

ИНДЕКСИЧЕСКИЙ И ГРАММАТИЧЕСКИЙ РОД В ЯЗЫКЕ ЧИКИТАНО*

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В работе рассматриваются явления, связанные с категорией индексического рода в языке чикитано (Боливия/Бразилиа, предположительно семья макро-же); особое внимание уделено взаимодействию между индексическим и грамматическим родом. На основе материалов, собранных автором в ходе полевой работы последних лет, отмечаются некоторые важные диалектные различия, не учтённые в существующих типологических исследованиях упомянутой категории (до сих пор во внимание принимались только данные диалекта Ломерио, характеризующегося рядом инноваций). Предлагаются аргументы в пользу анализа, согласно которому все диалекты чикитано, кроме диалекта Ломерио, противопоставляют не два, а три грамматических рода.

Ключевые слова: индексический род, грамматический род, чикитано, языки макро-же, морфология.

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INDEXICAL GENDER AND GRAMMATICAL GENDER IN CHIQUITANO*

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In this study, I examine the phenomena associated with the category of indexical gender in Chiquitano (Bolivia/Brazil, possibly Macro-Jê), with a focus on the interaction between the indexical gender and the grammatical gender. Based on my own recent fieldwork, I highlight a number of important dialectal differences that have so far been neglected in typological studies, which, until now, have taken into account only the data of the innovative Lomeriano dialect. I propose that all Chiquitano varieties other than Lomeriano should be described as having a ternary (rather than binary) gender opposition.

Keywords: indexical gender, grammatical gender, Chiquitano, Macro-Jê languages, morphology.

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1. Introduction

Chiquitano (ISO 639-3: *cax*) is a South American indigenous language spoken by ca. 2400 people in Chiquitanía, a vast region spanning across Lowland Bolivia (the department of Santa Cruz) and the adjacent areas of Brazil (the state of Mato Grosso) that constitutes a transition zone between the Amazonia, the Cerrado, the Pantanal, the Gran Chaco, and the Andes.¹ Although Chiquitano has been treated as an isolate language until recently, a proposal that links it to the Macro-Jê family has been gaining an increasing acceptance in the scholarly community in recent years [Adelaar 2008; Ribeiro 2011; Santana 2012].

Chiquitano presents a typologically rare phenomenon, whereby both the gender of the speaker and the gender of the referent are indexed in the morphology [Falkinger 2002; Rose 2013, 2015, 2018; Fleming 2012, 2015, among others], as shown in (1).

(1) Lomeriano Chiquitano [Sans' fieldnotes *apud* Rose 2013: 390]

a. *ba-páche-ro = tí* *n-i-kisé-s*
 3-look_for-TAM = 3SG.M.♂ N-3-knife-DET
 'He looks for her knife.' (♂)

b. *ba-páche-ro* *n-i-kise-s = tí*
 3-look_for-TAM N-3-knife-DET = 3SG.M.♂
 'She looks for his knife.' (♂)

c. *ba-páche-ro = tí* *n-i-kise-s = tí*
 3-look_for-TAM = 3SG.M.♂ N-3-knife-DET = 3SG.M.♂
 'He looks for his knife.' (♂)

d. *ba-páche-ro* *n-i-kisé-s*
 3-look_for-TAM N-3-knife-DET
 'She looks for her knife.' (♂) or 'She/he looks for her/his knife.' (♀)

¹ The Migueleño variety of Chiquitano has 20 consonant phonemes (/p, t, tʰ, ts, tʃ, ɕ, k, ʔ, s, ʂ, ɕ, x, β, r, j, w, m, n, ɲ, ŋ/) and 12 vowel phonemes (/a, ā, i, ī, o, ō, u, ū, ε, ē, i, ī/). Orthographic representation is used in the remainder of this paper for Chiquitano surface forms. The orthography differs from IPA in the following cases: ⟨b⟩ = β, ⟨ch⟩ = tʃ, ⟨g⟩ = w, ⟨j⟩ = x, ⟨ky⟩ = ɕ, ⟨ng⟩ = ŋ, ⟨ñ⟩ = ɲ, ⟨r⟩ = r, ⟨ty⟩ = tʰ, ⟨x⟩ = ʂ, ⟨xh⟩ = ɕ, ⟨y⟩ = j, ⟨z⟩ = ts, ⟨ʔ⟩ = ʔ.

