Paunaka strategies of loan verb integration

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the integration of Spanish verbs into Paunaka, a highly endangered Southern Arawakan language of Bolivia. As input forms, Paunaka predominantly uses Spanish past participles, but a difference in borrowability dependent on verb class can be observed. The borrowed participles are either verbalized or, more frequently, used as non-verbal predicates, which has extended the semantic scope of non-verbal predication. Borrowing of participles is not found with Paunaka's closest relatives, but possibly with a non-related neighbouring language. Integrating Spanish verbs as non-verbal predicates is also encountered in Bésiro, which has been the dominant indigenous language in the region for the last 300 years.

***Keywords**: Paunaka, Arawakan, verbal borrowing, non-verbal predicate, participle*

***Mots-clés**: paunaka, arawakien, verbe d'emprunt, prédicat non verbal, participe*

1. INTRODUCTION

Studies about the grammatical consequences of language contact have received increasing interest during the last 20 years, with publications such as "Bilingual Speech" (Muysken, 2000), "Grammatical borrowing in cross-linguistic perspective" (Matras, 2007), or "Loanwords in the World's Languages" (Haspelmath and Tadmor, 2009). The topic of verbal borrowings has also been carefully examined (Wohlgemuth, 2009). However, the integration strategy that is explored in this paper has not been described before, as far as I know.[1] Paunaka primarily borrows past participles that are then inflected like non-verbal predicates.

Paunaka is a critically endangered Southern Arawakan language of the Bolivian lowlands (Krauss, 2007, p. 6; Aikhenvald, 1999, p. 67). There are 11 speakers and semi-speakers, and all of them are trilingual with Spanish and Bésiro (or Chiquitano, classified either as a language isolate or as a Macro-Jê language; Sans, 2013, p. 7). Spanish is the dominant language nowadays, but until the 1950s, Bésiro also played an important role in inter-ethnic communication. Paunaka is synthetic, agglutinating, and predominantly head-marking. It has split S-marking dependent on word class. This is further explained in 1.2.2.

Paunaka has many loans from Spanish, among them conjunctions and other clause and discourse connectors (Danielsen and Terhart, 2015), but also a lot of verbs. There are also a number of loans from Bésiro, mainly nouns and adverbs, but more research on this topic remains to be done. Note that I do not make a difference between integrated and ad-hoc borrowings here, as the pattern is the same for both.

All Paunaka data presented in this paper was collected within the Paunaka Documentation Project, which lasted from 2011-2013 and was funded by the Endangered Language Documentation Programme (ELDP), except for example (ii) in footnote 11, which was collected by Swintha Danielsen on an earlier field trip. I wish to express my gratitude to the Paunaka people for sharing their knowledge with me.

The paper is organized as follows: section 1 describes the different patterns of deriving an appropriate input form from a Spanish donor verb, as well as the different accommodation patterns to convert the input form into either a verb or a non-verbal predicate in Paunaka. Section 2 discusses how the integration of Spanish verbs as non-verbal predicates has changed the semantic scope of non-verbal predication in Paunaka. The findings are summarized in the conclusion.

1. INTEGRATION OF SPANISH LOAN VERBS IN PAUNAKA

1.1. Input form

When considering borrowing of verbs, we first have to determine the *input form*, i.e. the form of the verb that is borrowed. This input form may then be accommodated by certain strategies (*accommodation patterns*) to yield a grammatical item in the recipient language, which is then ready for inflection (Wohlgemuth, 2009). The accommodation patterns are explained in section 1.2.

[1] As the outcome here is a non-verbal predicate, the strategy employed by Paunaka would have probably been excluded from Wohlgemuth's examination by definition (cf. Wohlgemuth 2009, p. 63).

It has been claimed that a very frequent input form for borrowed verbs in languages all over America in contact with Romance languages is the reduced infinitive; the infinitive of the Romance verb minus the final *r* (Wohlgemuth, 2009, p. 170).[2]

While a few cases of this reduced infinitive strategy can also be found in Paunaka (see 1.3), in most cases the input is a Spanish past participle in *-ado*, pronounced [aọ̯] in local Spanish; some examples are given in table 1.

