The extension of structure to discourse: Chitimacha participles in discourse and diachrony

Daniel W. Hieber

University of California, Santa Barbara

Slides available at www.danielhieber.com

Discourse Structure (Halliday & Hasan 1976)

- *cohesion* – relations of meaning between two points in a text, where the interpretation of one element depends on another
  - Cohesion distinguishes a text from a random collection of utterances
  - e.g. anaphor, repetition, pitch reset, transitional prosodic contours

- *tie* – a single instance of a cohesive pair

- Structure is always cohesion-forming

Cohesion & Information Flow

- Speakers continually need to indicate when they are transitioning from one discourse topic to the next

- Transition points signal that everything which comes before can be treated as a cohesive unit

- Speakers continually background old information, against which new, foregrounded information is set (Chafe 1994)
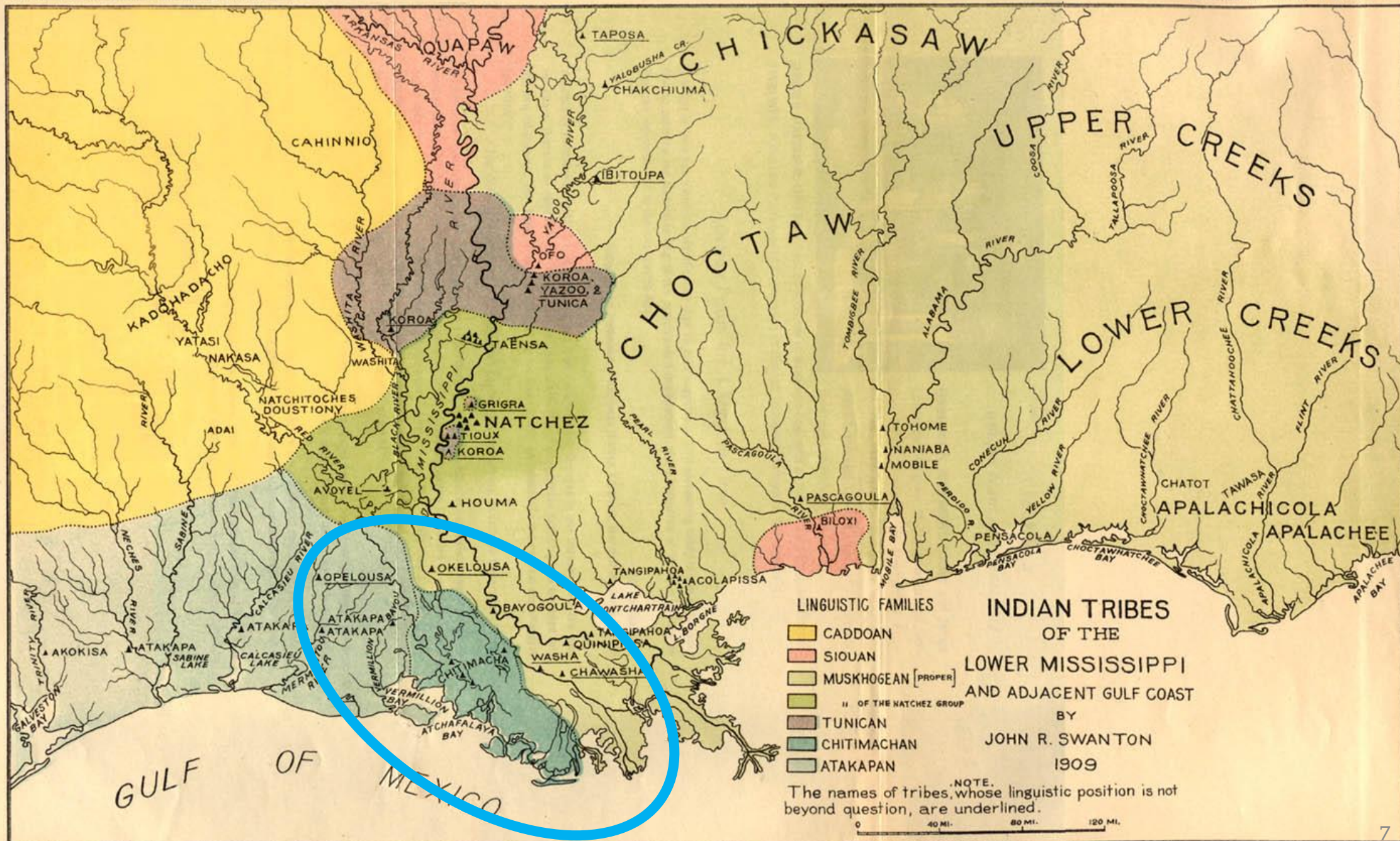
How does discourse structure arise?

