybody trying to learn Guarani as a foreign language. First of all, one of the most important activities you can dedicate your time to when studying is

Treatment of examples

ikakuaa'irunguekuérape

i-kakuaa + 'irũ-ngue = kuéra = pe

3.INACT-grow.up + friend-POST = PL = in

‘to his/her/their childhood friends’⁵

ojehepyme'ẽkuaágui

o-je-h-epy + me'ẽ + kuaa = gui

3.ACT-AGD-POSSM3-price + give + know = from

‘because of knowing how to get paid (for it)’

Treatment of examples

ko'ãga ha tapiaite guarã

ko'ãga ha tapia-ite=guarã

now and always-very=for

'now and forever and ever'

Treatment of examples

With a coordinating copulative conjunction

The most common conjunction is the **copulative conjunction** *ha* ‘and’. The historical form *ha'e* ‘and’ is sometimes used in writing instead of *ha*, but it is much less frequent. *Tēra* is a simple **disjunctive conjunction**. The copulative *ha* ‘and’ and the disjunctive *tēra* ‘or’ (also spelled *térã*) are also used for nominal conjunction: *che ha nde* ‘myself and you’, *che tēra nde* ‘myself or you’.

Ojapova'erã peteĩ purahéi ha ndouetevoi iñakãme mba'eve iporãmíva.

o-japo-va'erã peteĩ purahéi ha nd-o-u-i-ete=voi
3.ACT-make-must one song and NEG-3.ACT-come-NEG-very=EMPH
iñ-akã=me mba'eve i-porã-mi-va
3.INACT-head=in nothing 3.INACT-beautiful-DIM-ADJZ

‘He had to make a song and nothing beautiful came into his head.’

Voices

6.1 Active voice

The **active voice** is defined by the verb taking one of the person prefixes of the active set (see 4.1.1). This can be for the only argument of an intransitive predicate (symbolized S) or for the agent argument of a transitive predicate (symbolized A).

Intransitive predicates: the active person prefix marks the S (subject) argument

aguata

a-guata

1SG.ACT-walk

'I walk(ed)'

Voices

6.2 Inactive voice

I will call the inactive voice:

- the expression of the only argument (S) of an intransitive predicate with one of the prefixes of the inactive set (see 4.1.2)
- or the expression of the patient argument (symbolized P) of a transitive verb with one of the prefixes of the inactive set. In this case, the agent argument (A) can optionally be expressed with a subject pronoun.

Intransitive predicates: the inactive person prefix marks the S (subject) argument

cheatĩa

che-atĩa

1SG.INACT-sneeze

'I sneez(ed)'

Voices

Direct configuration: first-person agent acts on third-person patient

ajuka ichupe

a-juka ichupe

1SG.ACT-kill to.him/her

'I kill(ed) him/her'

Inverse configuration: first-person patient is acted upon by second- or third-person agent

chejuka (nde)

che-juka (nde)

1SG.INACT-kill (you.SG)

'you kill(ed) me'

Voices

6.5 Antipassive voice

Just as the passive voice leaves out the agent subject of a transitive verb (and expresses the patient as subject), the **antipassive voice** leaves out the direct object of a transitive verb (hence the name **antipassive**).

roporombo'e

ro-poro-mbo'e

1PL.EXCL.ACT-PEOPLE-teach

‘we teach/taught (people)’

pemba'ejogua

pe-mba'e-jogua

2PL.ACT-THING-buy

‘you buy/bought (things)’ / ‘you are/were shopping’

Programmatic sections: information structure

13.1 Focus

The **focus** of a sentence carries the information that is most relevant and of primary importance in the current discourse/dialogue context. It is the only part of a sentence that must appear obligatorily so the utterance makes sense in context.

Prosodic marking of focus in Guarani relies on making the stressed syllable of the focused item (word or phrase) longer and on placing the primary intonation peak of the sentence on this very same item. (The syllable on which the primary intonation peak falls is marked in the examples in this section in SMALL CAPS). Where the focused item appears in first position in the sentence, it is often followed by a second-position clitic.

***PEvako** aipota'ỹva.*

pe-va=ko ai-pota-'ỹ-va

MED.SG-ADJZ=VERD 1SG.ACT-want-PRIV-ADJZ

'That is what I don't want.'³³

Programmatic sections: information structure

13.2 Topic

The **topic** is the group of words that, intuitively, provides a background for the focus. That is, it tells us what the focus refers to, or what it says something about. Contrary to the focus, the topic can and indeed often is absent from an utterance, because it is understood or recoverable from the discourse or dialogue context. When the topic appears, however, it can be in first position, followed by a second-position clitic, and it often contains a secondary intonation peak (not marked in the examples).

¡Akārapu'ã! Akārapu'ã ningo umi viajes espaciales kuéra, ndaha'úi nde ru almacén

akārapu'ã akārapu'ã=ningo umi viajes espaciales=kuéra nda-ha'e-i
progress progress=VERD NPROX.PL trips spatial=PL NEG-be-NEG
nde-r-u almacén
2SG.INACT-POSSM-father grocery.store

'Progress?! Progress is those space trips, not your dad's grocery store.'

Text samples

B: *Cuarenta y cuatro año.* 'Forty-four.'

A: *Ndéiko nemenda ... Neacompañá ...* 'Are you married ... or with a partner ... ?'

B: *Che amenda akue, ha upéi ajeseeparájey che. Amendá cuando tenía veintiún año arekope amenda akue ha upéi ...* 'I got married. And then, we separated. I got married when I was 21 and then ...'

A: *Ko'ápe.* 'Here?'

B: *No, Paraguáipe. Ha ajeseeparáje(v)y akue doce ... después de doce año.* 'No, in Paraguay, and we separated after ... after 12 years.'

A: *Ha ndereko ndera'y.* 'And do you have kids?'

B: *Areko.* 'I do.'

