Corporeality and patiency: a lexical, grammatical and ethnological study of Arawakan languages

Corporalidad y pacientividad : Un estudio lexical, gramatical y etnológico de las lenguas arawak

Corporalidade e pacientividade : Um estudo lexical, gramatical e etnológico das línguas aruak

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Abstract

The objective of this paper is to characterize the lexical and grammatical manifestations of corporeality in Arawakan languages. We argue that the notion of corporeality in these languages is central for the expression of personhood and patiency/patientivity; in other words, a state or quality having the typical traits of the patient. This paper starts with a lexical reflection on the question of inalienability of body parts, their nomenclature – especially concerning lexical creation– and the locus of emotions such as the Terena *okóvo*, translated as "belly" but also as "soul", as the Wayuu *-a'ain* "heart, soul" or the Tariana *-kale* "heart, mind, life force, soul, breath". These examples show that the body is the site of physical, physiological and even psychological sensations. Evidence of this statement appears through specific constructions for stative verbs, such as an opposition between subject marking and object marking, or the existence of differential subject marking. These different constructions allow the speaker to express specifications and subtleties concerning the aforementioned sensations.

Key-words: corporeality; personhood; patiency; Arawak; morphosyntax.

Resumen

El objetivo de este artículo es la caracterización de las manifestaciones lexicales y gramaticales de la corporalidad en las lenguas arawak. Consideramos que la noción de corporalidad en estas lenguas es central por la expresión de la persona y de la pacientividad; en otras palabras, un estado o calidad que tiene las características típicas del paciente. Este artículo empieza con una reflexión lexical sobre la cuestión de inalienabilidad de las partes del cuerpo, su nomenclatura –especialmente sobre la creación lexical– y la fuente de las emociones, como la palabra terena *okóvo* "guata" pero también "alma", o el wayuu *-a'ain* "corazón, alma" o el tariana *-kale* "corazón, mente, fuerza vital, alma, soplo". Estos ejemplos muestran que el cuerpo es el centro de sensaciones físicas, fisiológicas y hasta psicológicas. Las evidencias de esta afirmación aparecen a través de construcciones específicas para verbos estativos, como la oposición entre marcado del sujeto y marcado del objeto, o la existencia del marcado diferencial del sujeto. Estas diferentes construcciones permiten al hablante expresar especificaciones y sutilidades sobre las sensaciones ya mencionadas.

Palabras clave: corporalidad; persona; pacientividad; Arawak; morfosintaxis

Resumo

O objetivo deste artigo é a caracterização das manifestações lexicais y gramaticais da corporalidade nas línguas arawak. Consideramos que a noção de corporalidade nestas linguas é central pela expressão da pessoa e da pacientividade ; em outras palavras, um estado ou qualidade que tem as características típicas do paciente. Este artigo começa com uma reflexão lexical sobre a questão de inalienabilidade das partes do corpo, a nomenclatura –especialmente sobre a creação lexicale– a fonte das emoções como a palavra terena *okóvo* "barriga" mas também "alma", ou o wayuu *-a'ain* "coração, alma" o tariana *-kale* "coração, mente, força vital, alma, sopro". Estos exemplos mostram que o corpo é o centro de sensações físicas, fisiológicas e até psicológicas. As evidencias desta afirmação aparecem através de construções específicas para verbos estativos, como a oposição entre marcado do sujeito e marcado do objeto, ou a existência do marcado diferencial do sujeito. Estas diferentes construções permitem ao falante de expressar especificações e sutilesas sobre as sensações já mencionadas.

Palavras chave: corporalidade; pessoa; pacientividade; Arawak; morfosintaxis.

1. Introduction

This paper presents the links between corporeality and patiency through lexical, morphosyntactic and ethnological data from the languages of the Arawak linguistic family. Hence, we aim to better identify the motivations of a part of lexical creation and person marking in a typological perspective – although centered on the Arawak family. Furthermore, considering that the notions of corporeality and patiency are not homogeneous categories, we ought to describe their subcategories and how the different subcategories interact.

The typological perspective mentioned earlier is a key objective considering the cultural diversity of Arawak people and their different views on corporeality (Rosengren, 2006, concerning the ethnographic study of the Matsigenka), but also the linguistic diversity of Arawakan languages concerning the marking of patiency, through alignment in general and split intransitivity in particular (Durand, 2016). Therefore, this article would be a complement to other articles on corporeality that were centered on a particular Arawakan language, such as Mori (2017) and Aikhenvald (2022) – Mehinaku for the former, Tariana for the latter.

We consider that patiency refers to the characterization of a state; in other words, the physical or psychological ones –and even the psychical ones– felt, perceived or even endured through the body. Corporeality refers to the location that incorporates these states. Nevertheless, before presenting the morphological or syntactic properties of bodily sensations such as 'be hot' or 'be hungry', the identification of the different body parts shall be our first step. After a brief introduction, the first section will introduce the lexical characteristics of body part terms, be it the opposition alienability/inalienability, their nominal composition or their semantic shifts. This section will also be completed by ethnographic data such as the behavior and significance of some specific terms such as the Terena *okóvo*, translated as 'belly' but also as 'soul', or the Tariana *-kale* 'heart, mind, life force, soul, breath', but also incantations where body parts and the stylistic devices that refers to them are crucial elements. It may be linked to colexification, a linguistic phenomenon that occurs when multiple concepts are expressed in a language with the same word. In that perspective, the Terena *okóvo* might express two concepts, the soul and the seat of the soul. However, we shall consider the cases where what we consider multiple concepts are in fact one concept in these languages, hence the importance of cultural data for this article.

In the next section, we detail specific morphosyntactic phenomena and constructions such as differential subject marking, noun incorporation or possessive constructions in order to enhance the two main oppositions that appear through corporeality and patiency, namely the opposition interiority/exteriority and the opposition punctual/durative. The first opposition, mainly corporeal, distinguishes states from inside the body, such as heartbeats or stomach ache, while the second is an aspectual opposition that distinguishes an action or a state that occurs at one short time (punctual), from an action or a state that last in time (durative).

Methodologically speaking, we will use first-hand data and second-hand data. The first-hand data are made up of elicited and non-elicited data that have been collected from three field trips in Peru, Colombia, Venezuela and Brazil between 2012 and 2014 (Durand, 2012, 2013, 2014). The languages studied are Tambo Ashaninka, Perené Ashéninka, Pajonal Ashéninka, Matsigenka, Nomatsigenga, Baniwa of Guainía, Baniwa-Kurripako, Piapoco, Yukuna, Terena, Wauja and Mehinaku. The elicited data were made up with the translation and validation/invalidation of built-up sentences from my own questionnaires whereas the non-elicited data were made up with life stories, imaginary situations or cultural and wildlife descriptions. In addition, we will also use second-hand ethnographic and anthropological data.

1.1. The Arawak family

The Arawak family is one of the largest linguistic families of the Americas, with around forty languages still spoken. Their speakers, estimated at 500 000, are located in four countries of Central America – Belize, Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua – and eight countries of South America – Guyana, French Guiana, Suriname, Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, Bolivia and Brazil (Aikhenvald, 1999) (see Annex 1 for our own map).

