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LINGUISTIC ACCULTURATION IN NIVACLÉ (NIVACLÉ) AND CHOROTE

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Linguistic acculturation in Nivaclé and Chorote is striking since there are very few Spanish loanwords in either of these two languages, unlike many other Latin American Indian languages, and because there are remarkable examples of the deployment of native linguistic resources to accommodate concepts acquired through contact with Spanish culture. Nivaclé and Chorote do not allow items of acculturation to impose foreign lexical material on these languages, but rather impose their own linguistic resources on newly acquired items. This paper considers the linguistic consequences of acculturation, of contact with Spanish cultural items not formerly known to the speakers of these languages. While the linguistic and anthropological literature contains numerous studies of hispanisms and linguistic acculturation, the Nivaclé and Chorote cases are different from the majority of these other studies, and this calls for closer investigation.

[KEYWORDS: linguistic acculturation, hispanisms, borrowing, language contact, Matacoan, Chorote, Nivaclé, Chaco languages]

1. Introduction. In this paper we present the results of an investigation of linguistic acculturation in Nivaclé and Chorote. Linguistic acculturation in these languages is striking since there are very few Spanish loanwords, unlike in many other Latin American Indian languages, and because there are remarkable examples of the deployment of native linguistic resources to accommodate concepts acquired through contact with Spanish culture.

Nivaclé and Chorote are Matacoan languages. The Matacoan family (sometimes called Mataco-Mataguayo, the common designation in Spanish), in addition to Chorote and Nivaclé, also includes Wichí (formerly called Mataco, a term now held to be pejorative), spoken in Argentina, with one group (called 'Noctén') in Bolivia, and Maká (in Paraguay). The divergence among these languages is roughly on the order of the differences among branches of Germanic. Nivaclé has ca. 9,000 speakers (ca. 250 in Argentina, ca. 8800 in Paraguay); Chorote is spoken by ca. 2500 (ca. 450 in Paraguay, principally in Santa Rosa, the rest in Argentina) (Dirección General de Estadística, Encuestas y Censos. 2004).

Nivaclé has had several different names in the literature. It is called Chulupí in Spanish in Argentina, but Nivaclé (or Niwaklé) in Paraguay; its native name in the language is /niwakle/, which also means 'person, man'.[1] Ashlushlay, another name for Nivaclé, was made known by Nordenskiöld (1912); it is from the Chorote name for the people and the language, /ałułay/ (with variant spellings: Aschluslé, Ashlushlay, Ashulay, Athluthlay, Atluthlay, A^{x}lu^{x}lay, Ašuslay, etc.). The language has also been called Chunupí (which is a frequent alternative name for Vilela, an unrelated language of the southern Chaco, and thus a source of confusion). Other less common (and sometimes erroneous) names that have been applied to this language include Suhín (Sujín), Choropí, Sówa, Sówuash, Sotiagai, Sotegaraik, Etehua, and even Tapiete (the name of a Guaranían group).

Chorote is the most common name for that language, though it has also appeared at times in such variant forms as Chorotí (quite common in Paraguayan sources), Tsoloti, Soloti, Xolota, and Zolota. It is also called Manjuy, particularly in Paraguay (also Manuk, or Maniuk); these come from the Nivaclé name *manu?k* (singular) and *manxuy* (plural) 'Chorote Montaraz'. In the literature, reference is also sometimes made to names of

specific dialects of Chorote, for example Montaraz (*Wikinawos*), *Iyohwaha* (older *Yofuaha*), and *Iyo'wuhwa*.

The Nivaclé and Chorote data in this paper are from our fieldwork; the Nivaclé forms are from *Šiča?m ɬawos*, speakers of the upriver dialect (*arribeño* in Spanish) in Argentina, as spoken in and around Misión La Paz, Salta Province. The Chorote data are from speakers of the *Iyo'wuhwa* dialect, also spoken in and around Misión La Paz.[2]

The structure of the paper is as follows. Section 2 introduces linguistic acculturation in Nivaclé and Chorote, with comments on when it began and on the sound systems of the two languages, together with the procedures followed in this paper. Section 3 presents the hispanisms found in these two languages, of which there are remarkably few. Section 4 is dedicated to presentation of the instances of linguistic acculturation based on the internal resources of the two languages, the core of the paper. In section 5 the numbers are discussed, of special interest because so many of them are borrowed from Spanish, unlike other vocabulary. Section 6, 'mechanisms for creating new lexical items', analyzes the means used in the two languages to create new vocabulary items, used also to accommodate items of acculturation. In section 7, we consider Nivaclé and Chorote linguistic acculturation in context, comparing it with similar phenomena in other languages of Latin America and in particular with linguistic acculturation in other languages of the Chaco region. In section 8, we take up briefly the consequences of borrowing from Spanish on the structure of the two languages, showing that structural impact here, unlike in a number of other situations, has been slight. In section 9, we present our conclusions.

2. Nivaclé and Chorote linguistic acculturation. As we show below, Nivaclé and Chorote on the one hand have very few loanwords from Spanish, and on the other hand deploy native linguistic resources to create new words to accommodate concepts acquired through contact with Spanish culture. The following examples give an indication of what is involved (Nvc = Nivaclé, Chr = Chorote)[3]:

bicycle: Nvc *siwaklak* < *siwaklak* 'spider'; Chr *siwalak* < *siwalak* 'spider'

soldier: Nvc *tukus* < *tukus* ‘ant’; Chr *tokis* < *tokis* ‘ant’

That is, Nivaclé and Chorote do not allow items of acculturation to impose foreign lexical material on these languages, but rather impose their own linguistic resources on newly acquired items. The purpose of this paper is to consider the linguistic consequences of acculturation for these two languages of contact with Spanish cultural items not formerly known to the speakers of these languages. While the linguistic and anthropological literature contains numerous studies of hispanisms and linguistic acculturation (see below), the Nivaclé and Chorote cases with resistance to lexical borrowing differ from the cases described in most of these other studies (see below); this calls for closer investigation, the goal of this paper.

2.1. Origins of acculturation in Nivaclé and Chorote.

Acculturation started relatively late for speakers of these languages. The Nivaclé and Chorote had few contacts with Europeans early in the colonial period. The Chorote were already mentioned by Lozano in 1733, and by various travelers to the area, and the Nivaclé were first mentioned in 1833 (in the Daniel Campos expedition from Bolivia to Paraguay), but next to nothing was known of either group until they were visited later by anthropologists in the early years of 1900 (Hermann in 1908 and Nordenskiöld in 1909; see also Cardús 1886, Nordenskiöld 1912). In the early 1900’s, Nivaclé and Chorote speaking bands began to migrate each winter to the sugarcane plantations of northwest Argentina (as did speakers of most other indigenous languages of the region), where acculturation began and they obtained horses, cows, and other European goods. During the Bolivian-Paraguayan (or Chaco) war (1932-1935), many Nivaclé and Chorote speakers were forced to take refuge in Argentina (Métraux 1946:236).

2.2. Sound systems. The phonemic inventories of these two languages, in tables 1 and 2, will be helpful for interpreting the examples to follow.

[[Place Table 1 and Table 2 about here.]]

In what follows, we list the Nivaclé and Chorote forms involving linguistic acculturation. First, we list the true hispanisms, loanwords from Spanish. As will be evident, these are few in number, in particular in comparison with the much larger number of such loans in numerous other Latin American Indian languages (see below). We follow this with a list of terms for items of acculturation which are composed of native linguistic material.

2.3. Procedures. Both the hispanisms and the native terms for items of acculturation are drawn from our lexical databases of ca. 5,000 entries for each of the two languages (Campbell, Díaz and Ángel 2010 for Nivaclé; Grondona and Bravo 2010 for Chorote).[4] For the hispanisms, the few borrowings from Spanish encountered in the data are for the most part self-evident on visual inspection. We have, nevertheless, applied standard techniques (see Campbell 2004:69-74) for identifying loanwords and their direction, particularly in instances where the possibility of borrowing from other indigenous languages comes up. Also, the identification of items of linguistic acculturation is relatively straightforward and mostly self-evident. In our case, this involves the words in our databases which refer to items known not to have existed in languages of the Americas before European contact. More precisely, we have sought and investigated the words for items of acculturation discussed in numerous papers on linguistic acculturation involving New World languages, especially those of Latin America (see Bright 1960, Brown 1999, Campbell 1976, Casagrande 1954-1955, Clark 1977, Dozier 1956, 1967, Herzog 1941, Hollenbach 1973, Johnson 1943, Kennard 1963, Klein 1993, Law 1961, Lee 1943, Mixco 1977, Salzmann 1954, Shimkin 1980, Spicer 1943, Verbeeck 1999, and Voegelin and Hymes 1953). We have paid particular attention to the 77 items of acculturation discussed in Brown (1999) which are found with frequency in the indigenous languages of the Americas (see below). In addition, we have called on our own experience with borrowing in a good number of Latin American languages (particularly in Mesoamerica, the Andes, and the Chaco regions) (see for example Campbell 1976, 1983, 1988, 1991, Campbell and Kaufman in preparation, Grondona 1998).

