The history of prepositions in Mojeño Trinitario

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1. Preliminaries

1.1. The history of adpositions

- A universal functional category, not necessarily realized by a structural category in individual languages (DeLancey, 2005)
- Origin: frequently grammaticalized from either transitive verbs or relational nouns (Hagège, 2010; Lehmann, 2002)
- Evolution: may develop into case (Lehmann, 2002) or subordinators (Genetti, 1991; Rose, 2013a)

1.2. Mojeño Trinitario

- Mojeño (Arawak, lowland Bolivia)
    - Vehicular language of the Jesuit missions, 17th and 18th centuries (Marbán, 1702)
    - Trinitario, Ignaciano, Javeriano and Loretano dialects (Rose, 2010)
- Old Mojeño: described in Marbán's *Arte*, and illustrated in a catechism (Marbán, 1702)
- Mojeño Trinitario
    - Previous descriptions (Gill, 1957)
    - Textual database (~ 8h) collected in the field since 2005 https://www.ortolang.fr
    - Isolated sentences collected by stimuli (~2h)
    - Elicited sentences (4900)

1.3. Adpositions in Arawak languages

- No adpositions have been reconstructed for Proto-Arawak, only case suffixes
- "Inalienably possessed nouns often function as adpositions, the adpositional argument being cross-referenced with A/Sa/Possessor prefixes." (Aikhenvald, 1999)
- Danielsen (2012) : the Arawak split
    - Adpositions/cases on noun phrases in North Arawak
    - Valency-changing in verbs in South Arawak

This talk:
Mojeño Trinitario has one central 'universal' preposition
Nominal origin of the preposition
Development into a subordinator

1.4. Overview of the talk

2. Language overview

- Agglutinating language with a rich morphology
- Large number of suffix and enclitic slots and fewer prefix slots, especially on verbs (1)

(1) *wi=po   n-a-k-uch-ku-'-vi=yre.*
     NEG=PFV 1SG-IRR-CAUS-go_out-CLF-ACT-2SG=FUT
     'I will not take you out of it.'T8.040

- Generalized allomorphy
  - due to a rich system of morphophonemic rules
  - and a pervasive rhythmic syncope process (Rose, 2019b): every weak vowel (except the final one) is targeted by syncope (but only about half of those do syncopate)

(2) */su-jusVti-piçenu-ʧo=joɾe/*

su	ju	sV	ti	pi	çe	nu	ʧo	jo	ɾe
(.	x)	(.	x)	(.	x)	(.	x)	.	.
s_	ju	s_	ti	p_	çe	n_	ʧo	j_	ɾe

[sjus.tip.çen.ˈʧoj.ɾe]
     'She is going to cut (them) at the neck.'

- Parts-of-speech :
  - Both nouns and verbs can be used as arguments and predicates without overt marking, but nouns are most often used as arguments, and verbs as predicates.
  - Morphological combinatorics as a defining criterion : person markers

Nouns : prefixes for possessors (3) or suffixes for the sole argument
of nominal predicates (4)

Transitive verbs (5): prefixes (for A) and suffixes (for O).

Intransitive verbs (6): prefixes only (for S).

(3) **n-**owsa
    1SG-village
    'my village'

(4) '*jiro-***nu**=po
    man-**1SG**=PFV
    'I was a man then'.

(5) **n-**echji-ko-'**e**
    1SG-talk.to-ACT-**2PL**
    'I am talking to you'.

(6) **n-**ute-k=po
    1SG-come-ACT=PFV
    'I just came'.

Table 1. Paradigm of person markers (Rose, 2015 for more details on the paradigm)

	Prefixes (Poss, A, Sa, Sp)	Suffixes (P, argument of nonverbal predicate)	Pronouns	Demonstrative formatives	Articles
1SG	*n-*	*-nu*	*nuti*	–	–
2SG	*py- (~ p-)*	*-vi*	*piti*	–	–
1PL	*vy- (~ v-)*	*-(wok)ovi*	*viti*	–	–
2PL	*a-*	*-'e*	*eti*	–	–
3M(SG.H) speaker ♂	*ma- (~ mu-, m-)*	–	*ema*	*ma*	*ma*
3M(SG.H) speaker ♀	*ñi- (~ ñ-)*	–	*eñi*	*ñi*	*ñi*
3F(SG.H)	*s-*	–	*esu*	*su*	*su*
3PL(H)	*na- (~ n-)*	*-woko* (3PL)	*eno*	*no*	*no*
3NH(SG/PL)	*ta- (~ t-)*		*eto*	*jo* (SG) *ma* (PL)	*to*
3	*ty- (~ t-)* on verbs; *-ono* (3PL)				

- The basic constituent order is AVO in transitive clauses (7), and VS in intransitive clauses (8). Arguments are optional and not case-marked.

