

On the origins of two modal verbs in Shiwiar (Chicham, Ecuador)



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Body part terms

- The human body is often used to conceptualise spatial reference, counting, emotions and cognition (Kraska-Szlenk 2014)
- This results in frequent metaphorical and metonymic extensions to the semantics of body part terms, sometimes leading to the grammaticalisation of those terms.

Grammaticalisation of body part terms

- Best known examples of grammaticalisation of body part terms include:
 - a) Adpositions
 - b) Reflexives
 - c) Numerals

(Heine & Kuteva 2002; Heine & Reh 1982; Schladt 2000, *inter alia*)

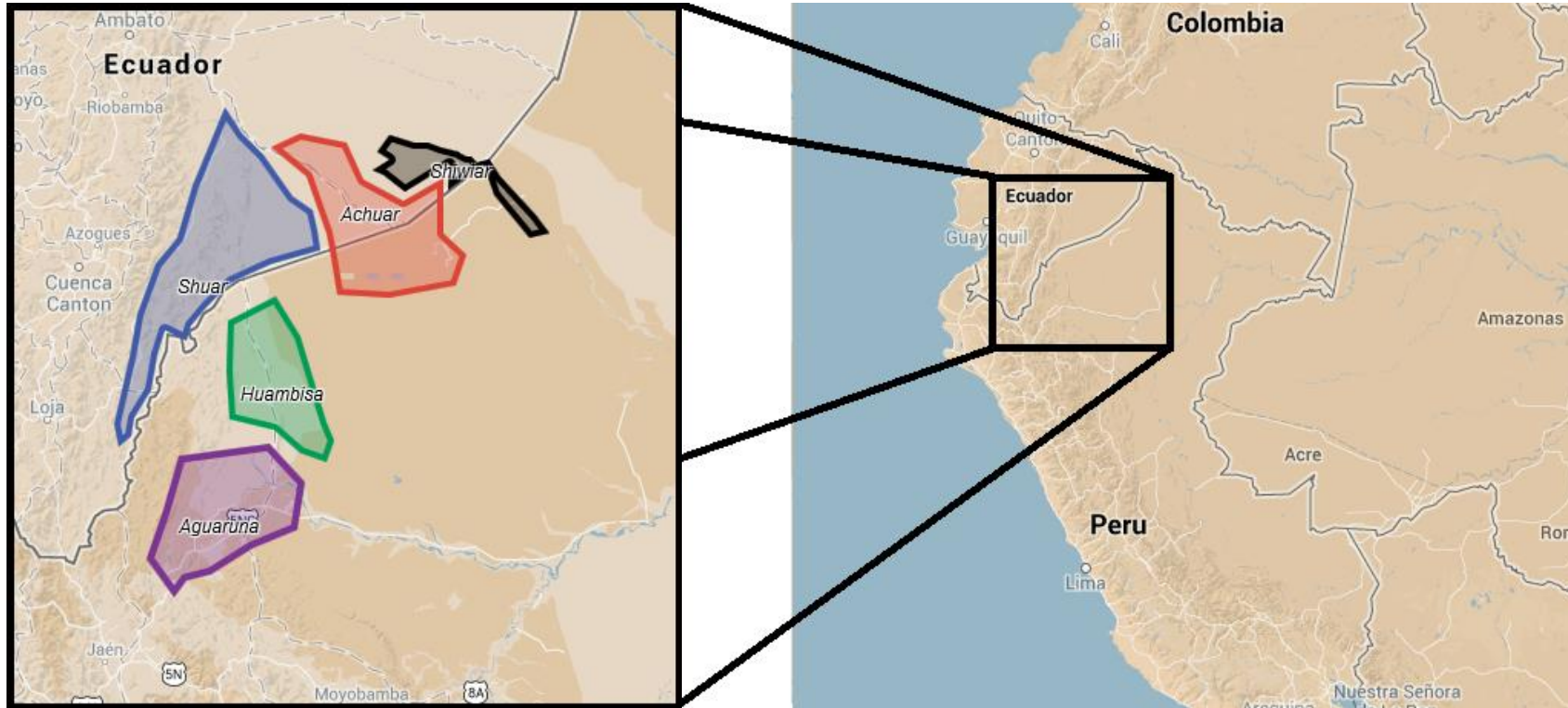
Today's Proposal

- A lesser-discussed grammaticalisation pathway:

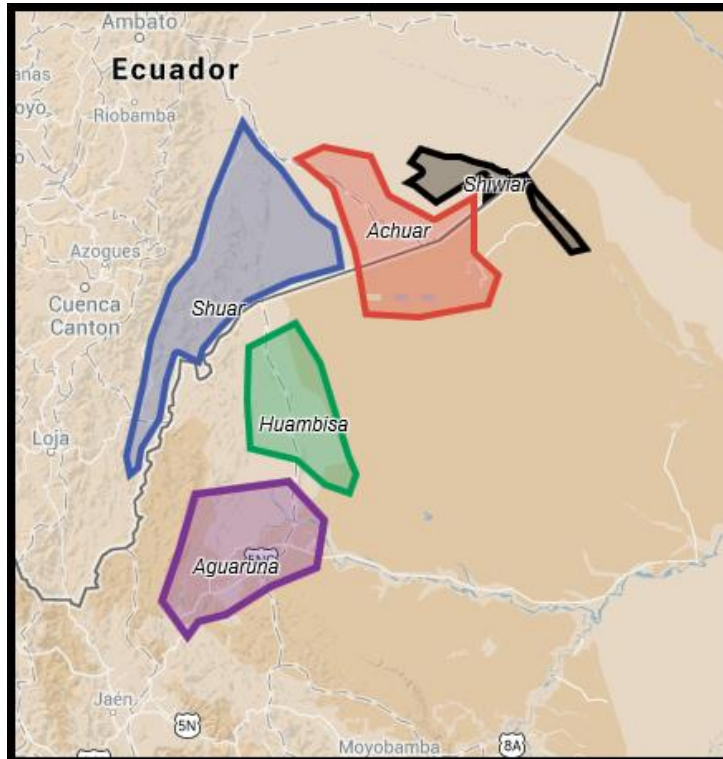
Body part noun > modal verb

Chicham Languages

(previously: Jivaroan languages)

