

Argument encoding and valence changing in Kawapanan

SSILA Annual meeting, 10 January 2009

Pilar Valenzuela, Chapman U
valenzuela@chapman.edu

Lindsay Butler, U of AZ
lkbutler@email.arizona.edu

0 Goals

- Describe basic argument encoding and valence changing operations in the two Kawapanan languages, Shawi and Shiwilu
- Demonstrate potential relationships between (non-)cognate forms and implications for typological and historical classification

1 Introduction¹

- Members of Kawapanan family: Shawi and Shiwilu
- Spoken in the northeastern Amazonian region of Peru
- Family is understudied, and Shiwilu is "nearly extinct"

SHAWI (Chayahuita: cbt)

- About 11,000 speakers, some monolingual
- SOV

SHIWILU (Jebero: jeb)²

- About 30 speakers, no monolingual
- Unless otherwise noted, data was gathered by the authors between 2005 and 2008

2 Argument Encoding in the Verb

SHAWI

- (1) Ka imin-ke pa²-ra-we
1SG chakra-to go-**indicative-1SG**
'I went to the chacra.' (Barraza 2005a:124)

SHIWILU

- (2) Kwa pa²-lek menmik
1SG go-**nonFUT.1SG** chacra:LOC
'I went to the chacra.'

1 The following abbreviations are used: ADV, adverbializer, APPL=applicative, BENF=benefactive, DIM=diminutive, DEM=demonstrative, DUR=durative, EXCL=exclusive, FOC=focus, INDIC=indicative, LOC=locational, nonFUT=non-future, OBJ=object, PL=plural, PRED=predicative, RECIP=reciprocal, REFL=reflexive, SG=singular, SUBJ=subject, TRANS=transitive

2 The Shiwilu data are transcribed in a Spanish-based orthography suggested by Pilar Valenzuela and others. These symbols may require explanation: [d] represents a frictionless dental approximant, [e] represents a mid central unround vowel, and [ll] represents a palatal lateral approximant. Also, in the Shawi transcription, there may be variation between [hu] and [w] and [ë] and [e].

Table 1: Shiwilu personal pronouns, possessives and main S/A markers

	1 PERSONAL PRONOUNS	2 POSSESSIVE	3 S/A OF VERBS WITH ONE OVERT ARGUMENT, NON-FUTURE	4 S/A OF VERBS WITH ONE OVERT ARGUMENT, FUTURE
1SG	kwa	-wek	-lek	-echek
1DU		-mapu? BS 140	-lek	-ater
2SG	kenma	-pen	-la	-echu
3SG	nana	-nen	-lli	-echun <i>-echu ~ etchu</i>
1PL.E	kuda	-widek	-llidek	-echidek
1PL.I	kenmu [?] wa [?]	-mapu [?] wa [?]	-lekwa [?]	-aterwa [?]
2PL	kenmama [?]	-penma [?]	-lama [?]	-echuma [?]
3PL	nawa [?]	-nenna [?]	-llina [?]	-echuna [?]

(3) Shiwilu-**kudek**
Shiwilu-PRED.1PL.EXCL
'We are Shiwilu.'

(4) Peklu[?]-lliner**kudek**
call-nonFUT.3PL>1PL.EXCL
'They called us.'

- In an article entitled *¿Es la lengua shawi una lengua activa?* (Is Shawi an active[-inactive] language?) Barraza (2005 *b*) raises the possibility of analyzing the Shawi system as following an active-inactive alignment, since the single arguments of the nominal predicates (i.e. S_o) are encoded in the same way as O.

Table 2: Shawi Nominal Predicate Suffixes, S, A & O Arguments (Barraza 2005 *b*)

Person	Nominal Predicate Suffixes	Intransitive Subject	Transitive	
			SUB	OBJ
1SG	-ku	-we	-we	-ku
2SG	-nken	-n	-n	-nken
3SG	-0	-in	-in	-0
DUAL	-npu	-e	-e	npu

- Consider also the following Shawi sentences:

(5) ka-su kimapi-**ku**
1SG-FOC man-PRED.1SG
'I am a man.'

