Exploring grammatical categories of Tol
– a journey into the unknown
Outline of talk

- Introductory remarks:
  - The language, the people and history of research
- Noun suffixes
- Imperfect aspect enclitic
- Information structure particles
Jicaquean

† Western Jicaque
  Location > El Palmar

Tol (Eastern Jicaque)
  Location > Montaña de la flor
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Alveopalatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Laryngeal</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Stops, plain</strong></td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>?</td>
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<td><strong>aspirated</strong></td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>cʰ</td>
<td>kʰ</td>
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<td>p’</td>
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<td>c’</td>
<td>k’</td>
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<td>s</td>
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Holt 1999
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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Back</th>
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<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>a</td>
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</table>

Holt 1999
Tol – a profile

- SOV (consistently head final)
  - Pronouns > different orders for emphasis

- Inflection (verbs, nouns)
  - Person, number, tense > poly-exponential
    - Pre-, in- and suffixation and ablaut
    - Independent pronouns (suppletive paradigms)
  - Tense is also expressed by particles
  - Number is only marked in NP’s with animate referents
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
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<tr>
<td>m-wayúm</td>
<td>'my husband'</td>
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<tr>
<td>w-y-ayúm</td>
<td>'your husband'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woyúm</td>
<td>'her husband'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰis wayúm</td>
<td>'our husband'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his wayúm</td>
<td>'your husband'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his wayúm</td>
<td>'their husband'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkish</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>napʰ üsũ müʔũs</td>
<td>'I am drinking water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hipʰ üsũ müs</td>
<td>'you are drinking water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hupʰ üsũ mü</td>
<td>'he is drinking water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kupʰ üsũ miskʰékʰ</td>
<td>'we are drinking water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nun üsũ múskʰé</td>
<td>'you are drinking water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yupʰ üsũ miʔũn</td>
<td>'they are drinking water'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tol – a profile

- SOV (consistently head final)
  - Pronouns > different orders for emphasis

- Inflection (verbs, nouns)
  - Person, number, tense > poly-exponential
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    - Tense is also expressed by particles
    - Number is only marked in NP’s with animate referents
      - ne-
      - -pan
      - witʰákʰ
Tol vs. Jicaque

- Used for the people, language family and language
  - Jicaque (older literature)
    - Used by settlers from New Spain
    - Meaning: non-sedentary people of various ethnicities
    - Etymology: Nahuatl *xikkawa* 'to let oneself decay'
      xikkaw-keh [ʃikkahkeh] ➔ Sp. jicaque
  - Autodenomination
    - Tol
    - Tol-pan [torupan] (plural form for humans)
The tolpan people

• Believed to have migrated from the north coast due to pressure from colonial power
The tolpan people

- Believed to have migrated from the north coast due to pressure from colonial power
- Organized into 6 tribes
  - San Juan > the great majority of speakers
    - Closest contact to main road / surrounding society
  - Ceiba > small number of speakers
- Survey > almost 500 L1 speakers
  - Spanish > minor role
  - high level of language tolerance (Haurholm-Larsen, 2012)
Research history

- Early descriptions (1897-1923)
  - Word lists
    - Membreño (1897)
    - Lehmann (1920)
    - Conzemius (1923)
Research history

- Comparative studies (1953-1995)
  - Greenberg and Swadesh (1953)
  - Oltrogge (1977)
  - Campbell and Oltrogge (1980)
  - Yasugi (1995)
Research history

- Later descriptive work
  - Nouns: Dennis and Flemming (1976)
  - Dictionary: Dennis and Dennis (1983)
  - Verbs: Dennis (1990)
Genetic relationships

- Classification of Tol still an open question
- Before 1953
  - Tol was considered an isolate
- Greenberg and Swadesh (1953)
  - add Tol to the Hokan stock (Dixon and Kroeber (1913))
Genetic relationships

- Oltrogge (1977)
  - Tol-Tequistlatec-Subtiaba
  - Hokan and Otomanguean ties left open
- Campbell and Oltrogge (1980)
  - not Hokan
  - Tequistlatec probable
Genetic relationships

- Hokan affiliation supported by
  - Dennis and Flemming (1975)

- Tequistlatec-Subtiaba supported by
  - Suarez (1983)
Genetic relationships

• Yasugi (1995)
  • Doubts both Hokan and Tequistlatec-Subtiaba connection

xxxxxxxxxxxxxx End of introduction xxxxxxxxxxxxx

And now to the noun suffixes...
Noun suffixes

- Most nouns take suffixes which are of three shapes
  - -(sV)s
  - -(V)N
  - -(V)kʰ

- Nouns that never take suffixes refer to:
  - Body parts
  - Kinship terms
# Noun suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short form</th>
<th>Long form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-(s)Vs forms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa</td>
<td>wo-sís</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ãawa</td>
<td>ãowú-s</td>
<td>fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ãowú-s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ãulúla</td>
<td>ãululá-s</td>
<td>racoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malán</td>
<td>malan-ás</td>
<td>pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wáka</td>
<td>woko-sás</td>
<td>cow</td>
</tr>
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<td>pũ?á</td>
<td>pũ?á-s</td>
<td>puma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰísya</td>
<td>kʰisyá-s</td>
<td>grass</td>
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<td>nu</td>
<td>nu-s</td>
<td>pumpkin</td>
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<td>kʰele</td>
<td>kʰélé-s</td>
<td>bone</td>
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<td>pis</td>
<td>pis-ís</td>
<td>meat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwis-ís</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ãos</td>
<td>ãos-ís</td>
<td>blood</td>
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## Noun suffixes

