The syntax and semantics of causative constructions in Balsapuerto Shawi

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Outline

1. Kawapanan linguistics
2. General facts about the language
3. Grammar profile
4. Fieldwork
5. The syntax and semantics of causative constructions
6. Conclusions
The Kawapanan languages

Proto-Kawapanan

Proto-Mayna/Shawi

Proto-Shiwilu

Mayna †

Modern Shawi

Cahuapanas

Modern Shiwilu

Balsapuerto/Paranapura

Sillay
Kawapanan linguistics

• Shiwili: Valenzuela-Bismarck 2011a,b, Valenzuela 2013; Madalengoitia-Barúa 2013; Farfán-Reto 2012

• Shawi: Barraza de García 2005a,b; Rojas-Berscia 2013 a,b

• Southern Mayna: Rojas-Berscia 2014 (mnscrpt)
(Balsapuerto) Shawi

- ca. 21 000 locutors
- The most vital member of the Kawapanan language family
- Alto Amazonas, Loreto

In general: Paranapura, Cahuapanas, Sillay, Jeberos, Yanayacu, Cachiyacu, Armanayacu, Sabaloyacu, quebrada Yanayacu y grupos aislados en la carretera en Bajo Huallaga y en el río Shanusi
Grammatical profile

- Agglutinative & synthetic
- Prefixing and suffixing
- AOV
- Open classes: Nouns & Verbs
- Closed classes: Adjectives?, Pronouns, Deictics, Adverbs, Conjunctions, Interjections
- Ergative-absolutive (?)
- Oblique cases: genitive, ablative, locative, comitative, essive, benefactive y limitative
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modo de articulación</th>
<th>Punto de articulación</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bilabial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oclusivo</td>
<td>p &lt;p&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africado</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricativo</td>
<td>s &lt;s&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m &lt;m&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vibrante</td>
<td>r &lt;r&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semiconsonántico</td>
<td>w &lt;w&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modo de articulación</th>
<th>Anterior</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Posterior</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alta</td>
<td>i &lt;i&gt;</td>
<td>i &lt;e&gt;</td>
<td>u &lt;u&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baja</td>
<td>a &lt;a&gt;</td>
<td></td>
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</table>
3. Fieldwork
5. The syntax and semantics of causative constructions

Goals?

• Provide a new account (grammar sketch) of Balsapuerto Shawi

• Offer a discussion about causation in general from a cognitive-functional perspective.

• Describe and document all the causative structures in Balsapuerto Shawi, giving an account of their functional domain, semantic value and syntactic form.

• Interpret the data of Balsapuerto Shawi in light of functional typology, in order to determine whether the generalisations presented by Shibatani (2002), Aikhenvald & Dixon (2000), and Guillaume & Rose (2010) are applicable to this language.
Framework

- Functional typology
  - Grammar of Causation (Shibatani 2002)

Assumption: Linguistic forms correspond to specific functions in the speakers’ reality.
Causation?

“Two events can be said to constitute a causative situation if the following two conditions hold:

a. The relation between the two events is such that the speaker believes that the occurrence of one event, the ‘caused event’, has been realized at \( t_2 \), which is after \( t_1 \), the time of the ‘causing event’.

b. The relation between the causing and the caused event is such that the speaker believes that the occurrence of the caused event is wholly dependent on the occurrence of the causing event; the dependency of the two events here must be to the extent that it allows the speaker to entertain a counterfactual inference that the caused event would not have taken place at that particular time if the causing event had not taken place, provided that all else had remained the same.” (Shibatani 1973; Shibatani 1976:1-2)
Functional typology

• Identification of functional domains to be typified.

• Identification of formal patterns or morphosyntactic structures used to express the typological domain in and among languages.

• Look for asymmetries and trace universal implications, constraining possible types or formal patterns of constructions.

• Look for correlations between form-meaning.