Sociolinguistic features greatly vary from one language to the other. Some count more than 100 000 speakers, like Wayuunaiki and Garifuna, whereas several have fewer than ten speakers – Añun, Mawayana, Baré, Resigaro, Chamikuro, Iñapari, Baure and Yawalapiti. In addition, there are great differences among Arawakan languages in terms of language contact —be it with Spanish, Portuguese or other indigenous languages, such as the East-Tucanoan languages who have a significant influence in Tariana (Aikhenvald, 2014)—, or the teaching of those languages in schools. If some languages have a sufficient number of speakers like Terena, Ashaninka or Kurripako, although the bilingual educational coverage may not be total, as shown by Granadillo (2010, p. 71) concerning Kurripako.

We will follow Aikhenvald's (1999) classification and divide these languages into two main groups, the Northern Arawakan languages and the Southern Arawakan languages.

Concerning the general grammatical features of these languages, they are mostly agglutinating, with a clear tendency for suffixation, and head-marking. All have distinct classes of nouns and verbs, and sometimes of adjectives. In terms of nominal morphology, they have an alienable/inalienable opposition for possession and a rich classifier system (Aikhenvald, 1999). Furthermore, despite their diversity, they show a clear preponderance of the argument marking on predicates. Personal affixes, and sometimes personal pronouns, are used for possessive constructions and to express alignment. Personal prefixes are used to mark a genitival relation on nouns, like example (1) with the first person, and they are also used to mark the single argument and the agent on active intransitive and transitive verbs, like (2) and (3) respectively:

Piapoco

(1) *nu-ti*
   1sɢ-eye
   'My eye'

(2) *nu-tani-ka*
   1sɢ-talk-ᴛ/ᴀ
   'I talk'

(3) *nu-maida-ni*
   1sɢ-call-3
   'I called him/her/them' (E)[1] (AFW)[2]

Direct object marking on transitive verbs by personal suffixes is mostly found in the Southern Arawakan branch (example 4). In the Northern branch, personal suffixes and pronouns can be encountered (example 6). The object suffixes may differ from the prefix forms, but they generally exhibit morphophonological similarities to the point that it is supposed that they all derive historically from a single source of (bound) pronominal forms – forms that then turned into person affixes or clitics.

This paper aims to constitute an ethnolinguistic study at a large scale for the whole Arawak family. Even though several excellent studies on body parts or corporeality have already been realized on various languages —Mehinaku (Mori, 2017), Terena (Thames, 2018), Tariana (Aikhenvald, 2022)—, they were not planned to determine the existence of a contemporary Arawakan corporeality and its manifestations within the different languages of the family. Thus, our ambition is to form a classification of corporeality; a nomenclature that would facilitate further (ethno)linguistic studies. Of course, this objective is limited to languages at our disposal, but some updates may come due to new data from under-described Arawakan languages such as Enawene-Nawe, Chamikuro or Kawiyari.

1.2. State of art about corporeality and patiency

There are several works on body parts, more precisely on a nomenclature of terms referring to body parts (Brown, 1976), body parts and inalienability (Chappell & MacGregor, 1996), body parts and spatial localization or topological relations (Heine, 1997) or the notion of *embodiment* by body parts (Zouheir & Ning, 2011). The latter describes how emotions, sensations, states of mind or cultural characteristics are embodied in individual body parts.

We oppose here agency, the capacity of action of an agent, and patiency, which is the fact to be characterized by a physical, physiological or psychological state. Since languages possess grammatical processes that serve to grammaticalize agency –or patiency– (cf. *Role Dominated languages* [Bakker & Siewierska, 2007], semantic parameters of volition or control), it is necessary

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1 The symbol (E) stands for Elicited data.

2 The (AFW) stands for author's field work.

to take into account the grammatical dimension (Vapnarsky *et al.,* 2013). As such, a grammatical agency or patiency refers to the grammatical realization of these notions, for instance by person markers. In this paper, we present both semantic factors (notion of event) and the morphological marking of arguments.

The study of both semantic and morphological factors is essential for cases where the patient is not prototypical. Indeed, there are various properties of a prototypical patient during an action between an agent and a patient – see Van Valin (1990) and Dowty (1991) for the properties of proto-roles and the different types of subroles. For example, Van Valin, starting from the macro-roles of the actor and the undergoer, recognizes the agent, the effector, the experiencer on one hand, and the locative, the theme and the patient on the other hand. Such an action would be violent actions like hitting or killing, where it is clear that there is a causal relation between the agent that actively makes this causality. The agent has volition, sentence, movement and especially is causing an event or change of state in the patient. On the contrary, the patient undergoes change of state, is causally affected by the agent, and is stationary relative to the agent's movement (Dowty, 1991, p. 572). However, in cases involving verbs of perception or sentiments, there is no change of state. Thus, person marking may vary more significantly than for more prototypical actions. For example, if we consider the sentences "I miss you" in English and its equivalent "Tu me manques" in French, we note a complete opposition concerning semantic protoroles. The experiencer is the subject in English and the object in French. Consequently, we need to simultaneously study predicates that are oriented to the patient (to be hurt, to be cold) and predicates that show morphological properties linked to the patient (object marking, oblique marking).

Although the previous paragraph detailed the prototypical action between an agent and a patient, our focus on patience will lead us to a more detailed description of intransitive verbs, or monovalent predicates in general. Firstly, a patient does not necessarily need a specific animate entity to cause a change of state. It is possible to suddenly get a cramp, be cold because of the weather, or simply feel sleepy. In all those cases, the change of state and the unpleasantness is undeniable. Secondly, Arawakan languages exhibit various morphosyntactical properties that are specific to monovalent predicates –particularly stative verbs–, such as differential subject marking – see section 3.1.

We consider that, in the connection between corporeality and patiency, both notions that are prevalent for stative verbs, we detail those that refer to physical/psychological states linked to the body, such as to be cold or to be hot. When only patiency is involved, without corporeality, we study verbs of sentiment or behavior, such as to be worried, to be happy, and so on. Finally, corporeality without patiency refers to the domain or agency and to some cases of possession. In this paper, we will focus on the interconnection between corporeality and patiency to deepen this hypothesis.

Furthermore, the link between corporeality and patiency seems to be emphasized by the Theory of Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy or Cognitive Theory of Metaphor and Metonymy presented by Fontaine (2015). According to this theory, if metaphors and metonymies are supralinguistics and correspond to mental figures settled in cognition, then they are in relation with the whole body and feeled by it. Thus, if metaphors and metonymies are connected to cognitive processes and are linked to the perception network of the body, they have an impact on it (Fontaine, 2015, p. 20).

4. Lexicon

The purpose of this section is to present the main characteristics of nominal morphology, the semantic and morphological processes involved in noun composition and the eventual ethnological data that may help us understand some semantic shifts.

2.1. Body parts in Arawakan languages

2.1.1. Alienability and noun classes

We will now present nominal morphology. All Arawakan languages distinguish morphologically alienable and inalienable nouns:

a. Alienable: N / PERS-N(-POSS)

Bahuana *kunibɨ* 'paddle', *nu- kunibɨ-re* 'my paddle' (Ramirez, 1992)

b. Inalienable (parenthood, body parts): N-UNPOSS / PERS-N

Paresi *no-tihi* 'my face' / *tiho-ti* '(somebody's) face' (Brandão, 2014)

c. Non possessed (celestial bodies, natural phenomena, dangerous animals, names of persons: N (Aikhenvald, 1999)

As mentioned, body parts are considered inalienable and always need a possessive marker, be it a person prefix or an absolute suffix that indicates a generic, non-specific person – the equivalent of 'somebody's'.