Text samples

Mboja'ore I Chapter I

Ñasaindy iporãvéva pévagui nda'iporichéne. Aipo Jasyretã mba'e nda-peichaichéne voi. Mbatovípe ñaime ramo aguĩve voĩnte ñaime jasygui. Tekoha ha'eñomi okañýva Paraguái korapy yképe, pyhare mimbi porãme oguapýva opukavy, ojesareko ára ru'ãre, ha mbyja ijaguaravéva ojeitýva oñani yvagapýre oñandúvo ima'ẽ.

‘There is probably no prettier moonlight than this. Not even in Jasyretã, “the country of the moon”. When in Mbatovi, we are just closer to the moon. This is a solitary hamlet, lost in a corner of Paraguay, that by beautiful clear nights sits down to observe, smiling, the zenith of the heavens, while the most prideful star runs in the sky feeling its gaze.’

Text samples

Tataypýpe

I

*Peju, peguapy,
peja tataypýpe.*

*Hu'umbaraíma
mandi'o, jety,
ka'ay hakúma,
ko'ẽmbotaite.*

*Che sy, tataypýpe,
oñetrahina.*

*Che ru rupa'úme,
mitã vare'a.*

*Peju, peguapy
pepaypa haguã.*

*Tataypýpe oĩma
ja'umi va'erã,
ñanemoko'ẽ
porã va'erã . . .*

By the Fire

I

Come you all, sit down,
get close to the fire.

The manioc and sweet potatoes
are almost soft now;

The mate is already hot,
it is just about to be dawn.

Mother is busying herself
by the fire.

Father receives the hungry children
in his lap.

Come you all, sit down
to wake up.

By the fire, there is already
a bit to eat
that will make us
wake up pleasantly . . .

Text samples

Techaga'u rei opáma

JOSE MARIA: *Ha! Apena roheja . . . ! ha néike ne rasẽ sa'i! Pero mba'é piko ojehu ndéve . . . Oimé piko rembyasýva . . . Tẽra piko nde rasy! 'Ha! As soon as you stay alone, you cry and cry. But what is happening to you . . . something is bothering you . . . Or are you sick?'*

SERAFINA: *Mba'evéko, **el viejo** . . . Ani repena cherehe! 'It's nothing, love . . . Don't worry about me.'*

JOSE MARIA: *Mba'éicha ani repená piko . . . ! Mba'ére piko napena mo'ãi . . . Rejere jerénte niko, ha ne ahõ mbuku ha ne rasẽ . . . Ñaimo'ã katu oiméva ne **gente** manó mba'e.*

Text samples

*Oñepyrũ periodo pyahu sesión del Congreso-pe
Contralor, hierro aku agenda parlamentaria-pe*

*Opytu'u rire hikuái, oñembyaty ko árape mesa **directiva** ko'ã mokõi cámara orekóva **tema pendiente**. Noñeakāngetái mba'épa pe ipúva Enrique García-gui, juicio político oñemombytáva Senado-pe. Osẽ tesape ombohapéva oikévo **seriamente contralor enriquecimiento ilícito** ha viru johéi rehe. Jepénte omotenonde **conexiones políticas**, hasýta ichupe oipykúí jesareko ko'ã mba'e ivaietéva ha umi mba'e pyahu opo jeýva.*

A new period in the session of Congress begins
The Comptroller, a “red-hot iron” (i.e., a thorny subject) in the legislative agenda

After the break, with unfinished business, the governing boards of both legislative houses meet today. They didn't imagine what would blow up regarding Enrique García, whose impeachment has been

Cultural
relevance:
ñe'ẽnga

Ndokýiramoko ndotykyí, he'i hóga soropáva.

nd-o-ky-i=ramo=ko nd-o-tyky-i he'i h-óga
NEG-3.ACT-rain-NEG=if=VERD NEG-3.ACT-drip-NEG says 3.INACT-house
soro-pa-va

break(intransitive)-all-ADJZ

'If it doesn't rain, it doesn't leak, says one with a house in ruins.'

(This is used by somebody who has made peace with an enduring problem.)

Mbokaja ha mboriahúrenteko aratiri ho'áva.

mbokaja ha mboriahu=re-nte=ko aratiri ho-'a-va
coconut.palm and poverty=at-only=VERD lightning 3.ACT-fall-ADJZ

'Lightning only strikes coconut palms and the poor.'

(This expression is used to highlight the lack of protection for poor people. It can also be used to comment on a misfortune that is unlikely to happen.)

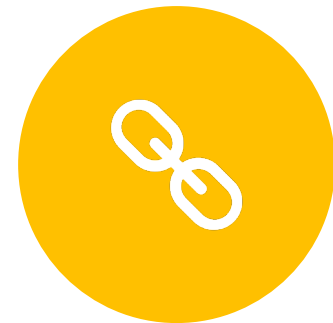
The future?



GRAMMATICOGRAPHY
THEORY



INTEGRATION WITH
AUDIO / VIDEO



NAVIGATION /
HYPERLINKING

The future?



?

Guarani-Spanish Mixing: Jopara

(84) *cuando salí(s) la iglesia=gui*
when you.exit the church=ABL
'when you come out of church'

(85) *vamo(s) sin falta infierno=pe*
we.go without fault hell=LOC
'we go to hell for sure'

(16) *o-ganá-porã militar=kuéra voi*
3.ACT-win-well soldier=PL EMPH
'soldiers really make good money'

(12) *che-acompaña-mí-na ña-vendé agua*
1SG.INACT-accompany-DIM-REQ 1PL.ACT.INCL-sell water
'would you come with me to sell water'

Jopara

GE= Chéve roguará avy'avéta ore mbovyrô *porque, tengo mis justificadas razones,*

'For me, I'll be happier if there are just a few of us because I have my reasons.' (GE, female, 25 years old, Encarnación, López Almada 2011)

LA= Ha mba'émbo oime'ará, oimeneko la *ifalta'ará el día en que ijedad* hahora roguará oguereko *aunque sea peteîmi uno o dos la ocuida haguâ* hesekuéra, *el día que ituja, oñantoja* chéve nga'u, oiméneko *cada uno* oguereko *su opinión* mba'e, *o sea alguno la ndaikatúi voi.*

'Surely the day may come in when they get old and they'll need even just one or two who can take care of them.' (LA, male, 55 years old, Edelira, López Almada 2011)

Some questions

- ▶ Is this a third language?
- ▶ How does a language/practice like this come about?
- ▶ How can we characterize the types of mixing?
- ▶ How can we separate “legal” mixings from “illegal” ones?

