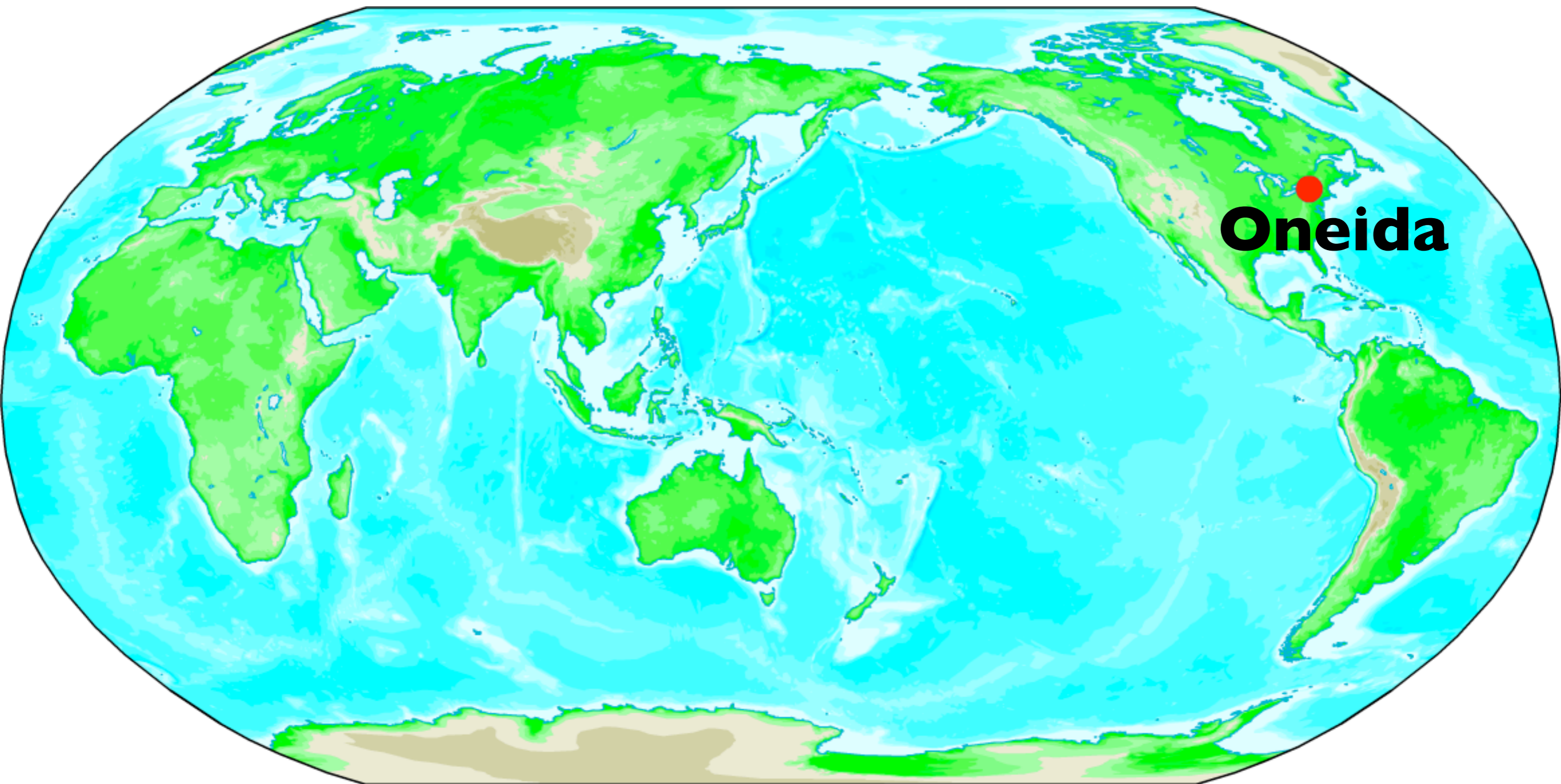


# Disentangling Person Portmanteaus

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**Oneida**

TABLE 6. PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

Obj. Subj.	1 sg			1 du			1 pl			2 sg			2 du			2 pl			O	N	3 sg			3 non-sg														
	1 sg			1 du			1 pl			2 sg			2 du			2 pl					FZ sg	M sg	FI sg	FZ du/pl	M du/pl													
1 sg										52. ku- <sup>c,i</sup> /kuy- <sup>a,o,o</sup>											1. k- <sup>o,v</sup> /ke- <sup>x</sup>			25. (-h)i- <sup>o,i</sup> /(-h)iy- <sup>a,o,o</sup>			39. khe- <sup>o,i</sup> /khey- <sup>a,o,o</sup>											
1+3 du													53. kni- <sup>o</sup> /kn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> /ky- <sup>a</sup>								2. (y)akni- <sup>o</sup> /(y)akn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> /(y)aky- <sup>a</sup>			26. <sup>h</sup> shakni- <sup>o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shakn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shaky- <sup>a</sup>														
1+3 pl													54. kwa- <sup>o</sup> /(y)akwa- <sup>i</sup> /kw- <sup>o,a</sup> /ky- <sup>o</sup>								3. (y)akwa- <sup>o</sup> /(y)akwa- <sup>i</sup> /(y)akw- <sup>a,o</sup> /(y)aky- <sup>o</sup>			27. <sup>h</sup> shakwa- <sup>o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shakwa- <sup>i</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shakw- <sup>a,o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shaky- <sup>o</sup>			40. (y)akhi- <sup>o,i</sup> /(y)akhiy- <sup>a,o,o</sup>											
1+2 du																					4. (-e)tni- <sup>o</sup> /(-e)tn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> /(-e)ty- <sup>a</sup>			28. (-h)ethni- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)ethn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> /(-h)ethy- <sup>a</sup>														
1+2 pl																					5. (-e)twa- <sup>o</sup> /(-e)twa- <sup>i</sup> /(-e)tw- <sup>a,o</sup> /(-e)ty- <sup>o</sup>			29. (-h)ethwa- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)ethwa- <sup>i</sup> /(-h)ethw- <sup>a,o</sup> /(-h)ethy- <sup>o</sup>			41. (y)ethi- <sup>o,i</sup> /(y)ethiy- <sup>a,o,o</sup>											
2 sg	55. <sup>h</sup> sk- <sup>o,i,o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> skw- <sup>a,o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> ske- <sup>x</sup>																				6. (-h)s- <sup>o,v</sup> /(-h)se- <sup>x</sup> /s- <sup>j,y</sup>			30. (-h)ets- <sup>o,v</sup> /(-h)etse- <sup>x</sup>			42. <sup>h</sup> she- <sup>o,i</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shey- <sup>a,o,o</sup>											