Table 1: Borrowing of Spanish past participles in Paunaka

Spanish infinitive	Spanish participle	Paunaka loan	Translation
ayudar	ayudado	ayurau	help
comenzar	comenzado	komensau	begin
ganar	ganado	kanau	win
olvidar	olvidado	arbidau/arbirau	forget

Although some languages have been reported to use participles as input forms (Wohlgemuth, 2009, p. 90-91), it is not clear how frequent this model is world wide.

1.2. Accommodation patterns

As for the integration of loan verbs, four strategies found cross-linguistically have been described. They were summarized by Matras (2009, p. 176) as follows.

> Types of loan verb integration:
> No modification of the original form of the verb ('direct insertion')
> Morphological modification of the original form of the verb ('indirect insertion')
> Insertion of the original form of the verb into a compound construction where it is accompanied by an inherited verb ('light verb')
> Import of the original verb along with its original inflection ('paradigm transfer')

1.1.1. Indirect insertion and verbalization

Participles seem to be mostly accommodated by a light verb construction (c) cross-linguistically (cf. Wohlgemuth, 2009, p. 112-113), i.e. the borrowed participle is accompanied by a native verb that carries the inflection. This is not the case with Paunaka.

Paunaka uses two different strategies. The less frequently encountered one is indirect insertion (b). In this case, the input is verbalized by a suffix *–chu,*[3] and then the verb is inflected like a usual

[2] Note that although the reduced infinitive very closely resembles the 3rd person singular present, Wohlgemuth (2009, p. 81) cites some stress patterns of the borrowed verb in Guaraní that speak against the 3rd person singular as an input form. Consider also (15) below, where the borrowed item has a final *i* that appears in the Spanish infinitive, but not in the 3rd person singular.

[3] This suffix occurs in a number of Arawakan languages. Its function, as well as the function of the paradigmatically contrasting suffix *-ku*, is hard to determine (cf. Danielsen, 2007; Rose, 2010; Wise, 1971, 1990), for which reason I call both *-chu* and *-ku* thematic suffixes for the time being. Danielsen (2007) chooses the gloss 'APPL' for *-cho* and in the

Paunaka verb. This strategy is also found in Baure and Trinitario, although both languages use the reduced infinitive rather than the past participle as input: compare (1) from Paunaka to (2) from Baure and (3) from Trinitario.

(1) *takumurauchujitu*

ti- akumurau -chu -ji -tu

3i- set.right -TH -RPRT -IAM

'he set things right, they say'

(*Paunaka*; mox-n110920l.082)[4]

(2) *nka rawantachow*

nka ro= awanta -cho -wo

NEG 3SGm= bear -APPL -COP

'he didn't bear it'

(*Baure*; Danielsen, 2007, p. 243)

(3) *n- maneja -cho*

1SG- drive -VR

'I drive'

(*Trinitario*; Rose, 2010, p. 6)

1.1.2. Direct insertion and use of borrowed item as non-verbal predicate

Paunaka often verbalizes the participle when a transitive relation with a human object is to be expressed (e.g. with *ayurau* 'help'). However, there are instances in which there is no human object, yet the participle is verbalized, like (1) above, and instances where there is a human object, yet the participle is not verbalized, like (4) (and see also (13) below). In these cases, the object is expressed by a benefactive construction.

handout by Rose (2010) the suffix has different glosses, one of them being 'VZ'. Despite the different names, the suffix is related in all three languages.

