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LINGUISTIC ACCULTURATION IN NIVAČLÉ (NIVAČLÉ) AND CHOROTE

Lyle Campbell and Verónica Grondona
University of Hawaii Eastern Michigan University
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, /ałuṭay/ (with variant spellings: Aschulslé, Ashlushlay, Ashulay, Athluthlay, Atluthlay, Aļułay, 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 Guaraní 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), Tsohoti, Solotí, Xolota, and Zolota. It is also called Manjuy, particularly in Paraguay (also Manuk, or Maniuk); these come from the Nivaclé name manuʔk (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 iyowuhwa.

The Nivaclé and Chorote data in this paper are from our fieldwork; the Nivaclé forms are from Šiča’im lawos, speakers of the upper dialect (arribeño in Spanish) in Argentina, as spoken in and around Misión La Paz, Salta Province. The Chorote data are from speakers of the iyowuhwa 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). 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 *máquina*
   Chr *makina* ‘car, truck; engine-powered vehicle’; also *makina ṭas* ‘car’ < *makina* ‘vehicle’ -*ṭas* ‘small’ (-ts- ‘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’aklak* < Spanish *yuyo* ‘weed’ *t’aklak* ‘weed, plant’ (Spanish *yuyo* < Quechua *yuyu* ‘edible wild plant’)
   Chr *koka* (also *aʔlaʔwoley* literally ‘wood leaves’ < *aʔlaʔ* ‘wood, tree’ *wole-y* ‘leaf-PL’)
   < Spanish *coca* ‘coca’

(5) ‘cow’
   Nvc *waka* (also *wako*), Chr *wakyé*
   < 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-et, 1PERS-task-PL-1PL’; literally ‘our jobs’)
(cf. Chr inkikhmaye < ‘in-kim-ye ‘UNPOSS WORK NOM’)

(10) ‘ladder’
Nvc eskaléra (of younger speakers; older speakers say watwa?)
< Spanish escalera ‘ladder’

(11) ‘money, peso’
Nvc peso ‘money, peso, pay, salary’ < Spanish peso ‘peso’

(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 ṭamak ‘sugar cane powder’ < tits’ohyin ‘sugar cane’ (literally: ‘one sucks it’)’ ṭ-amak ‘3POSS-dust, powder’)
< Spanish azúcar ‘sugar’

(15) ‘sugar mill’
Nvc inxényu < Spanish ingenio ‘sugar mill’

(16) ‘watermelon’
Nvc saniya < 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

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 akloxîş ᵗʰaskey < aklox–iš ‘much-SUFF’ ᵗʰasxe-y ‘3POSS-seed-PL’ (= ‘buttons’)
Chr hitohway aʔloh ‘many holes’ < hitohwa-y ‘hole-PL’, aʔloh ‘many’

(18) ‘airplane’ (avión):
Nvc yiʔfɑʔya < yi–fadya ‘3 SUBJ-fly’, literally: ‘it flies’
Chr makina ihwiʔye ‘flying machine’ < makina ‘vehicle, car, truck, machine’, i-hweʔye ‘3SUBJ-fly’

(19) ‘antenna’ (antena):
Chr ?ot ityoy literally ‘long metal’ < ?ot ‘metal’ i-tyoy ‘3SUBJ-long’
(20) ‘awl’ (alesna):
Nvc țsxoțxi
(21) baker (panadero):
Nvc woye țlawo? < woye ‘bread’ țlawo? ‘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 kliminiț < klim-niț ‘white-MADE.OF’
(25) ‘Bible’ (Biblia):
Nvc watasinak țașiy < wat-asina-k ‘UNPOSS-speak, talk-PL țașiy
‘3POSS-container, corral, box’
(26) ‘bicycle’ (bicicleta):
Nvc siwaklak < siwaklak ‘spider’
Chr siwalak < siwalak ‘spider’
(27) ‘book’ (libro):
Nvc watk’isxayanač uxxa?m < wat-k’-i?s-xayan-ač ‘UNPOSS-write-
NOM-PRODUCT.OF’, ux-xa?m ‘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 țtaxpiyí < watk’isxayanač-as ‘book-PL’ (see
(27) above), ț-axpíyí ‘3POSS-house’
(29) ‘boot’ (bota):
Chr nahwey apetyosići literally ‘shoe with depth’ < nahwey ‘shoe’,
apetyosići ‘it.has.depth’
(30) ‘bottle’ (botella):
Nvc tnaxke (‘water jug’)
Chr inate