Typology of code-mixing strategies (Muysken 2000, 2013, 2014)

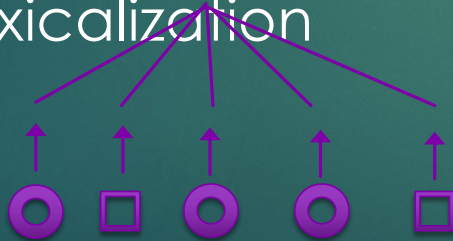
Insertion



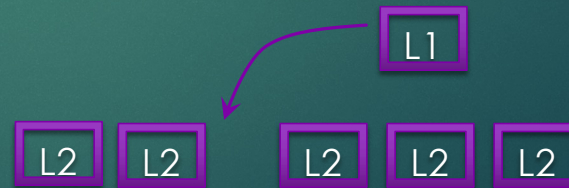
Alternation



Congruent
Lexicalization



Backflagging



Jopara uses many strategies

- ▶ Guarani-ML
 - ▶ Spanish lexical insertions and established borrowings (*ayuda*, resemantization of *la* in 1)

1. **Reñe'ërei, ndaikotevëiniko** *la nde-ayuda*.

'You just talk all you want, I don't need your help.'

Jopara uses many strategies

- ▶ Spanish-ML
 - ▶ backflaggings by Guarani agglutinative morphology (EMPHATIC =*ko* in 2a, REQUESTATIVE -*na* in 2b)

2. a. Nelson**ko** llegó tarde

b. papá eso es en Argentina leé**na** lo que puse

Jopara uses many strategies

- ▶ Spanish-ML
 - ▶ Guarani lexical insertions (*tekorei* 'slacker' in 3)

3. *esos dos **tekorei** fueron a molestar*

Jopara uses many strategies

- ▶ Spanish-ML
 - ▶ Congruent lexicalization involving the Guarani plural enclitic =*kuéra* (5)

4. *una opción bien purete para compartir con sus amigokuéra.*

Jopara uses many strategies

- ▶ Guarani/Spanish ML
 - ▶ alternations (5)

5. ¡**Maerãpiko chemombe'u** *si no podemos remediar!*

'Why are you telling me if we can't fix it!'

Jopara as a mixed lect

- ▶ *Insertion* of Guarani lexemes in Spanish
- ▶ *Backflagging* of Guarani grammatical morphemes in Spanish
- ▶ *Congruent lexicalization* involving the Guarani plural in Spanish

- ▶ *Insertion* of Spanish lexemes in Guarani
- ▶ *Borrowing + resemantization* of Spanish articles in Guarani

- ▶ Intra-sentential *alternation* between Guarani and Spanish clauses

Jopara as a *mixed lect*

- ▶ Variable strategies from Muysken's typology
- ▶ Unmarked way of speaking

Modern Paraguayan Guarani continuum

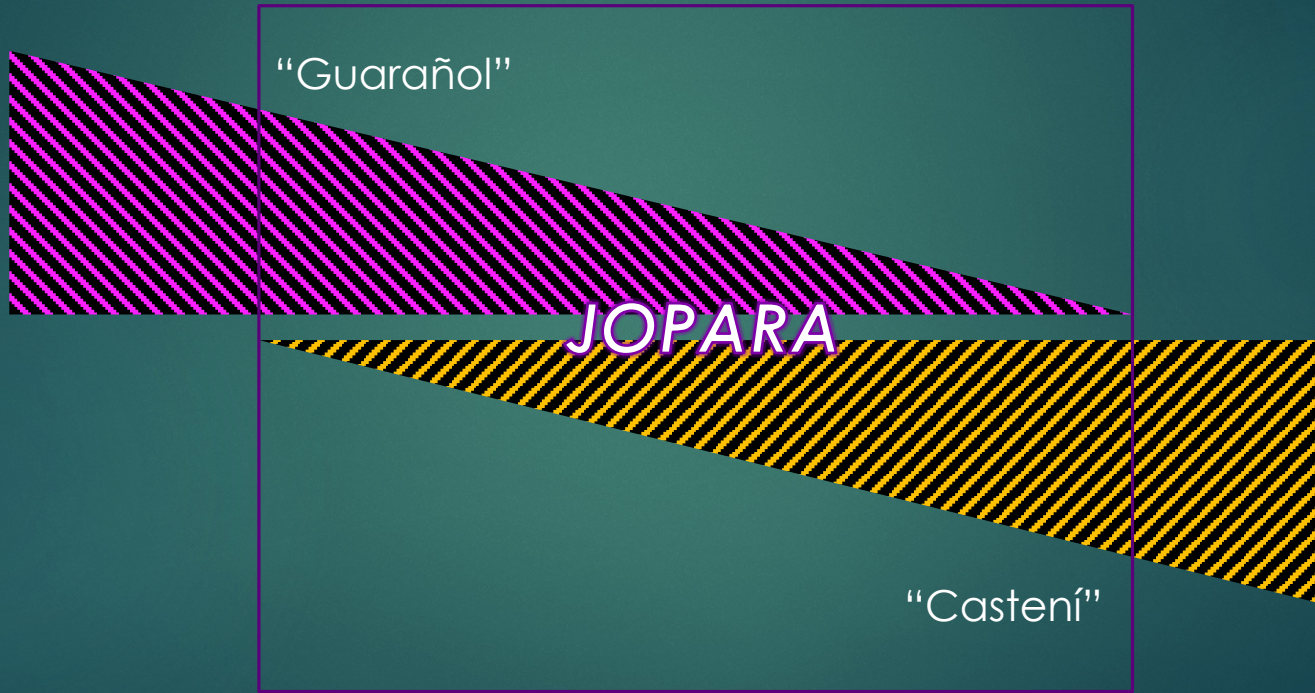
Guaraniete

“Guarañol”

JOPARA

“Castení”

Paraguayan Spanish



Issues

- ▶ Role of the expected language of the interaction?
- ▶ Missing: analysis of Jopara by speech communities
- ▶ Role of bilingual language planning?