(7) *ene   takepo*   [*ma   t-siso   'chane*]ᴀ   *ma-m=po*   [*ma   'chane*]ₒ.
    and   then   ART.M 3-black   person   3M-take=PFV   ART.M   person
    'And then the black man took the man'. T8.045

(8) *ene   ty-ute-k=pu=iji*   [*ema   ma   viya   t-ekie-ri-k=ri'i*] ₛ.
    and   3-come-ACT=PFV=RPT   PRO.M ART.M man   3-transform-PLURACT-ACT=IPFV
    'Then came the man who transforms people.' T6.003

- Many valency-changing devices, among which 3 applicative markers (9)-(11), and an applicative construction based on classifiers (Rose, 2019a)
  - Possible grammaticalization path from cases/adpositions to applicative
  - Another grammaticalization path: from oblique classifiers (12) to applicative (13)

(9)　　*n-wachri-ri-s-**no***　　　　　　*su*　　　*meme*
　　　　1SG-buy-PLURACT-ACT-**APPL**　　ART.F　　1SG.mother
　　　　'I went shopping for my mother.' elicited

(10)　　*Calixta*　　*s-iso-'**u**-cho*　　　　　*to*　　*'santi*　　*to*　　*sukri-ono*
　　　　Calixta　　3F-weed-**APPL**-ACT　　ART.NH　field　　ART.NH　plantation-PL
　　　　'Calixta weeded the field for the plantations.' elicited

(11)　　*p-jo-ka*　　　　　*kaecha*　　*n-is-**iyo***　　　*p-jo*　　　*n-ésane*
　　　　DEM-NH.SG-PROX　shovel　　1SG-weed-**APPL**　DEM-NH.SG　1SG-field
　　　　'With this shovel, I weed my field.' elicited

(12)　　*t-eja-**me**-re-ko*　　　　　　　*t-e*　　*pjo*　*ñi-ye'e*　*estera*
　　　　3-sit-**CLF:fabric**-PLURACT-ACT　　3NH-PREP　DEM　3M-GPN　mat
　　　　'The man is sitting on his mat.' Path_S_51

(13) a.　　　*to*　　　*kwoyu*　*ty-ow-'o*　　***t-e***　　　*to*　　　*'une*
　　　　　　ART.NH　horse　3-be-ACT　　**3NH-PREP**　ART.NH　water
　　　　　　'The horse is in the water.' elicited

　　　b.　　　*to*　　　*kwoyu*　*t(a)-ow-**e**-ko*　　　　　*to*　　　*'une*
　　　　　　ART.NH　horse　3NH-be-**CLF:liquid**-ACT　　ART.NH　water
　　　　　　'The horse is in the water.' elicited

- Referential noun phrases are always introduced by a determiner (article (13) or demonstrative (11)), while non-referential noun phrases and nominal predicates are not.

- 3 classes of nouns with respect to possession:
  - those that require a possessive prefix (a.k.a. inalienable, obligatorily possessed or relational);
  - those that may take a possessive prefix (a.k.a. alienable, or optionally possessed);
  - those that cannot take a possessive prefix (a.k.a. absolute or non-directly possessible).

  - For obligatorily and optionally possessed nouns : Possr-POSSESSEE POSSESSOR (14).

(14)　　*Noe*　　*s-apijane*　　　*su*　　*meme*
　　　　Noe　　3F-last_name　ART.F　mother.1SG
　　　　'Noe is my mother's last name.' T9.003

3. Adpositions in Mojeño Trinitario

- Pervasive, polysemous preposition *e ~ ye'e*
- More complex structures with *te* + N
- One emergent preposition from a verb

3.1. The universal preposition *e ~ ye'e* (synchronic perspective)

- A separate word
- Preceding its object NP
- Taking a person prefix, which agrees with its object

(15)   *na-esta-k=ri'i*   **t-e**   *to*   *chkote.*
       3PL-whip-ACT=IPFV   **3NH-PREP**   ART.NH   whip
       'They were whipping him **with** the whip.' T2.039

(16)   *juiti*   *v-yon=ñore*   *v-echjirikwo=yre*   **na-e**   *p-no-kro*
       today   1PL-go=FUT   1PL-talk=FUT   **3PL-PREP**   DEM-H.PL-POT.LOC
       'Today we are going to talk **with** these (the rainbows).' T24.087

= an inflected preposition, like in Welsch, Irish, Breton (Jaworska, 1999)

Table 2. Paradigm of the inflected preposition

Preposition forms	Analysis	Agreement category
te	*ta-e*	non-human
nae	*na-e*	human plural
se	*su-e*	feminine singular
mue	*ma-e*	masculine singular (male speaker)
ñe	*ñi-e*	masculine singular (female speaker)

- o Specificities of *te* non-human form

  - ▪ Most frequent form (used with abstract noun phrases and propositional content, see section 5).
  - ▪ Morphologically complex *ta-e* 3NH-PREP but obligatory phonological simplification in *te* (*tae)

- Conveys various meanings (not only spatial ones): in, to, from, with, for,…

(17)   *ema*   *t-nara-ko=o'i*   **t-e**   *to*   *ma-peno.*
       PRO.M   3-rest-ACT=IPFV   **3NH-PREP**   ART.NH   3M-house
       'He was resting **in** his house.' T6.048