(31) ‘bread’ (pan):
   Nvc woye, yukuwe
   Chr woye7

(32) ‘brick’ (ladrillo):
   Nvc kotsxatitax < kotsxa?t-tax ‘ground, dirt-SIMILAR.TO’
   Chr isat iyói? literally ‘cooked/burnt mud’ < isat ‘mud’, iyói? ‘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 łama?k < ute ‘stone’ -s ‘PL’ ł-ama?k ‘3POSS-dust’
   Chr napóy łamak < napoy ‘stone, ł-amak ‘3POSS-dust’

(36) ‘chicken’ (gallina):
   Nvc wotaxax
   Chr wotaha

(37) ‘church’ (iglesia):
   Nvc watišxanxa?wat < wat--išxan–xa-?wat ‘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 siwaklak łayeʔč < siwaklak ‘spider’ ł-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 sempáwikye 'coat' 

(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 xoxkayex ‘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 (<l-amak ‘3poss-dust’), also alina <
Spanish harina ‘flour’

(45) ‘frying pan, skillet’ (sartén):
Nvc kakłaťxanja?wat < kaklať-xanja?-wat ‘fried-AGENT-
PLACE.WHERE’
Chr kakyelęłana?et literally ‘place where one fries’ < ka-
kyełelhana?-wet ‘PREF-fry-PLACE.WHERE’

(46) ‘glass’ (vidrio):
Chr intayeh laltiwa(h)a’yí literally ‘sight goes through it’ < intayeh
’sight’ lal’it.goes/passes tiwahi “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 klesanit koxyax < klesanit ‘metal’ koxyax ‘yellow’
Chr ?ot kaʔč’ityu < ?ot ‘metal’ kaʔč’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 *ll/ 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* ?ehek*ye* ‘missionary’, literally ‘our relative’ < *sam* ‘1PL
   Independent Pronoun’ ?ehek*ye* ‘our.relative’, also *inólesiwo?*
   ‘missionary, counselor’ < *inosek-iwo?* ‘advise-PERSON.WHO’; also
   *tehtey ka?čityu* ‘gringo’ < *teh-te-y* ‘3POSS-hair-PL’ *ka?čityu* ‘yellow’

(51) ‘guitar’ (*guitarra*):
   Nvc *kuwayu ṭaka?s* (literally ‘horse’s tail’) < *kuwayu* ‘horse’ *ṭa-ka?s*
   ‘3POSS-tail’
   Chr *aʔlenta ikyes iwole?* literally ‘hair of horse’s tail’ (*aʔlenta* ‘horse’,
   *i–kyes* ‘3POSS-tail’, *i-wole?* ‘3POSS-hair’)

(52) ‘jug, jar’ (*jarro*):
   Nvc *takfe?y*
   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 *katsi-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 *ṭa kuwayu* (*ṭa* ‘female article’ *kuwayu* ‘horse’ < Sp *caballo*
   ‘horse’)
   Chr *aʔlenta hiʔyihu < aʔlėnta* ‘horse’ *hiʔyihu* ‘female’
(58) 'match' (fósforo):
   Nvc itatax < itax-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 < owal-xat-ši ‘to look-CAUS-NONSPECIFIC.DIRECTION’
   Chr tiʔyenahay (lit. ‘one sees there’) < tiʔyen-ah-ay ‘INDEF.SUBJ-
   see-SUFF-DIRECTIONAL’

(61) 'Monday' (lunes):
   Nvc taʔlešam < taʔle-šam ‘come.from-PL’
   (cf. Chr lunes < Spanish lunes ‘Monday’)

(62) 'motorcycle' (moto):
   Nvc k’ututut (onomatopoetic)
   Chr pohipoh (onomatopoetic)

(63) 'mule' (mula, macho):
   Nvc maklika
   Chr malekye

(64) 'needle' (aguja):
   Nvc k’utxaʔn ‘thorn, needle’
   Chr itán ‘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 señor
   elsewhere in many languages]):
   Nvc samtoke <samto-ke ‘criollo-FEMALE’
   Chr kiláyiki < kiláyi-ki ‘criollo-FEMALE’