In Rose's [Rose 2018] typology of the genderlect/gender interaction, Chiquitano has been classified as a Type F' language with a binary (masculine/non-masculine) gender distinction.² [Fleming 2015], on the other hand, captures the morphological phenomena addressed by Rose by positing a single pragmatic feature [$\pm \text{♂}$] with a relational speaker-referent focus. All authors agree that overt grammatical gender distinctions are made only in the male genderlect. It should be noted that Rose's and Fleming's analyses are based on the Lomeriano dialect of Chiquitano, which appears to have recently lost parts of the original gender system preserved elsewhere, including a three-way gender opposition and a 1SG.♂/♀ gender distinction (see section 2).

In this study, I intend to provide an account of the genderlectal differences in Chiquitano with a focus on varieties other than Lomeriano, building upon the existing analyses. All data on Migueleño Chiquitano that are used in this study come from five fieldwork trips to the communities of San Juan de Lomerío and San Miguel de Velasco, carried out between July 2017 and July 2019. Data on other Chiquitano varieties, such as Ignaciano and Colonial Chiquitano, come from published sources [Fuss, Riester 1986; Falkinger 2002; Ciucci, Macoñó Tomichá 2018, among others].

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows. In section 2, I discuss the genderlectal differences that do not interact with the grammatical gender, such as the 1SG.♂/♀ distinction and the morphology of content interrogative/relative words. In section 3, I argue that the grammatical gender system of Chiquitano varieties other than Lomeriano is best analyzed as having a three-way gender opposition. In section 4, I discuss a major innovation that targeted the Lomeriano variety of Chiquitano, whereby the use of the male speech forms of the feminine-inanimate nouns has been extended to the female genderlect, leading to a reanalysis of a former three-gender system as a two-gender one. Section 5 summarizes the proposal put forward in this paper.

² In Rose's [Rose 2018] classification, the Type F includes languages that meet the following criteria: (i) grammatical gender categorization does not completely coincide across genderlects; (ii) there is a total application of the genderlect distinction over the grammatical gender values; (iii) there is some syncretism for different grammatical gender values across genderlects. The type F' languages are further characterized by the absence of the grammatical gender distinctions in precisely one genderlect.

2. Chiquitano genderlectal differences with no connection to the grammatical gender

All Chiquitano varieties present an array of genderlectal distinctions that do not involve the category of grammatical gender.

A genderlectal distinction between two 1SG indexes has been described only for the Migueleño variety of Chiquitano [Nikulin 2019],³ which possesses two clearly distinct prefixes |ix-| 1SG.♀ and |ij-| 1SG.♂, even though for morpho-phonological reasons the difference between them is clearly seen only in vowel-initial stems. Some examples from my field data are given in (2) below.

(2) 1SG.♀/♂ distinction in Migueleño Chiquitano (Nikulin, field data)

<p>a. <i>xh-ãeta-ma'</i> ix-ãeta-ma?a 1SG.♀-alone-DIM 'me.♀ alone'</p>	<p>a'. <i>ñ-ãeta-ma'</i> ij-ãeta-ma?a 1SG.♂-alone-DIM 'me.♂ alone'</p>
<p>b. <i>xh-atii-k-a'i</i> ix-atii-ka-a?i 1SG.♀-stand-FIN.SAP-PSTV 'I.♀ stand'</p>	<p>b'. <i>y-atii-k-a'i</i> ij-atii-ka-a?i 1SG.♂-stand-FIN.SAP-PSTV 'I.♂ stand'</p>
<p>c. <i>xh-otopíriyi</i> ix-otopíriji 1SG.♀-backbone 'my.♀ backbone'</p>	<p>c'. <i>y-otopíriyi</i> ij-otopíriji 1SG.♂-backbone 'my.♂ backbone'</p>

In principle, the aforementioned distinction could be equally well captured by positing a gender distinction for the referent (rather than attributing it to the genderlectal domain). However, earlier [Nikulin 2019: 71] I argued against such alternative analysis, based on the fact that elsewhere in Chiquitano