3. Hispanisms in Nivaclé and Chorote. The following is essentially a complete list of the hispanisms found in our databases.

(1) 'ball, soccer'

Nvc *pelota*

Chr *pelota*

< Spanish *pelota* 'ball'

(2) 'bus, truck'

Nvc *mákina*

Chr *makina* 'car, truck; engine-powered vehicle'; also *makina ɬas* 'car' < *makina* 'vehicle' *-ɬas* 'small' (*ɬ-as* 'its-son'); *makina tyohyi* 'truck' < *makina* 'vehicle' *tyohyi* 'long'; *makina lemi* 'bus' < *makina* 'vehicle' *lemi* 'white' (because the bus that serves the area is painted white)

< Spanish *máquina* 'machine, car'

(3) 'cart'

Nvc *kaletax*

Chr *kaleta* 'cart (not 'car')'

< Spanish *carreta* 'cart'

(4) 'coca'

Nvc *koka* (also *yuyu t'aklɑk* < Spanish *yuyo* 'weed' *t'aklɑk* 'weed, plant' (Spanish *yuyo* < Quechua *yuyu* 'edible wild plant')

Chr *koka* (also *a?la?woley* literally 'wood leaves' < *a?la?* 'wood, tree' *wole-y* 'leaf-PL')

< Spanish *coca* 'coca'

(5) 'cow'

Nvc *waka* (also *wɑkɑ*), Chr *wakye*

< Spanish *vaca* 'cow'

(6) 'five'

Nvc *sinko* < Spanish *cinco* 'five'

(cf. Chr *ints'ek* 'five')[5]

(See Section 2.3 for a more detailed discussion of numerals.)

(7) 'foreman'

Nvc *kapatas*

< Spanish *capataz* 'foreman'

(8) 'horse'

Nvc *kuwayu*
(cf. Chr *a?lenta,* 'horse' [< *a?lenah* 'tapir' + *-ta* 'SIMILAR.TO'])
< Spanish *caballo* 'horse'

(9) 'job, work'
Nvc *taleya* < Spanish *tarea* 'task' (cf. *ka-taleya-kl-eɬ*, 1PERS-task-PL-1PL'; literally 'our jobs')
(cf. Chr *inkihmaye* < '*in-kim-ye* 'UNPOSS-work-NOM')

(10) 'ladder'
Nvc *eskaléra* (of younger speakers; older speakers say *watwa?t*)
< Spanish *escalera* 'ladder'

(11) 'money, peso'
Nvc *peso* 'money, peso, pay, salary' < Spanish *peso* 'peso'
(cf. Chr *?ot* 'money, silver' < *?ot* 'metal', also *?ot-t'ah* 'bills' < *?ot* 'metal' *t'ah* 'peel, bark, outer-layer'; and *hiles* 'change' literally 'small ones, its.children')

(12) 'rice'
Nvc *aros*
Chr *aros* (also *k'yemtaye* 'rice', and *ama?yehmuy* 'rice' < 'rat excrement': *ama?* 'rat' *y-ehmu-y* '3POSS-excrement-PL')
< Spanish *arroz* 'rice'

(13) 'six'
Nvc *sei* < Spanish *seis* 'six'
(cf. Chr *ihwyeni tom neheye* 'six' literally 'one on the other (hand)')

(14) 'sugar'
Nvc *asúka*
Chr *asóke* (also *tits'ohyin ɬamak* 'sugar cane powder' < *tits'ohyin* 'sugar cane' (literally: 'one sucks it')' *ɬ-amak* '3POSS-dust, powder')
< Spanish *azúcar* 'sugar'

(15) 'sugar mill'
Nvc *inxényu* < Spanish *ingenio* 'sugar mill'

(16) 'watermelon'
Nvc *saniyɑ* < Spanish *sandía* 'watermelon'
(cf. Chr *ilota*)

For databases/dictionaries of ca. 5,000 lexical entries, this is a very small number of Spanish loanwords, particularly in comparison with the much

larger numbers typically found in many other indigenous languages of Latin America (see for example Bartholomew 1955, Boas 1930, Bright 1979a, 1979b, 1993, 2000a, 2000b, Bright and Thiel 1965, Callaghan and Gamble 1996, Campbell 1991, Crawford 1979, Dockstader 1955, Fernández de Miranda 1964, Gamble 1989, Gerzenstein 1999, Hill 1990, Hoijer 1939, Kiddle 1952, Kroskrity 1978, Kroskrity and Reinhardt 1985, Loewen 1960, McLendon 1969, Miller 1959-1960, Morínigo 1931, Muntzel 1985, Olson 1963, Parodi 1995, Sawyer 1964, Shipley 1962, Silver and Miller 1997:323-30, Spencer 1947, Stenson 1998, and Tovar 1962, among others). For example, Kaufman's (1967:186-273) Mochó (Mayan) dictionary contains over 900 Spanish loans, and Mochó is in no way unusual in this regard. The dictionary of any contemporary Mesoamerican language will be found to contain anywhere from several dozen to several hundreds of loanwords from Spanish. In short, in the recorded texts, conversations, and lexical elicitation from speakers older than 45, very few hispanisms are encountered in Nivaclé and Chorote – limited mostly to those reported here.[6]

4. Terms of acculturation which utilize native resources.

The following is a list of terms for items of acculturation in these two languages which reflect the use only of resources native to these languages. They are listed by their English gloss. The Spanish word from which borrowing might be expected (based on the equivalents of these words in numerous other Latin American Indian languages, see above, see also Brown 1999) is listed in parentheses after the English gloss.

(17) 'accordion' (*acordeón*):

Nvc *akloxiš łtɑsxey* < *aklox–iš* 'much-SUFF' *ł-tɑsxe-y* '3POSS-seed-PL' (= 'buttons)'

Chr *hitohway a?loh* 'many holes' < *hitohwa-y* 'hole-PL', *a?loh* 'many'

(18) 'airplane' (*avión*):

Nvc *yiɸɑ?yɑ* < *yi-ɸɑ?yɑ* '3 SUBJ-fly', literally: 'it flies'

Chr *makina ihwi?ye* 'flying machine' < *makina* 'vehicle, car, truck, machine', *i-hwe?ye* '3SUBJ-fly'

(19) 'antenna' (*antena*):

Chr *?ot ityoy* literally 'long metal' < *?ot* 'metal' *i-tyoy* '3SUBJ-long'

(20) ‘awl’ (*alesna*):

Nvc *tsxoɸxi*

(21) baker (*panadero*):

Nvc *woye ɬawo?* < *woye* ‘bread’ *ɬawo?* ‘person associated with’

(22) ‘bakery’ (*panadería*):

Nvc *woyewat* < *woye-wat* ‘bread-PLACE.WHERE’

Chr *woyes iwo?wet* < *woye-s* ‘bread-PL’ *iwo? -wet* ‘PERSON.WHO-PLACE.WHERE’

(23) ‘battery’ (*pila, batería*):

Chr *tikyenisyen kahwayoki* ‘small battery’ (Sp. *pila*)’ < *tikyenisyen* ‘radio, tape-recorder’, literally ‘it sings’ (see (77)) below), *ka-wayoki* ‘PREF-coal’; *makina kahwayoki* ‘car battery’ literally ‘vehicle’s coal’ < *makina* 'vehicle' *ka-wayoki* ‘PREF-coal’

(24) ‘bedsheet’ (*sábana*):

Nvc *kliminiɬ* < *klim-niɬ* ‘white-MADE.OF’

(25) ‘Bible’ (*Biblia*):

Nvc *watasinɑk ɬašiy* < *wat-asinɑ-k* ‘UNPOSS-speak, talk-PL *ɬ-ašiy* ‘3POSS-container, corral, box’

(26) ‘bicycle’ (*bicicleta*):

Nvc *siwɑklɑk* < *siwɑklɑk* ‘spider’

Chr *siwalak* < *siwalak* ‘spider’

(27) ‘book’ (*libro*):

Nvc *watk’isxayanač uxxaʔm* < *wat-k’-iʔs–xayan-ač* ‘UNPOSS-write-NOM-PRODUCT.OF’, *ux-xaʔm* ‘big-EMPH’ (cf. ‘paper’ below)

Chr *nohokinek* ‘book, notebook, paper’, also *noho:kinek wuhwam t'ohokis po?* ‘notebook that has many letters’ <*nohokinek* ‘notebook’ *wuh-wam* ‘big, many-INTENS’ *t’ohok-is* ‘letters’ < *t’ohok-is* ‘color, also now letter, drawing-PL’, *po?* ‘it.has’