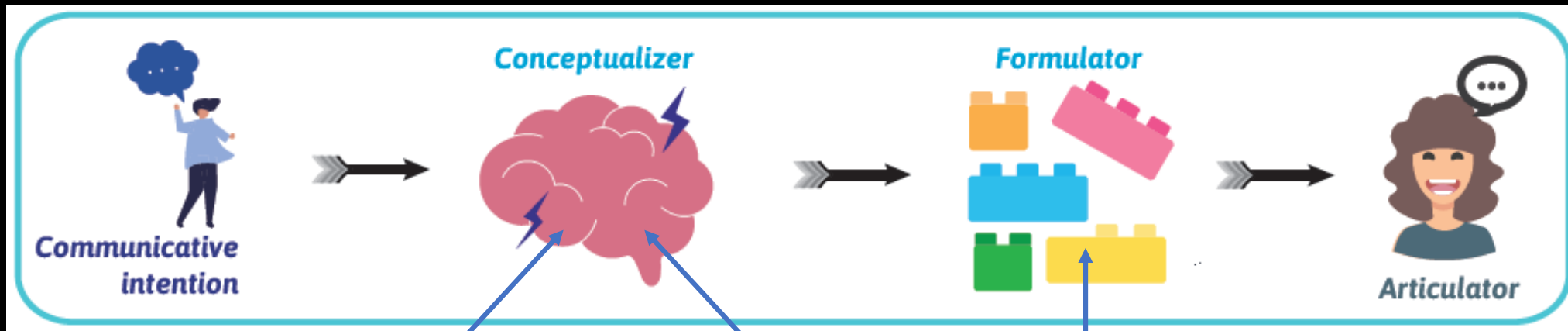
Switching angles...

- What is the role of bilingual language planning in all of this?

Borrowing of Guarani Grammatical Morphemes

6. *A quien seango le tengo que vender ese* (emphatic/veridical =ngo)
7. *este eraa mi auto kueeee!!!!* (nominal past -kue)
8. *Entendistepa?* (interrogative =pa)
9. *que caminána así, que bañáteke* (requestative -na, forceful imperative -ke)
10. *YA CONOZCOITE YA!.. jajaja* (intensifying -ite)
11. *pongan ahí aguami* (diminutive -mi)

Language Planning Model



Macroplanning

- Information /Concept Selection
- Speech Act

Microplanning

- Propositional Format
- Speaker/Event Perspective

Encoding

- Lexical
- Grammatical
- Phonological

Calquing vs. Borrowing of Grammatical Morphemes

12. *te dije lóo / Te dije luego*

to.you I.said=EMPH

‘I TOLD you.’

CONCEPTUALIZER
EFFECTS

13. *Nelsonko* *llegó tarde*

Nelson=EMPH.VER arrived late

‘(But I am telling you, truthfully) Nelson arrived late.’

Calquing vs. Borrowing of Grammatical Morphemes

14. *vamos a comprar para mi ropa en el mercado*
let's buy for my clothes at the market
'Let's buy me clothes at the market.'

7. *este eraa mi auto kueee!!!!*
this was my car-PAST
'This was my (former) car!'

FORMULATOR
EFFECTS

Calquing vs. Borrowing of Grammatical Morphemes

- Pressures
 - faithfulness to content-to-be-conveyed
 - staying in the (pragmatically dominant) language

Types of Linguistic Dominance

A. Sociolinguistically dominant language (prestige)

B. Pragmatically dominant language (contexts of use, registers)

C. Cognitively dominant language (linguistic competence, activation, suppression)

INTERIM REMARKS

- 1) Different outcomes can originate in the same planning conflict
- 2) Conversely, similar outcomes can originate in different planning conflicts
- 3) Psychologically plausible models of language planning & production and bilingual data must be linked to better explain mixing outcomes

Emphatic = *voi* > *lío*

15. *¡Qué rico lío es mi sánguche!*

Emphatic = *voi* > *lóo* (*¡Qué rico lóo es mi sánguche!*)

Pragmatic Dominance: Spanish

Cognitive Dominance: Guarani

CONCEPTUALIZER

Preverbal Message:

Predication (my
sandwich, delicious)

Time: Present

Illocutionary:
exclamation

**Speaker Attitude: with
emphasis**

Emphatic = *voi* > *lóo* (¡Qué rico lóo es mi sánguche!)

Pragmatic Dominance: Spanish

Cognitive Dominance: Guarani

CONCEPTUALIZER

FORMULATOR

Preverbal Message:

Predication (my sandwich, delicious)

Time: Present

Illocutionary:
exclamation

Speaker Attitude: with emphasis

Lexical Selection:

rico

es

mi

sánguche

¡qué!

→ *X*

Emphatic = *voi* > *lóo* (¡Qué rico lóo es mi sánguche!)