[4] The abbreviations of the cited Paunaka data refer to the name of the session and number of annotation in Elan. The data can be found in the Paunaka archive in ELAR: http://elar.soas.ac.uk/deposit/0104

(4) *kapunuina abisauna bitÿpi*

kapunu -ina abisau -ina bi- tÿpi

come -IRR inform -IRR 1PL- BEN

'they come to inform us'

(mqx-p110826l.405)

For expression of intransitive relations, the more frequently employed strategy of Paunaka loan verb accommodation is direct insertion of the participle without verbalization. In this case, the Spanish participle is treated like a non-verbal predicate. No further morphological accommodation is necessary in order to integrate such a non-verbal predicate, and thus this strategy is of type a. Nevertheless, the Paunaka pattern does not neatly match any of the postulated types, because the outcome is a non-verbal predicate rather than a verb.

In Paunaka, non-verbal predicates are distinguished from verbal ones by a different irrealis marker, and by the use of suffixes instead of prefixes for subject marking.[5] Both, active and stative verbs take prefixes for subject marking, unlike some other Arawakan languages that have subclasses of stative verbs that take suffixes for subject marking. Paunaka patterns with other South Arawakan languages like Baure in this respect (Danielsen and Granadillo, 2008). Active transitive verbs take person suffixes to mark SAP objects. Note that verbs do not take suffixes for 3rd person objects, unless they are subordinate.[6] The same is true for non-verbal predicates, so that 3rd person (singular) subjects cannot be marked on non-verbal predicates.[7]

The paradigm of person marking affixes is summarized in table 2.

[5] This is actually dependent on the type of non-verbal predication, e.g. the non-verbal predicate *kaku* 'exist' never takes person suffixes.

[6] There is a special prefix for 3>3 relationships that is used when the 3rd person object is human or emphasized.

[7] The 3rd person markers are unspecified for number. If plural is to be expressed, a plural suffix can be added to the verb. It can refer to the subject or object. Plural markers can also attach to non-verbal predicates to mark the 3rd person plural subject of the predicate, see (i). However, if the predicate is possessed, the plural marker may also refer to the 3rd person plural possessor.

(i) *chupaunubetuji*

chupau -nube -tu -ji

drink.alcohol -PL -IAM -RPRT

'they drank alcohol, they say'

(jmx-n120429ls-x5.349)

Table 2: Person marking affixes

		Prefix: subject on verbs, possessor on nouns (3>3 used for 3rd person possessor)	**Suffix: object on verbs, subject on non-verbal predicates**
SG	1	*nÿ-/ni-*	*-ne/-nÿ*
	2	*pi-*	*-bi/-pi*
	3	*ti-*	/
	3>3	*chÿ-/chi-*	/ (*-chÿ/-chi* only on subordinate verbs)
PL	1	*bi-*	*-bi*
	2	*e-/a-*	*-e*
	3	suffixes *-nube*/*-jane* may refer to subject or object	

Consider (5) and (6), which show verbal predicates, active and stative respectively, and compare to (7) and (8), which show non-verbal predicates based on a Paunaka noun (7) and on a participle borrowed from Spanish (8).

(5) *¡pimune piti!*

pi- *imu* *-ne* *piti*

2SG- see -1SG you

‘you see me!’

(cux-c120414ls-2.262)

(6) *pichÿnumi*

pi- *chÿnumi*

2SG- be.sad

‘you are sad’

(uxx-e120427l.050)

(7) *pimiyakuÿbi*

apimiya *-kuÿ* *-bi*

girl -still -2SG

‘you are still young’

(mdx-c120416ls.153)

(8) *metu pagaubitu*

metu *pagau* *-bi* *-tu*

already pay -1PL -IAM

‘we had already paid it’

(jxx-p120515l-2.177)

The irrealis marker of verbs is a suffix *-a* on active and a prefix *a-* on stative verbs, but on non-verbal predicates a different marker *-ina* is found. In (9) there is a negated verb with an irrealis suffix *-a* and (10) gives a stative verb with an irrealis prefix. (11) is a negated nominal predicate bearing the nominal irrealis suffix *-ina*, and (12) is a borrowed non-verbal predicate with *-ina*.

(9) *kuina tinika*

kuina *ti-* *nik* *-a*

NEG 3i- eat -IRR

‘he hasn't eaten’

(rxx-e120511l.339)

(10) *¿kuina pakutiu?*

kuina *pi-* *a-* *kutiu*

NEG 2SG- IRR- be.ill

‘weren't you ill?’