(18)   *asike*   *vi- uch-ko=po*   **t-e**   *to*   *'resia*
        CONJ   1PL-go.out-ACT=PFV   **3NH-PREP**   ART.NH   church

        vi-utek=po   **t-e**   *to*   *v-ye'e*   *kavildo.*
        1PL-come=PFV   **3NH-PREP**   ART.NH   1PL-GPN   town_council
        'So we got out **from** the church and went **to** our town council.' T24.023

(19)   *v-yujpan-ko-w=yore*   **s-e**   *p-su-ka*   *veno*   *'seno.*
        1PL-ask.a.favor-ACT-MID=FUT   **3F-PREP**   DEM-F-PROX   Lady   woman
        'We are going to ask a favor **to** this Lady.' T23.020

- The form *e* is in complementary distribution with a longer allomorph *ye'e*
  - *ye'e* used when the object of the preposition is pronominal
  - its 'object' is encoded in the person prefix

(20) a- *juiti*   *v-yon=ñore*   *v-echjirikwo=yre*   **na-e**   *p-no-kro.*
        today   1PL-go=FUT   1PL-talk=FUT   3PL-PREP   DEM-H.PL-POT.LOC
        'Today we are going to talk **with** these (the rainbows).' T24.087

    b- *juiti*   *sache*   *n-echjirikwo=yre*   **p-ye'e**
        now   day   1SG-talk=FUT   2SG-PREP
        'Today I am going to talk **with** you.' T8.003

(21)   *py-uusamre*   *p-imori-ko*   **t-e**   **i-peno**   *p-ju-ena*   *ora=ri'i*
        2SG-be.happy   2SG-visit-ACT   3NH-PREP   1PL-house   DEM-NH-DIST   hour=IPFV
        'You are happy to visit **(PREP)** **our house** at this time.' T28.030

    b. *p-ju-ena*   *yoti*   *p-imori-k=ri'i*   **v-ye'e,**   *meme.*
        DEM-NH-DIST   night   2SG-visit-ACT=IPFV   1PL-PREP   Lady
        'This evening, you came to visit **(PREP)** us, Lady.' T28.032

  - *ye'e* also found with a third person prefix when no NP follows, i.e. in cases of anaphoric reference.

(22)   *ene*   *porfin*   *v-itekpo=po*   *yoti=po*   *v-itekpo=o'i*   **ta-ye'e**
        and   finally   1PL-arrive=PFV   night=PFV   1PL-arrive=IPFV   3NH-PREP
        [Preceding sentence: The ground travel was long before our arrival to Bermeo.] 'In the end, we arrived, it was already night time when we arrived **there (lit. to it)**.' T38.065

Table 3. Morphosyntactic distribution of the two allomorphs *e ~ ye'e* of the preposition

Person	Prefix	PREP + NP	PREP + Ø
1st person singular	*n-*		
2nd singular	*pi-*	/	
1st plural	*vi-*		
2nd plural	*a-*		
3rd non-human	*ta-*		*ye'e*
3rd human plural	*na-*		
3rd feminine singular	*s-*	*e*	
3rd masculine singular (male speaker)	*ma-*		
3rd masculine singular (female speaker)	*ñi-*		

- A third form: the *e* allomorph has a phonetic realization with a final glottal stop
  - No conditioning
  - Does not fit the regular prosodic word template (no final consonant)

(23) *Ene v-kíj'e-yre   ene vi-uumut-yore-poo'i   t-e'   to   comunidade.*
there 1PL-go_to-FUT and 1PL-meet-FUT-CONC.MOT   3NH-PREP ART.NH community
'There we are going to go and we are going to have meetings in the communities.'
T32.006

- Can be semantically specified by classifiers classifying obliques (Rose, 2019a)

(24) a. *t-junopo=po   t-e   to   smeno*
3-run=PFV   **3NH-PREP** ART.NH   woods
'S/he ran **to/in/from** the woods.' T11.018

  b. *t-jumpo-**je**-cho   t-e   to   smeno*
3-run-**CLF:interior**-ACT   **3NH-PREP** ART.NH   woods
'S/he ran **inside** the woods.' elicited

- Can take TAME clitics
TAME morphology is found on all major parts of speech, when used as predicates, but also (though more rarely) on non-predicative elements (Rose, 2017).