Pragmatic Dominance: Spanish

Cognitive Dominance: Guarani

CONCEPTUALIZER

FORMULATOR

Preverbal Message:

Predication (my sandwich, delicious)

Time: Present

Illocutionary:
exclamation

Speaker Attitude: with emphasis

Lexical Selection:

rico

es

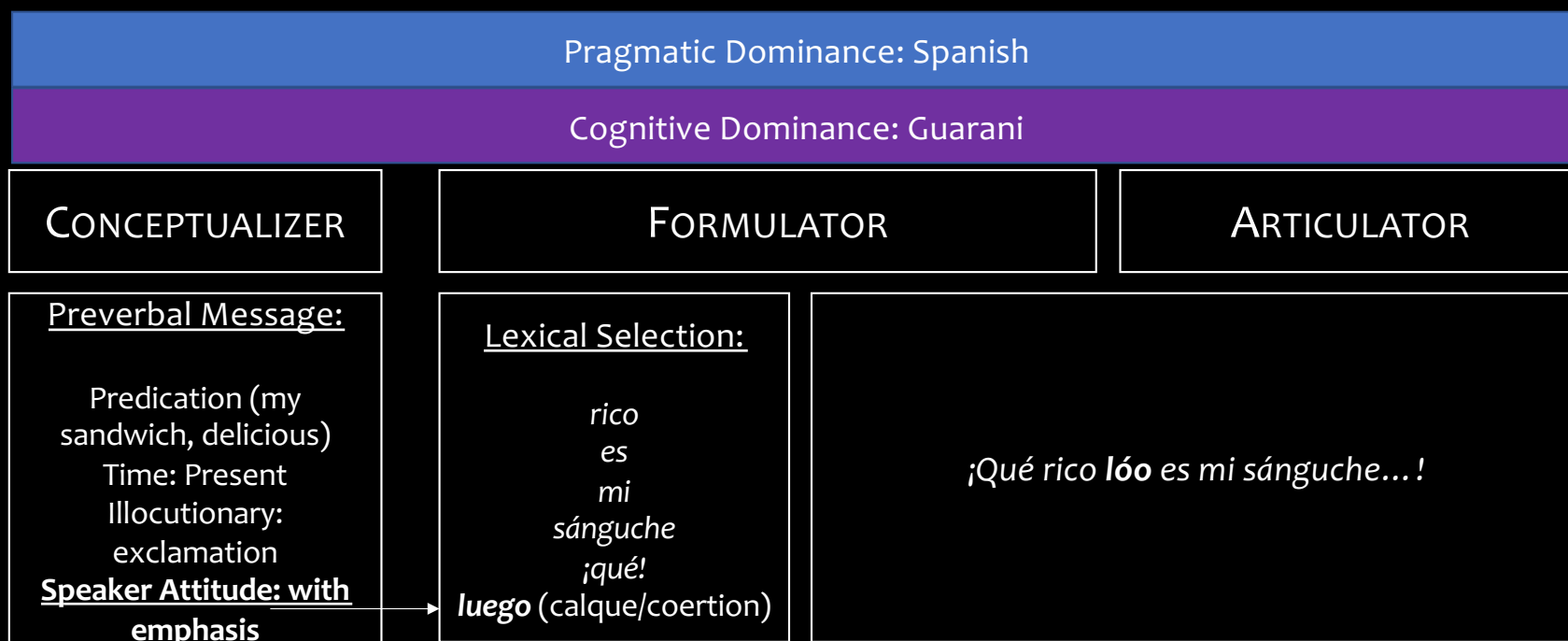
mi

sánguche

¡qué!

luego (calque/coertion)

Emphatic = *voi* > *lóo* (*¡Qué rico lóo es mi sánguche!*)



Emphatic/veridical =*ko* (=ngo)

2. a. Nelson**ko** llegó tarde

Emphatic/veridical =*ko* (*Nelsonko llegó tarde*)

Pragmatic Dominance: Spanish

Cognitive Dominance: Guarani

CONCEPTUALIZER

Preverbal Message:

Event: Arrival

Time: Past

Agent: Nelson

Focus: Manner=Late

**Speaker Attitude: with
emphasis, veridical**

Emphatic/veridical =*ko* (*Nelson_{ko} llegó tarde*)

Pragmatic Dominance: Spanish

Cognitive Dominance: Guarani

CONCEPTUALIZER

FORMULATOR

Preverbal Message:

Event: Arrival

Time: Past

Agent: Nelson

Focus: Manner=Late

Speaker Attitude: with
emphasis, veridical

Lexical Selection:

→ *llegó*

→ *Nelson*

→ *tarde*

→ *X*

Emphatic/veridical =*ko* (*Nelsonko llegó tarde*)