³ Ciucci (p. c.) reports that distinct 1SG.♀ and 1SG.♂ forms are exceptionally found in the dative adposition in Ignaciano Chiquitano (*iño* DAT.1SG.♀, *iñemo* DAT.1SG.♂). He also attests a difference in the application of the palatalization process in 1SG forms between female speech and male speech (cf. a similar comment in [Girard 2012: 28, fn. 4], with a reference to J. P. Aguilera), which may indicate that different underlying forms should be posited for the 1SG.♀ and 1SG.♂ prefixes in Ignaciano Chiquitano. For Lomeriano Chiquitano, Ciucci (p. c.) attests lexical exceptions that fail to undergo the regular *n*-epenthesis in the form inflected for 1SG in the male genderlect.

grammar the referent gender cannot be overtly marked if the gender of the speaker is unmarked. That way, the only plausible solution is to analyze the distinction between the 1SG. $\text{\textcircled{f}}$ and 1SG. $\text{\textcircled{m}}$ prefixes in Chiquitano as a genderlectal difference.

Another domain that shows a systematic genderlectal distinction, at least in Migueleño Chiquitano, is the formation of content interrogative/relative words. In female speech, they are formed through the addition of the suffix *-ki*, whereas male genderlect features the use of the suffix *-che* (3).

(3) Content interrogative/relative words in Migueleño Chiquitano
(Nikulin, field data)

a. *ʒungka na'a Ø-si'i-ki a-iro-tí?*
 who_{is} this 3SG-behind-WH. $\text{\textcircled{f}}$ 2SG-go.NFIN-DIR
 ‘Whom do you follow?’ ($\text{\textcircled{f}}$, lit. ‘Who is that behind whom you are going?’)

a'. *ʒti'i na-ki Ø-si'i-che a-iro-tí?*
 who_{is} this-M. $\text{\textcircled{m}}$ 3SG-behind-WH. $\text{\textcircled{m}}$ 2SG-go.NFIN-DIR
 ‘Whom do you follow?’ ($\text{\textcircled{m}}$, lit. ‘Who is that behind whom you are going?’)

b. *ʒai-to-kí?*
 son-PSD-WH. $\text{\textcircled{f}}$
 ‘Whose son?’ ($\text{\textcircled{f}}$)

b'. *ʒai-to-ché?*
 son-PSD-WH. $\text{\textcircled{m}}$
 ‘Whose son?’ ($\text{\textcircled{m}}$)

c. *ʒauki-kí?*
 LOC-ABL-WH. $\text{\textcircled{f}}$
 ‘Where from?’ ($\text{\textcircled{f}}$)

c'. *ʒauki-ché?*
 LOC-ABL-WH. $\text{\textcircled{m}}$
 ‘Where from?’ ($\text{\textcircled{m}}$)

d. *ʒeza-kí?*
 belonging-WH. $\text{\textcircled{f}}$
 ‘Whose?’ ($\text{\textcircled{f}}$)

d'. *ʒeza-ché?*
 belonging-WH. $\text{\textcircled{m}}$
 ‘Whose?’ ($\text{\textcircled{m}}$)

Finally, at least some Chiquitano varieties display certain unsystematic genderlectal distinctions in the lexicon, though the examples are quite scarce. Known instances include MIG *bujixh* $\text{\textcircled{f}}$, *oityimij* $\text{\textcircled{m}}$ ‘jaguar’; MIG/IGN *tyóbaka* $\text{\textcircled{f}}$, *tyubaka* $\text{\textcircled{m}}$ ‘tomorrow’; MIG *ungka* $\text{\textcircled{f}}$, *ti'i* $\text{\textcircled{m}}$ ‘who is’.⁴

⁴ In all Chiquitano varieties, there are kinship terms that are lexically specified for the gender of the *ego*, such as *-papa* ‘mother of a female ego’, *-paki* ‘mother of a male ego’. As [Rose 2015: 511–512] convincingly argues, the existence of such kinship terms is unrelated to phenomena dealt with in this section.

3. Chiquitano genders and genderlects

In this section, I argue that the grammatical gender system of Chiquitano varieties other than Lomeriano is best analyzed as having **three** (rather than two) **gender values**, which I dub *masculine* = M, *feminine-inanimate* = FI, and *non-human animate* = NHA. Although the latter two genders belong to the same agreement class (4), NHA nouns are similar to M nouns and differ from FI nouns in that they receive overt morphological marking (in the masculine genderlect only), as exemplified in (5). I propose to call these two manifestations of grammatical gender *gender indexing* and *gender flagging*, respectively.

