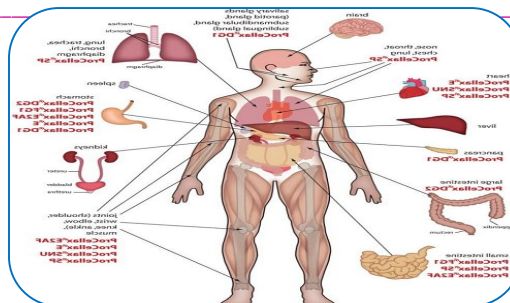## GRAMMATICALIZATION OF BODY PART TERMS IN BODO

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ABSTRACT:
　　Grammaticalization theory is concerned with the genesis and development of grammatical forms and it's a part of language change. It consists in the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status. It is an unidirectional historical process.Body part terms are used in Bodo to encode sequential, spatial and idiomatic meaning. There usage is not much extensive and only a few body parts terms are used. There is however, an extra usage in Bodo, that of certain kinship terms.

KEYWORDS: *Bodo Language, Body Part, Grammaticalization.*

INTRODUCTION

　　Grammaticalization theory is concerned with the genesis and development of grammatical forms. Its primary goal is to describe how grammatical forms and constructions arise and develop through space and time. It is a development from lexical to grammatical forms and from grammatical to even more grammatical forms.There are various ways in which a lexical item can undergo change that can be classified as grammaticalization. For example:

PHONOLOGICAL REDUCTION

　　Phonological reduction is a phenomenon that is characterised by the change in the phonetic shape of lexemes that have been in human usage for a long time. Sometimes, usage of the terms under question by differential groups of speakers also calls for phonetic reduction, for example the following examples from English indicate the change in the phonetic shape of the phrases 'What is up?' and 'going to' popularly used by youngsters to something only they use and identify with.

[E] what is up →wassup→ssup
[E] going to → gonna

　　These two examples are indicative of the process of phonological reduction. When the same process also happens simultaneously with some semantic bleaching or encoding of newer information, i.e. the acquiring of grammatical nature, it becomes a process of grammaticalization.

Ex.
[H] le+ana= lana

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The Hindi verbs /le/ meaning 'to take' and /ana/ meaning 'to come' together indicate 'to bring'. However, they have over time and usage, been fused together with the reduction of the final vowel of the first verb and become /lana/. So, there is phonetic reduction and grammatical piling on, qualifying this as a suitable candidate for grammaticalization.

LOSS OF SYNTACTIC FREEDOM

Loss of syntactic freedom is inherent in the emergence of affixes. It has been argued in theses on grammaticalization that the path that a lexeme takes in order to become a gram is lexical unit>>functional unit>>affix>>clitic. The loss of syntactical freedom appears in almost all stages. The moment a lexical unit becomes a functional one, common sense predicts that the environments that the functional unit will become restricted. E.g. when over time and usage the lexical unit of 'did' (past tense of 'do') became the past tense morpheme –'ed', the environments where it could appear in a syntactic structure became fairly reduced. Similarly,

[L] humile mente (which meant 'with a humble mind') → [F] humblement (which means 'humbly')

When the Latin word for 'mind' became the French '-ment' affix, the conditions for a valid appearance of '-ment' in a sentence got reduced. We can see this in English as well where '–ment' can only be affixed with words with Latin or French origin, like 'supplement', 'bereavement', etc.

PRAGMATIC INFERENCING

Pragmatic meanings can be inferred in the context. For example, adjacent clauses are likely to be interpreted (interpretatively enriched) as temporally ordered.
a) The road was ice. She slipped
b) She slipped. The road was ice.

Such meanings become predictable and conventionalised. It is therefore possible "for what starts life...as a conversational implicature to become conventional" (Grice 1975), and thereby to grammaticalize.