(28) ‘bookstore’ (*librería*):

Nvc *watk’isxayanxas ɬaxpɑyič* < *watk’isxayanač-as* ‘book-PL’ (see (27) above), *ɬ-axpɑyič* ‘3POSS-house’

(29) ‘boot’ (*bota*):

Chr *nahwey apetyosiči* literally ‘shoe with depth’ < *nahwey* ‘shoe’, *apetyosiči* ‘it.has.depth’

(30) ‘bottle’ (*botella*):

Nvc *tnɑxke* (‘water jug’)
Chr *inate*

(31) ‘bread’ (*pan*):
Nvc *woye*, *yukuwe*
Chr woye[7]

(32) ‘brick’ (*ladrillo*):
Nvc *kotsxatitax* < *kotsxaʔt-tax* ‘ground, dirt-SIMILAR.TO’
Chr *isat iyóiʔ* literally ‘cooked/burnt mud’ < *isat* ‘mud’, *iyóiʔ* ‘cooked, burnt’

(33) ‘donkey’ (*burro*):
Nvc *kuwayu-tax* < *kuwayu-tax* ‘horse-SIMILAR.TO’
Chr *malekye-tok* < *male:kye-tok* ‘mule-SIMILAR.TO’[8]

(34) ‘cat’ (*gato*):
Nvc *tanuk* < *tan-uk* ‘shout-NOMINAL.SUFFIX’
Chr *tinyuk* ‘domestic cat’, also *miči* ‘domestic cat’ < Spanish *mish [miš]* ‘sound to call cats’

(35) ‘cement’ (*cemento*):
Nvc *utes ɬamɑʔk* < *ute* ‘stone’ *-s* ‘PL’ *ɬ-amɑʔk* ‘3POSS-dust’
Chr *napóy ɬamak* < *napoy* ‘stone, *ɬ-amak* ‘3POSS-dust’

(36) ‘chicken’ (*gallina*):
Nvc *wotɑxɑx*
Chr *wotaha*

(37) ‘church’ (*iglesia*):
Nvc *watišxanxaʔwat* < *waɬ-–išxan–xa-ʔwat* ‘UNPOSS-sing-NOM-PLACE.WHERE’ ‘
Chr *inosekisawo* literally ‘house of advise’ < *inosek* ‘advise’ *isawo* ‘house’

(38) ‘city’ (*ciudad*):
Nvc *uxʔe itsaʔt* < *uxʔe* ‘big’ *itsaʔt* ‘village’
Chr *isiʔ wuh* ‘big village’< *isiʔ* ‘village’ *wuh* ‘big’

(39) ‘cloth’ (*tela*):
Nvc *siwɑklɑk ɬayeʔč* < *siwɑklɑk* ‘spider’ *ɬ-aʔyeʔč* ‘3POSS-yica.thread’
Chr *niyék* ‘spiderweb, cloth, thread’

(40) ‘coat’ (abrigo):

Nvc *k'uyuwoke* < <*k'uy-woke* 'cold-FOR'
Chr *(inwuy) potihi* < *in-wu-y* 'UNPOSS-clothing-PL' *potihi* 'very.warm', also *sempáwkye* 'coat'[9]

(41) 'desk' (*escritorio*):
Nvc *watwank'isxa?wat* < *wat- wan(ka)-i?s-xa-?wat* 'UNPOSS-UNSPEC.OBJ-write-NOM-PLACE.WHERE'
Chr *t'etaha?hi?wet* < *t'-et-a?* 'UNSPEC.SUBJ-write' *hi?wet* 'PLACE.WHERE', literally 'place where one writes'

(42) 'duck' (*pato*):
Nvc *xokxayex* 'duck'
Chr *kayé?* 'domestic duck', *nyé?ni* 'species of wild duck'

(43) 'faucet, spicket' (*grifo*):
Nvc *t'itseč* < *t'itseč* 'well'
Chr *anat nam?i* < *anat* 'water' *nam?i* 'it.comes', also *anat ikayi* (also 'pipe') < *anat* 'water' *ikayi* 'path'

(44) 'flour' (*harina*):
Nvc *klimši* < *klim-ši* 'white-SUFF'
Chr *łamak* 'powder, flour (<*ł-amak* '3poss-dust'), also *alina* < Spanish *harina* 'flour'

(45) 'frying pan, skillet' (*sartén*):
Nvc *kaklɑłxanxa?wat* < *kaklɑł-xanxa-?wat* 'fried-AGENT-PLACE.WHERE'
Chr *kakye?ełana?et* literally 'place where one fries' < *ka-kye?elhana-?wet* 'PREF-fry-PLACE.WHERE'

(46) 'glass' (*vidrio*):
Chr *intayeh laltiwah(a)yi* literally 'sight goes through it' < *intayeh* 'sight' *lal* 'it.goes/passes' *tiwahyi* 'to.the.other.side/through'

(47) 'goat' (*chivo* [also *cabra*, *cabro*]):
Nvc *tašinštax* < *tašinša-tax* 'grey.brocket.deer-SIMILAR.TO'
Chr *sonta* < *sona?-ta* 'grey.brocket.deer-SIMILAR.TO'

(48) 'gold' (*oro*):
Nvc *klesanił koxiyax* < *klesanił* 'metal' *koxiyax* 'yellow'
Chr *?ot ka?č'ityu* < *?ot* 'metal' *ka?č'ityu* 'yellow'

(49) 'grapefruit' (*pomelo*):
Nvc *tsitče* < *ts'it-č'e* 'a fruit(?)-HOLLOW/ROUND'

Chr *ts'ahwan hitok nosohyi* < *ts'ahwan* 'mock orange' *hitok* 'ugly' *nosohyi* 'sour'

(50) 'gringo, missionary' (*gringo*, *misionero*):

Nvc *ele* < loan from another language, no /l/ in Nivaclé. (Spanish *misionero* 'missionary' is starting to enter, in the speech of younger speakers.) See also: *gringa*, *misionera*: Nvc *eleče* < *ele-če* 'gringo-FEMALE'.

Chr *sam ʔehikye* 'missionary', literally 'our relative' < *sam* '1PL Independent Pronoun' *ʔehekye* 'our.relative', also *inósekiwoʔ* 'missionary, counselor' < *inosek-iwoʔ* 'advise-PERSON.WHO'; also *łehtey kaʔč'ityu* 'gringo' < *ł-ehte-y* '3POSS-hair-PL' *kaʔčityu* 'yellow'

(51) 'guitar' (*guitarra*):

Nvc *kuwayu łakɑʔs* (literally 'horse's tail') < *kuwayu* 'horse' *ła-kɑʔs* '3POSS-tail'

Chr *aʔlenta ikyes iwoleʔ* literally 'hair of horse's tail' (*aʔlenta* 'horse', *i–kyes* '3POSS-tail', *i-woleʔ* '3POSS-hair')

(52) 'jug, jar' (*jarro*):

Nvc *takɸeʔy*

Chr *tetik* 'jug, plate'

(53) 'knife' (*cuchillo*):

Nvc *klesa*

Nvc *sahwe*

(54) 'lemon' (*limón*):

Nvc *niway* < *niway* 'sour'

Chr *nosohyi* < *nosohyi* 'sour', also *limon* < Sp *limón* 'lemon'

(55) 'light bulb, flashlight' (*bombita de luz, linterna*):

Nvc *katisi-tax* < *katiʔs-tax* 'star-SIMILAR.TO'

Chr *kates* < *kates* 'star'

(56) 'machete' (*machete*):

Nvc *klesatax* < *klesa-tax* 'knife-SIMILAR.TO'

Chr *sahwetok* < *sahwe-tok* 'knife-SIMILAR.TO'

(57) 'mare' (*yegua*):

Nvc *ła kuwayu* (*ła* 'female article' *kuwayu* 'horse' < Sp *caballo* 'horse')

Chr *aʔlenta hiʔyihwu* < *aʔlénta* 'horse' *hiʔyihwu* 'female'