(25) *porke   ema=ri'i=ni   t-e'=ripo…   t-e   to...   t-e   kalavoso*
because 3M=IPFV=PAST **3NH-PREP=PFV** 3NH-PREP ART.NH 3NH-PREP cell
'Because he is in… in a... in jail.' T40.152

3.2. Locative relational nouns

- Complex prepositional expressions, based on : *te* (DET) 3-N NP
    - Intermediary noun is a relational noun

-ína'u	'top of'	*-míro'u*	'front of' < *-miro* 'face'
-ju'e	'stomach, interior'	*-mópeku*	'below'
-giñoku	'corner' < *-giño* 'ear'	*-cheyo*	'lip, edge'
-mueku	'behind'		

- Construction based on the genitive construction
- Relational noun is not modifiable, often without determiner (nonreferential)

(26) *ty-okchu-ri-k=ri'i*　　　*p-jo*　　　*perota*
3-stamp-PLURACT-ACT=IPFV　DEM-NH.SG　ball

t-e　　**p-jo**　　**ta-míro'u**　**p-jo**　　**'chope**　　**smeno**
3NH-PREP　DEM-NH.SG　3NH-face　　DEM-NH.SG　big　　　forest
'The man plays with the woman, he kicks the ball in front of the big forest.'
Path_S_32

(27) *ene*　　*p-ñi*　　*pona*　　*ty-uch-ko-pri'i*
and　　DEM-M　　other　　3-exit-ACT-CONC.MOT

t-e　　　**ta-mópeku**　　**to**　　　　**mari**
3NH-PREP　3NH-below　　ART.NH　　stone
'He is standing on the round stones, and the other one is going out from under the
stone.' Path_C_53

3.3. Similarity preposition (section taken from Rose, 2019c)

- *kuti* root with 4 different distributions and functions

- A similarity verb 'to look like, to resemble'

(28) *v-**kuti**=richu*　　　*j-ma-ni*　　　*pak-chicha-no.*
1PL-**be_like**=RESTR　DEM-NH.PL-PROX　　dog-EMP-PL
'We are just like these poor dogs.' T10.031

- A similarity preposition 'like'

(29) *eto*　　*ma-nok=po*　　*to*　　*ta-em'i=i'i*　　*ma*　　*'chane=ri'i,*
PRO.NH　3M-make=PFV　ART.NH　3NH-shape=PFV　ART.M　human=IPFV

kuti　*j-ma-ni*　　　*estatua.*
like　DEM-NH.PL-PROX　statue
'From this he made the shape of a human being, like these statues.' T6.043

- A subordinator 'as if'

(30) *esu   p-su-ka   'seno   p-yeno=yore   p-echpojri-i=yore*
      PRO.F   DEM-F-PROX   woman 2SG-wife=FUT   2SG-take_care-PLURACT=FUT

      kuti   *s-itswo=yre*   *esu*   *p-pórape.*
      as_if   3F-change=FUT   PRO.F   2SG-sibling
      'This woman will be your wife, you will take care of her, **as if** she was
      becoming your older sister.' T19.123

- An epistemic marker 'it seems'

(31) ***"kuti***   *no-kñ-ojo=o'i*   *'chañ-ono   t-e   p-ju-ena   m-peno"*
      it_seems H.PL-NVIS-EXI=IPFV   person-PL   3NH-PREP DEM-NH.SG-DIST 1SG-house
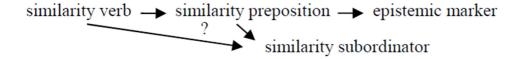   ' "**It seems** there is someone in my house".' T18.025

- Diachronic hypothesis

Figure 1. Developments of the similarity verb

4. The origin of the Mojeño Trinitario preposition *e ~ ye'e*

> **GENERAL DIACHRONIC HYPOTHESIS:**
> **the preposition *e ~ ye'e* developed from a noun *ye'e***

Diachronic hypothesis 1. The allomorph *e* has been reduced from *ye'e*.

- Phonological arguments for *ye'e → e*

  - deletion of final e
  - deletion of y
  - deletion of glottal stop
  - deletion of /a/ of **ta-ye'e*

  o Rhythmic syncope (Rose, 2019b)
    - Reconstructible as a diachronic process (Carvalho & Rose, 2018)
    - Targets the initial vowel, but the vowel of the prefix *ta-* is always opaque to syncope (underapplication of syncope)

(32)   *ene   takee'i*
       ene   ta̲-ke=ri̲'i
       DEM   3NH-be.so-IPFV
       'it is like that' T2.025

Reduction of **ta-ye'e* in *te* is independent from the syncope process.

  o Apocope found in natural speech in non-final position within a prosodic phrase.

(33)   [en te pjue mesa]
       ene   t-e   pV-jo-e   mesa
       DEM   3NH-PREP   DEM-NH-DIST   table
       'there on the table' Loc_L_01

Apocope could explain deletion of final /e/ in *-*ye'e* when an NP follows.

  o Diphthong *ae* [a͡e] resulting from a+e at morpheme boundaries is optionally reduced as [ɛ] or [e]

(34)   [na͡eno] ~ [nɛno]   (35)   [tyanek͡joɾe]
       na-eno   *ti-ana-e-ko=joɾe*
       3PL-mother   3-cross-CLF:liquid-ACT=FUT
       'their mother'   's/he will cross the water'

If /y/ was deleted or transparent for some hiatus resolution, diphthongization could explain the simplification in /e/.

o Intervocalic glottal stop deletes in synchrony when hiatus resolution applies over the glottal stop (in contexts where it is less stressed)

(36)   *t͡aʔɾe ~ taʔiɾe*
       taʔi-ɾe
       earring-NPSD
       'earring'

This shows that glottal stop is unstable.

   o The realization of the preposition with a final glottal stop as in (37) could be a trace of the full *ye'e* form

(37)   *ene*   *t-yom=pu=iji*   **ñ-e'**   *ñi*   *Maati.*
       and   2-go=PFV=RPT   **3M-PREP**   ART.M   Martin
       'So she went to (the) Martin.' T35.05

Not every aspect of the phonetic reduction can be explained, but it seems very likely.