- Any diachronic process that creates dependencies between segments of discourse

- Ergative (intra-clausal syntax) (Gildea 1992)

- Extension of clausal dependency markers (insubordination) (Mithun 2008)

- Relativization (with prosodic integration) (Givón 2012)

- Verb serialization (Nguyen 2013)

Extension of structure to discourse in Chitimacha

- Series of changes in scope and function for locative enclitic $=k$

  - locative > participle > discourse marker

- Interacted with the topic marker -*š* to structure clause chains

- When it escaped into discourse, it brought its structure with it, adding hierarchical structure to the discourse

Outline

1. About Chitimacha
2. About Chitimacha participles
3. Clausal level: Participles
4. Clausal level: Participles + Topic marking
5. Discourse level: Participles
6. Discourse level: Participles + Topic marking
7. Conclusion: Clause level structure → Discourse level structure

INDIAN TRIBES
OF THE
LOWER MISSISSIPPI
AND ADJACENT GULF COAST
BY
JOHN R. SWANTON
1909

LINGUISTIC FAMILIES

CADDOAN
SIOUAN
MUSKHOGEAN [PROPER]
" OF THE NATCHEZ GROUP
TUNICAN
CHITIMACHAN
ATAKAPAN

NOTE.
The names of tribes, whose linguistic position is not beyond question, are underlined.

0   40 MI.   80 MI.   120 MI.

GULF OF MEXICO

Ill. 2. Benjamin Paul

5. Delphine Ducloux

Locative $=k$, $=tk$, $=nk$ with nouns

We kap mahc   *ney* = **_k_**   *tišt'uw-i.*

the comet   ground = LOC   fall.down-3sg

'The comet fell to the ground.'

[Namu   *hi*   *kuti]* = **_nk_**   *namki-ːk'*   *hi-ʔuy-i.*

country   DIST   end = LOC   live-PTCP   be-IPFV-3sg

'He lived at the end of the country.

Locative $=k$, $=tk$, $=nk$ with verbs

Wetk	*we ʔašinčʼatʼaš*	*hus*	*[hi-ʔi]* = ***nk***	*kas*	*cuy-i.*
then	the old man	his	be-3sg = LOC	back	go-3sg

'The old man went back home.'

ʔunkʼuš	*[kap*	*tey-tʼi-na]* = ***nk***	*hup*	*hi*	*tey-pi-ʔi.*
one	STAT	arrive-FUT-3pl = LOC	to	DIST	stand-CAUS-3sg

'One he placed near the end.'

Locative > Participle

	Locative	Participle
N__	-tk	-t'k
V__	-nk	-iːk'
/w, y/__	-k	-k'
C__	-k	-k

Participle *-k, -k', -:k', -t'k*

2,700 sentences (out of 3,490) contain some form of this participle
- Many different functions

[Kap   *kamčin*   *ten-**t'k**]*   *šuš*   *hup*   *hi*   *tut-naʔa.*
STAT   deer   become-PTCP   woods   to   DIST   go-3pl
'Turning into deer they went into the woods.'