In addition to the alienable/inalienable nouns, a majority of Arawakan languages distinguish body parts and kinship terms, as in Baniwa-Kurripako (Taylor, 1991[3]). At the morphological domain, it manifests itself by the possibility or not to use the absolute marker (or marker of non-possession) *-tʃi* or *-hVi*[4] to body parts (in Baniwa-Kurripako, *hiwida-ti* "head (of someone)", *pi-hiwida* "your head"[5]).

The use of the absolute marker instead of a person prefix may even have a significant semantic difference (Rosengren, 2006). That is the case of the Matsigenka *-sure*. Affixed to a person prefix, it means soul – *no-sure* "my soul", *i-sure* "his soul" and so on. However, affixed to the absolute marker, *sure-tsi* does not mean "someone's soul", but "ghost".[6] This distinction is compelling to better understand how the Matsigenka view how the soul and the body are linked (Rosengren, 2006, p. 94).

Concerning corporeal fluids in Tariana, person prefixes are prohibited, while nouns or pronouns are authorized – *iha* 'feces', *iri* 'blood, resin', *tʃipale* 'urine', *wesi* 'mucus' or *sañaperi* 'sweat' (Aikhenvald, 2022, p. 5). Furthermore, some terms may be treated as obligatorily possessed or as optionally

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3 The author calls Baniwa-Kurripako 'Baniwa of Içana'.

4 The "V" here refers to a vowel.

5 Example from a speaker of the Aja-Nene dialect during a personal field work.

6 Rosengren (2006, p. 94) clarify that the Matsigenka ghost differs from the European one. It is "a being in its own right", "characterized by unboundedness and anonymity".

possessed, such as *ñapi* 'bone' et *itʃa* 'hair'. In general, terms that refer to body parts are ambivalent and can be treated as animate or inanimate according to information structure (Aikhenvald, 2022, p. 21). In short, there is a clear morphological distinction between alienable and inalienable, but with a lot of intermediate cases.[7]

In other languages, the absolute marker can occur with all inalienable nouns (Alvarez & Socorro, 2002, p. 116), as in the Palikur *gi-nag* 'his mother', *i-nag-ti* '(one) mother' (Launey, 2001, p. 8). In other words, all inalienable nouns can be used without a possessor, but rather in a broad, general sense, such as "one mother should kiss her child as much as she wants". Besides, some nouns cannot be possessed but have a form that can be possessed (Haurholm-Larsen, 2013, p. 6), as for Garifuna **n-u'bow* 1SG-village 'my village' and *n-a'geyra* 1SG-village 'my village' (Haurholm-Larsen, 2013, p. 6). These morphological prohibitions are still unexplained but, as the author suggests, it would be relevant to see if these terms are semantically true equivalents.

Furthermore, subclasses may appear. This is the case in Ashéninka according to Mihas (2019). The author mentions an open special set of bound nouns with basic meanings pertaining to the domains of plant parts, body parts, and spatial and geomorphic features. Since it includes both plant and body parts terms, it partially overlaps with the subclass of obligatorily possessed nouns (Mihas, 2019, p. 35)

Thus, the distinction between alienable and inalienable nouns constitute the principal division between two noun classes in Arawakan languages.

2.1.2. Nominal composition

Compound nouns can be found in various Arawakan languages. However, the most detailed study about that comes from Mori (2017) and its analysis of Mehinaku, where composed nouns are indeed numerous.[8] Contrarily to simple bases, where you can find either an absolute marker (*ti'w-i* 'head') or a person prefix (**nu**-*tɨu* 'my head' (Mori 2017, p. 60)), complex bases are formed with an addition of one or several classifiers, or another nominal base (and one classifier).

Examples (4) and (5) are formed with a pronominal clitic, a simple base and a classifier.

Mehinaku: constructions with pronominal clitic – simple base – classifier

      (4) *nu-ta'na-ka*
          1-wing-CL.big
          'My ribs'

      (5) *nu-nupana-'taku*
          1-chest-CL.LOC.area/surface.area
          'My chest' (Mori, 2017, p. 61)

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7 The existence of intermediate cases, although exemplified by Tariana, is not an exception within Arawakan languages. As such, they are not due to the influence of East-Tukanoan languages on Tariana.

8 The author lists 26 simple bases and 20 complex bases for external body parts.

The presence of classifiers may be of great importance. Indeed, a great number of terms referring to body parts have another significance without classifiers. For example, in Tariana, *nu-thi* means 'my eyes / my seeds' while *nu-thi-da* means 'my (individual) eye', with the addition of the classifier *-da* CL:ROUND (Aikhenvald, 2022, pp. 12-13). This is another example of grammatical differences according to corporeality.

In examples (6) and (7), there is a compound base. Example (6) is constituted by the nouns *katɨ* "leg" and *'kiɾi* "nose/beak".

Constructions with pronominal clitic – compound base – (classifier)

> (6) *nu-katɨ -'kiɾi*
>   1-leg-nose/beak
>   'My tibia'

> (7) *ni-k-ɨʂa-pi*
>   1-ATTR-blood-CL.linear
>   'My lip' (Mori, 2017, p. 61)

Example (7) is more delicate, since the compound base is constituted by the the attributive *k-* and the noun *ɨʂa* "blood".

The Xingu region where Mehinaku is spoken is a linguistic area with strong language contact (Tupi-Guarani or Carib, Epps & Michael, 2017). Thus, one might think of a scenario of an influence of other regions to explain this particularly significant rate of classifiers. However, on one hand, not only body parts terms are generally quite stable in a language, but also Tupi-Guarani and Carib languages do not usually present classifiers. On the other hand, it is the case for Nahukwá-Kalapálo (Karib family) and Suruí (Mondé family, Tupi trunk) that are spoken in the region (Nahukua, 2014; Cabral *et al.*, 2018).

Of course, other cases of lexical constructions are presented in other Arawakan languages, but not in such detail. Here are two examples from Wapishana:

Wapishana

> (8) *oku-mata*
>   eye-skin.of
>   'eyelid' (Facundes, 2000, p. 172).

> (9) *kaʔɨ-da-ni-j*
>   hand-genesis-?-UNPOSS
>   'Little finger' (Santos, 2006, p. 201).

In any case, the complexity of nominal composition in Mehinaku accentuates the necessity to identify precisely the classifiers involved in order to see what are the ones mainly used in nominal

composition within the family. Carvalho (2017, p. 83), for example, comments the incorrect analysis of the *-to* from **gi-to* 'head', in Proto-Campa, presented as 'head-shaped, round' in Payne's (1991, p. 405) analysis whereas more recent works suggest that this classifier would rather mean 'hollow, long, rigid' – with the meaning 'rigid' for this term (see Mihas, 2015a, p. 414).

The importance of metaphor and metonymy is highlighted by Fontaine (2015, p. 26) who considers that they allow the Yukuna people not only to conceptualize the symbolic relations between the entities they name, but also to feel them emotionally and physically.