2 du				56. <sup>h</sup> skni- <sup>o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> skn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> sky- <sup>a</sup>																	7. (-e)sni- <sup>o</sup> /(-e)sn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> /(-e)jy- <sup>a</sup>			31. (-h)etsni- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)etsn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> /(-h)etsy- <sup>a</sup>														
2 pl							57. <sup>h</sup> skwa- <sup>o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> skwa- <sup>i</sup> / <sup>h</sup> skw- <sup>o,a</sup> / <sup>h</sup> sky- <sup>o</sup>														8. (-e)swa- <sup>o</sup> /(-e)swa- <sup>i</sup> /(-e)sw- <sup>a,o</sup> /(-e)jy- <sup>o</sup>			32. (-h)etswa- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)etswa- <sup>i</sup> /(-h)etsw- <sup>a,o</sup> /(-h)etsy- <sup>o</sup>			43. (y)etsi- <sup>o,i</sup> /(y)etsiy- <sup>a,o,o</sup>											
O	16. wak- <sup>o,v</sup> /wake- <sup>x</sup> /[u]k- <sup>o,i,o</sup> /[u]kw- <sup>a,o</sup> /[u]ke- <sup>x</sup>			17. (y)ukni- <sup>o</sup> /(y)ukn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> /(y)uky- <sup>a</sup>			18. (y)ukwa- <sup>o</sup> /(y)ukwa- <sup>i</sup> /(y)ukw- <sup>a,o</sup> /(y)uky- <sup>o</sup>			19. (-e)sa- <sup>o</sup> /(-e)sa- <sup>i</sup> /(-e)s- <sup>a,o,o</sup>			7a. (-e)sni- <sup>o</sup> /(-e)sni- <sup>i,o,o</sup> /(-e)jy- <sup>a</sup>			8a. (-e)swa- <sup>o</sup> /(-e)swa- <sup>i</sup> /(-e)sw- <sup>a,o</sup> /(-e)jy- <sup>o</sup>			20. (y)o- <sup>o,i,a</sup> /(y)aw- <sup>o</sup> /(y)a- <sup>o</sup>			21. (-h)(l)o- <sup>o,i,a</sup> /(-h)(l)aw- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)(l)a- <sup>o</sup>			22. (y)ako- <sup>o,i,a</sup> /(y)akaw- <sup>o</sup> /(y)aka- <sup>o</sup>			23. (y)oti- <sup>o</sup> /(y)on- <sup>v</sup>			24. (-h)(l)oti- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)(l)on- <sup>v</sup>							
N																					9. ka- <sup>o</sup> /ka- <sup>i</sup> /w- <sup>a,o</sup> /(y)- <sup>o</sup> /[u]- <sup>a</sup> / <sup>h</sup> - <sup>o</sup>																	
FZ sg																					10. (-h)(l)a- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)(l)a- <sup>i</sup> /(-h)(l)- <sup>a</sup> /(-h)l- <sup>o,o</sup>						38. <sup>h</sup> shako- <sup>o,i,a</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shakaw- <sup>o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shaka- <sup>o</sup>											
