glottothèque Mayan languages



The acquisition of ideophones and split ergativity in Chuj

Pedro Mateo Pedro

Linguistics, University of Toronto

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Ideophones

- In linguistic typology, ideophones are considered as an open lexical class that depict sensory imaginary' (Dingemanse, 2019)
- They are considered as universal or near-universal feature of human language (Dingemanse, 2012), although they have been associated to primitive languages (Barret 2014)
- Hierarchy of ideophones (Dingemanse, 2012):
 SOUND < MOVEMENT < VISUAL PATTERNS < OTHER SENSORY PERCEPTIONS < INNER FEELINGS AND COGNITIVE STATES

Ideophones in Mayan languages

- In Mayan languages, two distinct lexical classes shared properties with ideophones: positional and affect roots (Barret, 2014)
- Positional roots refer to shapes and movements, while affect roots are onomotopoetic
- Although Barret (2014) says that Mayanists have not considered ideophones as a lexical class in Mayan languages, England (2009, 2017) refers to affect words as ideophones

Ideophones in Mayan languages

- In Mayan languages, ideophones are very common and frequently used when making jokes and teasing (Barret, 2017) and found in narratives, e.g., Mam (England, 2009)
- Ideophones in K'iche' (1) and Q'anjob'al (2) (Barret, 2017: 453-454)
- 1. Kaqab'an puq' puq' puq' puq' puq'.
- Yet chi wab'on yay t'ujlab'oq ha' a'ej:
 t'uj, t'uj, t'uj, t'uj...

We go puq' puq' puq' puq' puq' When I hear the water dripping: t'uj, t'uj, t'uj, t'uj...

- puq': sound of a rock dropped into water
- t'uj: sound of water dripping

Ideophones in Mayan languages

- Pérez González (2012) argues that ideophones in tseltal appear in what he calls "ideophonic quotative construction", as shown in (3)
- 3. **xklaj** x-chi-Ø-=nax

IDF:sound.of.wood ICP-PCIT-B3=ADV:only

'It broke and thundered suddenly (the stick only made xklaj when it broke).'

- In Mam, ideophones usually appear before the verb followed by split ergativity (4a) (England, 2009)
- 4. pe'q' t-uul t-uj t-tzii'
 IDEO ERG3-arrive.here ERG3-RN:in ERG3-mouth
 'it (a fruit) fell all squished in his mouth.

Argument

- Studies on ideophones in Mayan languages show that the morphology of the verb after an ideophone varies, e.g., ergative & split ergative alignment, e.g., Pérez González (2012) for tseltal and England (2009) for Mam
- While there is discussion about the status of ideophones in Mayan languages, e.g., Barret (2014), it is important to evaluate how children acquire this word category in relation to split ergativity
- Children acquire ideophones following the split ergative alignment
- From my knowledge, no studies exist on the acquisition of ideophones in Mayan languages

Agenda

- 1. Language background
- 2. Methodology
- 3. Chuj child Ideophones
 - a. Ideophones
 - b. Ideophones and verb types
 - c. Productivity
 - d. Ideophones and split ergativity
- 4. Conclusion

Language background

- Chuj is a Mayan language spoken in the department of Huehuetenango, Guatemala, and the southern part of Mexico
- It belongs to the Mayan language family, although there is debate about tis linguistic classification (Hopkins 1967)
- It is an ergative language with marking in the nucleus and a verb initial language
- Two main dialects: San Mateo Ixtatán and San Sebastián Coatán (Hopkins, 1967; Domingo Pascual, 2007; and Buenrostro, 2013)
- The Chuj of San Mateo Ixtatán uses the word order verb-object-subject (VOS) (England 1991)

Ergative-absolutive alignment

- 5. a. Ix-ach-b'ey-i. COM-ABS2-walk-IV 'You walked.'
 - b. Ix-ach-ko-chel-a'.

COM-ABS2-ERG1p-hug-TV 'We hugged you.' Coon & Carolan (2017: 2)

- Intransitive subjects (4a) and transitive objects (4b) are cross-referenced with absolutive morphemes, known as "Set B"
- Transitive subjects are cross-referenced with ergative morphemes (ko-) (4b), known as "Set A"

Split ergative alignment

- 6. a. *Lan hach=b'ey-i. Coon & Carolan (2017: 2-3) PROG ABS2=walk-IV intended: 'You're walking.'
 - b. Lan ha-b'ey-i. PROG ERG2-walk-IV

'You're walking.'