• Morphosyntactic arguments:
   o Rare instances of *ye'e* as a preposition before a full NP

(38)   *t-echjirikwo-m=po*   *eno,*   *eno*   *trinrano-no*
       3-talk-PL=PFV   PRO.3PL   PRO.3PL   trinitario-PL

       ene   *na…*   **na-ye'e**   *no*   *'o'i-ono*
       and   HES   3PL-PREP   ART.PL   rainbow-PL
       'They started to talk, the Trinitario people, and with… with the rainbows.' T24.104

   o Only the *ye'e* allomorph of the preposition is attested in Old Mojeño (Marbán, 1702).
      - « prepositions » that follow the noun, like the « ablative » -*cu* (case suffixes)
      - 'General noun' -*yee* used as pronominal pronoun ('mine', 'yours'….) serves to express prepositions (Marbán, 1702: 10-11).
      - No mention of a form *te*

(39)   *Old Mojeño (Marbán, 1702: 5, 9)*
     a. *ti-yapo=pó*   **ta-yee** [1]   *anumo-cù*
        3-ascend=PFV   3NH-PREP   sky-LOC
        'He ascended into heaven.' (Sp. Subio a los Cielos.)

     b. *b-imetourui-qui-a=po*   **ma-yee**   *Sacerdote*
        1PL-confess-ACT-IRR=PFV   3M-PREP   priest
        'We have to confess to the priest.' (Sp. (hemos de) confessarnos con el Sacerdote)

   o The form *ye'e* is used in synchrony in a formally very similar construction 1/2/3-*ye'e* (NP), a sub-type of the genitive construction (see below)

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[1] Note that Marban systematically omitted the glottal stop in his transcriptions.

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Diachronic hypothesis 2: The form *ye'e* was originally a noun.

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- Morphology of *e ~ ye'e* could be of either verbal or nominal origin:

  o Prefixes on *e ~ ye'e*
    = possessor on possessed nouns
    = subjects on transitive verbs with a third person object (see Table 1 and Rose (2011))

  o TAME clitics : same as on verbs and nouns

(40) *n(a)-omo   t-e'=**rich'o**   na-ji'u*
      3PL-carry   3NH-PREP=**still** 3PL-shoulders
      'They were still carrying it with their shoulders.' T25.020

(41) *t-iimui-ko-n=**rich'o***
      3-dance-ACT-PL=**still**
      'They still dance'.

(42) *kope-ni   t-e   to   chkote-mu'=**rich'o**,…*
      past.day-PAST   3NH-PREP   ART.NH   whip-CLF:setting=**still**
      'In the old days, still in the time of the whip,…' T2.045

- Syntactic arguments :
    o Prepositional phrase // genitive phrase with inalienable head (43), (44)

(43) *a. s-apijane   su   meme*
      3F-last.name   ART.F   mother.1sg
      'the last name of my Mom' T9.003

   b. s-e   su   Pransiska
      3F-PREP   ART.F   Françoise
      'with Françoise' elicited

(44) *a. to   ta-kunara'i   to   koje*
      ART.NH   3NH-shadow   ART.NH   moon
      'the reflection of the moon' T6.017

   b. t-e   to   vkugi
      3NH-PREP   ART.NH   tree
      'in the tree' T35.070

    o Homophonous form *ye'e,* a generic relational noun used in genitive constructions of non-directly possessible nouns.

(45) *to   moto   **ma-ye'e**   ma   Peru*
      ART.NH   motorcycle 3M-GPN   ART.M   Pedro
      'Pedro's motorcycle' elicited

In this construction, *ye'e* is a noun :
- It obligatorily takes a prefix agreeing with its possessor.
- It can take a plural suffix. (46)
- It can be preceded by a determiner. (47)(48)
- It can take nominal irrealis *-(i)na* (the only TAME marker that is distinct for N and V). (47)
- It can be used without an overt noun for the possessee. (48)
- It can be verbalized. (49)

(46) *ene   mojomo-on=tse=ro   tata* **j-ma-ni**   *p-ye'-ono   paku*
       and   mangy-PL=contrast=then Sir   DEM-NH.PL-PROX 2SG-GPN-PL dog
       'But there are mangy (they have scabies), Sir, your dogs here.' T10.014

(47) *Poreso   nuti   m-woo'o   to   p-nok-gi-a*
       therefore 1SG   1SG-want ART.NH   2SG-leave-ACT-IRR