(cux-120410ls.110)

(11) *kuina nÿana*

kuina *nÿ-* *a* *-ina*

NEG 1SG- father -IRR

‘I don't have a father’

(uxx-p110825l.071)

(12) *kuina arbidauna*

kuina *arbidau* *-ina*

NEG forget -IRR

'she doesn't forget (me)'

(jxx-p110923l-1.215)

1.3. Input forms and accommodation of verbs not ending in -ar

The pattern presented so far always includes verbs ending in *-ar*, with participles ending in *-ado*. But in Spanish, there are participles that do not end in *-ado*, but in *-ido,* if the infinitives end in *-ir* or *-er*. Spanish verbs with a participle in *-ido* seem to be harder to borrow into Paunaka. Among the ones that I found in the corpus, a few have a regular participle input form in *-iu* or *-iru* such as *atendiu* 'attend' in (13), which is realized as a non-verbal predicate.

(13) *kapunuinatu atendiuna tÿpi chichechajinube*

kapunu- *ina* *-tu* *atendiu* *-ina* *tÿpi* *chi-* *checha* *-ji* *-nube*

come -IRR -IAM attend -IRR BEN 3- son -COL -PL

'she would come to attend her (sister's) children'

(jxx-p110923l-1.155)

The very frequently used loan *kompirau* 'share, invite' has metathesized vowels. The original Spanish infinitive *compartir* 'share' (participle *compartido*) was changed to **compirtar* and then a participle **compirtado* was derived to meet the preferred shape of a borrowable participle in *-ado*, which is then borrowed as *kompirau* and verbalized, see (14).[8]

(14) *tikompirauchapi*

ti- *kompirau* *-ch* *-a* *-pi*

3i- invite -TH -IRR -2SG

'she will invite you'

(jxx-d110923l-2.45)

The pattern in *-au* seems to be so prevalent, that even the Spanish adjective *entero* 'whole, total' is occasionally borrowed as *enterau*, interfering with the participle *enterado* of the verb *enterar* 'inform', which does not occur in my corpus.

Other verbs in *-ir*/*-er* are not borrowed as a participle at all, but as an infinitive or reduced infinitive like the Baure and Trinitario verbs in (2) and (3) above. In (15), there is a reduced infinitive

[8] Interestingly, the change of verb class of the donor verb in order to yield a borrowable stem can also be found with Dutch borrowing French verbs. Apparently, Dutch speakers change the French infinitive ending *-ir* to *-er* and then add Dutch inflection to the modified infinitive (Muysken, 2000, p. 191).

konsegi from *conseguir* ‘obtain’ used as a non-verbal predicate. Very frequent is *pasea* ‘visit, spend time’ from *pasear* ‘go for a walk, stroll around’, although other Spanish verbs in *-ear* are usually borrowed as participles.

(15) *tisachu konsegibi nauku punachÿuku epenue*

ti- sachu konsegi -bi nauku punachÿ -uku epenue

3i- want obtain -1PL there other- also well

‘he wanted us to obtain another well over there’

(mqx-p110826l.115)

There are also a few other loan predicates not borrowed as participles from Spanish. Among them are the two most-used non-native predicates, *puero* ‘can, be able to’ and *trabaku* ‘work’.

For *puero*, the input form is the 1st person singular present *puedo* of the Spanish verb *poder* ‘can’. It is quite possible that the word has made its way into Paunaka via Bésɨro. Bésɨro has been the dominant indigenous language of the region since the time of the Jesuit missions, when it was installed as a lingua franca. It also had a higher social status during the childhood of the Paunaka speakers, when they lived on the big haciendas of major landowners in a relation of debt bondage. Bésɨro has a noun *puéru* borrowed from Spanish with the meaning of ‘possibility’, and in addition a verb *puérux* ‘can, be able to’ is derived from the noun.