(4) Gender indexing in Migueleño Chiquitano (Nikulin, field data)

a. \emptyset -*tobii-zo-tí'* *au* *tu'u-j*
 3SG-jump-FIN.3-3SG.M.♂ LOC water-X
 'He jumped into the water.' (♂)

a'. \emptyset -*tobii-zo* *au* *tu'u-j*
 3SG-jump-FIN.3 LOC water-X
 'She/It jumped into the water.' (♂) or
 'He/She/It jumped into the water.' (♀)

b. \emptyset -*koo-ño-tí'*
 3SG-die-FIN.3-3SG.M.♂
 'He died.' (♂)

b'. \emptyset -*koo-ño*
 3SG-die-FIN.3
 'She/It died.' (♂) or 'He/She/It died.' (♀)

c. *k[y]oo-j-tí'* *y-axkate*
 [3SG]house-X-3SG.M.♂ M.♂-mayor
 '(male) mayor's house' (♂)

c'. *k[y]oo* *r-axkate*
 [3SG]house L-mayor
 '(female) mayor's house' (♂) or '(female/male) mayor's house' (♀)

d. \emptyset -*añetu* *r-u-pauche-s*
 3SG-meat_of L-NHA.♂-pig-X
 'pork' (♂)

d'. \emptyset -*añetu* *pauche-s*
 3SG-meat_of pig-X
 'pork' (♀)

The examples above show that in male speech, singular masculine referents index their gender on the corresponding head,⁵ be it a verb (4a–b) or a noun (4c),⁶ through the medium of the index *-ti'* $|-ti?i|$ 3SG.M.♂. Conversely, singular referents of other genders do not trigger gender indexing in male speech (4a', b', c', d), and no gender indexing whatsoever occurs in female speech (4a', b', c', d'). The pair (4d–d') specifically shows that *feminine-inanimate* and *non-human animate* referents behave identically with regard to the gender indexing.

Another manifestation of the gender indexing is the choice of the demonstratives, wherein certain forms (such as MIG *na-ki* 'this.M.♂', *máni-ki* 'that.M.♂') are only used in male speech and only if the referent/antecedent is masculine. Other forms (such as MIG *na'a* 'this', *mani* 'that') are used for non-masculine referents in male speech, as well as for referents of any gender in female speech. At present, however, there are significant gaps in the documentation of the demonstratives of all Chiquitano varieties, and stronger claims have to be postponed to future research.

(5) Gender flagging in Migueleño Chiquitano (Nikulin, field data)

	♀	♂	
a. FI	unmarked	unmarked	
	<i>pa'ij</i>	<i>pa'ij</i>	'woman'
	<i>kupikixh</i>	<i>kupikixh</i>	'young woman'
	<i>sañoraj</i>	<i>sañoraj</i>	'lady'
	<i>pe'es</i>	<i>pe'es</i>	'fire'
	<i>pooj</i>	<i>pooj</i>	'house'
	<i>soes</i>	<i>soes</i>	'tree'
	<i>baizixh</i>	<i>baizixh</i>	'hammock'
	<i>mexku</i>	<i>mexku</i>	'female doctor'

⁵ Plural referents and SAP referents (except 1SG, for which see section 2) do not either index or flag grammatical gender. There is, however, a genderlectal distinction for the 3PL indexing strategy: whereas female genderlect has a dedicated series of prefixes ($|jo\beta-$ -, $|o\beta-$ -, $|ou\beta-$ -, $|\beta o-$ -, $|p-$ -, $|op-$ -), male genderlect attaches a 3PL.♂ suffix to the 3SG form, as in (i) below.

(i) 3PL indexing in Migueleño Chiquitano (Nikulin, field data)

a. <i>yo-kese-s</i>	a'. <i>k[y]ese-si-ma'</i>
$ jo\beta-kese-xi $	$ i-kese-xi-ma?a $
3PL-knife-x	3SG-knife-x-3PL.♂
'their knives' (♀)	'their knives' (♂)

⁶ This generalization is also valid for adpositions, though this is not illustrated in (4).