M sg	34. (-h)(l)ak- <sup>o,i,o</sup> /(-h)(l)akw- <sup>a,o</sup> /(-h)(l)ake- <sup>x</sup>			35. <sup>h</sup> shukni- <sup>o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shukn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shuky- <sup>a</sup>			36. <sup>h</sup> shukwa- <sup>o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shukwa- <sup>i</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shuky- <sup>a,o</sup> / <sup>h</sup> shuky- <sup>o</sup>			37. (-h)ya- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)ya- <sup>i</sup> /(-h)y- <sup>a</sup> /(-h)yay- <sup>o,o</sup>			31a. (-h)etsni- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)etsn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> /(-h)etsy- <sup>a</sup>			32a. (-h)etswa- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)etswa- <sup>i</sup> /(-h)etsw- <sup>a,o</sup> /(-h)etsy- <sup>o</sup>																						
FI sg	46. (y)uk- <sup>o,i,o</sup> /(y)ukw- <sup>a,o</sup> /(y)uke- <sup>x</sup>			47. (y)ukhi- <sup>o,i</sup> /(y)ukhiy- <sup>a,o,o</sup>						48. (y)esa- <sup>o</sup> /(y)esa- <sup>i</sup> /(y)es- <sup>a,o</sup> /(y)esay- <sup>o</sup>			43a. (y)etsi- <sup>o,i</sup> /(y)etsiy- <sup>a,o,o</sup>								11. (y)e- <sup>o,i</sup> /(y)ak- <sup>o,o</sup> /(y)u- <sup>a</sup> /(y)a- <sup>i2</sup> /(y)a- <sup>o</sup>			49. kuwa- <sup>o</sup> /kuwa- <sup>i</sup> /kuw- <sup>a,o</sup> /kuway- <sup>o</sup>			33. (-h)(l)uwa- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)(l)uwa- <sup>i</sup> /(-h)(l)uw- <sup>a,o</sup> /(-h)(l)uway- <sup>o</sup>			58. (y)utat- <sup>o,v</sup> /(y)utate- <sup>x</sup>			50. kuwati- <sup>o</sup> /kuwan- <sup>v</sup>			51. (-h)(l)uwati- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)uwan- <sup>v</sup>		
FZ du																					12. kni- <sup>o</sup> /kn- <sup>i,o,o</sup> /ky- <sup>a</sup>																	
FZ pl																					13. kuti- <sup>o</sup> /ku- <sup>a</sup> /kun- <sup>i,o,o</sup>																	
M du																					14. (-h)ni- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)n- <sup>i,o,o</sup> /(-h)y- <sup>a</sup>																	
M pl																					15. (-h)(l)ati- <sup>o</sup> /(-h)(l)u- <sup>a</sup> /(-h)(l)an- <sup>i,o,o</sup>																	

NOTE. The symbols of alternation and indices of selection employed in this table are explained in section 5.4. Additional alternants of prefixes 55, 56, and 57 are described in section 5.4(3).