(66) 'nylon rain cape' (nailon):
   Nvc tśaʔnuwo < tśaʔnu-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 šitxaklitax < šitxak ‘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 wakatax < waka-tax ‘cow-SIMILAR.TO’
  Chr wakye layinye ‘bull’ < wakye ‘cow’ layinye ‘male’, also malekyetok ‘ox’ < malekye-tok ‘mule-SIMILAR.TO’
(70) ‘paper’ (papel):
  Chr nohokinek < n-ohokin–ek ‘UNPOSS-?-NOM’
(71) ‘pen knife, pocket knife’ (cortapluma):
  Nvc φtsanxawo < φtsanax-wo ‘suncho (type of palm tree)-FOR’
(72) ‘pencil’ (lápič):
  Nvc watwank‘isxawo <wat- wank(a)-i?x-s-xa-wo ‘UNPOSS-UNSPEC.OBJ-write-NOM-FOR’
  Chr t‘eto?ato:ye literally ‘thing for writing’ < t‘–et-a?-toye
  ‘INDEF.SUBJ-WRITE-PURPOSE’; and nohokinekikye ‘thing for paper’ < nohokinek ‘paper’, i-kye ‘3POSS-purpose’ (also lapi < Spanish lápič ‘pencil’)
(73) ‘pig’ (chancho, cerdo, puercro):
  Nvc woxtotax < 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 woporo < wopo-wo ‘to cover oneself-FOR’
  Chr láypo? < t-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 pa?yi ‘small frog’ (ranita) (comes out in the rain and sings “poy
  poy poy”).

(76b) See also pa?yiče ‘nun’ (monja) < pa?yi-če ‘priest-FEMALE’

(77) ‘radio, tape recorder’ (radio, grabador):
  Nvc tiškan < t-iškan ‘3SUBJ-sing’
  Chr tikiyenisyen literally ‘it sings’ < t-ikyénisyen ‘INDEF.SUBJ-sing’
  (now also radyo)

(78) ‘rag, cloth, clothes’ (trapo):
  Nvc siwaklak laye?č t’i?ya < siwaklak l-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?wat ‘place of teaching’ < n-eysan-ʔwat ‘UNPOSS-teach-
  PLACE.WHERE’
  (Spanish escuela is now used more in both languages.)

(82) ‘scissors’ (tiijeras):
  Nvc klesa tka?klay < klesa ‘knife’ t-kakla-y ‘3POSS-leg-PL’
  Chr inkasohnates, literally ‘knives’ inkasohnat-es ‘knife-PL’

(83) ‘sheep’ (oveja):
  Nvc tsasay < t-saʔš-ay ‘3SUBJ-leaf, feather, fur, wool-SUFF’
  Chr sona wole po? < sona ‘goat’, wole ‘wool’, po? ‘it.has’
(84) 'soldier' (soldado):
Nvc tukus < tukus 'ant'
Chr tokis < tokis 'ant'

(85) 'spaghetti' (fideos largos):
Chr ityohoyiči 'long ones' i-tohýi-č'i '3SUBJ-long-SUFF', also k'ihlyo kahsilíhenpeh literally 'quirquincho [armadillo species] tripe'< k'ihlyo 'quirquincho' kahsilí-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-INTRUMENTAL

(87) 'Sunday' (domingo):
Nvc manfač'eša?ne < manfa-č'e-ša?ne 'to live, stay'-ITERATIVE-PL' PASSIVE.SUBJ-PL.SUBJ'

(88) 'syphilis' (sifilis):
Nvc we?tatax < 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?wat 'place to eat' <inyekyuna?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'eyxatsxn < wank-?eyxats-xan 'UNSPECIFIED.OBJECT-show, teach-AGENT'
Chr nohokinekiwo? 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 *watá*anbatšyei < wat-tč’an-xatšíye ‘UNPOSS-listen-NOM’
   Chr kamtínýenawetiki ‘place in which to talk’ < kamtínýen-wet-iki ‘to
   talk-PLACE.WHERE-SUFF’, also takamtínýen ‘one who talks’ < t-
   kamtínýen ‘INDEF.SBJ- talk’

(92) ‘television’ (televisión):
   Chr inphluy iʔwetiki literally ‘place of images’ < inpely ‘images’
   [in-pelu-y ‘UNPOSS-shadow-PL’], hiʔwet-iki ‘place.where-SUFF’

(93) ‘Tuesday’ (martes):
   Nvc napuʔeš watkumaxayash < napu-eš ‘two-3OBJECT’ wat-k’uma-
   xayaš ‘UNPOSS-work-NOM’

(94) ‘Wednesday’ (miércoles):
   Nvc iwoʔoyšam < i-woʔoy-šam ‘3POSS-middle-PL’