	<i>maíxhtiru</i>	<i>maíxhtiru</i>	‘female teacher’
	<i>axkate</i>	<i>axkate</i>	‘female mayor’
	<i>Ato ãxh</i>	<i>Ato ãxh</i>	‘Antonia’ (<i>female name</i>)
	<i>Kantiraj</i>	<i>Kantiraj</i>	‘Cándida’ (<i>female name</i>)
	<i>Torórixh</i>	<i>Torórixh</i>	‘Dolores’ (<i>female name</i>)
b. M	unmarked	i- ⁷	
	♀	♂	
	<i>oñi’ij</i>	<i>ñoñi’ij</i>	‘man’
	<i>kasiki</i>	<i>kyasiki</i>	‘male chief’
	<i>mexku</i>	<i>ñexku</i>	‘male doctor’
	<i>maíxhtiru</i>	<i>ñáixhtiru</i>	‘male teacher’
	<i>axkate</i>	<i>yaxkate</i>	‘male mayor’
	<i>jaraj</i>	<i>xharaj</i>	‘male Cruceño’
	<i>pizixh</i>	<i>kyizixh</i>	‘Black man’
	<i>Tupaj</i>	<i>Tyupaj</i>	‘Christian God’
	<i>Ato ãxh</i>	<i>Ñato ãxh</i>	‘Antonio’ (<i>male name</i>)
	<i>Karuméeru</i>	<i>Kyaruméeru</i>	‘Carmelo’ (<i>male name</i>)
	<i>Taniéere</i>	<i>Tyaniéere</i>	‘Daniel’ (<i>male name</i>)
	<i>Manuéere</i>	<i>Ñanuéere</i>	‘Manuel’ (<i>male name</i>)
	<i>Urubüxh</i>	<i>Yurubüxh</i>	‘Luis’ (<i>male name</i>)
c. NHA ⁸	unmarked	o- ⁹	
	♀	♂	
	<i>tipixh</i>	<i>otipixh</i>	‘ant’
	<i>kitapakixh</i>	<i>oktapakixh</i>	‘tapir’
	<i>pauches</i>	<i>upauches</i>	‘pig’
	<i>igoj</i>	<i>oigoj</i>	‘deer’
	<i>xhoúj</i>	<i>oixhoúj</i>	‘snake’

⁷ The vowel of this prefix usually surfaces as a palatalization of the next consonant or as *y-/ñ-* before vowels.

⁸ The NHA class includes most nouns that denote animals and trees, as well as the words for ‘honey’ and ‘star’ (the latter only in the subdialect of San Miguel; the subdialect of San Juan has *ostoñes* in both genderlects). Some nouns that would fit into this class semantically, nevertheless, behave as if they were feminine/inanimate: for example, the noun *tamokoj* ‘dog’ displays no differences across genderlects in modern Migueleño Chiquitano, and the form **utamokoj* does not exist in this variety (although it has been reported for Colonial Chiquitano).

⁹ The vowel of this prefix surfaces as *u-* if the next syllable contains an /a/.

<i>samaj</i>	<i>usamaj</i>	‘spider’
<i>tangma’</i>	<i>utangma’</i>	‘bird’
<i>ixhixh</i>	<i>oixhixh</i>	‘worm; <i>jichi</i> spirit; rainbow’
<i>biyozij</i>	<i>obiyozij</i>	‘ <i>bibosi</i> tree (<i>Ficus sp.</i>)’
<i>tananakaj</i>	<i>utananakaj</i>	‘Argentine cedar’
<i>kigaraj</i>	<i>okigaraj</i>	‘hog plum tree’
<i>bu’uj</i>	<i>o’uj</i>	‘honey’
<i>sutoñes</i>	<i>ostoñes</i>	‘star’ (subdialect of San Miguel)

The examples above show that whereas most nouns do not receive any additional morphology in the male genderlect (5a), some nouns — precisely those that trigger gender indexing on verbs, head nouns, and adpositions — receive the prefix |i-| in the male genderlect (5b), and some others receive the prefix |o-| despite not triggering any overt gender indexing (5c). With minor exceptions, the division into these classes correlates fairly well with the semantics of these nouns: those in (5a) mostly have female or inanimate referents (hence the label FI), those in (5b) always have male referents (hence the label M), and those in (5c), with few exceptions, denote animals or trees. I propose to label this last class *non-human animate* (NHA).