# Analysis

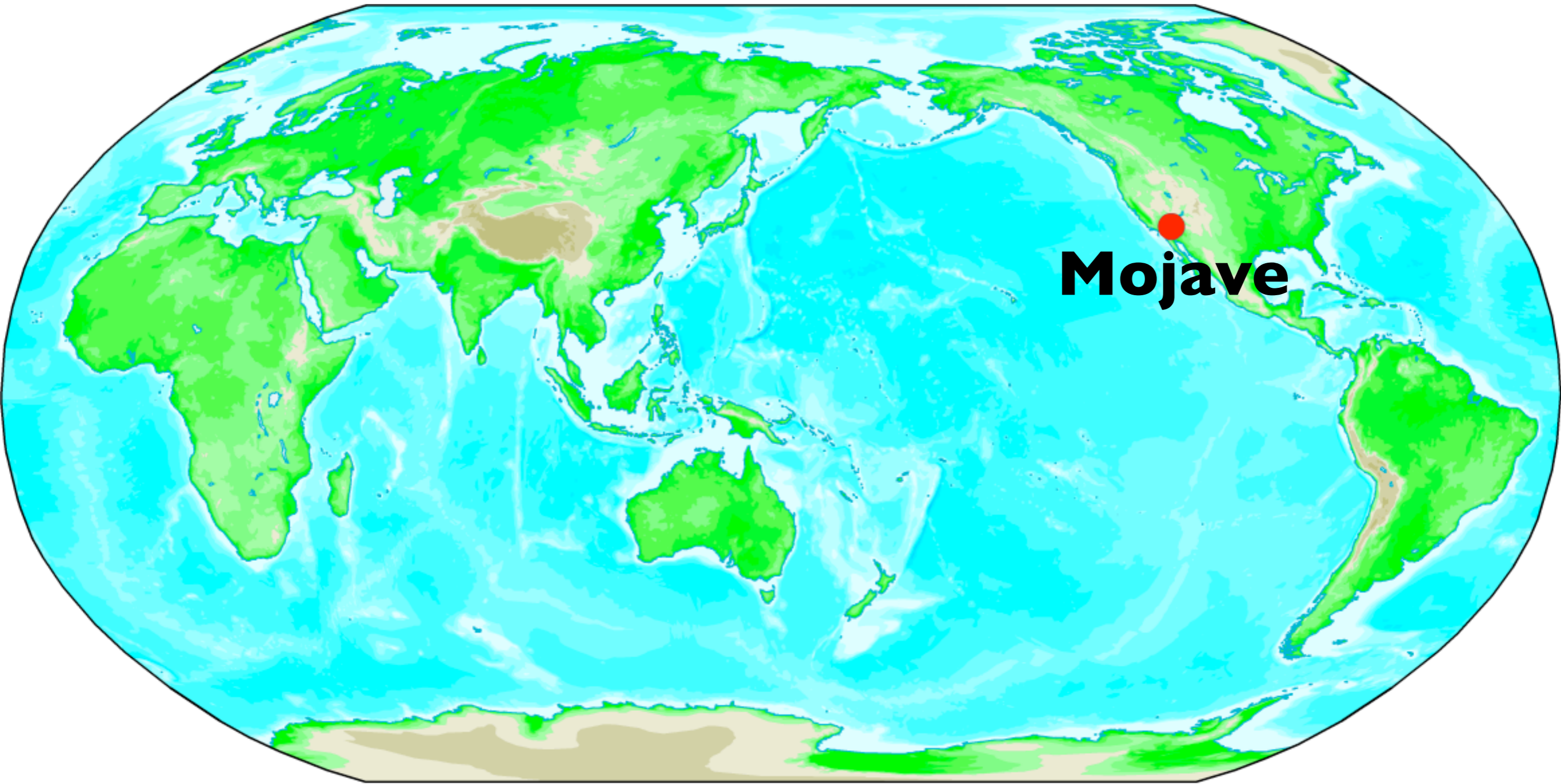
- **Historical:** Portmanteau were once transparently separatistic, but structure has changed (fusion, paradigmatic shifts)
- **Structural:** Capture current regularities
- **Project goal:** Combine these perspectives