(58) ‘match’ (*fósforo*):
Nvc *itɑtax* < *itɑx-tax* ‘fire-SIMILAR.TO’
Chr *etye* ‘fire, match’
(59) ‘metal, iron’ (*metal, hierro*):
Nvc *klesanił* < *klesa-nił* ‘knife-MADE.OF’
Chr *ʔot* ‘metal, iron’
(60) ‘mirror’ (*espejo*):
Nvc *owałxatši* < *ował-xat-ši* ‘to look-CAUS-NONSPECIFIC.DIRECTION’
Chr *tiʔyenahay* (lit. ‘one sees there’) < *ti-ʔyen-ah-ay* ‘INDEF.SUBJ-see-SUFF-DIRECTIONAL’
(61) ‘Monday’ (*lunes*):
Nvc *tɑʔłešam* < *tɑʔłe-šam* ‘come.from-PL’
(cf. Chr *lunes* < Spanish *lunes* ‘Monday’)
(62) ‘motorcycle’ (*moto*):
Nvc *k’utututut* (onomatopoetic)
Chr *pohpoh* (onomatopoetic)
(63) ‘mule’ (*mula, macho*):
Nvc *maklikɑ*
Chr *malekye*
(64) ‘needle’ (*aguja*):
Nvc *k’utxaʔn* ‘thorn, needle’
Chr *ităn* ‘thorn, needle’
Note: the “needles” used for traditional weaving were long cactus thorns from the ‘cardón’ (Cactaceae, *Stetsonia coryne*).
(65a) ‘non-Indian person’ (*criollo*):
Nvc *samto*
Chr *kilayi*
(65b) See also: ‘non-Indian woman’ (*criolla* [tends to be based on *señora* elsewhere in many languages]):
Nvc *samtoke* <*samto–ke* ‘criollo-FEMALE’
Chr *kiláyiki* < *kiláyi–ki* ‘criollo-FEMALE’
(66) ‘nylon rain cape’ (*nailon*):
Nvc *tša?nuwo* < *tša?nu-wo* ‘rain-FOR’
Chr *tipohwe tepeʔe* literally ‘ it goes over him, it was laid over him’
ti-pohwe ‘INDEF.SUBJ-cover’ *tepeʔe* ‘over’

(67) ‘onion’ (*cebolla*):

Nvc *šitxɑklitax* < *šitxɑk* ‘wild onion (a wild onion-like plant)-SIMILAR.TO’

Chr *sohwatahenpeh* < sohwa-tah-hen-peh ‘?-SIMILAR.TO-EVID-EVID’ (also *sewoya* < Spanish *cebolla* ‘onion’)

(68) ‘orange’ (*naranja*):

Nvc *asaktsitax* < *asaktsex-tax* ‘bola verde (kind of fruit)-SIMILAR.TO’

Chr *ts'ahwan hitok* < *ts'ahwan* ‘mock orange’ *hitok* ‘ugly’; also *kats'ityuy*

(69) ‘ox, bull’ (*buey, toro*):

Nvc *wɑkɑtax* < *wɑkɑ-tax* ‘cow-SIMILAR.TO’

Chr *wakye layinye* ‘bull’ < *wakye* ‘cow’ *layinye* ‘male’, also *malekyetok* ‘ox’ < *malekye-tok* ‘mule-SIMILAR.TO’

(70) ‘paper’ (*papel*):

Nvc *watk’isxayanač uxxaʔm* < *wat-k’-iʔs–xayan-ač* ‘UNPOSS-write-NOM-PRODUCT.OF’ *ux-xaʔam* ‘big-INTENS’

Chr *nohokinek* < *n-ohokin–ek* ‘UNPOSS-*?*-NOM’

(71) ‘pen knife, pocket knife’ (*cortapluma*):

Nvc *ɸtsɑnxawo* < *ɸtsɑnax-wo* ‘suncho (type of palm tree)-FOR’

(72) ‘pencil’ (*lápiz*):

Nvc *watwank’isxawo* <*wat- wank(a)-iʔs-xa-wo* ‘UNPOSS-UNSPEC.OBJ-write-NOM-FOR’

Chr *t'etaʔato:ye* literally ‘thing for writing’ < *t’--et-aʔ-toye* ‘‘INDEF.SUBJ-write-PURPOSE’; and *nohokinekikye* ‘thing for paper’ < *nohokinek* ‘paper’, *i-kye* ‘3POSS-purpose' (also *lapi* < Spanish *lápiz* ‘pencil’)

(73) ‘pig’ (*chancho*, *cerdo, puerco*):

Nvc *woxotax* < *woxo-tax* ‘peccary-SIMILAR.TO’

Chr *ihnilsatok* < *ihnilsa-tok* ‘wild.pig-SIMILAR.TO’ also *ko:či* < Spanish *cochino* ‘pig’

(74) ‘plate’ (*plato*):

Nvc *titeč* (younger speakers use *plato*), *yakutšiy* ‘plate’ (older word, *plato* used more now) < *yakut-šiy* ‘black-inside’

Chr *tetik* ‘jug, plate’, and *tetik toihwom* literally ‘jug looking upwards’ < *tetik* 'jug' *toihwom* 'it.is.placed.upwards'

(75) ‘poncho’ (*poncho*):

Nvc *wopowo* < *wopo-wo* ‘to cover oneself-FOR’

Chr *láypo?* < *ɬ-ay* ‘3POSS-mouth’ *po?* ‘it.has’; also *t'oyaham* literally ‘one goes inside’ < *t'-oya-(h)am* ‘INDEF.SUBJ-go-INSIDE'

(76a) ‘priest’ (*cura*):

Nvc *pɑʔyi* ‘small frog’ (ranita) (comes out in the rain and sings “*poy poy poy*”).[10]

(76b) See also *pɑʔyiče* ‘nun’ (*monja*) < *pɑʔyi-če* ‘priest-FEMALE’

(77) ‘radio, tape recorder’ (*radio, grabador*):

Nvc *tišxan* < *t-išxan* ‘3SUBJ-sing’

Chr *tikyenisyen* literally ‘it sings’ < *t-ikyénisyen* ‘INDEF.SUBJ-sing’ (now also *radyo*)

(78) ‘rag, cloth, clothes’ (*trapo*):

Nvc *siwɑklɑk ɬaye?č t’i?ya* < *siwɑklɑk ɬ-aye?č* ‘cloth’ (see (39) above) *t’i?ya* ‘piece’

Chr *inwuy* ‘clothes’, *inwu-y* ‘clothing-PL’

(79) ‘read’ (*leer*):

Nvc *-etanč’e* < *-etan-č’e* ‘to.name, say.out-PL.OBJECT’

Chr *-amtehyen* ‘to read’, lit. ‘to make it (=the book) speak’ , *-wohleya* ‘literally ‘to name it, to make its name’

(80) ‘satellite dish’ (*plato de satélite*):

Chr *tetik* ‘jug, plate’

(81) ‘school’ (*escuela*):

Nvc *watwank’eyxatsxanxa?wat* < *wat-wank(a)-k’eyxat-xanxa-?wat* ‘UNPOSS-UNSPECIFIED.OBJECT-send.message, advise-AGENT-PLACE.WHERE’. (Spanish *escuela* is used more now.)

Chr *neysana?wet* ‘place of teaching’ < *n-eysan-?wet* ‘UNPOSS-teach-PLACE.WHERE’

(Spanish *escuela* is now used more in both languages.)

(82) ‘scissors’ (*tijeras*):

Nvc *klesa ɬka?klɑy* < *klesa* ‘knife’ *ɬ-kaklɑ-y* ‘3POSS-leg-PL’

Chr *inkasohnates*, literally ‘knives’ *inkasohnat-es* ‘knife-PL’

(83) ‘sheep’ (*oveja*):

Nvc *tsašay* < *t-sa?š-ay* ‘3SUBJ-leaf, feather, fur, wool-SUFF’

Chr *sonta wole po?* < *sonta* ‘goat’, *wole* ‘wool’, *po?* ‘it.has’

(84) ‘soldier’ (*soldado*):

Nvc *tukus* < *tukus* ‘ant’

Chr *tokis* < *tokis* ‘ant’

(85) ‘spaghetti’ (*fideos largos*):

Chr *ityohoyič'i* ‘long ones’ *i-tohyi-č'i* ‘3SUBJ-long-SUFF’ , also *k'ihlyo kahsilihenpeh* literally ‘*quirquincho* [armadillo species] tripe’< *k'ihlyo* '*quirquincho* ' *kahsili-hen-peh* ' ‘tripe-EVID-EVID’; cf. *takatam?i* ‘soup pasta (small, round, and hollow)’ literally ‘short ones’ *t-akat-am-?i* ‘INDEF.SUBJ-cut-SUFF-SUFF’

(86) ‘spoon’ (*cuchara*):

Nvc *tinka?tšiy* ‘spoon, gourd dipper’ < *tin-ka?t-šiy* ‘NOUN.PREFIX-gourd.spoon.for.soup-INSTRUMENTAL

(87) ‘Sunday’ (*domingo*):

Nvc *mɑnłač’eša?ne* < *mɑnła-č’e-ša?ne* ‘to live, stay’-ITERATIVE-PL’ PASSIVE.SUBJ-PL.SUBJ’

(88) ‘syphilis’ (*sífilis*):

Nvc *we?łatax* < *we?ła-tax* ‘one-SIMILAR.TO’ [the unique disease]

(89) ‘table’ (*mesa*):

Nvc *itsakkunxa?wat* < *itsakkun-xa-?wat* ‘to.always.eat-NOM-PLACE.WHERE’

Chr *toyape?e* literally ‘one puts things on it’ < *t-oy* ‘INDEF.SUBJ-place.on’, *ape?e* ‘over’, also *inyekyuna?wet* ‘place to eat’ <*in-yekyun-?wet* ‘UNPOSS-eat-PLACE.WHERE’, *ti?yekyuna?ape?e,* literally ‘one eats on this’ < *ti-yekyuna* ‘INDEF.SUBJ-eat’, *ape?e* ‘over’, and if the table is used as a desk, *t'etaha?hi?wet* ‘desk’ literally ‘place on which to write’ < *t’-et-a?-ha* ‘INDEF.SUBJ-write-SUFF’ ‘*hi?wet* ‘place’. (The Spanish loan *mesa* < Spanish *mesa* ‘table’ is also used, especially by younger speakers in Chorote.)