Pragmatic Dominance: Spanish

Cognitive Dominance: Guarani

CONCEPTUALIZER

FORMULATOR

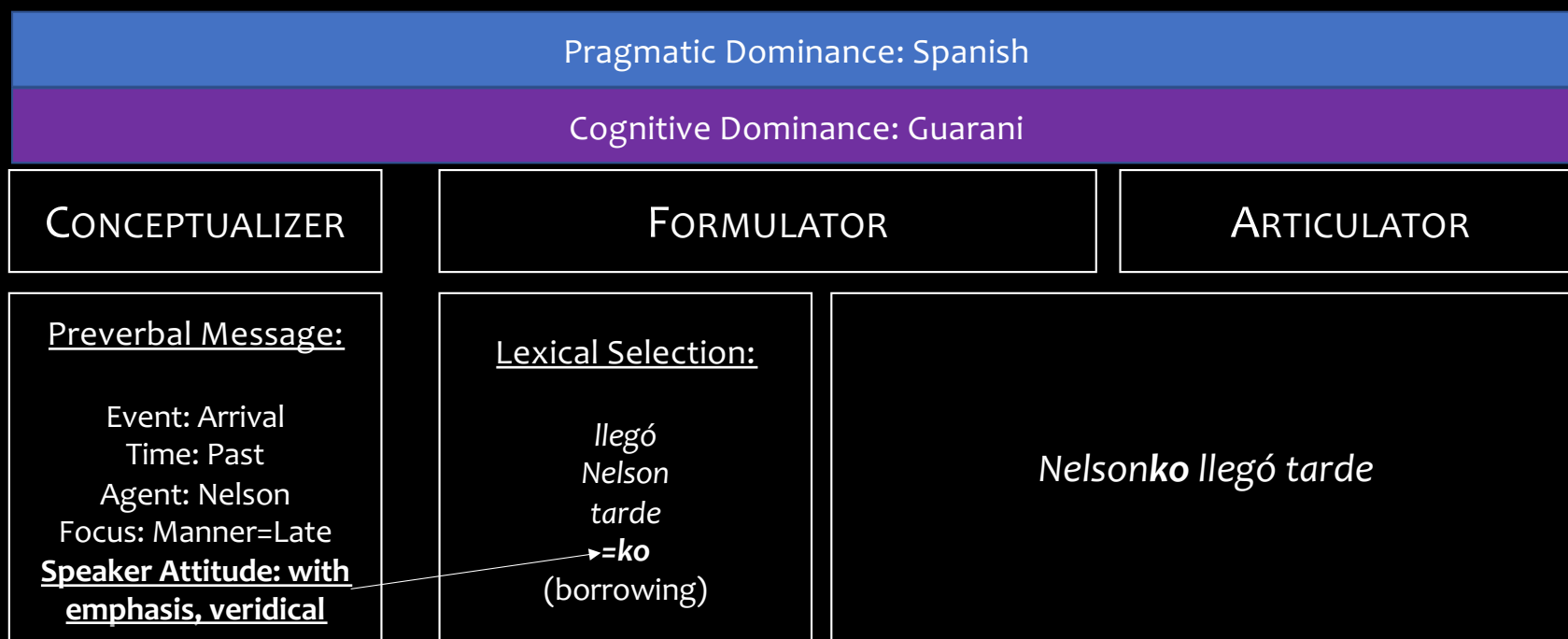
Preverbal Message:

Event: Arrival
Time: Past
Agent: Nelson
Focus: Manner=Late
**Speaker Attitude: with
emphasis, veridical**

Lexical Selection:

llegó
Nelson
tarde
→***ko***
(borrowing)

Emphatic/veridical =*ko* (*Nelsonko llegó tarde*)



para as prospective aspect

14. *vamos a comprar para mi ropa en el mercado*

16. *preparo para mi almuerzo*

I.prepare for my lunch

'I prepare my lunch'

para as prospective aspect (*preparo para mi almuerzo*)

Pragmatic Dominance: Spanish

Cognitive Dominance: Guarani

CONCEPTUALIZER

FORMULATOR

Preverbal Message:

Event: preparation
Time: present
Subject: 1
Patient: (my lunch,
effected)

Lexical Selection:

preparo
mi
almuerzo
→ **X**

para as prospective aspect (*preparo para mi almuerzo*)

Pragmatic Dominance: Spanish

Cognitive Dominance: Guarani

CONCEPTUALIZER

FORMULATOR

Preverbal Message:

Event: preparation
Time: present
Subject: 1
Patient: (my lunch,
effected)

Lexical Selection:

preparo
mi
almuerzo
X



para as prospective aspect (*preparo para mi almuerzo*)

Pragmatic Dominance: Spanish

Cognitive Dominance: Guarani

CONCEPTUALIZER

FORMULATOR

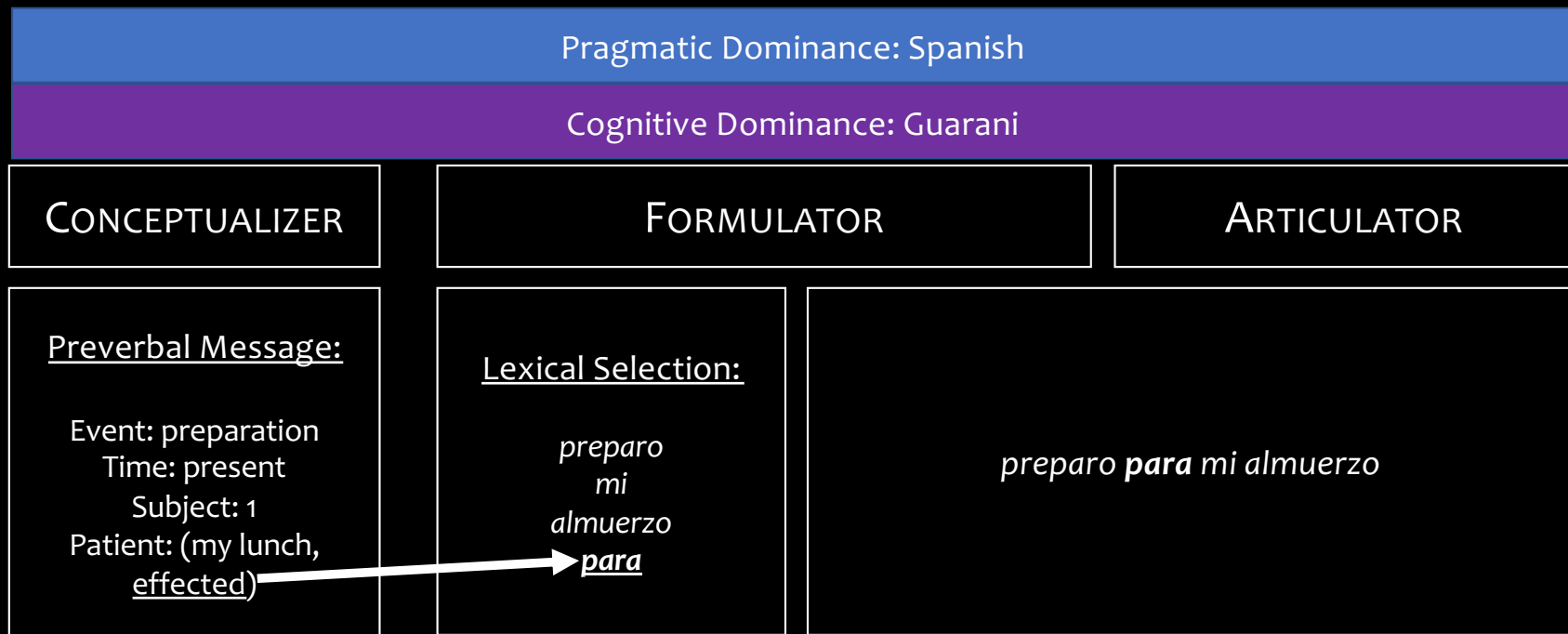
Preverbal Message:

Event: preparation
Time: present
Subject: 1
Patient: (my lunch,
effected)

Lexical Selection:

preparo
mi
almuerzo
para

para as prospective aspect (*preparo para mi almuerzo*)



Nominal Tenses/Aspects: POST-STATIVE *-kue*

7. *Este era mi autokue*

Nominal Tenses/Aspects (*este era mi autokue*)

Pragmatic Dominance: Spanish

Cognitive Dominance: Guarani

CONCEPTUALIZER

Preverbal Message:

Equative[(visible, near)=
=Possession(1, car)]

Time: Past

Fuerza ilocutiva:
exclamación

Nominal Tenses/Aspects (*este era mi autokue*)

Pragmatic Dominance: Spanish

Cognitive Dominance: Guarani

CONCEPTUALIZER

FORMULATOR

Preverbal Message:

Equative[(visible, near)=
=Possession(1, car)]

Time: Past

Fuerza ilocutiva:
exclamación

Lexical Selection:

auto

este

era

mi

-kue

(borrowing)

Nominal Tenses/Aspects (*este era mi autokue*)

Pragmatic Dominance: Spanish

Cognitive Dominance: Guarani

CONCEPTUALIZER

FORMULATOR

Preverbal Message:

Equative[(visible, near)=
=Possession(1, car)]

Time: Past

Fuerza ilocutiva:
exclamación

Lexical Selection:

auto

este

era

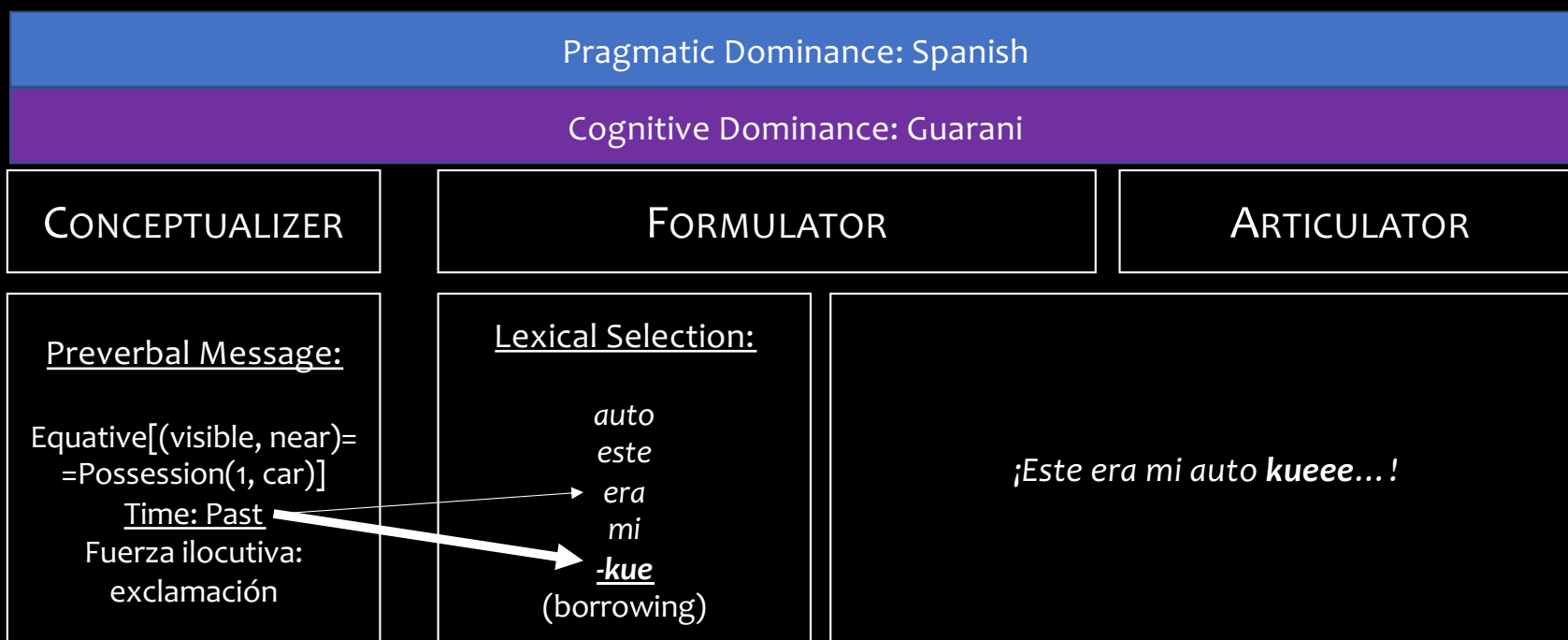
mi

-kue

(borrowing)



Nominal Tenses/Aspects (*este era mi autokue*)



Calquing vs. Borrowing of Grammatical Morphemes

- Conceptualizer effects: obligatory Guarani conceptualizations may be expressed by a coercible Spanish word (calque) or not (borrowing).
- Formulator effects: Spanish concepts may require specific, different morphosyntactic formulations in Guarani, satisfied by Spanish items (calque) or not (borrowing).