       *to   p-ye'e-**na**   rekuero*
       ART.NH   2SG-GPN-**IRR**   souvenir
       'That's why I want you to leave your souvenir.' T38.012

(48) *s-echti-k=ri'i   to   **s-ye'e=yo**   esu.*
       3F-cut-ACT=IPFV   ART.NH   3F-GPN=FUT   3F
       'She hurried to cut hers (her share).' T27.031

(49) *ene   p-**ko-y'e**   to   awariente?*
       and   2SG-VZ-GPN   ART.NH   alcohol
       'And do you have alcohol ?' T30.078

Table 4. Differences between *ye'e* as a preposition and *ye'e* as a GPN

ye'e allomorph of PREP	*ye'e* GPN
never followed by an NP	generally followed by an NP
not preceded by a determiner	preceded by a determiner
oblique meaning	no specific meaning

The preposition allomorph *ye'e* plausibly has a nominal origin.

Diachronic hypothesis 3: The preposition *e ~ ye'e* has grammaticalized from a *ye'e* noun.

- Scenario for grammaticalization: the genitive construction as a source construction

genitive phrase			prepositional phrase	
(DET) 3-*ye'e*~N~	DET N	→	3-e	DET N
possessee	*possessor*		*PREP*	*O of PREP*

Figure 2. Comparison of prepositional phrase with genitive phrase

The preposition is a possible reflex of an obligatorily prefixed noun in a genitive construction.

NB: There was no articles in Old Mojeño (Rose, 2013b).

- Decategorialization (Heine & Kuteva, 2002): preposition has lost most nominal morphology
    - except the person prefix (inflected preposition)
    - and TAME (rare)

- Semantic bleaching ?
    - Semantics of the original noun ?
        - Very generic
        - Olza (Mojeño Ignaciano, Olza 2002: 858): a general noun "propriety of, object of, thing".
        - Cognate forms in other Arawak lggs (for example *le'jé* relational noun in Yukuna (Lemus Serrano, 2015); -*ye* locative postposition in Baure also incorporated in the verb (Danielsen, 2007))

    - Rather seems to have gained some meaning
      - 'Oblique' meaning
      -Underspecified
      -Interpreted depending on lexical verb and context

- Phonetic reduction
    - Could be explained by frequency (context 2 more frequent)
    - *ye'e* is a non-final position within a prosodic phrase (Context 2): apocope
    - Influence of Spanish *de* ?

	<u>Stage 1</u>	<u>Stage 2</u>
Context 1	1/2/3-*ye'e*	1/2/3-*ye'e*
Context 2	3-*ye'e* NP	3-*e* NP

→

Figure 3. Hypothesis of reduction of ye'e *into* e

Relational N: 1/2/3-*ye'e*

use as generic
possessive noun in
the genitive
construction

Genitive P: (DET) 3-*ye'e* NP   1/2/3-*ye'e*

function extension /

decategorialization

PP: 3NH-*ye'e* NP   PP without NP: 1/2/3-*ye'e*
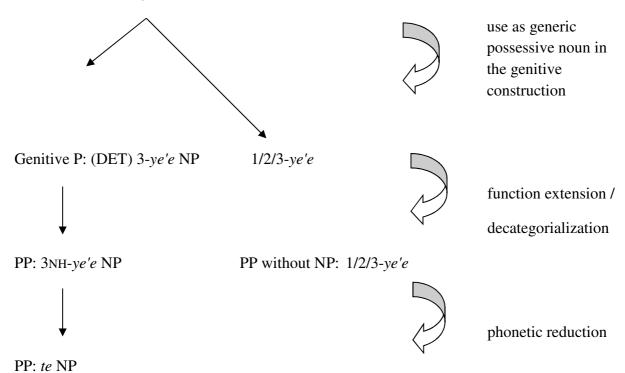
phonetic reduction

PP: *te* NP

Figure 4. Schema of possible grammaticalization from noun to preposition

- Same scenario accounts for the current use of locative relational nouns (see Section 3.2)
  - *te* + relational noun + NP → complex preposition + N

(50) **t-e**   **ta-ju'e**   *p-jo*   *peti*
      3NH-PREP   3NH-interior   DEM-NH.SG   house
       'Within the house.' [Answer to the question : Where is the dog ?] Loc_C_71

  - Some of these nouns can be incorporated in the verb (could start of new cycle
    where prepositions turn into valency-changing derivation)

(51) *n-sio-**mopeku**-'o*   *t-e*   *to*   *mesa*
      2SG-enter-below-ACT   3NH-PREP   ART.NH   table
      'I went below the table.' elicited

5. The development of the Mojeño Trinitario preposition in a *te* subordinator

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The preposition *e* introduces verbs

- In structures on a continuum from very prototypical noun phrases to subordinate clauses
- Only the form *te* of the preposition is selected as a subordinator
     - Non-human is used for abstract elements (therefore propositional content)
     - *te* is the allomorph used when the preposition is followed by a complement

- Typologically common that the same form is used as a adposition and a subordinator
     - 5 types identified in Rose (2006) along a continuum between prototypical subordination (with a finite clause) (52) and prototypical adpositional phrases (with the dependent clause having features typical of NPs) (53).