Semantic bleaching

Semantic bleaching is the most common identification for the fact whether or not a lexical unit has undergone grammaticalization or not. More often than not, during and after grammaticalization there is a change in the semantic content of a lexical unit, i.e. the lexeme starts its life to mean one particular thing and by the time it grows up to be a gram, it means something else. Though there are instances where the meaning has changed totally, it is argued that after grammaticalization has occurred; what remains of the lexeme is its semantic core, e.g. in German, /mann/ initially meant 'man', but with language change and grammaticalization, the term has become the quantifier 'man' which indicates 'some' or the possibility of one item of the kind being referred to.

Principles of Grammaticalization

The processes of grammaticalization follow certain principles, and each process falls in the gamut of one principle or the other. Even though the rules are not absolute and it cannot be said that if there is a process discovered that does not fall under any of the principles it must be wrong, it is as Dr. Sheldon Cooper says, 'Without rules there would be nothing but anarchy'.

Various critics and scholars of language have argued on the principles of grammaticalization. The following, presented by Paul Hopper in his 'On Principles of Grammaticalization' are the most widely accepted today.

Layering: The principle of layering is observed when within a broad functional domain new lexemes emerge to indicate the same functionality and the existing lexemes are not discarded but exist

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simultaneously with the new ones, i.e. when a new layer emerges,the older layers are not necessarily discarded but may remain to coexist and interact with the new layers. For example, in Hindi, the locative may be indicated by more than one morpheme, like /upər/ →/pər/→ /pe/. [It can be noted here that the process of phonological reduction can also be observed here with the loss of the initial vowel sound as the first step and the final consonant as the second.] All three forms coexist and this phenomenon is called layering.

Divergence: The principle is what the name suggests- when a lexical form undergoes grammaticalization into a new form, say an auxiliary, clitic or affix, the original form may remain as an autonomous lexical element and undergo the same changes as any other lexical items. Both the forms may coexist and even appear in mutually un-exclusive circumstances. For example, the English verb 'to have' which indicates possession of the object in question grammaticalized to form the auxiliary verb 'have'. Both the forms exist in English as independent items and can appear in the same sentence without rendering the meaning redundant or the sentence grammatically incorrect. Namely,

       I have a red car. [The sentence indicate the meaning of 'possession' for the verb 'have']

       I have been to the garage to buy a blue car. [Here 'verb' is the auxiliary that indicates the perfective aspect]

       There is also another usage of the verb 'have' which indicates compulsion and which too exists simultaneously with the other forms. Namely, I have to have a red car.

Specialization: It is one of the most central aspects of grammaticalization.In specialization; form of a particular lexeme is used in more grammaticalized forms. Hopper (1991) in his article "On some principles of grammaticalization' defined specialization as 'Within a functional domain, at one stage a variety of forms with different semantic nuances may be possible; as grammaticalization takes place, this variety of formal choices narrows and the smaller number of forms selected assume more general grammatical meanings'. Specialization portrays a situation that once a lexeme undergoes grammaticalization, the numbers of variant forms performing the same function gets reduce.
In other words, it refers to the narrowing of choices that characterizes an emergent grammatical construction. In other words it means one form is singled out for a grammatical function.For example in French,

       Il ne boit pas de vin
       'He does not drink wine'.

       Here, the verb is straddled by two negators, ne preceding the verb and pas following it. Pas is also the general negative particle, for example in ***pas beaucoup*** 'not much'.

Persistence : The principle of persistence refers to the fact that when a form undergoes grammaticalization from a lexical to a grammatical function the original contextual meaning of the form continues. For example in Ga language which is spoken in Ghana.

       E   ke   wolo ŋme -sI
       She OBJ book lay down
Here **'ke'** functions as an 'accusative case' marker. But **'ke'** is originally a verb meaning 'take', which is moving toward grammaticalization as a casemarker.In persistence when a lexeme becomes delexicalized, it does not completely discard its old meaning but also keeps its own original feature.
In other words, whenever a lexeme undergoes change from a lexical to a more grammatical function, it grammaticallyadhere the original lexical meanings. It relates the meaning and function of a grammatical form to its history as a lexical morpheme. This relationship is often completely opaque by the stage of <u>morphologisation</u>, but during intermediate stages it may be expected that a form will be

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polysemous, and that one or more of its meaning will reflect a dominant earlier meaning." (Hopper 1991: 28).