- 7. a. *Lan hach=ko-chel-a'.
 PROG ABS2=ERG1p-hug-TV intended: 'We're hugging you.'
 - b. Lan hach=ko-chel-an-i. Suffix -AN
 - PROG ABS2=ERG1p-hug-SUB-IV

'We're hugging you.'

ABS > ERG

Ideophones and split ergative alignment

- 8. a. kixkon y-el-i. ABS > ERG
 kixkon ERG3-exit-IV
 'Kixkon goes backwards.'
 b. punh y-ak'-an-i. Suffix -AN
 - punh ERG3-give-SUB-SUF
 - 'Punh it does (it exploded).'

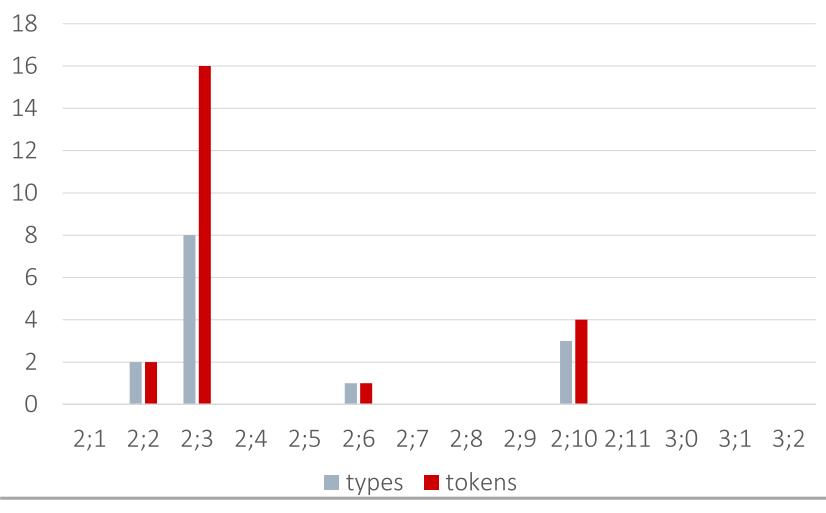
2. Methodology

- In this study, I analyzed data from a child acquiring Chuj from San Mateo Ixtatán, Huehuetenango, Guatemala (https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.791 0/DVN/3VSDSK (Mateo Pedro 2012, 2023)
- The data was collected longitudinally for a period of 8 months; video and audio recordings made every two weeks
- The child was recorded from the age of 2;2 to 2;10
- The recordings took place at the child's home and based on his spontaneous interaction with relatives and sometimes with the Chuj Research Assistants
- Extraction of ideophones—going through each of the child's files

Questions

- Do children acquire ideophones in Chuj?
- If so, do they follow the ergative and split ergative alignment?
- In Chuj, as we have seen in (8), an ideophone conditions the morphology of the verb
 - o A child would not just produce an ideophone and produce a verb
 - o The child must evaluate the verb type that appears after the ideophone

3. Chuj child ideophones



What are those ideophones?

ages	child	adult	translation		
2;2	kukala	?	'kukuruku'		
	pum	punh	'sound of something falling, exploding'		
2;3	2;3 ixti ichatik		'like this'		
	pum	punh	'sound of something falling, exploding'		
	chopita	chopita	··		
	kampana kampana		'bell'		
	te' tek'		'kick'		
	tinh	t'inh	'sound of something exploding'		
	putul	putul	'sound of something falling, exploding'		
2;6	punh	punh	'sound of something falling, exploding'		
2;10	kisan	kixan	'bottom up'		
	k'otnaj	k'otnaj	'sound of something falling'		
	kixkon	kixkon	'going backwards'		

Ideophones and verb types

ages	ideophones	intransitive	transitive	
2;2	kukala		ak'	'to give'
	pum		ak'	'to give'
	ixti		ak'	'to give'
2;3	pum		ak'	'to give'
	chopita		ak'	'to give'
	kampana		ak'	'to give'
	te'		ak'	'to give'
	tinh		ak'	'to give'
	putul		ak'	'to give'
2;6	punh		ak'	'to give'
2;10	kisan	ај		'to go up'
	k'otnaj	em		'to fall'
	kixkon	el		'to exit'