Portmanteau is not a  
black/white question

**appoint present essential**

# Quantify Portmanteauicity

- To which extent is a form portmanteauoid?
- Can we put a number of that?
- Can we do it in a way that can be applied to any language?



**Mojave**

# Mojave Person Prefixes

		Subject			Imper-
		1	2	3	ative
Object	1		?n <sup>ʃ</sup> m-	n <sup>ʃ</sup> -	?n <sup>ʃ</sup> k-
	2	n <sup>ʃ</sup> -		m-	
	3	?-	m-	∅-	k-
Intransitive		?-	m-	∅-	k-



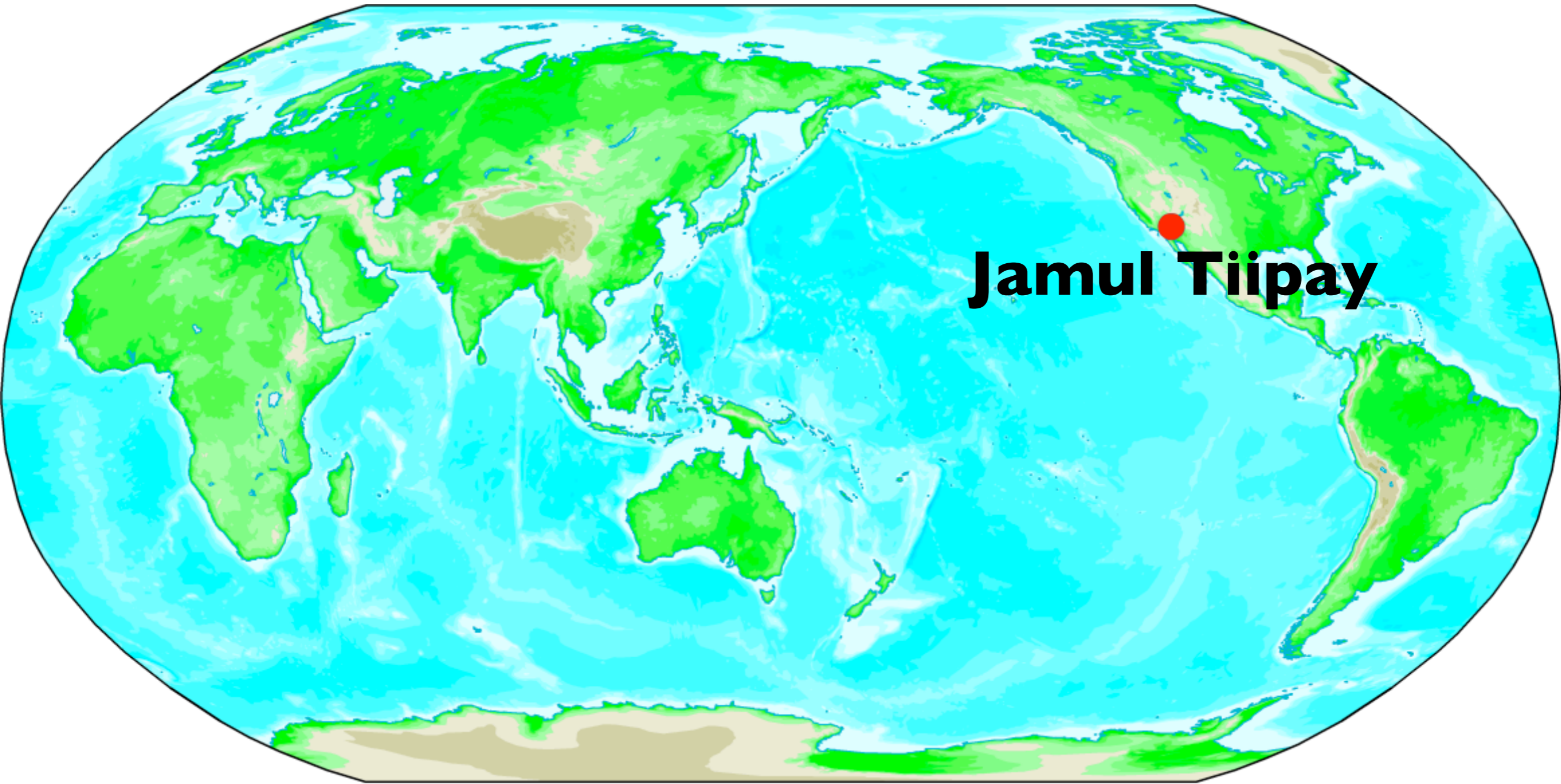
# Current attempts

- Consider all cells in the table
- Choose a set of factors that might be relevant (today: marginal categories)
- Try to predict the occurrence (and absence) of any phoneme in the paradigm from these factors
- Use general statistical methods (today: generalized linear modelling with 'step')