The following are some of the examples of persistence in Hindi.

Ram ghar gəya
Ram ne keana ka liya
Ram keana kea gəy⬚

Decategorialization: It involves a loss of categories such as adverbs, auxiliaries, prepositions and other minor categories. It leads to a decrease in cardinal categoriality of the entity concerned and this implies a loss of optional markers of categoriality such as modifier. When decategorialization takes place the forms undergoing grammaticalization tend to lose or neutralize the morphological markers and syntactic privileges characteristics of the full categories noun and verb, and to assume attributes characteristics of secondary categories such as adjective, participle, etc. Whenever a lexeme undergoes decategorialization, it loses its capacity to be inflected. It also loses the ability to take on derivational morphology and ability to take modifiers.

The nouns undergoing decategorialization tend to lose morphological distinctions of number, gender, case, etc., the ability to combine with adjectives, determiners, etc., to be headed by adpositions; they lose the syntactic freedom of lexical nouns.

Examples of decategorialization in Hindi are as follows:

usne haskəe le liya

Grammaticalization of body part terms

Bernd Heine, Ulrike Claudi and Friederike Hunnemeyer argue in their essay 'From Cognition to grammar' that there is a distinction in cognitive categories that is reflected in various aspects of language. These categories can be arranged in the following way:

PERSON>>OBJECT>>PROCESS>>SPACE>>TIME>>QUALITY

They say, 'Each of these categories can be viewed as representing a domain of conceptualization which is important for structuring experience. The relationship among them is metaphorical, i.e. any of them may serve to conceptualise any other category to the right'. They further argue that there are cases of overlapping meaning and these are not coincidental but 'rather form an integral part of the development from a lexeme to a grammatical morpheme [and] thus, the categories of OBJECT, SPACE, TIME, etc. are not completely separated from one another'.

Now, the body is a pool of spatial and temporal reference points for a language to use in order to indicate the abstract concepts. As the categories and their order given above indicate, the body [an OBJECT] can be used to indicate the abstract cognitive concepts of PROCESS, SPACE, TIME and QUALITY. There are several languages where the terms for the body and its parts are used to indicate thus. Taking an example from the 'From Cognition to Grammar' essay, we can talk about the Ewe lexeme /megbe/ for 'back' which has grammaticalized and evolved to mean 'back of the body' in the OBJECT category, 'place behind' in the SPACE category, 'time after' in the TIME category and 'retarded/backward' in the QUALITY category.

The most elaborate example of the use of the pool of reference points provided by the body is seen in the Andamanese language documented by Dr. Anvita Abbi in her seminal 'Body Divisions in Great Andamanese'. Dr. Abbi talks of an elaborate system in PGA wherein PGA uses affixes grammaticalized from its original body part terms as markers to indicate inalienability. Great Andamanese has a dual semantic system for body part categorization, one which is expressed in various terms for concrete body parts and another abstract one that is expressed in grammaticalized

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morphemes represented in seven body division possessive classes that classify body part terms based on the area of the body they occupy.

Such an elaborate system has so far not been observed in any of the documented languages, or at least the author of this paper is aware of the same. However, the Bodo do portray the use of the terms for the body and the body parts to indicate the cognitive concepts of space and time. There is a system that can be observed in the languages and this following half of the paper shall document the same. The following section will attempt to record the occurrence of body part terminologies in their grammaticalized states to indicate space and time, and as in the case of Bodo, certain kinship terms as well, some of which may appear arbitrary.

Grammaticalization of body part terms in Bodo

Body part terms are used in Bodo to encode sequential, spatial and idiomatic meaning. There usage is not much extensive and only a few body parts terms are used. There is however, an extra usage in Bodo, that of certain kinship terms.