(90) ‘teacher’ (*maestro*):

Nvc *wank'eyxatsxan* < *wank-?eyxats-xan* ‘UNSPECIFIED.OBJECT-show, teach-AGENT’

Chr *nohokinekhiwo?* literally ‘person of paper’ < *nohokinek* 'paper' *hiwo?* 'PERSON.WHO'

(Spanish *maestro/maestra* is now used by many younger speakers in both languages.)

(91) ‘telephone’ (*teléfono*):

Nvc *watč’anxatšyei* < *wat-tč’an-xatšiye* ‘UNPOSS-listen-NOM’

Chr *kamtinyenawetiki* ‘place in which to talk’ < *kamtinyen-wet-iki* ‘to talk-PLACE.WHERE-SUFF’, also *takamtinyen* ‘one who talks’ < *t-kamtinyen* ‘INDEF.SUBJ- talk’

(92) ‘television’ (*televisión*):

Chr *inpehluy i?wetiki* literally ‘place of images’ < *inpeluy* ‘images’ [*in-pelu-y* ‘UNPOSS-shadow-PL’], *hi?wet-iki* ‘place.where-SUFF’

(93) ‘Tuesday’ (*martes*):

Nvc *napu?eš watkumaxayaš* < *napu-eš* ‘two-3OBJECT’ *wat-k’uma-xayaš* ‘UNPOSS-work-NOM’

(94) ‘Wednesday’ (*miércoles*):

Nvc *iwo?oyšam* < *i-wo?oy-šam* ‘3POSS-middle-PL’

(95) ‘whip’ (*rebenque, azote*):

Nvc *watk’anxat* < *wat-k’an-x-at* ‘UNPOSS-to.whip-CAUSATIVE’

Chr *ink'ahnat* < *in-k’ah-nat* ‘UNPOSS-tongue-SUFF’ (because it looks like a long tongue)

(96) ‘window’ (*ventana*):

Nvc *watowałxa?wat* < *wat-ował-xa-?wat* ‘UNPOSS-see-NOM-PLACE.WHERE’

Chr *inkayiłas* literally ‘small door’ < *inkay-łas* ‘door-small, offspring (*ł-as* ‘its-son’)’, *sawohip'ot* literally ‘cover of the house’ < *sawo* ‘house’ *hi-p’ot* ‘3POSS-cover’

(97) ‘wire’ (*alambre*):

Nvc *klesanił* < *klesa-nił* ‘knife-MADE.OF’’

Chr *?ot* < *?ot* ‘metal’

(98) ‘work’ (*trabajo*):

Nvc *ikumet* < *i-kum-et* ‘3POSS- grab-NOM’

Chr *inkihmaye* < *in-kim-aye* ‘UNPOSS-work-NOM’

(99) ‘work, to’ (*trabajar*):

Nvc *-t-kum-?in* < *-t-kum-?in* ‘VERB.CLASS-to grab, to lift, to pick-INTENS’

Chr *–kím-en* ‘to grab, to take’

(100) ‘wristwatch’ (*reloj*):

Nvc *pɑ?klɑ* < *pɑ?klɑ* ‘bracelet’

Chr *kilayhikye?* < *kilay* ‘sun’ *hikye?* ‘for’

(101) ‘write’ (*escribir*):

Nvc *-i?s* ‘to write’, < ‘to tattoo, to brand, to mark’

Chr *–et-e?, -et-a?* < ? (cf. *-t’ohokisyen* ‘to tattoo’)

5. Numbers. Although both Chorote and Nivaclé apparently had native forms for the numbers ‘one’ through ‘twenty’, today they are largely lost.

A very few elderly Nivaclé speakers can recall numbers up to ‘ten’ (and they tend to use native terms today only for ‘one’, ‘two’ and ‘three’):

(102) we?ła ‘one’ (*uno*)

(103) napu? ‘two’ (*dos*)

(104) pu?xa?na ‘three’ (*tres*)

(105) yichatxuł ‘four’ (*cuatro*)

(106) we?łanɑxeš ‘five’ (*cinco*)
[contains *we?ła* ‘one’ + *-eš* ‘times’]

(107) we?ła tawa?y-apé?e ‘six’ (*seis*)
one behind-on

(108) napu? tawa?y-apé?e ‘seven’ (*siete*)
two behind-on

(109) pu?xa?na tawa?y apé?e ‘eight’ (*ocho*)
three behind-on

(110) yichatxul-tawa?y-apé?e ‘nine’ (*nueve*)
four behind-on

(111) napu?nɑxeš ‘ten’ (*diez*)
[contains *napu?* ‘two’ + *-eš* ‘times’]

Chorote numbers:

(112) ihwyenɬi ‘one’ (*uno*)

(113) intak ‘two’ (*dos*)

(114) iwitč’yela ‘three’ (*tres*)

(115) p’awułič’i ‘four’ (*cuatro)*

(116) ihwyenɬi si-kyoy i-tehwe ‘five’ (*cinco)*
one 1PL.POSS-hand 3SUBJ -finish:VALT
literally: ‘one hand of ours finished’

(117) ihwyenɬi si-kyoy i-tehwe ihwyenhli tom ape?e ‘six’ (*seis*)
one 1PL.POSS-hand 3SUBJ-finish:VALT ONE ? over
literally: ‘one hand of ours finished, one over’

(118) ihwyenɬi si-kyoy i-tehwe intak tom ape?e ‘seven’ (*siete*)
one 1PL.POSS-hand 3SUBJ-finish:VALT TWO ? over
literally: ‘one hand of ours finished, two over’

(119) ihwyenɬi sikyoy itihwe, iwitč’yela tom ape?e
ihwyenɬi si-kyoy i-tehwe iwitč’yela tom ape?e ‘eight’ (*ocho*)
one 1PL.POSS-hand 3SUBJ-finish:VALT THREE ? over
literally: ‘one hand of ours finished, three over’

(120) ihwyenɬi si-kyoy i-tehwe p’awuhlič’i tom ape?e ‘nine’ (*nueve*)
one 1PL.POSS-hand 3SUBJ-finish:VALT FOUR ? over
literally: ‘one hand of ours finished, four over’

(121) intak na-wa si-kyoy-ey i-tehwe ‘ten’ (*diez*)
two DEIC.PROX-PL.NHUM 1PLPOSS-hand-PL 3SUBJ-finish:VALT
literally: ‘both our hands finished’

See Appendix A for forms up to ‘twenty’ from a speaker originally from the Montaraz dialect (originally from Santa Rosa, Paraguay).

While native forms denoting lower numerals (such as ‘one’, ‘two’ and ‘three’) may still be used today, even by younger speakers, only a few older speakers remember the native forms for terms higher than ‘three’ or ‘four’. That is, essentially the native forms have been replaced by Spanish numerals in these two languages. The borrowing of nearly all the numerals from Spanish may seem to contrast with the general resistance to borrowings for items of acculturation. This is interesting in itself, but the nearly wholesale borrowing of Spanish numbers is, nevertheless, common in a number of other Latin American Indian languages. It is possible to contrast the situations of a reasonably full set of lexical numbers for Nivaclé and Chorote with the very small set of lexical numbers characteristic of most languages of the Amazonian area. “Most [Arawakan] languages have just the numbers ‘one’ ... and ‘two’” (Aikhenvald 1999:85). Current Wichí speakers know native numbers only to ‘three’, thereafter employing terms from Spanish. Modern Guaicuruan

languages typically have no native terms for numbers beyond ‘one’, others having been replaced by Spanish.

6. Mechanisms for creating new lexical items. The resistance of Nivaclé and Chorote to foreign lexical material is facilitated by the productive patterns for creating new lexical items in these languages. To derive new words these two languages rely on the extensive use of a derivational suffix meaning ‘similar to’, on metaphor (semantic extension), to a lesser extent use on compounding or lexical formation from former phrases, and in a few cases also on onomatopoeia. We present examples of each in turn.