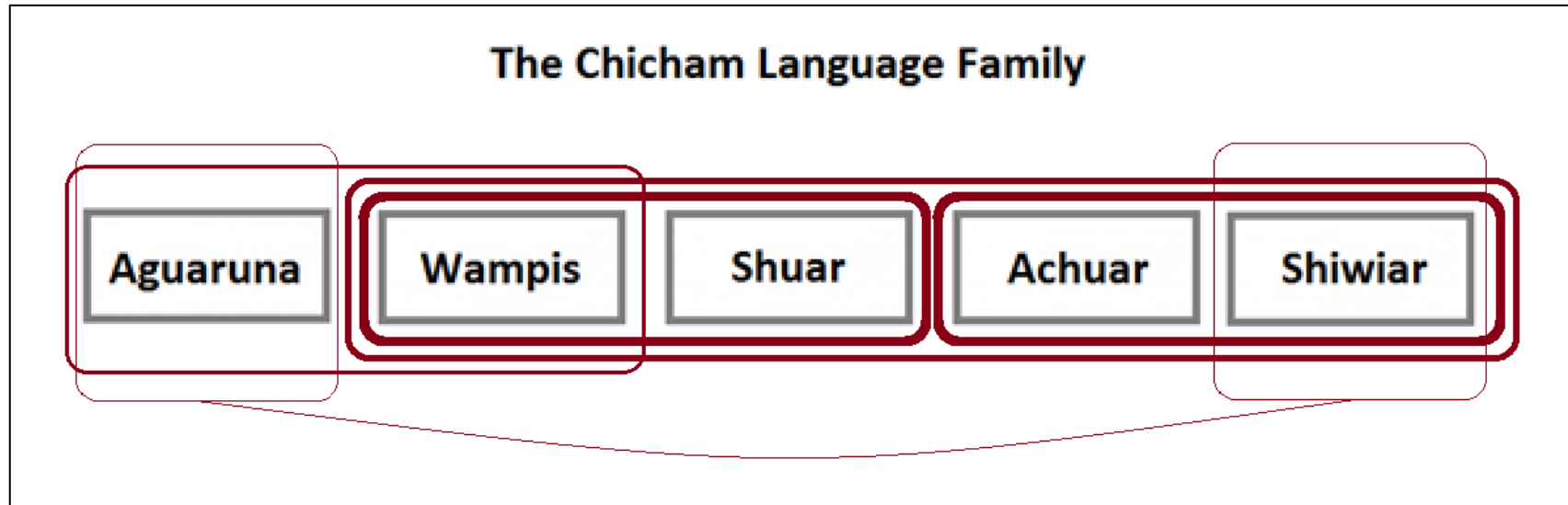


Chicham Languages

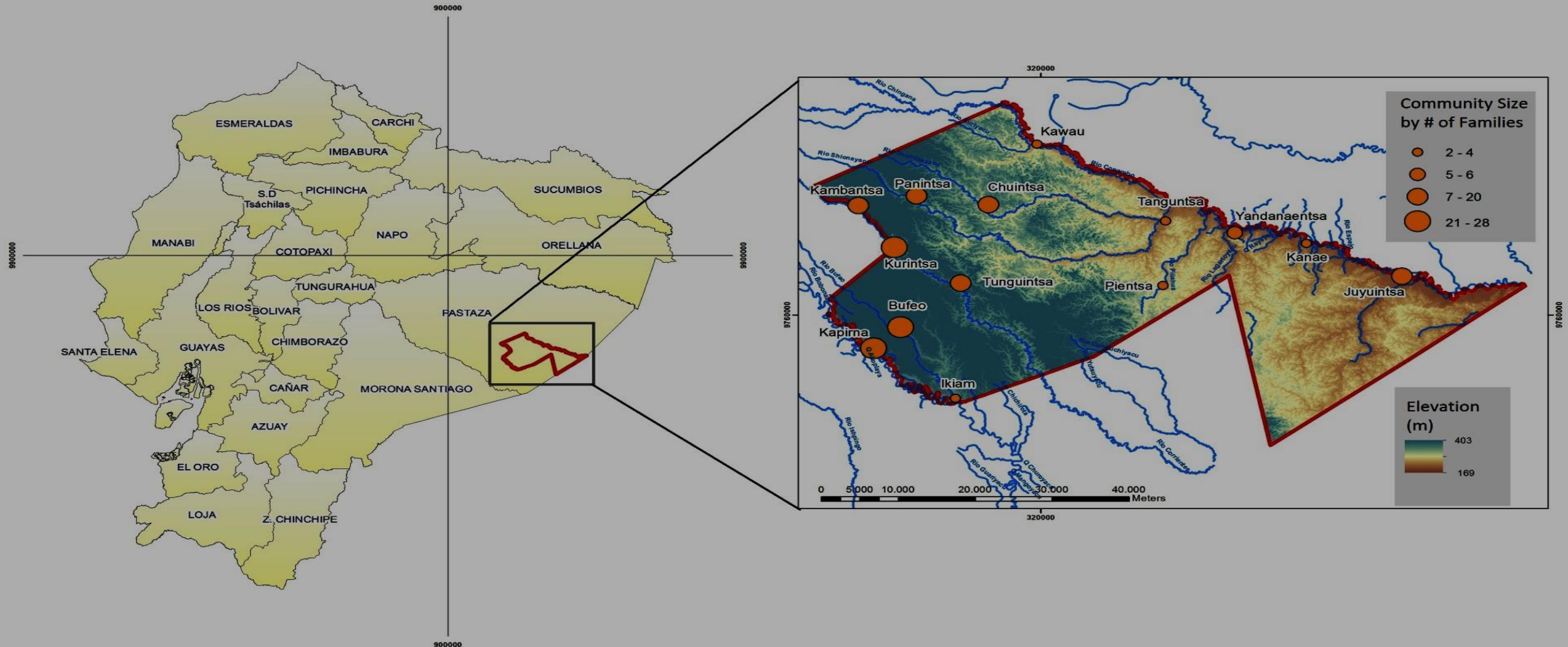


- Shuar: 62,000 speakers
- Aguaruna: 55,400 speakers
- Huambisa: 10,200 speakers
- Achuar: 24,400 speakers
- Shiwiar: 1,200 speakers