As dependent NHA and F nouns do not index their gender on their heads in either genderlect, they could in principle be argued to fall into one grammatical gender (*non-masculine*). However, the fact that nouns classified here as NHA and M receive a prefix (|o-| and |i-|, respectively) under identical conditions (that is, in the male genderlect) suggests that one and the same category is at play. If one were to analyze the NHA prefix |o-| as pertaining to some other category than grammatical gender, one would be forced to regard the similarities concerning the occurrence of the prefixes |o-| and |i-| as fortuitous. I propose here that most Chiquitano varieties can be more economically analyzed as having a three-way gender contrast, as summarized in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Behavior of the Chiquitano genders in gender indexing and flagging

indexing	FI.SG	NHA.SG	M.SG	PL	flagging	FI	NHA	M
♀	3SG-			3PL-	♀	unmarked		
♂	3SG-		3SG-...-tiʔi	3SG-...-maʔa	♂	unmarked	o-	i-

As can be seen from Table 1 above, in my analysis, NHA nouns behave like FI nouns in what concerns gender indexing (both fail to trigger overt indexing in singular in the male genderlect), but pattern with M nouns when it comes to gender flagging (both receive overt prefixes in the male genderlect). All gender distinctions are neutralized in the female genderlect.

It should be noted that even though I used data from the Migueleño variety to illustrate the observations and the generalizations made in this section, they also hold for Ignaciano Chiquitano and Colonial Chiquitano. For further details on these varieties, the reader is referred to [Adam, Henry 1880: 4–8], [Fuss, Riester 1986: 99], [Falkinger 2002], and [Ciucci, Macoñó Tomichá 2018: 55–58].

4. Lomeriano innovation

In this section, I discuss a specific diachronic development reconstructible for the Lomeriano variety of Chiquitano.¹⁰ Lomeriano has extended the use of the etymological male speech forms of the NHA nouns to the female genderlect, as shown in (6) below.

(6)	Lomeriano	cf.	Migueleño (♀)	Migueleño (♂)	
	<i>n-o-kitapakixhi</i> ¹¹		<i>kitapakixh</i>	<i>o-ktapakixh</i>	‘tapir’
	<i>n-u-pauchese</i>		<i>pauches</i>	<i>u-pauches</i>	‘pig’
	<i>n-u-samaxi</i>		<i>samaj</i>	<i>u-samaj</i>	‘spider’
	<i>n-u-tauma</i>		<i>tangma’</i>	<i>u-tangma’</i>	‘bird’
	<i>n-o-iboxi</i>		<i>igoj</i>	<i>o-igoj</i>	‘deer’
	<i>n-o-mesixhi</i>		<i>mesixh</i>	<i>o-mesixh</i>	‘cat’
	<i>n-o-motorixi</i>		<i>matorij</i>	<i>u-matorij</i>	‘parrot’
	<i>n-o-biosixhi</i>		<i>biyozij</i>	<i>o-biyozij</i>	‘bibosi tree (<i>Ficus sp.</i>)’
	<i>n-o-bixh</i>		<i>bi’ixh</i>	<i>o-bi’ixh</i>	‘genipa tree’
	<i>n-o-stoñese</i>		<i>sutoñes</i>	<i>o-stoñes</i>	‘star’ (<i>subdialect of San Miguel</i>)

In [Sans 2011], the element *-o/-u-* found in most nouns that denote animals and trees in Lomeriano is analyzed as a classifier-like morpheme.

¹⁰ Another diachronic change that affected both Lomeriano and Ignaciano Chiquitano is the loss of the contrast between 1SG.♂ and 1SG.♀. In this section, I will not discuss this innovation, as it has already been tackled in [Nikulin 2019].

¹¹ All vowel-initial nouns in Lomeriano receive a word-initial epenthetic *n-*.

It is easy to observe that the form used in both genderlects in Lomeriano matches well the form that is reserved for the male genderlect in other Chiquitano varieties, suggesting that, historically, the use of a male genderlect form has been extended to both genderlects in Lomeriano.

As a result of this change, etymological NHA nouns no longer share a common behavior with the masculine nouns in Lomeriano, in that their shape does not interact with the gender of the speaker in any way anymore. Therefore, the rationale behind analyzing NHA as a value of the gender category in Lomeriano, Ignaciano, and Colonial Chiquitano does not apply to the Lomeriano variety of the language. Lomeriano is thus best described as having only two grammatical genders: masculine and non-masculine.

The suggested pathway of evolution of the gender category from Proto-Chiquitano to Lomeriano Chiquitano is presented in Figure 1 below.