Many of the examples above exhibit the deployment of an affix meaning ‘similar to’ for introducing new lexical items, including especially items of linguistic acculturation. This suffix in Nivaclé is *–tax*, as in: *tašinš-tax* ‘goat’ (< *tašinša* ‘grey brocket deer’ + *-tax* ‘similar to’). Other instances are in 33 ‘donkey’, 56 ‘machete’, 58 ‘match’, 67 ‘onion’, 68 ‘orange’, 69 ‘ox, bull’, 73 ‘pig’, 88 ‘syphilis’, and 89 ‘table’. There are literally hundreds of words formed by this suffix (see examples in Seelwische 1990). Chorote employs two different suffixes with approximately this meaning of ‘similar to’, *-tok* (as in *malekye-tok* ‘donkey, ox’ < *malekye* ‘mule’ + *-tok*; also in 56 ‘machete’ and 73 ‘pig’), and *-ta* (in *sonta* ‘goat’ < *sona?* ‘grey brocket deer’ + *-ta*; also in (8) ‘horse’).

Other new words appear to be derived by the mechanism of metaphorical extension based on the meaning of existing words. The two examples presented at the outset of this paper, ‘bicycle’ and ‘soldier’, illustrate neologism by metaphor. Speakers report that ‘bicycle’ from ‘spider’ (Nvc *siwɑklɑk* < *siwɑklɑk* ‘spider’; Chr *siwalak* < *siwalak* ‘spider’) reflects the fact that the wheels of a bicycle look like spider webs.[11] Some speakers say ‘soldier’, from ‘ant’ (Nvc *tukus* < *tukus* ‘ant’; Chr *tokis* < *tokis* ‘ant’), stems from the fact that soldiers walk in single file, as ants do. Other examples created by such metaphorical extensions include: 39 ‘cloth’ < ‘spiderweb’; 64 ‘needle’ < ‘thorn’; 76 ‘priest’ < ‘small frog’; 100 ‘wristwatch’ < ‘bracelet’.

Compounding and the process of forming lexical items from phrases is the mechanism behind some other new words, sometimes in

connection with metaphor, as for example in: 17 ‘accordion’ < ‘many buttons’, ‘many holes’; 19 ‘antenna’ < ‘long metal’; 28 ‘bookstore’ < ‘books’ house’; 35 ‘cement’ < ‘stone dust’; 46 ‘glass’ < ‘sight goes through it’; 48 ‘gold’ < ‘yellow metal’; and 51 ‘guitar’ < ‘horse’s tail’, ‘hair of horse’s tail’; 77 ‘radio’ < ‘it sings’; 82 ‘scissors’ < ‘knife’s legs’.

There are also cases of new words based on onomatopoeia, though these are few, as for example 62 ‘motorcycle’ (Nvc *k’utututut*, Chr *pohpoh*).

7. Nivaclé and Chorote linguistic acculturation in context.

In the linguistic and anthropological literature there are numerous studies of hispanisms (cited above) and of linguistic acculturation (also cited above). In most cases, these studies deal primarily with loanwords from European languages, especially from Spanish. Nivaclé and Chorote are not typical in the Latin American context, since, first, they have borrowed few terms from Spanish, and second, they rely heavily on their own internal linguistic resources to create new terms to accommodate items of acculturation that enter the culture. This notwithstanding, they have acquired names for most of the range of foreign items typically imported into the cultures of Latin American indigenous peoples, just not the borrowed foreign names for these items so common elsewhere.

The very limited nature of borrowing in Nivaclé and Chorote is clearly revealed by comparing their terms for items of acculturation with those from other languages which turn out to be the most frequently signaled by borrowed terms. Brown’s (1999) study presented these most frequently borrowed acculturation terms in rank order according to how frequently the items show up in indigenous languages of the Americas designated by a loanword from a European language. The most common of these are presented in table 3.

[[Place table 3 (about) here.]]

Table 3 shows clearly how little these two languages have taken from Spanish, in particular in comparison to other languages, which, as Brown shows, typically borrow many of these terms.

The literature on language contact and borrowing often categorizes languages as either given to borrowing of foreign words or as relying on

their internal resources and thus mostly shunning borrowings. German is typically the only example mentioned in handbooks on language change of the latter kind of language[12] (see, for example, Anderson 1973:95-6, Anttila 1989:140, Arlotto 1972:189-90, Sihler 2000:128-30), perhaps ironic in that German today is replete with English and French loanwords, among others (see, for example, Langenscheidt-Lilliput 1997), in spite of past tendencies to rely on its own internal resources, as reflected in the many calques – loan translations – based on Latin, Greek, and other European languages, for example, *Wasserstoff* [*Wasser* 'water' + *Stoff* 'stuff'] for 'hydrogen', *Fernseher* [*fern* 'far' + *seher* 'seer'] for 'television', etc. Nivaclé and Chorote are excellent examples of the sort of languages which rely on their own resources and shun words of foreign origin.

However, Nivaclé and Chorote are not the only indigenous languages in the Americas that deploy native resources to accommodate items of acculturation. Chamberlain's (1894) study of new words in Kutenai (of British Columbia, Montana, and Idaho), perhaps the first study directed to linguistic acculturation in the New World, found new items represented with native lexical resources, with only one loanword (*pu:s* 'cat') (see also Brown 1999:5). Kutenai is consistent with Brown's (1999:7) claim:

> Amerindian [American Indian] languages that were influenced mainly by Spanish speakers have freely borrowed Spanish words for items of acculturation … native languages that were influenced by speakers of other European languages (with the major exceptions of Russian and Portuguese) have only rarely borrowed European loans for introduced items.

Several other North American Indian languages in contact with English (and with French) speakers also rely on their internal sources in acculturation and borrow little, for example Athabaskan languages (see for example Rice 1989: 199-202; Brown 1999). However, Nivaclé and Chorote are not consistent with Brown's claim, since they have not freely borrowed from Spanish, though they are in a context where acculturation from Spanish might be expected.[13]

Nivaclé and Chorote are not unique in this behavior. While many indigenous languages of Latin America borrow readily from Spanish (or

Portuguese) (see above; Brown 1999), some tend to emphasize use of native resources over borrowing of foreign lexical items. However, due to the lack of specific studies of linguistic acculturation and of detailed descriptive materials for many of these languages, it is difficult to determine how they have undergone linguistic acculturation. Other instances of lowland South American languages which are said to rely on native resources for terms of acculturation or to avoid borrowings include the languages of the Vaupés linguistic area (Tariana [Arawakan] and a number of Tukanoan languages) (Aikhenvald 1999, 2002). In the Chaco region, where Nivaclé and Chorote are spoken, information on this aspect of many of the languages is very limited. Still, some seem to borrow significantly, and some other languages also appear to resist borrowings from Spanish. For example Klein (1993) found rather extensive borrowing in Toba (of the Guaicuruan family), especially in recent times, and Mocoví (another Guaicuruan language) has borrowed a significant number of words from Spanish (Grondona 1998); however, Enlhet-Enxet (Maskoyan family) resists borrowing much as do Chorote and Nivaclé (Sušnik 77:49-66). As for the other Matacoan languages, Wichí and Maká also appear to rely more on native resources, though both these languages appear to have a larger number of Spanish loans than Nivaclé and Chorote do, Wichí a much larger number (see Braunstein 2000, Gerzenstein 1999a, 1999b, Tovar 1962, Vidal 2006, Vidal and Nercesian 2009). Wichí and Maká also deploy similar devices for creating new lexical items (for example, derivational suffixes of similarity) and metaphorical extensions. Clearly, linguistic acculturation in other languages of the region needs much closer attention and investigation.