Sequence

(1) / kʰɪtʰu/ 'buttocks'

The term for 'buttocks' in Bodo is used to indicate the sequence of events. For example:

bi	-yɯ aŋ	-ni	kʰitʰu	-ao	pɯidɯɯ	-mɯɯ
3:SG NOM	I:SG	GEN	buttock	LOC	come	PST

'He came after me'

Spatial

(2) /mɯɯkʰaŋ/ 'face'

The term for 'face' in Bodo is used to indicate the 'front'. In certain interpretations, it can also be used to indicate close proximity, encoding the irritation [attitude] of the speaker at the closeness.

nɔ	-ni	mɯɯkʰaŋ	-ao	gari	kʰou	-da	dɯɯ
house	GEN	face	LOC	car	ACC	NEG	keep

'Don't keep the car in front of the house'

be	-ha	kʰɔrɔsa	-ao	gɔbaŋ	kʰanaɪ	dɔŋ
he	AUX	head	LOC	many	hair	AUX

'he has lots of hair on his head' (normal usage)

(3) /kʰitʰu/ 'buttocks'

The term is used also to indicate proximity.

bi	-ni	nɔ	-a	jɯɯŋ	-ni	kʰitʰu	-ao
3:SG	GEN	house	NOM	our	GEN	buttock	LOC

'his house is near our house'

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(4) /kʰugɑ/ 'mouth'

The term for mouth in Bodo is used to indicate the starting point of something.

      aŋ   ni   no   -a   dəima -ni kʰugɑ /mɯkʰaŋ –ao

      1:SG GEN house   NOM river GEN   mouth/face   LOC

      'My house is at the starting point of the river'

(5) /kʰɔro/ 'head'

The term for head is used to indicate the top.

      hajɯ kʰɔro –ao

      hill   head LOC   'on top of the hill'

Idiomatic Expressions in Bodo

There are various idioms and metaphors in Bodo which use body part terms. E.g.

(6) / akʰai/ 'hand'

      bi   -ni   akʰai -ya mɯɯjaŋ -noŋa

      3:SG GEN hand NOM good   NEG

      'he is a thief' [Literally, his hands are not good].

(7) /papli/ 'shoulder' [associated with pride, self esteem]

      papli   -ao gakʰɯ hɯɯbla gɔto pɯɯr - a   gazri ja -yɯ

      shoulder LOC climb freedom child PL NOM bad   eat AUX

       'Giving too much freedom makes children bad'

(8) /kʰɔma/ 'ear'

      malai -ni kʰɔma kʰɔma buŋ   gra

      other GEN ear   ear   speak IMP

      'A person who says everything to others'

(9) /atʰiŋ/ 'leg'

      malai –ni atʰiŋ siŋ –ao   tʰa gra

      other GEN leg   under LOC   stay IMP

      'A person who stays under someone'

(10) /kʰuga/ 'mouth'

      bi   -ni   kʰuga -ya mɯɯjaŋ -noŋa

      3:SG GEN mouth NOM good   NEG

      'His heart is not good'

(11) /bikʰa/ 'heart'

      bi   -ni   bikʰa -a   jɯɯbɯɯd gidir

      3:SG GEN heart NOM very   big

      'He is a kind hearted'

(12) /asi/ 'finger'

      bi -yɯ aŋ   -ni katʰi -ao asi -se lɔ

      he NOM 1:SG GEN near LOC finger CL nothing

      'He is nothing in front of me'

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Kinship Terms

Bodo uses some of its terms for body parts to mark kinship terms. The marking is fairly arbitrary, i.e. one cannot say why the specific relations were selected to be marked, but there is an angle of inalienability which on further research may promise to reveal more information. For the time being, the following list may suffice:

(13) /khɔro/ 'head'

        kʰɔro -sa

        head elder

        'Elder brother'

(14) / akʰai/ 'hand'

        agdʰa   akʰai

        right   hand

        ' Husband'

(15) / adɯri/ 'thigh'

        'paternal uncle'

Final comments

We have seen various body parts are used in Bodo to encode different kinds of information. Sequential, spatial, idiomatic and kinship terms are indicated by the usage of body part terms.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT:

Abbreviations and Symbols

ACC   Accusative
AUX   Auxiliary
CL   Noun class
GEN   Genitive
IMP   Imperative
NEG   Negation
NOM   Nominative
OBJ   Object
PST   Past
PL   Plural

1 First person
3 Third person

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