[ʔišk   *kap*   *k'et-ki-**:k'**]*   *ʔo:š*   *hup*   *hi*   *tiškint-ki-nan.*
1sg   PUNC   kill-1sg.P-PTCP   buzzard   to   AND   throw-1sg.P-3pl
'When they killed me, they threw me to the buzzards.'

Simultaneity, Causation, Purpose

Hus   ka:cpank   wok-mi-:k'   *hus   tep   c'ismam   ʔuka-:š-i.*

his   stick   feel-PLACT-PTCP   his   fire   pieces   count-PROG-3sg

'Feeling with his stick, he counted his pieces of fire.'

Waʔaš   kunuk'u   ney   kin   pokti   kin   ʔapš   neht-k   kap   t'em-i.

other   QUOT   earth   with   sky   with   together   trap-PTCP   PUNC   kill-3sg

'The earth and sky struck together and killed the others.'

Hi   t'ut-naʔa   tep   ʔo:ksne-pi   k'iht-k.

DIST   go-3pl   fire   steal-GER   want-PTCP

'They went to steal the fire.' [Lit. 'They went wanting to steal the fire.']

Towards Discourse: Interclausal Structure

*Wetk we ʔašinč'at'aš we haksik'aːšank nuk'us hi **nenšwi-ːk'**,*
then   the old man   the youths   behind DIST cross.water-PTCP

*hus šuš ʔuč'in   hup   hi   **ču-ːk'**,*
his rotten wood   to   AND   go-PTCP

*hus šuš ʔučin   kas   **nučmi-ːk'**,*
his rotten wood   back   work-PTCP

*wetk   **ču-ːk'**   tusiʔi.*
then   go-PTCP   he.hid

'The old man crossed behind the youths, went to his rotten wood, prepared his rotten wood, then went and hid.'

Interactions with Topic Marking

- Participle + topic marker = more significant narrative break

Wetkš ni   *k'ast-**k***   *k'asmank*   *ʔam ʔoːnak*   *noːpi-**ːk'-š**,*
then   INTR   plant-PTCP   corn   everything   make.crop-PTCP-TOP

weytenk'enkš   *t'utnaʔa*   *hesik'en.*
only.then   they.went   again

'Then they planted, made a crop of corn and so forth, and after that went on again.'

Interactions with Topic Marking

- Topic marker is more likely to occur when there is a change in the action being performed, the participants involved, or the location where the event occurred.

- Suggests that the function of *-š* is, in part, to signal the conceptual relatedness or cohesion between prior and upcoming discourse

Towards Discourse: Generic Tail-Head Linkage

- Some participles don't share a participant with the main clause
  - *absolutive adverbials* (Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang 2007:264)

- *wey* DEM + (-t ANA) + -*k* LOC > *wetk* 'at that time; then'
  - Most frequent use of -*k* in the corpus
  - 1,008 of 3,490 sentences begin with *wetk*
  - Frequently co-occurs with the topic marker -*š*

- *tuut-* 'finish' + -*k* PTCP > *tutk* 'that finished; then'

- Creates a cohesive tie to the prior unit of text

'We got ready. Then we went. When we went, we took corn and seed and so forth and went. About a hundred of us went. Wherever our food ran out, we would plant and hunt something and when we had thus produced something to eat we went on. Sometimes when (one of) our people died we would go on after having buried him.'

ʔaštkankiš   ʔuš   panš   kap   nu:p-**k**,   hi ney nučmitu:t   t'ut'išnaka.

sometimes   our   people   PUNC   die-**PTCP**   having.buried   we.will.go

'Sometimes when (one of) our people died we would go on after having buried him.'

We-t-k   ney   pokti   kin   ʔapš neht'iši?ink   hi ʔuynaka.

DEM-ANA-PTCP   earth   sky   with   where.they.struck.together   we.arrive

'Then we got to where the land and the sky beat together.'

Tewe:š   ʔuš   panšk   ʔapš nehenk   te:t   ni gaypaminaka   wenk   hi ʔuyankiš.

but   our   people   half   like   we.lost   then   when.we.arrive

'But we had lost about half of our people when we got there.'