8. Structural impact of Spanish. Our purpose is to investigate Spanish loans and native resources for accommodating linguistic acculturation. However, in a number of contact situations, it is through lexical borrowing that structural influences begin to enter the languages in question. For that reason, we take up very briefly the question of whether any non-lexical influences from Spanish may be entering Nivaclé and Chorote. Nivaclé and Chorote exhibit extremely little non-lexical influence from Spanish. These languages for the most part have not borrowed

grammatical morphemes; they have borrowed none of the Spanish conjunctions and discourse markers typical in many other Latin American Indian languages (cf. Brody 1987, 1995, Dozier 1956:155, Suárez 1977).[14] Some grammatical borrowings may, however, be on the verge of entering these two languages. In the first 10 hours of recorded texts in Nivaclé, there occurred only one example of /porké/ *porque* 'because' (unassimilated Spanish) as a conjunction, three instances of /entonse/ *entonces* 'then', more a hesitation marker than a real part of the grammar; and two examples of /i/ *y* 'and', again as a hesitation marker and not as a real conjunction. Interestingly, Nivaclé has a rich array of native hesitation markers, *pa?tem* 'this then', *ti?tem* 'when then', and *šey* 'what, hesitation interjection'. In Chorote, while younger speakers (under 40) have some discourse markers borrowed from Spanish such as *pero* 'but' (< Spanish *pero*), *ahtake* 'until' (< Spanish *hasta que*), and *aynomah* 'right there' (< Spanish *ahí no más*), *poray* 'maybe' (< Spanish *por ahí* 'over there'), *osea* 'or in other words, thus' (< Spanish *o sea que*), older speakers have none. For example, during one ninety-minute interview, a younger speaker (approximately 40 years old) had over fifty instances of Spanish borrowings, mostly discourse markers, but some borrowed lexical items as well.[15] However, one older speaker, in approximately 10 hours of texts, had very few borrowings, all lexical items, no grammatical markers: *wakye* 'cow' (Spanish *vaca*), *keso* 'cheese' (Spanish *queso*), and *dose* 'twelve' (Spanish *doce*).

Nivaclé has also not accommodated to Spanish phonology in any visible way, though there is room for discussion with respect to /l/. Nivaclé has no native voiced /l/, only voiceless /ɬ/ and /kl/, a single segment (with the two articulatory gestures, *k* and *l*, released as nearly simultaneously as humanly possible) – a unique sound in the world's languages (cf. Maddieson 1984:73-90). This /kl/ corresponds to /l/ in cognates in the sister languages. Nivaclé, however, has a very few words with voiced /l/, presumably all from foreign sources. Those encountered are:

(122) *ele* 'gringo',' missionary'. A phonetically very similar word is encountered in other languages of the region and it has been suggested it may derive from *English* or from Spanish *inglés* 'English', since the first missionaries where Anglicans from

England. We suspect this is a loan into Nivaclé from some intermediate indigenous language.

(123) *eskaléra* 'ladder' < Spanish *escalera*

(124) *kaletax* 'car, cart' < Spanish *carreta* 'cart'

(125) *maliwotax* 'mosquito, small black and yellow fly' (perhaps from some Wichí or Chorote; the term is not known in Paraguayan varieties of Nivaclé; note *–tax* 'similar to')

(126) *pila* 'naked' < Chaco Spanish *pila* (probably < *pelado*) 'naked'

(127) *pelota* 'soccer' < Spanish *pelota* 'ball'

(128) *ta?lax* 'native name of a man, named Filimón in Spanish' (probably a Chorote name)

(129) *taleya* 'job' < Spanish *tarea* 'task'

Some might want to argue that this rare /l/ owes its origin in the language to Spanish, though this is far from clear. That is, all the Nivaclé of this area also understand other Indian languages, either Chorote or Wichí, or both, which have /l/. It can be argued that Nivaclé speakers knew /l/ from these other languages, probably before contact with Spanish, as evidenced perhaps by the few non-Spanish forms with /l/. Nivaclé also has no /r/ in native words; Spanish "r" (tap) and "rr" (trill) were typically replaced by /l/, which as just pointed out, is not a native sound, but is known by Nivaclé speakers from the other languages (Spanish "r" and "rr" are never replaced by /kl/ or /ɬ/). More recently, however, Spanish words are beginning to show up with /r/, as in *aros* 'rice', from Spanish *arroz*, and it appears that /r/ is now becoming part of the language.

The situation for Chorote is similar – no appreciable Spanish impact on Chorote phonology. However, in younger speakers who are more proficient in Spanish, unassimilated Spanish words are entering the language (particularly in personal names), as in *arina* 'flour' from Spanish *harina*, *miči* 'domestic cat' from Spanish *michi* 'cat', *řeyna* (woman's name) from Spanish *Reina*, and *ɸilomena ~ filomena* (woman's name) from Spanish *Filomena,* introducing non-native */r/, /ř/, /č/, /ɸ ~ f/.*

9. Conclusions. We conclude the following: (1) Nivaclé and Chorote are very resourceful in deploying their own internal resources to deal with new lexical items for things not formally part of the society's

culture; (2) Spanish has had a minimal impact on the lexicon of these languages (and almost none on their structure); and (3) younger speakers are now using more Spanish words, though mostly as unassimilated items. We can speculate about why these languages borrow so little lexical material. In part we believe it has to do with more limited contact with Spanish speakers until the last 70 years or so, less than that experienced by many other groups in Latin America. In part we think it also may have to do with mechanisms for creating new words and with cultural patterns well employed from before Spanish contact, where these languages easily derived new words for things they came into contact with by, for example, attaching the Nivaclé *-tax* and Chorote *-tok* and *-ta* 'SIMILAR.TO' suffixes to known things to produce a new name for some formerly unknown thing. For example, Nivaclé *ału-tax* 'alligator', from *ału* 'iguana', and Chorote *aheye-tok* 'species of bat (bigger than other species)' from *aheye* 'bat'. Given their being unaccustomed to borrowing lexical material generally and their readily available grammatical means for deriving new words, when the need to accommodate items of acculturation from Spanish contact arose, speakers of these languages relied on already existing patterns of new word creation and the internal linguistic resources of their languages to come up with new names for new items.

APPENDIX A

From a speaker of the Montaraz dialect (originally from Santa Rosa, Paraguay), we have the numbers up to ‘twenty’, where several of those from ‘one’ to ‘ten’ are slightly different from those of the Iyo’wuhwa dialect of Misión La Paz:

1	ihwyenɬi
2	inták
3	iwitč’yela
4	p’awułič’i
5	ints’ek
6	ihwyenɬi tom neheye one ? here literally: ‘one (of these over) here’
7	inták tom neheye two ? here literally: ‘two (of these over) here’
8	iwitč’yela tom neheye three ? here literally: ‘three (of these over) here’
9	p’awułič’i tom neheye four ? here literally: ‘four (of these over) here’
10	p’awułam si-kyoy-ey exactly 1PL.POSS-hand-PL literaly: ‘exactly the hands’
11	ihwyenɬi t’-elet-ey na in-kaʔla-ʔ one 3SUBJ-jump-LOC DEIC.PROX UNPOSS-foot-SG literally: ‘one jumps to the foot’
12	inták t’-elet-ey na in-kaʔla-ʔ two 3SUBJ-jump-LOC DEIC.PROX UNPOSS-foot-SG literally: ‘two jumps to the foot’
13	iwitč’yela t’-elet-ey na in-kaʔla-ʔ three 3SUBJ-jump-LOC DEIC.PROX UNPOSS-foot-SG literally: ‘three jumps to the foot’
14	p’awułič’i t’-elet-ey na in-kaʔla-ʔ

	four 3SUBJ-jump-LOC DEIC.PROX UNPOSS-foot-SG literally: ‘four jumps to the foot’
15	ints’ek t’-elet-ey na in-kaʔla-ʔ five 3SUBJ-jump-LOC DEIC.PROX UNPOSS-foot-SG literally: ‘three jumps to the foot’
16	ihwyenɬi t’-elet-ey na in-kaʔla-ʔ ehekye one 3SUBJ-jump-LOC DEIC.PROX UNPOSS-foot-SG other literally: ‘one jumps to the other foot’
17	inták t’-elet-ey na in-kaʔla-ʔ ehekye two 3SUBJ-jump-LOC DEIC.PROX UNPOSS-foot-SG other literally: ‘two jumps to the other foot’
18	iwitč’yela t’-elet-ey na in-kaʔla-ʔ ehekye three 3SUBJ-jump-LOC DEIC.PROX UNPOSS-foot-SG other literally: ‘three jumps to the other foot’
19	p’awułič’i t’-elet-ey na in-kaʔla-ʔ ehekye four 3SUBJ-jump-LOC DEIC.PROX UNPOSS-foot-SG other literally: ‘four jumps to the other foot’
20	in-kaʔla-y nohwam UNPOSS-foot-PL finished literally: ‘the feet are finished’

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[1] The language was also earlier called Chulupí also in Paraguay, but this has been replaced there by Nivaclé; today many in Paraguay hold *Chulupí* to be a term of disrespect, citing that *Chulupí* is the Spanish name of some cockroach-like insect in Bolivia. Speakers in Argentina have none of these pejorative feelings, though there is now a tendency towards use of Nivaclé to name the language.

[2] Work for this paper and the collection of the data were supported by the grant, "Description of Chorote, Nivaclé and Kadiwéu: three of least known and most endangered languages of the Chaco," from the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme (Rausing Charitable Fund), School of Oriental and African Studies, London University (co-principal investigators Lyle Campbell, Verónica Grondona, and Filomena Sandalo).