(52)   *French West Indies Creole (Hazaël-Massieux, 2004)*
  a. ***dépi***   bonmatin-la-sa
     since   morning-DEF-DEM
     'Since this morning,…'

  b. i   ka   palé-moin   ***dépi*** moin   ka   palé-li.
     3   IPFV   speak-1SG   **since** 1SG   IPFV   speak-3
     'He speaks to me since I speak to him.'

Polyfunctionality : the element introduced by the adposition can be clearly identified as either an NP or a dependent clause.

(53)   *Lezgi (Haspelmath, 1993 ex 539, 1080)*
  a. Xatimat   [k'wal   ***patal***]   qhsan   dis   ehlitir.
     Xatimat   house   **for**   good   woman   COP:PST
     'Xatimat was a good woman for the house.'

  b. Ada-z   [Ali   amuq'-un   **patal]** wuc   iji-da-t'a c   i-zwa-c-ir.
     he-DAT   Ali   stay-MSD   **for**   what   do-FUT-CND   know-IPFV-NEG-PST
     'He didn't know what to do in order for Ali to stay.'

An adposition introducing a noun phrase in both cases, only the part of speech of the lexical root of the head differs.

     - Intermediate cases:
-Adposition + non-finite clauses
-Adposition + finite clauses marked by a dependency marker (on the verb, or at clause boundary)
- Adposition + finite clauses with a "translatif substantivisant" (Lemaréchal, 1994), or "nominal marker"
     = a marker necessary for either a nominal element or a clause to be used as an argument, or as an object of adposition

(54)   *Tahitian (Vernaudon, cp; see analysis in Vernaudon & Rigo, 2004)*
  a. *Ua*   *fiu*   *roa*   *'o_na*   ***i***   *te*   *i'a.*
     ACC   tired.of   very   3SG   **PREP**   ART   fish
     'He is tired of fish'

  b. *Ua* *fiu*   *roa*   *'o_na*   ***i***   *te*   *'amu*   *i*   *te*   *i'a.*
     ACC   tired.of very   3SG   **PREP** ART   eat   PREP ART   fish
     'He is tired of eating fish'

A unique function as adposition : the « translative » turns clauses into nominal elements.

- Mojeño Trinitario : very frequent use of *te* for complement clauses and different semantic types of adverbial subordination (see the variety of meanings of examples (55) to (60))

- 4 different constructions:
    o Typical subordinate clauses (finite verb form, no determiner)

(55)   ***te***   ***p-itekp-a=po***   *p-iimui-gi-a*
       SUB   2SG-arrive-IRR=PFV   2SG-dance-IRR
       'When you arrive, you will have to dance.' T8.041

    o Typical noun phrases: verbs nominalized with determiner and nominalizer

(56)   *t-itekpo-m=po*   ***t-e***   ***to***   ***na-kasae-s-rare***
       3-arrive-PL=PFV   **3NH-PREP**   ART.NH   3PL-hunt-ACT-HAB.OBL.NZ
       'They arrived **where** they always hunt.' T19.004

    o Less typical noun phrases: verbs nominalized with a nominalizer only (no determiner)

(57)   ***t-e***   ***ñi-pui-s-ra=rine=jich=eji***
       3NH-PREP   3M-walk-ACT-EV.NZ=RESTR=INTENS=RPT

       eñi   *t-yono*   *t-e*   *to*   *ewire=gne*
       PRO.3M   3-go   3NH-PREP   ART.NH   far.away=INTENS
       'Walking so much (**because** he walked so much), he went very far away.' T19.59

    o "Substantivized clauses": clauses nominalized with a determiner only (finite verb form). The determiner serves as a nominal marker for the whole clause

(58)   *ene*   *n-naekch-i'-wo=o'i*   ***t-e***   ***to***   ***n-ipruj-ri-k=po***
       there   1SG-start-APPL-MID=IPFV   **3NH-PREP**   ART.NH   1SG-cure-PLURAC-ACT=PFV
       'There I started **to** cure (people).' T12.017

(59)   ***t-e***   ***to***   *p-a-wro'o*   *to*   *p-etavi-gi-a-nu*
       3NH-PREP   ART.NH   2SG-IRR-want   ART.NH   2SG-pass-ACT-IRR-1SG

       juiti   *p-iimui-k=yore*
       now   2SG-dance-ACT=FUT
       'If you want to pass me, you have to dance now.' T19.057

(60)　　*ta-puch=pu=iji*　　　　　**t-e**　　　　　***to***　　　　　*mraka=po*
　　　　3NH-get.close=PFV=RPT　　**3NH-PREP**　　ART.NH　　strong=PFV

　　　　t-ek'o=o'i　　　　　***to***　　　　　*'iyo*
　　　　3-be.hungry=IPFV　　ART.NH　　monkey
　　　　'He got closer, **because** the monkey was really hungry.' T6.054

How does the finite type of dependent clause emerge ?