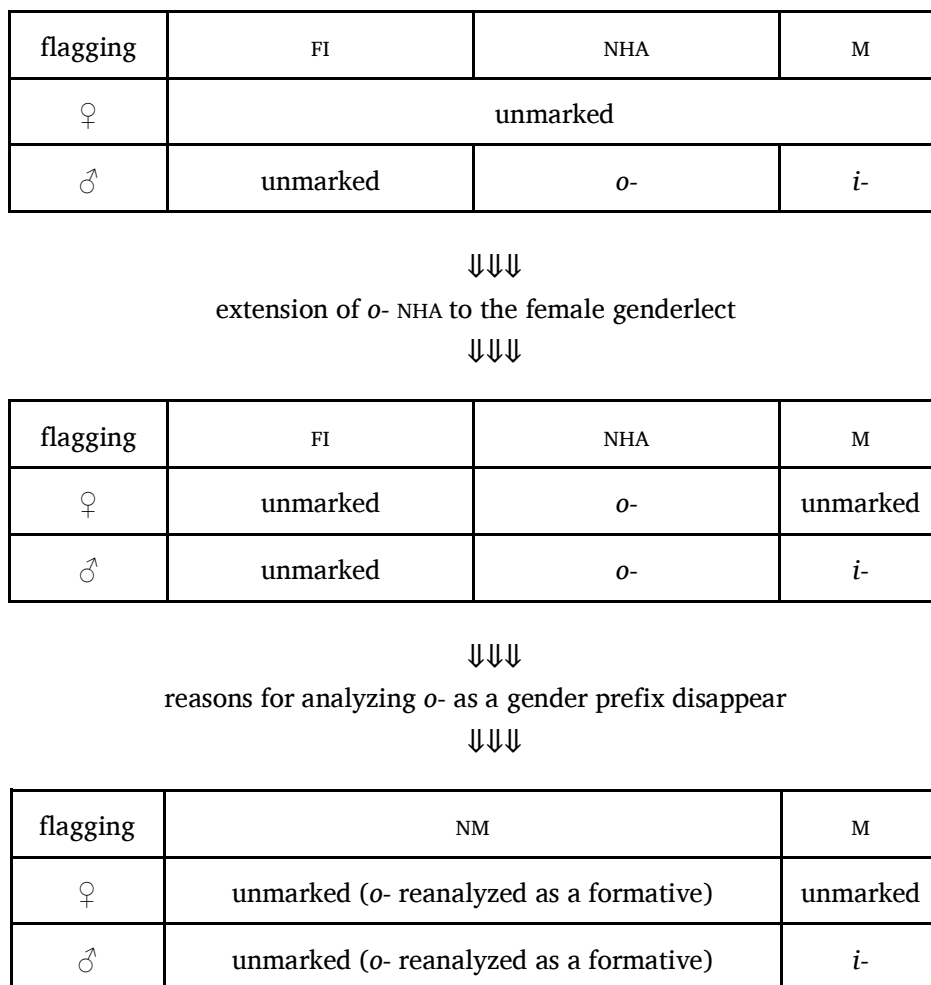


Figure 1. Reanalysis of the Chiquitano genders in gender indexing and flagging

In sum, in contemporary Lomeriano there is no reason to treat NHA as a value of the category *gender*, and only a binary M/NM gender distinction should be posited for this variety.

5. Conclusions

Above I have demonstrated that a previously undescribed three-way gender distinction should be posited for Chiquitano varieties other than Lomeriano, thus contributing to the typology of the interaction between indexical and grammatical gender, which occurs in relatively few languages of the world. I have also shown how a specific innovation that targeted the Lomeriano variety of Chiquitano led to a reanalysis of the gender system, eliminating the rationale for positing a ternary (rather than binary) gender contrast in this particular variety.

Abbreviations

1 — first person; 3 — third person; DET — determinate (x in my analysis); DIM — diminutive; FI — female/inanimate; FIN — finite; L — linking consonant; LOC — locative; M — masculine; N — epenthetic consonant (L in my analysis); NFIN — non-finite; NHA — non-human animate; NM — non-masculine; PL — plural; PSTV — postverb; SAP — speech act participant; SG — singular; TAM — time/aspect/mood (FIN in my analysis); WH — content interrogative/relative word; X — singular with no referential possessor; ♀ — female genderlect; ♂ — male genderlect.

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