To resume, we observed that various figures of speech are used for body parts, illustrating the *embodiment* of Zouheir & Ning (2011) by cultural characteristics:

- Metonymy part/whole (finger [meronym]→ hand [holonym], as in example [11]).

- Metaphor (tibia → nose/beak of the leg, as in example [6])

- Analogical comparison (ribs look like wings, as in example [4]).

The use of these figures of speech rests on nominal compounds involving classifiers or nouns, a process facilitated by the role of polysemy to provide a snapshot of semantic change in course through these nominal compounds (Carvalho, 2017, p. 80, following Evans [2010] and Urban [2011]). For a better understanding of these phenomena and their use, the register of the properties of each entity and their distribution onto other entities still needs to be done.

2.2. Semantic shifts

This subsection is dedicated to two main semantic scopes linked to body parts; housing and furniture from one part, nature and landscape from the other part.

2.2.1. Parallel between body parts and housing

Another significant parallel exists between body parts terminology and house terminology or tools (Facundes, 2000; Mori, 2017). In example (10), the beam is the tooth of the house; in example (11), the walls are the of the house, in example (12), the mouth of the knife is its tip, and in example (13), the leg of the axe is its handle:

Mehinaku

(10) *pãi-tsewe*
    house-tooth
    'beam'

(11) *pãi   talalaka-pi*
    house   side-CL:linear
    'walls'

(12) *kɨhɨ-'tãi   ɨ-'numa*
    knife-little   3-mouth
    'tip'

(13) *ja'wai   ɨ-'katɨ*
    axe   3-leg
    'handle' (Mori, 2017, p. 66)

In examples (14) and (15) from Apurinã, the use of -mata "skin.of" allows the formation of other body parts and manufactured products – eyelid is literally the "skin of the eye", and foot sole / sandal is the "skin of the foot".

Apurinã

(14) *oku-mata*
    eye-skin.of
    'eyelid'

(15) *kiti-mata*
    foot-skin.of
    'foot sole; sandals' (Facundes, 2000, pp. 172-191).

The same parallel in found in Terena and Mojeńo with semantically shifted cognates (Carvalho, 2017):

- Terena: *-pâho* 'mouth'

- Mojeńo: (Trinitario, Ignaciano): *-paho* 'door'

- Semantic sliding in Terena with the complex base **paho-peti* 'door (lit. Mouth of the house)' expressing part-whole relations – regularly head initial (Carvalho, 2017, p. 74).

The same semantic change appears in other Arawakan languages where a link with the root **-numa* 'mouth' is visible, as shown by the examples *-numa* 'mouth', *numana* 'door' for Yukuna (Schauer *et al.*, 2005, p. 231), *póʔkónoomú* 'door' for Resígaro (Allin, 1979, p. 442; Payne, 1991, p. 408), *-numada* 'door' for Bahuana (Ramirez, 1992, p. 121), *panii-nom* 'door' for Wapixana (WLP, 2000, p. 115).

Other Arawakan languages with a different form for 'door' are involved, such as Paresi with *hati-kanatse* 'house-mouth', 'door', which highlights the presence of this metaphor within the family (Carvalho, 2017, p. 81).

2.2.2. Parallel between body parts, plants, natural elements and landscape

This parallel has been mentioned over the decades for various regions of the globe. Gipper (1979) cited Hopi expressions dealing with spatial reality where there are morphological similarities

within lexemes that verbalize individual spatial realizations such as houses, mountains, rivers also place names and body parts (Gipper, 1979, pp. 9-10).

In Arawakan languages, Ashéninka exhibits the terms *mapi-tapi* 'underside of the rock, with a cavernous space beneath it', with the second component *tapi* denoting 'back (body part)' (Mihas, 2015b, p. 20); *-tapi* 'back' and *-kintsi* 'neck'.

There is also a parallel between plants or natural elements and body parts in Tariana –*iri* 'blood, resin' (Aikhenvald, 2022, p. 5)–, in Paresi and in Apurinã (example [16] with Paresi).

Paresi

(16) *atya*   *kano-hi*
     tree   arm-CL:long.thin
     'Branch of the tree' (Brandão, 2014, p. 179)

The relation between body parts and landscape is detailed by Fontaine (2015, pp. 224-225), through Yukuna shamanic incantations. The body parts that distinguishes themselves are the skin – since its the largest boundary, it is assimilated to the body through the same term *namana* –, the organs irrigated by the blood – heart, veins, uterus, vagina – or by nutrients – mouth, stomach, intestine, rectum – and especially the legs. According to the author, if the legs are one of the most cited body parts in shamanic incantations, it may be because they are in contact with another fundamental boundary: the ground. Consequently, they are a fragile –they are the first body part to be attacked– but precious source of data – they may be attacked by insects or plants but can also feel vibrations from the ground. One of the metaphors used for the feet in the Yukuna incantations is the lightning, a term widely used in the descriptions of anthropomorphological bodies because of their form (Fontaine, 2015, p. 61):

(17) *Palá*   *pi-la'á*   *pala-ch-o* *ja'repayú*   *la'jokana*   *ja'pejé,*
    good   2sg-make   tidy.up-PST-REFL lightning   thing   under.to,
    muréropa *la'jokana*   *ja'pejé.*
    row.pearl   thing   under.to
    'You are tidying yourself up good under these lightnings, under those pearl rows' (Fontaine, 2015, p. 61, *my translation*)

Taking into account such links between body and ground, it is to be expected, for the author, to observe an anthropomorphization of the ground and the sky, both assimilated to the body of two primordial ancestors, respectively the maternal aunt Jameru and the maternal uncle Je'chú. More precisely, since the whole world is assimilated to the body of Je'chú, the center of the world is called his navel *rimu'chure*, while the north is considered his ribs *ripara'lá ejó* and the south his other ribs *apojó ripara'la ejo pitá*.

2.3. Limits of the body and spirit

On the notion of body – and, more precisely, embodiment – within Arawakan languages, we will start by the link between body and spirit or person. Thus, in Tariana, *-daki* 'body' (external

and internal) and *-kale* 'heart', 'spirit', 'life force', 'soul' and 'breath' for the humans, whereas the animals only have the *-kale* 'heart' (Aikhenvald, 2022). The term *-kale* refers to 1) a material entity (and it is then accompanied by a classifier), or 2) to a non-material entity (Aikhenvald, 2022). There is also a connection between *-kale* '(life) breath' and *-kale* 'wind'. In Wayuunaiki, *-aa'in* is translated by 'soul' (Soto, 2011) or by 'heart' (Captain & Captain, 2005; Sabogal, 2018). The body is also synonym of person, as in Palikur, where the noun *-vit* 'body' can be used as 'oneself', as in example (18):

Palikur

(18) *igkis*   *kumaduka*   *gi-vit-kis*
     PRO3PL   to.rule   3PL-body-PL
     'They rule themselves' (Launey, 2003, p. 150, my translation)

Fontaine (2015, p. 64) uses the term spirit to name any spiritual component including the soul (*wochina* in the incantations, *pechu* in conversational Yukuna; *pensamiento* in Spanish). To the Yukunas, a soul always implies a body that it may leave momentarily (illness, dream, shamanic trip) or definitively (death). In case of illness, the process of revitalization means giving back vitality to the patient (*kajmochaji patakana rijló*) in the same way that the soul (or a part of a soul) may be given back in the body of the patient, since both of them means replace a vital substance lost in the body (Fontaine, 2015, pp. 61 and 68).