• Explain these correlations (Shibatani 2012)
Cuadro de clasificación dentro del *continuum* de la gramática de la causación

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mecanismos léxicos de causación</th>
<th>Mecanismos morfológicos</th>
<th>Mecanismos perifrásticos</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Causación directa</td>
<td>Causación de acción conjunta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Causación de acción asistida</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Causación de supervisión</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causación asociativa</td>
<td></td>
<td>Modelo en (Dixon 2000: 74)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Modelo en Shibatani (2000)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Direct & Indirect Causation

Figure 1. Direct causation

Figure 2. Indirect causation
Associative Causation

Direct-Joint-action-Assistive-Supervision- Indirect

Figure 3. Joint-action/assistive

Figure 4. Supervision sociative
Causation in Balsapuerto Shawi
The prefix *ichi-*

- With the morpheme {–iči}, one expresses that a person makes another person do something, but she herself performs as well the originally induced action. It seems to be a causative construction, because someone induces another person to do something, but we cannot say it is a typical causative construction because the same person that induces the action performs it. It is a type of causative construction in combination with a comitative one. We incorporate an agentive/patientive subject to the predicate at the same time. We will call it causative-comitative construction (Barraza 2005: 180).
Ka ichi-yunkat-aun-(n)ke.
[+agentive] [+agentive] [+volitive] [-volitive]
I CAUS.ASOC-swim-1aP.SG.SUJ-2aP.SG.OBJ
‘I make you swim (but I swim with you/ I help you swim)’.

Ka yunkat-aun kema-ru-ku.
[+agentive] [+agentive] [+volitive]
I swim-1aP.SG.SUJ tú-COMIT-1aP.SG.
‘I dance with you.’

One could think that the [-volitivo] feature goes against the semantics of the assistive; however, in an associative causation process, the A₂ does not realise the action ‘wanting’, but is impulsed to do it by A₁, even if she is helped by him.
The prefix *a*-

- “This prefix works with intransitive verbs and transitive verbs: it made the intransitive transitive, and the transitive bitransitive” (Barraza 2005).
Continuum of indirect causation

Degree of involvement of the causee
## Double causatives

### Tabla 39: Doble causación

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causativo de intransitivo</th>
<th>(139) Ka-ri-nke a-ta'a-r-an-nk(e).</th>
<th>(140) Ka-ri-nke sha'wi-te-r-an-(n)ke a-ta'a-kamasu'.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yo-ERG-2#P.SG.OBJ</td>
<td>yo-ERG-2#P.SG.OBJ contar-APL?-APOY-1#P.SG.SUJ-2#P.SG.OBJ CAUS-correr-2#P.SG.INF.PSOAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CAUS-correr-APOY-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1#P.SG.SUJ, 2#P.SG.OBJ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Yo hago que corras.'</td>
<td>'Yo hago que tú hagas que él corra.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causativo de transitivo</th>
<th>(141) Ka-ri-nke i'sha'-Ø a-u'u-r-an-(n)ke.</th>
<th>(142) Ka-ri-nke sha'wi-te-r-an-(n)ke i'sha'-Ø a-u'u-kamasu'.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yo-ERG-2#P.SG.OBJ</td>
<td>yo-ERG-2#P.SG.OBJ contar-APL?-APOY-1#P.SG.SUJ-2#P.SG.OBJ agua-ABS CAUS-beber-2#P.SG.INF.PSOAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>agua-ABS CAUS-beber-APOY-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1#P.SG.SUJ, 2#P.SG.OBJ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Yo hago que bebas agua.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vale la pena recalcar que causativos dobles de cláusulas copulativas ya causativizadas tampoco son posibles.
Conclusions

• There is *continuum* of causation in Balsapuerto Shawi which goes hand in hand with the universals proposed by Shibatani & Pardeshi (2002).
• Direct causation manifests itself by means of lexical causatives.
• Joint-action and assistive associative causation manifests by means of the prefix *ichi*-. 
• Supervision and indirect causation manifest by means of the prefix *a*- and other periphrastic forms synchronically, formed with the verbs *a’pa*- , *aku*- , *nin*- , *sha’wi- and ten*-.
• The periphrastic forms conform a *continuum*: the indirect causation *continuum*
• Agreeing with Dixon (2000), morphological causatives in Shawi can be applied only to intransitive/transitive clauses, while the periphrastic ones to copulative, intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive clauses.
• Double causatives are also possible; however, they can only be applied to lexical causatives or intransitive/transitive clauses previously causativised.
Yusparinke 😊
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