

## **Rethinking mono-sensory, implicational approaches to ideophones in Pastaza Quichua**

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This paper will evaluate a claim about a possible areal bias for the semantic typologies of ideophone systems. According to this claim, ideophone systems of the Americas are mainly dedicated to encoding sound and motion, while for Africa and Asia, they cover a broader range of sensory imagery, including visual patterns, textures, and cognitive states. Additionally, an implicational hierarchy for ideophone systems has been posited:

**sound < movement < visual patterns < other sensory < inner feelings/cognitive states**

The hierarchy predicts which sensory domains will implicate the existence of others in an ideophone system. For example, a language with ideophones for cognitive states or inner feelings will have all other sensory categories in its system, while a language with ideophones for visual patterns may only be assumed to have ideophones for sound.

Using data that has recently been organized into an online corpus of ideophones, our paper argues that the claim for an areal bias on the part of ideophone systems in the Americas is not accurate for Pastaza Quichua and perhaps not for other languages of the Americas either. Second, we argue that data from Pastaza Quichua makes the implicational hierarchy problematic as presently conceived. A major problem is the assumption that ideophones mostly communicate in one dominant sensory modality at a time. In Pastaza Quichua, ideophones that imitate sounds are often simultaneously communicative of emotional states such as sadness: **meme** ‘sound of an upset sloth, or anger: **pis** ‘sound of an angry hummingbird’. In such cases, we have two sensory categories from opposite ends of the hierarchy (sound and cognitive state) combining in one ideophone.

Our data consist of approximately 200 ideophone tokens that have been documented over the past 5 years of fieldwork in Ecuador. Audiovisual examples of these tokens occurring in conversations and narratives provide evidence in the form of gestural and intonational foregrounding for the multimodal, sensory clustering of ideophones’ semantics. We will offer a modified scheme featuring 7 categories of ideophonic meaning which more accurately reflect our corpus data, with interconnected sensory clusters that may or may not be implicational: 1.movement/visual configuration; 2.visual/textural/spatially distributed; 3.movement/sound; 4.movement/haptic; 5.sound/cognition/emotion; 6.sound; 7.low sensory (light ideophones, absence ideophones, suddenness ideophones).