- (Re)Finitization: acquisition of morphosyntactic finiteness features by a dependent construction (Givón, 1994; Rose, 2016).

  o Gradual finitization

Heine (2009): diachronic scenario of clause expansion = reinterpretation of a nominal participant as a propositional participant + invasion of the nominal structure by clausal syntax

Table 5. Clause expansion (Heine, 2009)

Stage 1 – The extended noun	The complement is filled by a non-finite clause, with the internal structure of a noun phrase.
Stage 2 – Mixed morphosyntax	The nominal structure is gradually invaded by a clausal syntax.
Stage 3 – Clausal syntax with nominal relics	The complement clause is now a fully-fledged subordinate clause, with relics of nominal morphosyntax.
Stage 4 – The fully-fledged complement clause	The complement clause is indistinguishable in its morphosyntax from a finite main clause.

see also Givón (2016)'s Scenario 1 (with functional distinction); called "gradual finization" by Rose (2016)
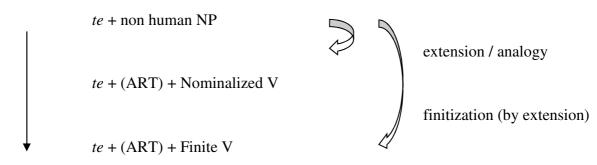
  o Instantaneous finitization

Heine (2009): finite complement clauses can also emerge from clause integration, that is to say a copying of a finite construction in the complement position, without necessarily supposing a previous nominal construction.

see also Harris and Campbell (1995: 312); Givón (2016)'s Scenario 2; called "instantaeous finization" by Rose (2016)

- Mojeño Trinitario illustrates instantaneous finitization (Rose, 2016).
  - o No intermediate construction with mixed morphosyntax, leaving no evidence of prior nominalization of these innovative finite dependent clauses

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Diachronic hypothesis : The reanalysis of *te* as a subordinator results from the extension of finiteness into dependent clauses.

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prototypical PREP

te + non human NP

te + (ART) + Nominalized V   extension / analogy

te + (ART) + Finite V   finitization (by extension)

prototypical SUB

Figure 5. Schema of possible development from preposition to subordinator

6. Summary

- a 'semantically universal' preposition in Mojeño Trinitario
- an inflected preposition
- homophonous with a generic possessive noun
- also used introducing verbs
- in a variety of 'dependent clauses' types (nominalized or not, with or without a determiner)
- Diachronic hypotheses on the preposition:
    - grammaticalized from a relational noun, in the genitive construction
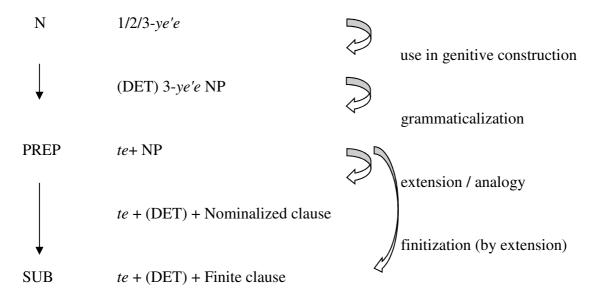   - reanalyzed as a subordinator, through instantaneous finitization of dependent clauses

N   1/2/3-*ye'e*

                                              use in genitive construction

           (DET) 3-*ye'e* NP

                                              grammaticalization

PREP   *te*+ NP

                                              extension / analogy

           te + (DET) + Nominalized clause

                                              finitization (by extension)

SUB   *te* + (DET) + Finite clause

Figure 6. Schema of possible origin and development of preposition e

7. Take-home message

1. Adpositions can grammaticalize from both nouns and verbs in the same language
2. Adpositions can develop into subordinators, whatever their origin
3. Cycles of "adverbial markers" (case, relational nouns, oblique classifiers) that integrate verbal morphology as valency-changing morphemes, which may lead to need for new adpositions

Abbreviations

♂ male speaker; ♀ female speaker; ACC accuative; ACT active; APPL applicative; ART article ; CAUS causative; CLF classifier; CND conditional; CONJ conjunction; COP copula; DEM demonstrative; CONC.MOT concomitant motion; DAT dative; DIST distal; EMP empathy; EV.NZ event nominalizer; EXI existential; F feminine (singular); FUT future; GPN generic possessive noun; HAB.OBL.NZ habitual oblique nominalizer; HES hesitation marker; INTENS intensifier; IPFV imperfective; IRR irrealis; LOC locative; M masculine (singular); MID middle; MSD masdar; NEG negation; NH non-human; NPSD non-possessed; NVIS non-visual evidence; PFV perfective; PL plural; PLURACT pluractional; PST past; POT.LOC potential location; PREP preposition; PRO pronoun; PROX proximal; RESTR restrictive; RPT reportative; SG singular; SUB subordinator; VZ verbalizer.

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