# Mojave Person Prefixes

		Subject			Imper-
		1	2	3	ative
Object	1		?n <sup>ʃ</sup> m-	n <sup>ʃ</sup> -	?n <sup>ʃ</sup> k-
	2	n <sup>ʃ</sup> -		m-	
	3	?-	m-	∅-	k-
Intransitive		?-	m-	∅-	k-

	1 subj	2 subj	3 subj	imperative	1 obj	2 obj	3 obj	intransitive
?	+		-		+	-		
n'	+			Subject	+	+	Imperative	
			1	2	3			
m	-	+			+			
		1		?	n'm-	n'-	?	n'k-
k	Object	2				m-		
		3			?	m-	ø-	k-
	Intransitive				?	m-	ø-	k-



**Jamul Tiipay**

# Tiipay Person Prefixes

		Subject		
		1	2	3
Object	1		n <sup>ʃ</sup> em-	n <sup>ʃ</sup> Vʔ-
	2	n <sup>ʃ</sup> -		m-
	3	ʔ-	m-	w-
Intransitive		ʔ-	m-	w-



	1 subj	2 subj	3 subj	1 obj	2 obj	3 obj	intran sitive
?	+	-		+	-		
nʹ	+			+	+		
m	-	+			+		
e		+		+			
v		-1			nʹem-	nʹV?-	
w	Object	-2		nʹ-	-	m-	
		3		?-	m-	w-	
	Intransitive			?-	m-	w-	