<table>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-(V)N forms</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>sit(^h)</td>
<td>sit(^h)-ím</td>
<td>avocado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>til</td>
<td>til-ím</td>
<td>tapir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yom</td>
<td>yom-én</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kep(^h)</td>
<td>kep(^h)-án</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe</td>
<td>pe-n / pwe-n</td>
<td>stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c(^e)ch\</td>
<td>c(^e)ch-ém</td>
<td>tortilla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tüt(^7)</td>
<td>tüt(^7)-üm</td>
<td>louse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k(^b)ul</td>
<td>k(^b)ul-ún</td>
<td>fish</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Noun suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short form</th>
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<tr>
<td>-(V)kʰ forms</td>
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<tr>
<td>kʰan</td>
<td>kʰon-íkʰ</td>
<td>bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰul</td>
<td>pʰul-ákʰ</td>
<td>star</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lupʰ</td>
<td>lupʰ-úkʰ</td>
<td>hail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cʰin</td>
<td>cʰin-ákʰ</td>
<td>bean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cʰew</td>
<td>cʰew-ékʰ</td>
<td>scorpion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>macʰ?</td>
<td>macʰ-íkʰ</td>
<td>pozol</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Noun suffixes

Dennis and Flemming (1976)

"Los sufijos realizan relaciones sintácticas que no son muy bien entendidas todavía"

"... a veces se encuentran formas con sufijos cuando el sustantivo se refiere a un objeto o una persona que no sean sujeto el verbo. Sin embargo hay casos en los cuales esto no ocurre."

"... estos no representan tres morfemas distintos, sino que son formas alternas de un solo morfema."
Holt (1999)

"In many (but not all) instances in which a noun serves as the grammatical object of a sentence, the noun will appear with an added object-suffix…this process generally does not take place with inalienably possessed nouns (body-parts and kinship terms, etc.) and a few others."

"There are three lexically determined forms of the objective suffix –kʰ, -s and –m/-n depending on the particular noun involved."
The sum of the above quotes

1) the three forms of noun suffix are allomorphs of a single morpheme

2) they mark grammatical object or non-subject argument

3) the marking is not obligatory

4) obligatorily possessed nouns do not take a suffix
Questions

- Are the three noun suffixes allomorphs of a single morpheme?
- Are these suffixes really object/non-subject marking?
  - If not, what are they?
- Are they really optional
  - if not, what are the conditioning factors?
Are the three noun suffixes allomorphs of a single morpheme?

- So far I have found no noun which takes more than one of the three suffixes.
- Nouns ending in vowel > -(sV)s
  - *pe-n* only exception
Are the three noun suffixes allomorphs of a single morpheme?

- **yom / yom-én** 'man'
- **ne-yóm** 'men'
- **no-yom-és** 'men'
  
  * **no-yom-én**

- **see (1)**
Are these suffixes really object markers?

- yom / yom-én
- wáka / woko-sás
- pʰul / pʰul-ákʰ
Are these suffixes really object markers?

- *yom-én* 'man'
- *woko-sás* 'cow'
- *phul-ákʰ* 'star'

If these suffixed forms are optional object markers, they may be absent even in O function, but they should always be absent in A or S function.

However, this is not the case as shown in (2)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yom-en</td>
<td>'man'</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woko-sás</td>
<td>'cow'</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'hul-ak'h</td>
<td>'star'</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Attested argument functions of bare nouns

<table>
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<th>A</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>O</th>
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<tr>
<td>yom</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waka</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰul</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If the suffixes are not case markers, what are they?

Looking at *yom(-en)* in a sample text:

- definiteness
- specificity
- topic vs. comment
- spatial deixis
**yom-en in a sample text:**

- always definite
- always specific
- always topic

- *yom* can be indefinite and unspecific or both
- *yom* can be used either in topics or comments
### niná + noun (-suffix)

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>short</th>
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<td>7</td>
<td>46</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
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<td>stone</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>day</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>375</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Imperfective past $c^h a$

- "The imperfect-suffix -$c^h a$ can apparently be added to any present-tense verb-form (?); e.g. hák-$c^h a$ 's/he came'; hós-$c^h a$ 's/he wanted'." Holt (1999:30)

- Clitic
  - Can also appear on other parts of speech, cf. (5)
  - Does not affect stress pattern
    - tʰe-véle-$c^h a$ 'he said' (not tʰe-velé-$c^h a$)
  - compatible with other tense-aspect markers
Irrealis use of $c^h_a$

- past conditional (6a)
- hortative (6b)
- dubiative (6c)
Discourse organizing clitics

- `ne` 'and' 'but' 'because / for that reason'
- `wa` 'also' 'and then'
- `ha?` 'ATTENTION'
Discourse organizing clitics

- *ne*
  - is a coordinating connective
    - main clauses (7)
    - subordinate clauses (8)
  - Interrogative sequences (9)
  - Interrogative constructions ne ... *ha?* (9b)
Discourse organizing clitics

- *wa* points to an antecedent
- adverbial (10)
- 'not either' (11)
- 'another' (12)
- topical (13)
- all-new sentences (14)
Discourse organizing clitics

- *ha*
  - regain attention
    - series of questions *ne ... ha* (15)
    - imperative constructions (16)
- "pay attention now (again)"
- purely pragmatic -> does not show up in written text or elicitation
- contrast (14c) with (14k) – slight difference in meaning
References

Dennis, Ronald K. 1990. La conjugación del verbo en idioma tol (jicaque). Tegucigalpa, D.C., Honduras: Instituto Hondureño de Antropología e Historia; Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.
Dennis, Ronald K, and Margaret Royce de Dennis. 1983. Diccionario tol (jicaque)-español y español-tol (jicaque). Tegucigalpa, Honduras: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano en colaboración con el Instituto Hondureño de Antropología e Historia.
Thank you!

The Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project

Through Arcadia