We-t-k   we heki ʔatkank   hiš   hi tekuyi,   […]

DEM-ANA-PTCP   the.minister   ERG   told.us

'The minister told us, […]'

Towards Discourse: Interclausal Structure

*Wetk we ʔašinč'at'aš we haksik'aːšank nuk'us hi **nenšwi-ːk'**,*
then the old man the youths behind DIST cross.water-PTCP

*hus šuš ʔuč'in hup hi **ču-ːk'**,*
his rotten wood to AND go-PTCP

*hus šuš ʔučin kas **nučmi-ːk'**,*
his rotten wood back work-PTCP

<u>wetk</u> ču-ːk' *tusiʔi.*
then go-PTCP he.hid

'The old man crossed behind the youths, went to his rotten wood, prepared his rotten wood, then went and hid.'

Him	*kut*	*čun*	*ka:čču:š,*	*kimik'unatkin*	*kin*	*ʔapš*	**ʔičmi-:k',**
2SG	head	for	if.you.drink	*kimigunatkin*	with	together	mix-PTCP

ki:	*napšč'ikank*	*ʔam*	*ʔo:nak*	*kin*	*ʔapš*	**ʔičmi-:k'**
vine	black	thing	all	with	together	mix-PTCP

<u>**wetkš**</u>	*šuš*	*napšč'ikank*	*ʔapš*	**ʔičmi-:k',**
then	wood	black	together	mix-PTCP

wetk	*ku:*	*ki*	**šuhtpi-:k',**	*ka:ččuyi*	*him*
then	water	in	boil-PTCP	you.will.drink	2SG

ku:	*ka:čt-'iš-i-nk-š*	*teet.*
water	drink-PROG-NF.SG.A-LOC-TOP	SIMIL

'If you drink it for your head, you mix it with *kimigunatkin*, mix with black vine, then mix it with black wood, boil it in water, and drink it as you drink your water.'

Extending Structure to Discourse

- At the clausal level, *-k* creates sequences of clauses
- At the discourse level, *-k* (on *wetk*) creates sequences of discourse topics

- At the clausal level, *-š* groups clause chains into cohesive units
- At the discourse level, *-š* groups discourse topics into cohesive units

Extending Structure to Discourse

Clausal level: [[clause PTCP] [clause PTCP] TOP]

Discourse level: [[topic DM] [topic DM] TOP]

Conclusion

- When morphological structure takes on discourse-level functions, it brings its structural relations with it, adding structure and cohesion to the discourse

- Gradual diachronic change in the scope of morphology makes a clear distinction between grammar and discourse impossible

- Discourse is well-structured in the same way as morphosyntax, and therefore should be considered part of grammar proper

References

- Chafe, Wallace L. 1994. *Discourse, consciousness, and time: The flow and displacement of conscious experience in discourse and writing.* University of Chicago Press.

- Gildea, Spike. 1992. *Comparative Cariban morphosyntax: On the genesis of ergativity in independent clauses*. PhD dissertation, Department of Linguistics, University of Oregon.

- Givón, Talmy. 2012. Toward a diachronic typology of relative clause. In Bernard Comrie & Zarina Estrada-Fernández (eds.), *Relative clauses in the languages of the Americas* (Typological Studies in Language 102), 3–26. John Benjamins.

- Halliday, M. A. K. & Ruqaiya Hasan. 1976. *Cohesion in English.* Longman.

- Mithun, Marianne. 2008. The extension of dependency beyond the sentence. *Language* 2008:84(1).

- Nguyen, Tam. 2013. Verb serialization in Ede from a diachronic perspective. In Tim Thornes, Erik Andvik, Gwendolyn Hyslop, and Joanna Jansen (eds.), *Functional-historical approaches to explanation*, 179–194. John Benjamins.

- Thompson, Sandra, Robert E. Longacre, & Shin Ja J. Hwang. 2007. Adverbial clauses. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description, Vol. 2: Complex constructions*, 237–299. Cambridge University Press.