Another intricate relation between soul and body appears in Terena where *okóvo* is translated by the Terena people as 'stomach' or as 'soul', since it is the foundation of knowledge and emotions (Thames, 2018, p. 11). A parallel is also made with the Yukuna people concerning the body as recipient for the soul; a body without *okóvo* is an empty, hollow, lifeless body (Thames, 2018, p. 18), that is why *okóvo* is also translated as basket, since it is the basket where the *exóneti* 'knowledge' is put in the body (Thames, 2018, p. 16).

The term *exóneti* 'knowledge' is revealing concerning the limits of the body to Terena speakers, since the vector of this knowledge are social relations (Thames, 2018, pp. 30-31). Whether it be by teaching, debating, discussing, knowledge is accumulating and transforming itself within a society. Thus, the Terena body is plural; connected to others,[9] as mentioned by Viveiros de Castro (1987) – the human body in indigenous Brazilian societies is socially built to turn collective. As such, the study of corporeality is fundamental to understand the teachings of knowledge, skills and techniques of the indigenous person (Viveiros de Castro, 1987, as cited in Medeiros *et al.,* 2010, p. 64). Consequently, the Terena collective body reveals that the body may not be a factor of individualization as presented in Le Breton (1995).

6. Morphosyntaxis

We focus here on the different morphosyntactic properties of bodily-related states through some specific phenomena – differential subject marking, noun incorporation – and notional oppositions – interiority/exteriority and punctual/durative.

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9 Anecdotally, the foundation of the *Jogos dos Povos Indígenas* –the Indian Games–, one of the most important sportive and cultural meeting of indigenous people from the Americas, was the initiative of two Terena people (Medeiros *et al.,* 2010, p. 65).

3.1. Differential subject marking

Differential marking is a phenomenon generally observed within nominative-accusative languages (NOM-ACC), where the subject of an intransitive verb has the same encoding as the subject of a transitive verb. However, even if some Arawakan languages are indeed NOM-ACC, most of them are characterized by split subject marking (split intransitivity), where the subject may be marked like an object under certain conditions. This prompts us to wonder what would be the motivation for these languages to use an additional differentiation of subject marking.

We will refer to DSM as the non-canonical marking of the subject of monovalent predicates[10]. This marking can be expressed by an oblique marking (dative, superessive) or by the canonical object marking. The predicates involved in DSM are mostly stative verbs, whether it be physical, physiological or psychological states ; although some nouns may appear instead of verbs, as in examples (59) and (60) from Baniwa of Guainía.[11]

Two set-ups appear within the languages involved. In the first one, there exists a verbal class where the unique argument takes an oblique marking instead of canonical person markings. It is the case of Garifuna, where we can see three oblique markers, the instrumental, the dative and the benefactive (Munro, 2007). Furthermore, the predicates in question show a significant variety, be it verbs of sensations, perception or qualities, from a more prototypical patient (ex: *buchá-* 'tired') to a less prototypical one (*hürú-* 'feel the presence of spirits'):

Table 1
Garifuna oblique marking (Munro, 2007, p. 123, my table)

Instrumental	Dative	Benefactive
bíchougua- 'dumb'	*hárouga-* 'sweat'	*buchá-* 'tired'
chú- 'smart'	*híruga-* 'sad'	*úwadigia-* 'okay'
durá- 'intelligent'		
guíbi- 'dizzy'		
híngi- 'stink'		
hürú- 'feel the presence of spirits'		

This verbal class has morphosyntactic properties that opposes itself regarding the two other verbal classes – the one taking subject marking and the one taking object marking. This verbal class with DSM can be itself divided in various subclasses, as in Tariana (see Annex 2).

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10 Although this subsection focuses on DSM, there are also divalent constructions of corporeal states involving oblique markers or postpositions. In Yukuna, corporeal sensations are encoded as the subject, the predicate referring to the lexicon of (corporeal) pain – *kewí-* 'painful' – and the experiencer being expressed with the postposition *-jló*.

Yukuna

kewí-ni	*tapú*	*no-jló*
be.painful-NF	sleep	1SG-to

'I am sleepy'

kewí-ni	*me'pijí*	*no-jló*
be.painful-NF	hunger	1SG-for

'I am very hungry' (Fontaine, 2014, *my translation*)

11 In the case of nouns as predicates, the argument marking remains similar, be it with an oblique marking or with a person suffix.

For the second set-up, as shown in Piapoco and Baniwa-Kurripako, a verbal class receives a canonical oblique marker. However, other oblique markers or object marker may be used for semantic subtleties. In the next examples of Piapoco, *ùle-* 'be hot' and *kazalíni-* 'be cold' respectively have the dative *-lí* and the superessive *-wàli* as their canonical oblique markers. However, they accept another oblique marker or the object marker.

Piapoco:

(19) *úle-ka-ni*   Exteriority
be.hot-т/ᴀ-3
'It is hot (the weather)' (E)

(20) *úle-ka*   *nu-lí*   Canonical / interiority (EXT > INT)
be.hot-т/ᴀ   1sɢ-ᴅᴀᴛ
'I am hot' (E)

(21) *úle-ka*   *nu-wàli*   Non-canonical / interiority (EXT > INT)
be.hot-т/ᴀ   1sɢ-sᴘʀᴇss
'I felt a wind of heat' (E)

(22) *úle-ka*   *nua*   Non-canonical / interiority (INT > EXT)
be.hot-т/ᴀ   1sɢ
'I am hot (because of a fever)' (E)

(23) *ka-zalíni-ka*   *katseini*   Exteriority
be.cold-т/ᴀ-3   more
'It getting colder (the weather)' (E)

(24) *ka-zalíni-ka*   *nu-wàli*   Canonical / interiority (EXT > INT)
ᴀᴛᴛʀ-be.cold- т/ᴀ   1sɢ-sᴘʀᴇss
'I am cold' (E)

(25) *ka-zalíni-ka*   *nu-lí*   Non-canonical / interiority (EXT > INT)
ᴀᴛᴛʀ-be.cold- т/ᴀ   1sɢ-ᴅᴀᴛ
'It is cold for me / I feel the cold / It is cold where I am' (E)

(26) *ka-zalíni-ka*   *pía*   Non-canonical / interiority (INT > EXT)
ᴀᴛᴛʀ-be.cold- т/ᴀ   2sɢ
'You are cold (getting off cold water) (E) (AFW, 2013)

Here, the notions of corporeality and patiency are the main motivations of this morphological changes. Indeed, concerning corporeality, while the example (19) and (23) refers to the weather – and is thus excluded from corporeality –, the examples (20) and (24) bear the most neutral meaning concerning corporeal sensations. Since these sentences state the perception of temperature, it is

schematized as EXT > INT for exteriority > interiority, in order to express the influence of exterior factors on corporeally internalized sensations. The use of another oblique marking in (21) and (25) permits to express how someone perceives their own corporeality and patiency. In example (21), the use of the superessive denotes a wind of heat that could be perceived through one's skin in particular, in opposition to other people at other places or who are more or less sensitive to the heat. In example (25), where more variations has been observed in the fieldwork with the native speakers, it varies between perception and spatial position. Finally, the use of the object marking in (22) and (26) makes reference not to physiological states through perception, but rather by physical states easily observable from the exterior but that denotes strong changes from the interior of the body (such as body temperature for example (22) or color and rigidity of limbs for example (26). For these two last examples, since the heat or the cold is intrinsically within the body, it is schematized as INT > EXT for interiority > exteriority.