The input form for *trabaku* may either be the noun *trabajo*, or the homophonous 1st person singular present verb form. Bésɨro has both, a noun *trabáko*, and a verb *trabaka* ‘work’.

Another verb that has probably been borrowed via Bésɨro is *pabente* ‘sell’ (*pabénte* in Bésɨro). The corresponding Spanish verb is *vender*, but it seems that the borrowed form includes *pa* ‘for’, an apocope of the Spanish preposition *para*. *Pabente* is most often verbalized in Paunaka.

The case of *puero* is interesting, because it is a modal verb rather than a lexical one. *Puero* is usually not inflected for person, but it can mark irrealis reality status. If, for instance, *puero* is negated, irrealis can either be marked only on the lexical verb (i.e. the complement) that follows *puero*, as in (16), or on both words, as in (17). Irrealis can thus be marked on predicate phrase level only, rather than on word level.

(16) *kuina puero tiyuika*

kuina puero ti- yuik -a

NEG can 3i- walk -IRR

‘he cannot walk’

(jxx-p110923l-1.048)

(17) *kuina pueroina tiyuika tÿpÿsisikapu*

kuina puero -ina ti- yuik -a ti- pÿsisik -a -pu

NEG can -IRR 3i- walk -IRR 3i- be.alone -IRR -RFLX

'she cannot walk on her own'

(mxx-e110820ls.08)

Another modal expression that occurs occasionally is *tiene que* 'it has to'. It is borrowed as a fixed expression with the input being the 3rd person singular present, and it is not inflected at all, as is apparent from (18), where it refers to a 2nd person subject.

(18) *¡tiene que pichujika pue!*

tiene que pi- chujik -a pue

must 2SG- speak -IRR well

'well, you have to talk to him!'

(cux-c120414ls-2.298)

Both cases of borrowing of modal verbs are in agreement with the integration hierarchy for inflection of borrowed verbs by Matras (2009, p. 185). Modal and auxiliary verbs are less likely to be borrowed, and if they are, they are less likely to be fully integrated than lexical verbs.

Integration hierarchy for verb inflection:
modal/ auxiliary verb > lexical verb

The following section discusses the consequences that the integration of borrowed verbs as non-verbal predicates has for the semantic organization of the language.

2. GRAMMATICAL CONSEQUENCES OF BORROWING

"In the verbal system, code-mixing is often innovative, leading to structures not present in either of the languages in contact" (Muysken, 2000, p. 184).

The integration of Spanish verbs in Paunaka as non-verbal predicates has drastically extended the semantic scope of non-verbal predication. Considering only native structures, non-verbal predication covers the types typically encountered in the literature: equative and proper inclusion relationships, attribution[9], existential and presentational predication, locative predication, genitive predication, and possession (Payne, 1997; Dryer, 2007). When equative relations or proper inclusion are to be expressed, person can be marked on the noun by a suffix (see (7) above).[10] Existential and locative constructions make use of the existential copula *kaku* 'exist', which cannot be inflected for person,

[9] There is only a handful of words that could arguably be defined as adjectives in Paunaka.

[10] In addition, equative and proper inclusion relationships can be expressed periphrastically.

but for irrealis by non-verbal *-ina*.[11] In addition, Paunaka has a non-verbal predicate *kapunu* 'come' (see (4) and (13)).[12]

By integrating Spanish verbs as non-verbal predicates, a type very unusual for non-verbal predication is added to the types mentioned above: the encoding of events, "the least time-stable concepts" (Payne, 1997, p. 87).[13] This type is usually closely connected with verbal predication (e.g. Langacker, 1987, p. 189, 244; Payne, 1997, p. 87; Frawley, 1992, p. 140-142; Givón, 2001, p. 52). The strategy of non-verbal predication, on the other hand, is usually employed for expression of stative relations, but in Paunaka it is now also interpreted actively. The encoding of events as non-verbal predicates should be rare cross-linguistically. The borrowing of Spanish verbs as non-verbal predicates could, however, be a feature that is shared by several languages of the region. Sans (personal communication, August 21, 2012) states that in Bésiro verbs borrowed from Spanish behave similarly to nominal predicates. Subjects are indexed by enclitics instead of prefixes. The enclitics are also found on nominal and adjectival predicates to express subjects, and on verbs to express objects. The only difference to Paunaka is that a suffix *-bo* is inserted between the root of the predicate and the enclitic. Note, however, that Bésiro borrows reduced infinitives instead of participles, and some of the borrowed items are also verbalized.