# Mojave

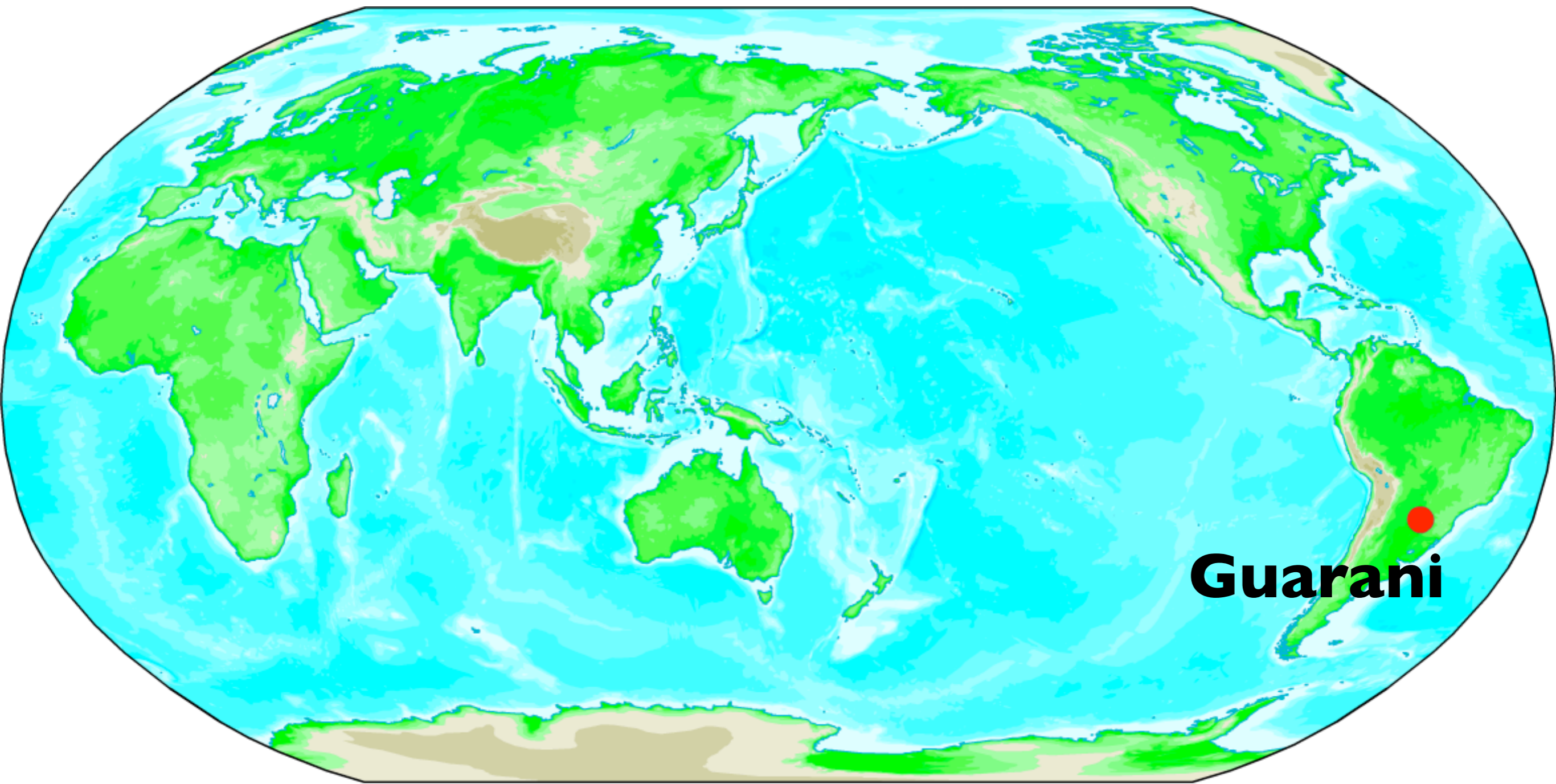
	1 subj	2 subj	3 subj	1 obj	2 obj
?	+		-	+	-
n <sup>j</sup>	+			+	+
m	-	+			+

# Jamul Tiipay

	1 subj	2 subj	3 subj	1 obj	2 obj
?	+	-		+	-
n <sup>j</sup>	+			+	+
m	-	+			+

		Subject		
		1	2	3
Object	1		<b>?n<sup>j</sup>m-</b>	<b>n<sup>j</sup>-</b>
	2	n <sup>j</sup> -		m-
	3	?-	m-	∅-
	Intransitive	?-	m-	∅-

		Subject		
		1	2	3
Object	1		<b>n<sup>j</sup>em-</b>	<b>n<sup>j</sup>V?-</b>
	2	n <sup>j</sup> -		m-
	3	?-	m-	w-
	Intransitive	?-	m-	w-



**Guarani**

# Guarani Person Prefixes

		Subject					Intran			
		1 sg	1 pl	Incl	2 sg	2 pl	3	sitive		
Object	1 sg				che-					
	1 pl				ore-					
	Incl							yane-		
	2 sg				ro-				ne-	
	2 pl				po-				pene-	
3		a-	ro-	ya-	re-	pe-	o-	i-		
Intransitive										

# Conclusion

- The notion of portmanteau needs a gradual quantification for cross-linguistic comparison
- The details of the quantification still need more work!