(6) Kanu ka kinan-r-in-**ku**
Carlos 1SG find-indicative-3SUBJ-1OBJ
'Carlos found me.'

- Note that in the Shawi example (6) the A marker *-in* is analyzed separately from its O counterpart *-ku*. This is another crucial difference between the two sister languages, since in Shiwilu the two arguments

of a transitive clause are indicated through transitional suffixes, shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Non-Future A>O Verbal Markers (Bendor-Samuel 1981:115)

	1SG	1SG.I	2SG	1PL.E	1PL.I	2PL
1SG			-llen			-llenma'
2SG	-llu <i>-lun</i>			-llunkudek <i>-llundek</i>		
3SG	-llu <i>-llun</i>	-llenmu'	-llen	-llunkudek <i>-llundek</i>	-llenmu'wa'	-llenma'
1PL. E			-lliden			-llidenma' <i>-lillenma'</i>
2PL	-lamau'ku <i>-lama'u'ku</i>			-lamau'kudek		
3PL	-llinerku	-llinerkenmu'	-llinerken	-llinerkudek	-llinerkenmu'wa'	-llinerkenma'

- Despite the degree of grammaticalization the **O markers** can be identified and are given in bold.
- Table 4 compares the predicative suffixes and the O markers in Shiwilu; it can be seen that these are essentially the same.

Table 4: Predicative Suffixes on NPs and O Markers

	Predicative Suffixes	O markers
1SG	-ku	-u, un, -ku
1DUAL	-kenmu'	-enmu', -kenmu'
2SG	-ken	-en, -ken
3SG	-0	-0
1PL.EXCL	-kudek	-kudek, -dek
1PL.IINCL	-kenmu'wa'	-enmu'wa', kenmu'wa'
2PL	-kenma'	-enma, -enma', -kenma'
3PL	-lusa' -0-lusa' (Valenzuela)	-dek...-0

- However, it is argued here that the active-inactive analysis is not adequate (for Shiwilu),
 - First, the predicative paradigm does not extend to other types of intransitive clauses or even other predicate nominals.
 - Second, expressions involving predicative suffixes cannot take verbal affixes.
 - Finally, in Shiwilu, O markers of finite clauses not only resemble predicative suffixes (which signal intransitive and inactive subjects, by definition) but also the markers corresponding to S/A/O arguments in several non-finite paradigms.
- (7) Samer map-a'sekudek, dinsulu-llinerkudek
 fish catch:DUR.1PL.EXCL chase.away-nonFUT.3PL>1PL.EXCL
 'When we were catching fish, they chased us away.'

- Transitivity function

(28) anañi-pa-lli
 distribute-DUR-nonFUT.3SG
 'S/he is distributing/sharing.'

(29) anañi-**ta**-pa-lli
 distribute-**APPL**-DUR-nonFUT.3SG
 'S/he is distributing/sharing (it).'

(30) anañi-**ta**-pa-dek-lli
 distribute-**APPL**-DUR-3PL.OBJ-nonFUT.3SG
 'S/he is distributing (it) to them.'

- Applicative *-ta* may not perform the ditransitivizing function in Shiwilu
- Applicative *-ta* may not be obligatory with the presence of overt object NPs

(31) asu[?] wila-lusa[?] enka-pa-dek-lek tanku
 DEM child-PL give-DUR-BENF-nonFUT.1SG plantain
 'I am giving the children plantain.'

- Remaining questions about a Shiwilu applicative
 - What is the relationship between transitivity *tu-* and transitivity function of "applicative" *ta-*?
 - Apparently not phonologically conditioned allomorphy (all others precede aspect marker *-pa*)
 - saka-*ta*-su
 - saka-*ta*-terwa
 - Is there evidence of an applicative functioning to change impersonal verbs to intransitive or to detransitivize?
- Shawi and Shiwilu share the verbalizing and transitivity function of the applicative *-tə/-ta* potentially cognate with the widespread Amazonian valence changing suffix including /t/

4 Valence: Reflexive/reciprocal prefix *in-/ni-*

4.1 SHIWILU: *in-*

- Reflexivizing function

(32) kwa luwan-tu-llen
 1SG love-TRANS-1SG>2SG
 'I love you.'