Chicham Languages



Shiwiar Nation



Shiwiar Nation



Shiwiar corpus

- 30-hour audiovisual corpus of natural speech
- Collected over 12 months of fieldwork between 2011 and 2016
- Over 30 Shiwiar speakers from 10 out of 12 Shiwiar villages
- Genres include day-to-day conversations, social narratives, public speeches, radio shows, anecdotes, procedural texts

Shiwiar Language

- Two clearly distinguishable open word classes: nouns and verbs
 - But there is derivational morphology that allows for deverbal nominalisation and denominal verbalisation
- Highly synthetic morphology (largely suffixing/encliticising)
- Preferred constituent order is predicate final (SOV)
- Clause chaining is pervasive; complex switch-reference system

Clause Chaining

- (1) *wíʃtʃi hatírán; kambatá kindʼa kanúran; taatáthai.*
wíʃtʃi *hatí-rá-n;*
cow.tree+OBJ cut.with.axe-PFV-1SG.SS
kampatá *kintʼa* *kanú-ra-n;*
three day sleep-PFV-1SG.SS
ta^N-a-tát-ha-i.
arrive-PFV-FUT-1SG.S-DECL
'I will cut some cow tree, sleep for three days and I will arrive.'
'Voy a sacar leche de caucho, dormir por tres días y voy a llegar.'

(T01-S02-04.wav; 07:36-07:39)

Clause Chaining

(2) *píngǫ́ sindʹátʃmatai; hǐhʹǎĩ kutʃát kutʃát nundutrámiaji.*

píngǫ́ *sintʹá-tʃ-mataʹ^N;*
truly wake-NEG-1/3.DS

hǐ= hʹǎĩ *kutʃát kutʃát* *nuntu-t-rá-mia-ji.*
fire=COM IDEO:press.into burn-APPL-PFV-DIST.PST-3.S+DECL

'Since he truly was not waking up, she burnt him with fire by pressing it into his skin.'

'Como de verdad no se estaba despertando, le quemó con candela, presionándole su piel.'

(T01-S02-04.wav; 04:01-04:05)

Clause Chaining

(3) *wiákminga; viśá amíh^hǎĩ wítáthai.*

wi-á-k-min=ka; wí=fá amí=h^hǎĩ wí-tát-ha-i.
go-IPFV-SIM-2SG.DS=TOP 1SG=FOC 2SG=COM go-FUT-1SG.S-DECL

'If you go, I'll also go with you.'

'Si te vas yo también me voy contigo.'

(T01-S03-01.wav; 04:07-04:09)

(4) *hútmatai; histásan; tandáhai.*

hút-matai^N; hi-s-tása-n; ta^N-t-á-ha-i.
cry-1/3.DS see-PFV-INTENT-1SG.SS arrive-APPL-PFV-1SG.S-DECL

'They were crying, so I came to check up on them.'

'Estaban llorando, así que vine a verles.'

(T01-S02-04.wav; 02:21-02:23)

Modal Verbs

(5) *máitʔun tũhĩáhĩ.*
má-i-tʔu=n
bathe-PFV-AS.NMLZ=OBJ
'I'm unable to bathe.'
'No puedo bañarme.'

tũhĩ-a-ha-i
be.unable-IPFV-1SG.S-DECL

(T01-S03-06.wav; 12:08-12:10)

Origin of Modal Verbs

- *wakir*- 'to want' > *waki-r* (stomach-VBLZ)
- *inintim*- 'to intend' > *ininti-m* (heart-VBLZ)

Stomach > Want

- (6) *wáki*
wáki
stomach
'stomach'
'estómago'

(T01-S01-01.wav; 18:09-18:10)

Stomach > Want

- (8) *nujá jamúngan juátasa; wakírahai.*
nujá jamúnga=n ju-á-tasa;
COORD:then pit.viper=OBJ eat-PFV-INTENT+1SG.SS
wakí-r-a-ha-i.
stomach-VBLZ-IPFV-1SG.S-DECL
'I want to eat a pit viper.'
'Quiero comer una víbora.'