Concerning patiency, the more object marking is used, the more the patient is prototypical[12], especially the change of state property (Dowty, 1991, p. 572). As a matter of fact, examples (22) and (26) show that an action has a measurable effect on the patient. When oblique markers are used, there is a sensation of heat/cold or a feeling of heat/cold for a specific situation (generally, from a particular place), but there is no change to the body of the experiencer. When object markers are used, the impact of the heat or the cold is clear – high temperature for the fever, blood withdrawal, shivering, and so on. In other words, with the use of object marking, the patient is the most subjected to the event; that is where he endures more.

Consequently, differential subject marking is one of the means of some Arawakan languages to cope with the distinction between states or perceptions linked to the interior or the exterior of the body – object marking for the interior, oblique marking for the exterior. The two notions of interiority and exteriority are defined by Pilloud & Louis-Courvoisier (2003):

> One may roughly distinguish two dimensions in bodily experience: an external one, that comprehends perceptions of the body from the outside, by the subject him or herself and/or by any other observer; skin alterations, for example, belong to this external dimension, whereas itching would be part of the second dimension, the internal one. It concerns feelings and sensations purely interior and intimate, excluding a third person. Obviously, internal and external experiences cannot be separated so clearly, for most external alterations are associated with intimate sensations. (p. 452)

We will now detail how this opposition, referring to physical, physiological or psychological states, is characterized morphologically in other languages. Let us start with Wauja, where prepositions built with the adposition *-ipitsi* (example [27]) or the subject marking (examples [28] and [29]) are encountered:

Wauja

(27) *katika-waka-pai*   *n-ipitsi*
be.cold-INTENS-IMPF   1SG-DAT
'I am cold' (E)

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12 For more information concerning valency properties in a cross-linguistic perspective, I refer to the Leipzig Valency Classes Project and its database ValPaL.

(28) *nu-kati̵ka-tai-pai*
1SG-be.cold-IMPF-IMPF
'I am feeling cold' (E)

(29) *pi-chati̵ka-pai-wiu*
2SG-be.cold-IMPF-IMPF
'You are cold (getting off cold water)' (E) (AFW, 2014)

In these three examples, the canonical construction in example (27) employs the dative *-ipitsi*. However, the use of the subject marking in addition to some aspectual markers in example (28) and (29) allow the speakers to express her perception in more details. In example (28), the presence of the imperfectives *-tai* and *-pai* refers to the feeling of cold whereas in example (28), with the imperfective *-pai* and the perfective *-wiu*, the cold seems to have made its effect completely, as in example (26) with Piapoco.

Consequently, both Piapoco and Wauja use oblique markers to show a low level of patiency with an experiencer (no change of state involved). However, in Wauja and contrarily to Piapoco, a high level of patiency (with a change of state) is found with the use of subject marking. This difference may be caused by the Wauja aspectual system. Indeed, the object marking is incompatible with the imperfective. These data imply that patiency and object marking is not a simple correlation where a high level of patiency would imply object marking. In any case, these two languages rely heavily on argument marking to distinguish different levels of patiency.

Palikur and Terena, a northern Arawakan language and a southern language respectively, seem to have markers linked to the body. In Palikur, the marker *-vit* marks an interiority with an animate being, in the literal —within the body, example (30)— or figurative —intellectual, moral or affective dimension, example (31)— (Launey, 2003, p. 150):

Palikur

(30) *Wavitye ay guvit*
'The demon is inside her' (Launey, 2003, p. 150)

(31) *Nah batek pikak avititak nuyakni*
'I love you with all my heart (Litt. I am happy with you)' (Launey, 2003, p. 151)

In Terena, the morpheme *-pi* seems to refer to the usual physical/physiological states with more patiency:

Terena

(32) *Undi   kasa-x-o   ngoye*
PRO1SG   be.cold-EP-MOD   AUX
'I am always cold (> the sensation of cold)' (E)

(33) *Undi   kasa-pi   ngoye*
ᴘʀᴏɪsɢ   be.cold-pi   ᴀᴜx
'My body is always cold (> the coldness of the body, with flown back blood, etc)'
(E) (AFW, 2014)

The same morpheme appears with other stative verbs such as *movo-* 'be dry', *kotu-* 'be hot', *muya-* 'be soft' (Julio, a native speaker, personal communication). To resume, Arawakan languages may use different person or oblique markings, aspectual markers or even specific morphemes to distinguish interiority and exteriority for corporeality. Others utterances – in Piapoco, with a third person suffix – may be used for non-corporeality, as shown in table 2:

Table 2
Opposition between punctual interiority, punctual exteriority and punctual non-corporeality, for a stative verb

		Punctual
Corporeality	Interiority	*Uleka nua* 'I am hot (from the inside)'
	Exteriority	*Uleka nuli* 'I am hot'
Non-Corporeality		*Ulekani* 'It is hot'

3.2. Body parts as arguments

For some particular predicates, the experiencer is expressed by a body part term – as such, we refer to different cases of interiority. In example (34), instead of using object marking as in Piapoco, the use of the noun phrase *no-daki* as a subject is preferred – next to a nominalized predicate[13] :

Kurripako

(34) *no-aanhee   hamo-ka   no-daki*
1sɢ-feel   hot-ɴᴍᴢ   1sɢ-body
'I feel I have a fever (lit. I feel my body's heat)'
(Ramirez, 2001, pp. 444-445, my gloses)

Other examples also refer to psychical states:

Tariana

(35) *nu-kale   nu-wara-ka*
1sɢ-soul   1sg-diminish-ʀᴇᴄ.ᴘ.ᴠɪs
'I am worried, sad' (lit. I diminish (with respect to) my soul)
(Aikhenvald, 2022, pp. 18-19)

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13 *Hámo-* has been characterized as adjective by Ramirez (2001) but as a stative verb by Granadillo (2008) and I. Non-derived adjective in Arawakan languages are rare. Concerning Apuriná, Facundes (2000, p. 342) claims that the role of adjectives is filled by stative verbs and classifiers. About Baniwa of Guainía, Aikhenvald (1998, p. 304) mentions derived adjectives, with a few or no non-derived adjectives. The same situation is described by Hanson (2010, p. 91) concerning Yine.

This example is named 'complex subject' construction since the noun phrase *nu-kale* 'my soul' is co-referent with the person prefix of first person singular *nu-*; which is the possessor of this soul (Aikhenvald, 2022, pp. 18-19).