(95) ‘whip’ (rebenque, azote):
   Nvc wat’anxat < wat-ka’e-nx-‘at ‘UNPOSS-to.whip-CAUSATIVE’
   Chr ink’aḥnai < in-k’ah-nat ‘UNPOSS-tongue-SUFF’ (because it looks
   like a long tongue)

(96) ‘window’ (ventana):
   Nvc watowalxaʔwat < wat-owal-xaʔwat ‘UNPOSS-see-NOM-
   PLACE.WHERE’
   Chr inkayišas literally ‘small door’ < inkay-šas ‘door-small, offspring
   (t-as ‘its-son’), sawohip’ot literally ‘cover of the house’ < sawo
   ‘house’ hi-p’ot ‘3POSS-cover’

(97) ‘wire’ (alambre):
   Nvc klesaniš < klesa-niš ‘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-ʔin < -t-kum-ʔin ‘VERB.CLASS-to grab, to lift, to pick-
   INTENS’
   Chr -kım-en ‘to grab, to take’

(100) ‘wristwatch’ (reloj):
   Nvc paʔkla < paʔkla ‘bracelet’
Chr kilayhikye? < kilay ‘sun’ hikye? ‘for’
(101) ‘write’ (escribir):
Nvc -iʔs ‘to write’, < ‘to tattoo, to brand, to mark’
Chr –et-eʔ, -et-aʔ? < ? (cf. -t’ohokisyen ‘to tattoo’)

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

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

(102) weʔla ‘one’ (uno)
(103) napuʔ ‘two’ (dos)
(104) puʔxaʔna ‘three’ (tres)
(105) yichatxut ‘four’ (cuatro)
(106) weʔlanoxeq ‘five’ (cinco)
[contains weʔla ‘one’ + -eʔ ‘times’]
(107) weʔla tawaʔy-apéʔe ‘six’ (seis)
one behind-on
(108) napuʔ tawaʔy-apéʔe ‘seven’ (siete)
two behind-on
(109) puʔxaʔna tawaʔy apéʔe ‘eight’ (ozo)
three behind-on
(110) yichatxul-tawaʔy-apéʔe ‘nine’ (nueve)
four behind-on
(111) napuʔnoxeq ‘ten’ (diez)
[contains napuʔ ‘two’ + -eʔ ‘times’]

Chorote numbers:

(112) ihwyenti ‘one’ (uno)
(113) intak ‘two’ (dos)
(114) iwitč’yela ‘three’ (tres)
(115) p’avutilč’i ‘four’ (cuatro)
(116) ihwyenti si-kyoy i-tehwe ‘five’ (cinco)
one 1PL.POSS-hand 3SUBJ -finish:VALT
literally: ‘one hand of ours finished’
(117) ihwyenti si-kyoy i-tehwe ihwenhli tom ape?e ‘six’ (seis)
    one 1PL.POSS-hand 3SUBJ-finish:VALT ONE    ? over
    literally: ‘one hand of ours finished, one over’
(118) ihwyenti 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) ihwyenti sikyoy itihwe, iwitč’yela tom ape?e
    ihwyenti si-kyoy i-tehwe iwitč’yela tom ape?e ‘eight’ (cho)
    one 1PL.POSS-hand 3SUBJ-finish:VALT THREE    ? over
    literally: ‘one hand of ours finished, three over’
(120) ihwyenti 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 1PL.POSS-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 siwakla < siwakla ‘spider’; Chr siwalak < siwalak ‘spider’) reflects the fact that the wheels of a bicycle look like spider webs. Some speakers say ‘soldier’, from ‘ant’ (Nvc tuku < tuku ‘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