The borrowing of participles may also not be unique to Paunaka. In the little material available on Kitemoka, an extinct Chapacuran language that was also spoken in the region, we found one verb borrowed from Spanish that appears to be built on a participle, see (19).

(19) *apurau* *-ra*
hurry -IMP
'hurry up!'
(*Kitemoka*; Wienold, 2012, p. 96)

More comparative research remains to be done on this topic.

[11] Locative predicates are additionally marked by the locative suffix *-yae*. The same form *-yae* also occurs in genitive predication with a person prefix indexing the genitive predicate, the possessed item is juxtaposed or understood from the context, i.e. (ii).

(ii) *kuina niyaena, chiyae nima*

kuina	*ni-*	*yae*	*-ina*	*chi-*	*yae*	*ni-*	*ima*
NEG	1SG-	LOC	-IRR	3-	LOC	1SG-	husband

'it is not mine [my sombrero], it is my husband's'
(jxx-e081025s-1.123)

[12] It may sound unusual to have the notion of motion included in non-verbal predication, but according to Payne (1997, p. 113), locomotion clauses are among the ones that are "not very likely to lack a semantically rich verb, but still may", and there are some languages that have non-verbal locomotion predicates (Payne, 1997, p. 57). Mojo Trinitario is similar to Paunaka in having a non-verbal expression of 'come', although the constructions differ and Mojo Trinitario uses the non-verbal expression only to introduce new characters into the discourse (Rose, 2015, pp. 11-12), while the Paunaka predicate *kapunu* is not restricted to this.

[13] I follow Frawley (1992, p. 140) and Givón (2001, p. 106), who use "event" as a superordinate term that also covers actions. Other authors differ in that they define "event" as one type of the domain and "action" as another distinct one (e.g. Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997, p. 82-83, who use "state of affairs" as a cover term for the semantic domain usually expressed by verbs, with "event" and "action" being two of four subtypes).

CONCLUSION

When Paunaka borrows verbs from Spanish, it prefers participles in *-ado* as input forms. Verbs that do not have a participle in *-ado* seem to be harder to borrow. There are fewer borrowed verbs of those inflection classes in my corpus, and there are several different strategies for integrating them.

The input form of any borrowed verb can be verbalized by a thematic suffix *-chu*, but more often it is inflected like a non-verbal predicate. Two modal verbs or expressions, *puero* 'can, be able' and *tiene que* 'must, have to', are also borrowed into Paunaka, but they are less integrated with respect to person marking (*puero*) or not inflected at all (*tiene que*).

The borrowing of Spanish verbs as non-verbal predicates has drastically extended the scope of non-verbal predication by including the encoding of events. It shifted from expression of states only to expression of stative and active relations. Borrowing verbs as non-verbal predicates could, however, be a regional feature.

The paper has addressed an issue that has not received much attention in the literature; there is a possibility that borrowed verbs are treated like non-verbal predicates in the recipient language with the consequence that non-verbal predicates may encode events, thus concepts that are usually expressed by verbs.

APPENDIX: GLOSSES

1 = first person

2 = second person

3 = third person

3i = third person intransitive and transitive with SAP object

APPL = applicative

BEN = benefactive

COL = collective

COP = copula

IAM = iamitive

IMP = imperative

IRR = irrealis

LOC = locative

m = male

NEG = negative

PL = plural

RFLX = reflexive

RPRT = reportive

SAP = speech act participant

SG = singular

TH = thematic

VR = verbalizer

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