The other examples are more usual morphologically. In example (36) and (37), the term for soul is used for the verbs *moto-* 'forget' and *eloke-* 'be happy' respectively:

Wayuu

(36) *moto-sü   ta-a'in   ka'-che'e-in   pia   wayuu-naiki*
forget-F   1SG-soul   ATTR-ear-SUB   PRO2SG people-language
'I forget that you understand Wayuunaiki' (Soto, 2011 p. 125)

Terena

(37) *Eloke-ti   ongovo*
be.happy-IMPF   1SG.soul/stomach
'I am happy'

To sum up, the different constructions using body parts as arguments seem to mainly refer to a less prototypical patient, the experiencer. This is done through the embodiment of feelings (example [34]) and states of mind (examples [35], [36] and [37]), which show once again the correlation between corporeality and patiency.

3.3. Noun incorporation

The affinity between valency reduction and body parts has been observed for various languages through the phenomenon of nominal incorporation – generally, the affixation of an argument on the predicative head, whether it be a noun or a verb, of which he depends. Examples (39) and (40) respectively describe a punctual and a durative state, while example (38) exhibits the analytical construction:

Nomatsigenga

(38) *Na-katsi-t-i   na-gero-ki=ka*   Analytical construction
1SG-hurt-EP-REAL   1SG-knee-LOC-DEM.PROX
'My knees hurt (Lit. It hurts is in my knees)' (E)

(39) *No-piria-mashi-t-ë-ni*   Nominal incorporation (punctual state)
1SG-be.dry-skin-EP-REAL.I-IMPF
'I have dry skin' (E)

(40) *Tsire-boko-ri-na*   Nominal incorporation (durative state)
be.sticky-hand-NMZ-1SG
'I (always) have clammy hands' (E) (AFW, 2012)

Other authors consider stative verbs – called 'descriptive-stative' – have a particular morphology, which includes nominal incorporation:

Paresi

(41) *Ø=watya-kano-tya*
3=be.hot-arm-PERF
'His arm is hot' (Romling, 2013, p. 221)

In Palikur, Launey (2003) labels as classifiers suffixes denoting that a property (through an adjective) or an action (through a verb, the more numerous case) is linked to a body part (Launey, 2003, p. 134):

Table 3
Body parts classifiers in Palikur (Launey, 2003, p. 134)

Adjective	Transitive verb	Body part
-biy	*-biya*	Mouth
-duk	*-duka*	Chest
-ki	*-kuga*	Foot
-(w)ok	*-(w)oka*	Hand
-(w)ot	*-(w)ota*	Eye

Taking into account the nouns *-biy* 'mouth' (Launey, 2001, p. 91), *-duk* 'chest' (Launey, 2001, p. 91) or *-(w)ak* 'hand' (Launey, 2001, p. 124), it appears that nouns and these classifiers in an adjective position are generally similar, even with some morphological differences, as with *-(w)ak / -(w)ok* 'hand'. Likewise, the difference of these classifiers in an adjectival position or a verbal position relies mostly on the presence of the vocal *-a* for the latter, even with the case of *-ki / -kuga* 'foot'. Consequently, it appears that the existence of phonological changes, even minor, is the sign of a significant use, bringing one more grammatical particularity of body parts within the language.

To resume, the principal opposition that appeared for nominal incorporation is the opposition punctual / durative, as shown in table 4:

Table 4
Opposition between punctual and durative exteriority, for a stative verb

		Punctual	Durative
Corporeality	Exteriority	*No-piria-mashi-t-ë-ni* 1SG-be.dry-skin-EP-REAL.I-IMPF 'I have dry skin'	*Tsire-boko-ri-na* be.clammy-hand-NMZ-1SG 'I always have clammy hands'

This opposition adds another level to our analysis. In noun incorporation, the intimacy of corporeality and patency are clear – affinity with body parts for the former, stative verbs of states or qualities for the latter.

3.4. Secondary use of possessive markers

Although the possessive constructions may make think about to have or own something, it may also refer to carry or wear something, bringing corporeal references. It also add a notion of patiency through a a state description. Tambo Ashaninka, for example, distinguishes the two cases by a copular construction (example [42]) and verbalization with object marking (example [43]) respectively.

Tambo Ashaninka

(42) *Chora*   *no-sapato-te*
      EXIST   1SG-shoe-POSS
      'I have shoes'

(43) *Sapato-t-ak-i-na*
      shoe-EP-PERF-REAL-1SG
      'I have put my shoes on' (E) (AFW, 2012)

Thus, while example (43) with the copula *chora* refers to owning shoes, example (44) with object marking refers to wearing shoes, requiring the implication of the body.

Another strategy used in Baniwa-Kurripako is the use of the attributive *ka-* to encode that an object is carried/weared (example [45]), in contrast to the more neutral dative construction in example (44):

Kurripako

(44) *Nu-sru*   *pa-ita*   *chapewa*
      1SG-DAT   1-NF   hat
      'I have a hat' (E)

(45) *ka-chapewa-ka*   *hnua*
      ATTR-hat-REAL   1SG
      'There is a hat for me / I am wearing a hat' (E) (AFW, 2013)

The use of the attributive *ka-* and the privative *ma-*, two productive derivational markers, is a property of the great majority of Arawakan languages. They are used not only for possessive or affiliation utterances, but also for the expression of stative predicates and for lexical creation – through that, the states characterized by these predicates point to patiency. These processes may be accompanied by corporeal assertions, where the literal composition of 'having meat' is linked to the meat on its own body, thus leading to the interpretation 'be fat' (example [46], while example [47] describes the lack of meat).

Baniwa-Kurripako

(46) *ka-ipe-ka*   *kutsi*
      ATTR-meat-T/A   pig
      'The pig is fat.'

(47) *ma-ipe-ka*   *kutsi*

     PRIV-meat- T/A   pig

     'The pig is thin.' (Danielsen & Granadillo, 2008, p. 404)

Furthermore, the corporeal interpretation is being brought by the attributive *ka-* with active verbs as in stative verbs. It can be used to emphasize the corporeal effects of an action, as in example (49) (the action is to get drink in order to get drunk), or to express accentuate effects of a state, as in example (51) (the state of nausea):

Baniwa-Kurripako

(48) *Nu-dewana*

     1SG-get.drunk

     'I am getting drunk'

(49) *Ka-dewana-ka*   *hnua*

     ATTR-get.drunk- T/A   1SG

     'I am not feeling well because I started to get drunk'

(50) *Kadaupoale*   *hnua*

     be.nauseous   1SG

     'I am nauseous'

(51) *Ka-kadaupoale-ka*   *hnua*

     ATTR-be.nauseous- T/A   1SG

     'I am very nauseous' (AFW, 2013)

The next example in Wapishana illustrates another use of the atributive *ka-* with the body part *-ɖaku* "mouth" in order to build the verb *-kaɖaku* "discuss":

Wapishana

(52) *i-ka-ɖaku-t-iɲ-a-n*

     3M-ATTR-mouth-VR-REFL-EP-IND

     'He was discussing' (Santos, 2006, p. 75)

The link between these markers and corporeal statements is also shown in Terena, where even if the privative *ma-* has disappeared as a productive tool of lexical creation, a reminder is present in negative utterances, here with the stative verb *-kina* 'be fat':

Terena

(53) *Ngina-ti*

     1SG.be.fat

     'I am fat'

(54) *Ako   a-ngina*
     NEG   PRIV-1SG.be.fat
     'I am not fat' (AFW, 2014)