Stomach > Want

- (10) *ámí awímbratij wakírakmíka; amíka nuḡá taútmítʼa.*
ámí awí-m-ra-tin^j wakír-a-k-mí=ka;
2SG save-REFL-PFV-AS.NMLZ want-IPFV-SIM-2SG.SS=TOP
amí=ka nuḡá taú-t-m-i-tʼa.
2SG=TOP ground+LOC dig-APPL-REFL-PFV-2SG.S:IMP
'If you want to save yourself, dig yourself into the ground!'
'Si te quieres salvar, ¡cávate en la tierra!'

(T01-S02-04.wav; 01:35-01:39)

Heart > Plan

- (11) *iníndi*
inínti
heart
'heart'
'corazón'

(T03-S03S12-01.wav; 29:31-29:32)

Heart > Plan

- (13) *turámdai huáit'ai víjna inindirka.*
turá-mtai^N hu=áitⁱ-a
COORD:and/so-1/3.DS PROX=COP-3.S
wí=n^{ja} inintí-r=ka.
1SG=OBJ(P) heart-1SG.P=TOP
'These are my thoughts/plans.'
'Estos son mis pensamientos/planes.'

(T02-S03S05-01.wav; 02:00-02:03)

- (14) *víjna inindirka awái.*
wí=n^{ja} inintí-r=ka a-wá-i.
1SG=OBJ(P) heart-1SG.P=TOP exist-3.S-DECL
'I have thoughts/plans. (Literally: My heart exists.)'
'Tengo pensamientos/planes. (Literalmente: Mi corazón existe.)'

(T02-S03S05-01.wav; 01:42-01:44)

Heart > Plan

- (15) *tu inindíramiaji.*
tu inintí-m-ra-mia-ji.
thus heart-VBLZ-PFV-DIST.PST-3.S+DECL
'That's what he thought.'
'Así pensó.'

(T01-S03-06.wav; 05:54-05:55)

- (16) *nikás pingír inindímmĩ.*
nikás pinkír inintí-m-mĩ.
truly good heart-VBLZ-2SG.S+DECL
'You truly think good things.'
'En verdad piensas buenas cosas.'

(T02-S03S05-01.wav; 01:50-01:51)

Heart > Plan

- (18) *jaíngatasam; tú inindímmĩ.*
jaín-ka-tasa-m; tú inintím-mĩ.
help-PFV-INTENT-2SG.SS **thus intend-2SG.S+DECL**
'You are intending to help.'
'Piensas ayudar.'

(T02-S03S05-01.wav; 01:57-01:59)

Grammaticalisation of Body Part Terms

- Shiwiar data supports the suggestion that at least two of its modal verbs have origins in body part terms.
- This enriches the typology of grammaticalisation pathways proposed for body part terms in the literature.
- It also highlights the importance of using natural discourse data in order to better understand the pragmatic context in which language change occurs.

Next steps

- Is this grammaticalisation pathway supported by data from other Chicham languages?
 - The languages are extremely similar from a morphological perspective, but there are interesting semantic differences.
- Are there similar grammaticalisation pathways found elsewhere in northwest Amazonia?
 - There is robust documentation of shared patterns of semantic extensions of body part terms in the region.

Acknowledgements



References

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- Schladt, Mathias. 2000. The typology and grammaticalization of reflexives. In: Frajzyngier, Zygmunt, Curl, Traci S. (Eds.), *Reflexives: Forms and Functions*. Typological Studies in Language 40. John Benjamins, Amsterdam, 103–124.

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