[3] The Abbreviations utilized in this paper are: 1 1st person; 2 2nd person; 3 3rd person; EVID evidential; INDEF indefinite; INTENS intensifier; LOC locative; NOM nominalizer; OBJ object; PERS person; PL plural; POSS possessive; PREF prefix; SG singular; SUBJ subject; SUFF suffix; UNPOS unpossessed; UNSPEC unspecified; VALT vowel alternation.

[4] These databases will soon be available on line; they are the basis of the completed dictionaries to be published of these two languages.

[5] Chorote has native words for numbers only up to twenty, though younger speakers use Spanish terms for numbers particularly those for 'six' and above. (See section 2.3. and Appendix A.)

[6] Younger speakers have more Spanish loans, though still relatively few. For example, speakers under the age of 30 replace some of the native-language terms for items of acculturation with recent (relatively unassimilated) loans from Spanish. Several of these are indicated in the examples of this section, for example, the terms for 'ladder', 'plate', 'school', 'teacher', etc. We have not made a systematic study of the speech of younger speakers, and therefore are able to report only from our unstructured observations in a number of contexts that they do use

more Spanish loans than the older speakers do, though still a very limited number. Another difference is that younger speakers do not know the names of many wild plants and some animals, as well as terms for several traditional cultural practices. In most instances, however, these have not been replaced by Spanish; rather, these speakers are simply unfamiliar in general with these concepts and have no terms for them in their lexicon.

[7] An anonymous reviewer believes these *woye* words for 'bread' (also in (22) 'bakery'), "probably come from Spanish *bollo* 'kind of roll'," reporting *wo'yo* 'bread' in the Bazanero dialect of Wichí (Braunstein 2000), which the reviewer believes is from Spanish *bollo*. This is possible, but we are skeptical. In fact for 'bread' in this variety of Wichí, Braunstein (2000) lists both *pan* and *wo'yo*, with his symbol for Spanish borrowing for the first but not for the second. We believe the *bollo* 'roll' possibility is unlikely for the following reasons. The bread here (cooked under ashes in a fire) is quite different in form from that of the *bollo*; the word *bollo* is not common in the Spanish of the region; and both the stress pattern and the final vowel of the Chorote and Nivaclé forms are significantly different from those of the Spanish form (and probably if *bollo* were borrowed in these languages, the Spanish /b/ would be reflected in the loan as /p/ in these two languages). Finally, a form of 'bread' was certainly known to speakers of several South American languages in pre-European contact times (based on maize or manioc, or quinoa, for example Quechua *t'anta* 'bread', Guaraní *mbujape*), and was likely to have existed in Chorote and Nivaclé culture before exposure to Spanish. Indeed the other Nivaclé term, *yukuwe* 'bread', could not come from *bollo*.

[8] The suffix -*tok* in Chorote expresses the meaning of something being similar to something else but with the added meaning of it being 'uglier' or 'bigger', or 'scarier' than the referent expressed by the noun to which it attaches. The Spanish term used by consultants to express its meaning is '*fiero*' as in '*es parecido pero más fiero que*' ('it is similar to but fiercer, uglier'). It is glossed here as 'SIMILAR.TO'.

[9] An anonymous reviewer suggests that Chorote *sempáwkye* 'coat' may be a reduced form related to *semlakkipawki* 'wool made from the yuchán [tree species] fruit' recorded by Gerzenstein (1979:44) in a different variety of the language, derived from *semlak* 'yuchán', but with no analysis offered for *kipawki*. We find this suggestion interesting, but unlikely. We suspect, rather, that Gerzenstein's *semlakkipawki* is more likely to be composed of *semlak* 'yuchán' + *i-pawki* 'its-?'.

[10] This form may possibly be influenced also by Guaraní *pa?i* 'priest' (or a Guaraní-influenced variety of Spanish), perhaps connected ultimately with Portuguese *pae* ([pai]) 'father, priest'. Another alternative is pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, namely that *paí* 'priest' is used in the rural Spanish of the area and was found in at least one other Chaco language, in Abipón *pai* 'priest' (now extinct, recorded in the 18th century). While influence from a similar form in some variety of Spanish or Guaraní may well be involved here, and while the Nivaclé word for 'small frog' may be onomatopoetic, we do not believe the Nivaclé form for 'priest' is purely fortuitously homophonous with *pa?yi* 'small frog'. The phonetic shape is too exact to 'small frog' but different enough from the forms in Portuguese, Guaraní, or rural Spanish (with a different vowel, final syllable-stress, a /y/, and the glottal stop). If there is influence from any of these forms, which may well be the case, we believe, nevertheless, that Nivaclé speakers also deliberately chose to associate their word for 'priest' with the word for 'small frog' for symbolic, metaphorical reasons.

[11] A few speakers think the association is from the fact that a bicycle and a person mounted on it, with elbows and knees sticking out, together look like a spider.

[12] Some mention also Czech, French, Hungarian, and Old English, at times, but rarely give examples from them, and in any case, these languages also have undergone extensive lexical borrowing as well as relying on calquing based on native resources.

[13] As an anonymous reviewer pointed out to us, Mísquito and Yahgan, two Latin American languages influenced by English speakers, have borrowed many words from English, also against the expectations of Brown's claim.

[14] Against some general claims, borrowing of conjunctions from Spanish in Latin American Indian languages is very common (Brody 1987, 1995, Suárez 1977) sometimes even when little other lexical material is borrowed, as in the case of Tewa (Dozier 1956).

[15] This younger speaker showed an interesting pattern of Spanish influence during the interview. He was being interviewed by a Chorote speaker, member of his community but the researcher (a native speaker of Spanish who could not understand Chorote well) was present. The speaker was apparently accommodating to the researcher during the interview. However, when he was asked to narrate two traditional stories he knew, he only had one lexical borrowing at the beginning of the story, but none after that, and only a couple of discourse markers. During the narratives he was apparently addressing the stories to the Chorote interviewer and not accommodating to the researcher in any way.

TABLE 1

NIVACLÉ PHONEMIC INVENTORY

Voiceless stops & affricates	p	t	ts	č	k	ʔ
Glottalized stops & affricates	p’	t’	ts’	č’	k’	
Fricatives	ɸ		s	š	x	
Voiceless lateral		ɬ				
Occluded lateral		kl [1]				
Nasals		m	n			
Glides	w			y		
Vowels						
	i		u			
	e		o			
	a	ɑ				

[1] The /kl/ is a single segment, a sound with two articulatory gestures, a voiceless velar closure and a voiced alveolar lateral, released simultaneously. Nivaclé also has /ɬ/, but has no plain voiced /l/ in native words.

TABLE 2

CHOROTE PHONEMIC INVENTORY

Voiceless stops & affricates	p	t	(č)	k	ʔ	
Glottalized stops & affricates	p’	t’	ts’	č’	k’	
Fricatives			s		h	hw
Voiced lateral		l				
Voiceless lateral		ɬ[1]				
Nasals	m	n				
Glides	w			y		
Vowels						
	i			u		
	e		o			
		a				

[1] Chorote has a voiceless /ɬ/ used mostly by older speakers, which is being replaced in the speech of younger speakers by the sequence /hl/ or by a simple voiced lateral [l], especially word finally.

TABLE 3

NIVACLÉ AND CHOROTE EQUIVALENTS OF BROWN'S MOST FREQUENTLY BORROWED LINGUISTIC ACCULTURATION TERMS

	Nivaclé	Chorote
Horse	+	-
Cow	+	+
Coffee		+
Mule	-?	-? [1]
Pig	-	-
Donkey	-	-
Goat	-	-
Sugar	+	+/-
Table	-	- (/-)
Bottle	-	-
Needle	-	-
Bull	+	+ [2]
Cat (domestic)	-	-/+
Soap	-	
Spoon	-	-
Watermelon	+	-
Apple	-	-
Box	-	-
Bread	-	-
Rice	+	+
Nail	-	
Thread	-	-
Flour	-	-
Chicken	-	-
Lemon	-	-
Match	-	-
Orange	-	-

Peach	-	
Sheep	-	-
Scissors	-	-
Ox	-	-

‘+’ signals borrowed from Spanish; ‘-’ signifies words formed with native lexical items; no indication (blank) means no data are available.

[1] The word for ‘mule’, Nivaclé *makliкɑ* and Chorote *malekye* may both be borrowed from an intermediate language which perhaps borrowed from Spanish *mula*, and not from Spanish directly.

[2] The words for ‘bull’ are in fact not direct borrowings, but are created based on the borrowing for ‘cow’; thus Nivaclé has *wɑkɑtax* ‘bull’, from *wɑkɑ* ‘cow’ (< Spanish *vaca*) + *-tax* ‘similar to’; Chorote has *wakye ayinye* ‘bull’, from *wakye* ‘cow’ (< Spanish *vaca*) + *ayinye* ‘male’.