In addition to the notion of interiority, every Arawak language may point out if a corporeal state is punctual or durative. This distinction is principally made with aspect markers, nominalizers, but other morphological methods may be used. In Terena, there is a stative marker (example [56]) for durative constructions:

Terena

(55) *ngasa-x-o-ti*
     1SG.be.cold-EP-MOD-IMPF
     'I am cold'

(56) *ngasa-x-o-k-ena-ti*   Stative marker
     1SG.be.cold-EP-MOD-EP-STAT-IMPF
     'I am sensitive to cold' (AFW, 2014)

In Nomatsigenga, while the punctual predicate is characterized by the imperfective *-ni* – imposing the subject marking – affixed to a finite verb (example [57]), the durative predicate employs a nominalized verb with the nominalizer *-ri*, allowing the use of the object marking (example [58]):

Nomatsigenga

(57) *no-matsa-t-ë-ni*   Finite verb with subject marking
     1SG-be.weak-EP-REAL.I-IMPF
     'I am weak (now)'

(58) *matsa-ri-na*   Nominalized verb with object marking
     be.weak-NMZ-1SG
     'I am weak (as a person)' (AFW, 2012)

In Baniwa of Guainía, while the oblique marker is used for punctual constructions (example [59]), an object marking is used for the durative construction (example [60]):

Baniwa of Guainía

(59) *Nu-yue   mawaɺi*
     1SG-DAT   hunger
     'I'm hungry (now)'

(60) *Mawaɺi-na*   Object marking on predicate
     hunger-1SG
     'I am famished (since a long time)' (Aikhenvald, 1998, p. 363)

In Baniwa-Kurripako, from the finite verb *-iha* "eat" (example [61]), the durative aspect can be brought by the use of the attributive and another predicate, the root *-muni* "be a big eater", in addition to a finite (example [62]) or non finite predicate (example [63]) – although some semantic differences may appear in example (62):

Baniwa-Kurripako

    (61) *Nu-iha-ka*
        1SG-eat-T/A
        'I am eating'

    (62) *Ka-muni-ka*   *hnua*   Attributive marker
        ATTR-be.a.big.eater-T/A   1SG
        'I am a big eater, now / I am a little hungry now' (E)

    (63) *Ka-muni-dali*   *hnua*   Attributive marker and nominalizer
        ATTR-be.a.big.eater- NMZ   PRO1SG
        'I am famished / I am always hungry' (E) (AFW, 2013)

To resume, the different constructions observed in this subsection are characterized by the oppositions punctual / durative and corporeality / non-corporeality, as shown in table 5:

Table 5

Oppositions between punctual and durative exteriority, and between durative corporeality and durative non-corporeality, for possessive predications

		Patiency	
		Punctual state	Durative state
Corporeality	Exteriority	*Sapatotakina* 'I have put my shoes on'	*Sapatotatsina* 'I have always my shoes on'
Non-Corporeality			*Chora no-sapato-te* 'I have shoes in my possession' (AFW, 2012)

7. Conclusion

Corporeality and patiency are two close notions in Arawak languages. One's body may be the key to feel and perceive one's surroundings, the changes that may impact it and even your social circle. As such, if we follow Dehouve's point of view, the rich noun composition system for body parts involving numerous metaphors and metonymies, strongly settled in cognitive processes are linked to the perception network of the body. Although this noun composition system has been mostly described in Mehinaku by Mori (2017), the extension of some metaphors shown by Carvalho (2017) indicates that these stylistic devices are present through the entire linguistic family, especially in incantations (Fontaine, 2015).

Concerning the semantic shifts concerned by these metaphors and metonymies, the two main themes found are from one part, house parts, tools, and from the other part, plants, natural elements

and landscape. Concerning housing, the basket is also a metaphor used in Terena to express the *exóneti* 'knowledge' put in the body, linked not only to feelings - *eloketi ongovo* 'I am happy' (Thames, 2018) – but also to other people, hence the social nature of the body to Terena people and its different cases of embodiment (Zouheir & Ning, 2011). The strong link between the body and spirit is also highlighted in Yukuna rituals where curing means putting back in the body a vital substance that has been lost (Fontaine, 2015).

Morphosyntactic data on body parts reveal that the two main parameters influencing patiency are the opposition interiority/exteriority and the opposition punctual/durative. Even if the majority of Arawakan languages already distinguish actions from states – states, it may be necessary for a speaker to make more specifications concerning these states. As such, to take back the Piapoco example on differential subject marking, if a canonical oblique marker such as the dative marker is used for the state 'being hot', then the superessive marker might be used for a feeling of a hot wave – an example of exteriority – while the use of the object marking is used for a heat due to a fever – an example of interiority. The opposition punctual/durative for states appears in various constructions, such as in Tambo Ashéninka, where the canonical possession uses a copula while the possession linked to the body – by wearing something – employs a verbalized noun with subject marking. In Baniwa-Kurripako, the canonical possession uses a dative marker while the corporeal possession uses the same strategy of Tambo Ashéninka – with the addition of the attributive marker *ka-*.

In forthcoming works, considering the position of the opposition interiority/exteriority at the intersection of corporeality and patiency, another line of research would be the analysis of directional suffixes or verbs of movement. The latter are closely related to patiency in general and object marking in particular in various Arawakan languages (Payne, 1996; Durand, 2016). In light of this article, this relation could be correlated to corporeality, especially the differences between verbs of movement with internal or external reference (Torres Castillo *et al.*, 2021, p. 223), or how the trajectory pattern marks our corporeal experience (Infante Seminario, 2015, p. 71).

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Annexes

Annex 1. Abbreviations

ANIM animate
ATTR attributive
AUX auxiliar
CL classifier
COP copula
DAT dative
DEM demonstrative
EP epenthetic
F feminine
IMPF imperfective
IND indicative
INTENS intensive
LOC locative
M masculine
MOD marker of modality
N noun
NEG negation
NF non-feminine
NMZ nominalizer

O object
PERF perfective
PL plural
POSS possessive marker
PRIV privative
PRO pronoun
PROX proximate marker
PST past
REAL realis
REAL.I realis of the I class
REC.P.VIS recent past visual
REFL reflexive
REL relativizer
SG singular
SPRESS superessive
STAT stative
SUB subordinator
T/A Tense/Aspect marker
UNPOSS unpossessive marker

Annex 2. Distribution of Arawakan languages

Annex 3. Syntactic properties of A, Sa and So, a summary (Aikhenvald, 2001, p. 188)

	A	Sa	So
a. Target of imperative		Yes	
b. Same subject constraint in serial verb constructions		Yes	
c. Placement of negation in serial verb constructions		First component	
d. Same subject constraint in switch reference		Yes	
e. Use as arguments (without nominalizing)		No	
f. Case marking		Unmarked form	
g. Target of reciprocal		Yes	No
h. Target of topic advancing derivation		Yes	No
i. Serializability: restrictions on cooccurrence of same verb types		No	Yes
j. Serializability: restrictions on serial verb constructions types		No	Yes
k. Semantics of passive	Passive	Impersonal	Habitual
l. Causative formation		See Scheme 1	

Contribución del autor

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The author has no conflict of interest.

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