(33) kwa **in**-luwan-tu-lek
 1.SG **REFL**-love-TRANS-nonFUT.1SG
 'I love myself.'

- Reciprocalizing function

- (34) Juliu-ler deŋma-lli asu? Dapi?
 Julio-ERG³ fight-nonFUT.3SG DEM David
 'Julio fights David.'
- (35) Juliu Dapi? eŋmpu'nipa? **in**-deŋma-pa-llina
 Julio David much **RECIP**-fight-DUR-nonFUT.3PL
 'Julio and David are fighting each other a lot.'

4.2 SHAWI: *ni*-

- Reflexivizing function

- (36) ahuë-ra-huë
 hit-INDIC-1SG
 'I hit him.'
- (37) **ni**-ahuë-ra-huë
RELF-hit-INDIC-1SG
 'I hit myself.' (Hart 1988: 269)
- (38) shi-**ni**-tiqui-anta-r-in
 almost-**REFL**-end-again-INDIC-3SG
 'Casi se terminó otra vez.' (Hart 1988: 487)
 It almost ended itself another time.'

- Reciprocalizing function

- (39) no[?]hui-r-in
 anger-INDIC-3S
 'He angered him'
- (40) **ni**-no[?]hui-pi
RECIP-anger-3PL
 'They angered each other' (Hart 1988: 270)
- (41) isëquë ya'huë-piso-pita ninosoroatona?, **ni**-catahua-pi
 here exist.body.plural united **RECIP**-help-3PL
 'La gente de acá es muy unida; se ayudan los unos a los otros' (Hart 1988: 467)
 'The people from here are very united; they help one another.'

- Both Shawi and Shiwilu verbal prefix *in-/ni-* (metathesized) perform the reflexive and reciprocal functions

5 Conclusions

- Descriptive generalizations for Kawapanan argument encoding and valence
- Implications for typological/historical analyses

3 See Valenzuela (to appear) for an analysis of an ergative marker in Shiwilu.

References

- Barraza de García, Yris. 2005 *a*. El sistema verbal en la lengua shawi. Tese de doutorado em Lingüística, Universidade Federal de Pernambuco. Ms.
- 2005 *b*. ¿Es la lengua shawi una lengua activa? *Memorias del Congreso de Idiomas Indígenas de Latinoamérica-II*, University of Texas at Austin.
- Bendor-Samuel, John T. 1981[1958]. *The structure and function of the verbal piece in the Jebero language*. Perú: Ministerio de Educación and ILV.
1961. The verbal piece in Jebero. *Word*, 17, 1-120.
- Dixon, R.M.W. 1994. *Ergativity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hart, George and Helen Hart. 1975. *Vocabulario Chayahuita*. Datos Etnolingüísticos No. 7. Lima: SIL and Ministerio de Educación.
- Hart, Helen. 1988. *Diccionario chayahuita-castellano (Canponanquë nisha nisha nonacaso')*. Yarinacocha: Ministerio de Educación and ILV.
- Peperkamp, Michel G.J. 2006. *Jebero*. Master's thesis. Faculty of Letters. Department of Indigenous Languages and Cultures of the Americas. University of Leiden.
- Valenzuela, Pilar M. To appear *b*. Acusatividad y ergatividad “opcional” en Shiwilu (Kawapana). In Ana Carla Bruno, Frantomé Pacheco, Francisc Queixalos & Leo Wetzels (eds.) *A estrutura das línguas amazônicas, I: 1.nasalidade 2. relações gramaticais*. Manaus, Brazil: Instituto Nacional de Pesquisas da Amazônia.
- Wise, Mary Ruth. 1993. Algunas interrogantes en la clasificación de las lenguas indígenas sudamericanas. Paper presented at the 11th International Congress of the Asociación de la Lingüística y la Filología de la América Latina.
- Wise, Mary Ruth. 2002. Applicative affixes in Peruvian Amazonian languages. *Current studies on South American Indian languages, Indigenous languages of Latin America* 3. Leiden. 329-344.