Ideophones with transitive verbs

9.a.	pum ani.		Mat (2;0)
	= punh	y-ak'- <mark>an</mark> -i	
	punh	ERG3-give-SUB-SUF	
	'Punh i	t does (it exploded).'	
b.	tinh hani.		Mat (2;3)
	t'inh	y-ak'- <mark>an</mark> -i	
	t'inh	ERG3-give-SUB-SUF	
	'It exploded.'		
	пстрі	0000	

Ideophones with intransitive verbs

10.a.	yo kisan yaj chan ni.					Mat (2;10)
	=уо	kixan	у-ај	ch'a'anh	ni'i	
	oh	kixan	ERG3-go up	?	see	
	'Oh, it's upside down, see.'					
b.	kixkon y Mat (2;1					

= kixkon y-el-i

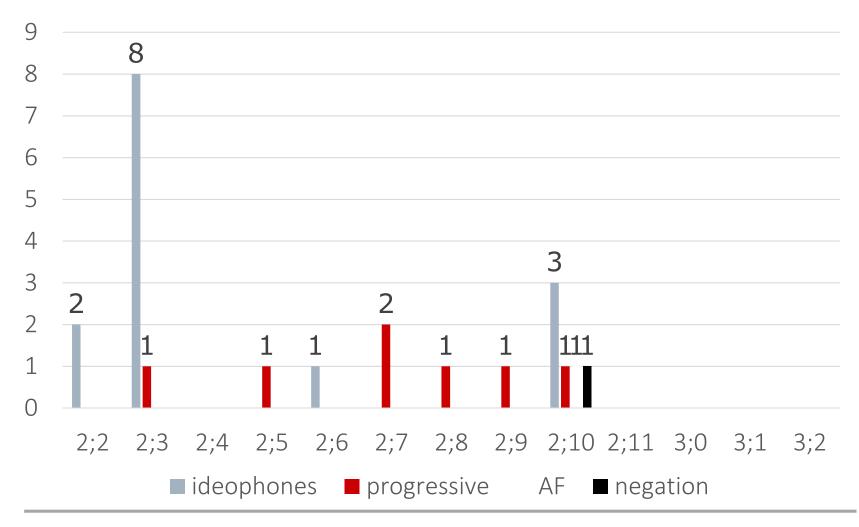
kixkon ERG3-exit-IV

'Kixkon goes backwards.'

Productivity

11.a.	em bomba.		Mat (2;3)	Indicative
	= ix-ø-em	bomba		
	COM-ABS3-fall	bomb		
	'A bomb explode	ed.'		
С.	pom pahani.		Mat (2;3)	Ideophone
	= ponh y-ak'-ar	ı-i		
	ponh ERG3-give-DM-SUF			
	'Boom, it does.'			

The suffix -an in other contexts



The suffix -an in other contexts

wan kak'a gol. Mat (2;5) Progressive 12.a. = wan k-ak'-an gol ERG1p-give-SUB PROG ball 'We are playing ball.' Ha winh papa' ix ak'ani. b. Mat (2;10) Agent Focus winh papa' ix-Ø-ak'-an-i = Ha ENF CLF father COM-ABS3-give-AF-IV 'It was my father, who gave it to me.' Malaj mach hinsayani. Mat (2;10) Negation С. = Malaj mach hin-say-an-i who ERG1-look for-SUB-IV NEG 'Nobody looks for me.'

4. Conclusion

- Although ideophones are sporadic, the child used them following the split ergative alignment
- Following (Dingemanse, 2012), the child acquires ideophones of the categories: sound and movement
- Contribution of the study to ideophones in Mayan languages, typology of ideophones (Dingemanse, 2012; Barret, 2014; Karani & Andrason, 2022), and acquisition of ideophones and split ergativity
- Children would not miss the acquisition of ideophones if "These words are the most graphic in the language, they are the 'colouring' words, the stories and common speech of the people are full of them" (Whitehead 1899:18, cited by Dingemanse, 2012:664)

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