Discussion

- Any psychologically plausible theory of language planning/production needs to accommodate (better: help explain) mixing data
- We need at least coherent, non-circular proposals about
 - types of language dominance
 - activation / suppression
 - entrenchment and conventionalization
 - competition between forms
- (Cf. Green and Wei 2014; Green 2018)

Conclusion

- Code-mixing is not just “choosing words from one or the other language” to convey univocal, unproblematic content
- It can be the outcome of conceptualizations about what is necessary to convey, which in turn depend on the cognitively dominant language

Linguistic Analysis & Description of Guarani

- (49) a. (a)guapy ‘sentar(se)’ > guapyha ‘asiento’
b. (a)h-echa ‘ver’ > hechahaha ‘mirador’
c. (a)jeroky ‘bailar’ > jerokyha ‘lugar donde se baila’
d. (a)ke ‘dormirse; sueño’ > keha ‘cuarto, habitación’

Derivational morphology

(17c) amondyky

[ãmõⁿdi'ki]

a-mbo-tyky

1SG.ACT-CAUS-drip

‘I make drip; I distill’

Exceptional nasal harmony

Derivational morphology

Locative nominalizations denote places or times where an event happens. They are obtained by adding the stressed suffix *-ha* (glossed NMLZ.LOC) to a base intransitive predicate (that is, a predicate that takes a subject but no object) that expresses the event.

<i>jerokyha</i>	<i>keha</i>	<i>guapyha</i>	<i>hechaha</i>
jeroky-ha	ke-ha	guapy-ha	h-echa-ha
dance-NMLZ.LOC	sleep-NMLZ.LOC	sit-NMLZ.LOC	POSSM3-see-NMLZ.LOC
'the dance party'	'bedroom'	'seat'	'lookout, vantage point'

There are nominalizations that designate the agent or instrument of an action indicated by the base transitive predicate (that is, a predicate that takes both a subject and an object). These are called **agentive nominalizations**, and use the stressed suffix *-ha* or *-hára* (both glossed as NMLZ.AG). *-Hára* usually denotes professions, and *-ha* instruments or tools, but there are exceptions.

<i>ñotýhára</i>	<i>pohãnohára</i>
ñotý-hára	pohãno-hára
plant.seed-NMLZ.AG	cure-NMLZ.AG
'farmer'	'healer, doctor'

Derivational morphology

in whether the nominalization is **agent-oriented** or **patient-oriented** is clear in the following example. *Mombe'upy* 'legend' designates something told without reference to who did the telling; *rembihai* '(written) work, writings', on the other hand, designates the result of someone's action of writing (Shakespeare's, in this case).

Peteĩ mombe'upy he'i Shakespeare rembihai osẽ'ỹva araresáre oñeño-tỹhague hendive . . .

peteĩ	mombe'u-py	he'i	Shakespeare	r-embí-h-ai
one	tell-NMLZ.PASS	says	Shakespeare	POSSM-NMLZ.REL-POSSM3-WRITE
o-sẽ-'ỹ-va		ára-r-esa=re		o-ñe-ñotỹ-hague
3.ACT-go.out-PRIV-ADJZ		day-POSSM-eye=at		3.ACT-AGD-bury-NMLZ.PAST

hendive . . .

with.him/her

'A legend says that Shakespeare's unpublished works lie with him in his tomb . . .' (more literally, 'A legend says that Shakespeare's writings that did not see the light of day were buried with him . . .')

Evidentials

7.1 Emphatic and veridical markers

When speakers wish to convey an emphatic assertion they can use the stressed verbal particle *voi* (often found as a second-position enclitic; that is, coming at the end of the first phrase in a sentence).

Iporã voi.

i-porã voi
3.INACT-beautiful EMPH

‘It is (certainly) beautiful.’

Ani repoko cherehe ha'e niko ndéve.

ani re-poko che=rehe ha'e niko ndéve
NEG.IMP 2SG.ACT-touch 1SG.INACT=at I.say VERD to.you.SG

‘I did tell you not to touch me.’

Noun incorporation

A few examples below show that the predicate with an incorporated object often still takes another direct object like any transitive verb. This means that the incorporated object is not a “real” object (think about how in English one can say ‘house-hunting for a mansion’).

ojurumboty haguã heta periodista

o-juru+mboty=haguã h-eta periodista

3.ACT-mouth+close=for POSSM3-numerous journalist

‘to silence many journalists (i.e., their questions)’ (from *juru* ‘mouth’ and *mboty* ‘to close’)

Pattern	Linguistic factors	Sociohistorical factors	Cognitive factors
INSERTION	<i>Typological distance</i>	<i>Post-colonial Settings</i> <i>Intense language contact</i> <i>No barriers against mixing</i> <i>Highly unequal power relations</i> Recent migrant communities	<i>Asymmetry in proficiency</i>
ALTERNATION	<i>Typological distance</i>	<i>Stable bilingual communities</i> <i>Strong political competition</i> Tradition of language separation Strong norms	<i>Equal, high proficiency</i> <i>Less fluent bilinguals</i>
BACKFLAGGING	?	<i>Language shift</i> <i>Second generation speakers</i>	<i>L2 dominance</i> <i>Low proficiency in community language</i>
CONGRUENT LEXICALIZATION	Typological similarity	<i>Low normativity</i> <i>No tradition of language separation</i> <i>Longer contact</i> <i>Closely-knit networks</i> Roughly equal prestige	?

Linguistic, sociohistorical, and cognitive factors: Proposal for Mixed Lects

Pattern: **Mixed lect**

Pattern	Factors		
	Linguistic/Similarity	Social	Cognitive
Mixed lect	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Insertion from dominant language- Alternations- Backflagging from immigrant language	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Recent migrant communities- Unmarked code- Presence of “sub”-communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Loss of non-basic immigrant language vocabulary

- How "weird" properties of Guarani become emblematic and appropriated by speakers

Linguistic Analysis & Description of Guarani