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

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 language12 (see, for example, Anderson 1973:95-6,
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
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 Mocovi (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). Wichi 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). 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 /entonces/ ‘then’, more a hesitation marker than a real part of the grammar; and two examples of /li/ *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 ahi no más), poray ‘maybe’ (< Spanish por ahi ‘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. 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 /l/ 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 Filimon 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 /η/). 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 filomena ~ filomena (woman’s name) from Spanish Filomena, introducing non-native /r/, /ľ/, /č/, /ϕ ~ 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 aṭu-tax ‘alligator’, from aṭu ‘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 lyo’wuhwa dialect of Misión La Paz:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ihwyenti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>inták</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>iwitč’yela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>p’awuč’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ints’ek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ihwyenti tom neheye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one ? here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>literally: ‘one (of these over) here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>inták tom neheye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>two ? here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>literally: ‘two (of these over) here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>iwitč’yela tom neheye</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>three ? here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>literally: ‘three (of these over) here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>p’awuč’i tom neheye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>four ? here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>literally: ‘four (of these over) here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>p’awułam si-kyoy-ey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>exactly 1PL.POSS-hand-PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>literally: ‘exactly the hands’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>ihwyenti t’elet-ey na in-ka?la-?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one 3SUBJ-jump-LOC DEIC.PROX UNPOSS-foot-SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>literally: ‘one jumps to the foot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>inták t’elet-ey na in-ka?la-?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>two 3SUBJ-jump-LOC DEIC.PROX UNPOSS-foot-SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>literally: ‘two jumps to the foot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>iwitč’yela t’elet-ey na in-ka?la-?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>three 3SUBJ-jump-LOC DEIC.PROX UNPOSS-foot-SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>literally: ‘three jumps to the foot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>p’awuč’i t’elet-ey na in-ka?la-?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>four 3SUBJ-jump-LOC DEIC.PROX UNPOSS-foot-SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>literally: ‘four jumps to the foot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>int’s’ek t’elet-ey na in-ka?la-?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>five 3SUBJ-jump-LOC DEIC.PROX UNPOSS-foot-SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>literally: ‘three jumps to the foot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>ihwyenti t’elet-ey na in-ka?la-? ehek ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one 3SUBJ-jump-LOC DEIC.PROX UNPOSS-foot-SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>literally: ‘one jumps to the other foot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>inták t’elet-ey na in-ka?la-? ehek ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>two 3SUBJ-jump-LOC DEIC.PROX UNPOSS-foot-SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>literally: ‘two jumps to the other foot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>iwić’yela t’elet-ey na in-ka?la-? ehek ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>three 3SUBJ-jump-LOC DEIC.PROX UNPOSS-foot-SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>literally: ‘three jumps to the other foot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>p’awuṭič’i t’elet-ey na in-ka?la-? ehek ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>four 3SUBJ-jump-LOC DEIC.PROX UNPOSS-foot-SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>literally: ‘four jumps to the other foot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>in-ka?la-y nohwam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UNPOSS-foot-PL finished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>literally: ‘the feet are finished’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
REFERENCES


CARDÚS, JOSÉ. 1886. Las misiones franciscanas entre los infeles de Bolivia; descripción del estado de ellas en 1883 y 1884. Barcelona: Librería de la Inmaculada Concepción.


Suárez, Jorge. 1977. La influencia del español en la estructura gramatical del náhuatl. Anuario de Letras 15:115-64. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.


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 (Raising 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: 1st person; 2 2nd person; 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', Guarani *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'.
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-?’.

This form may possibly be influenced also by Guarani paʔi ‘priest’ (or a Guarani-influenced variety of Spanish), perhaps connected ultimately with Portuguese pae ([pai]) ‘father, priest’. Another alternative is pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, namely that paʔ ‘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 Guarani 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 paʔyi ‘small frog’. The phonetic shape is too exact to ‘small frog’ but different enough from the forms in Portuguese, Guarani, or rural Spanish (with a different vowel, final syllable-stress, a /yl/, 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.

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.

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

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).

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless stops &amp; affricates</td>
<td>p t ts č k ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottalized stops &amp; affricates</td>
<td>p’ t’ ts’ č’ k’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>φ s š x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless lateral</td>
<td>ł</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occluded lateral</td>
<td>kl&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glides</td>
<td>w y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowels</td>
<td>i u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>1</sup> 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 /l/, but has no plain voiced /l/ in native words.
# TABLE 2

**CHOROTE PHONEMIC INVENTORY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Sounds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless stops &amp; affricates</td>
<td>p      t  (č)  k  ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottalized stops &amp; affricates</td>
<td>p'     t'  ts'  č'  k'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>s      h  hw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless lateral</td>
<td>l¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m      n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glides</td>
<td>w      y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowels</td>
<td>i      u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e      o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Chorote has a voiceless /l/ 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nivaclé</th>
<th>Chorote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Horse</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cow</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mule</td>
<td>-?</td>
<td>-? ¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pig</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donkey</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goat</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- (/-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bottle</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Needle</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bull</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+ ²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cat (domestic)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soap</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spoon</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watermelon</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apple</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nail</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thread</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flour</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicken</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lemon</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Match</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 *maklika* 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 *wokatax* ‘bull’, from *waka* ‘cow’ (< Spanish *vaca*) + *-tax* ‘similar to’; Chorote has *wakye ayinye* ‘bull’, from *wakye* ‘cow’ (< Spanish *vaca*) + *ayinye* ‘male’.