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Degrees and dimensions of grammaticalization in Chitimacha preverbs

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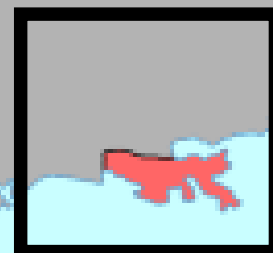
Workshop on American Indigenous Languages (WAIL)

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Dimensions of Grammaticalization

- Frequency
- Productivity
- Syntactic independence
- Lexicalization
- Semantic compositionality
- Functional renewal
- Phonetic reduction



25 PICAS



Ill. 2. Benjamin Paul

460

24 PICAS



5. Delphine Ducloux

The Chitimacha corpus

# of texts	88
# of paragraphs	418
# of sentences	3,496
# of lexical entries (lexemes)	~3,724
# of unique words (types)	4,467
# of words (tokens)	29,028

Preverbs

- layering
- variation in syntactic boundedness
 - TMESIS
- functional divergence

kas *t'ut'snaʔa*

back you.go

‘you (pl.) are going back’

kap *nacpikminaqa*

up they.began

‘they started up’

Chitimacha Preverbs

<i>ʔap</i>	(to) here, coming
<i>ʔapš</i>	returning here, together, randomly, reflexive, reciprocal
<i>hi</i>	(to) there, going
<i>his</i>	undoing, returning, doing in response, doing again
<i>kap</i>	up, suddenly, inceptive, inchoative, statives
<i>kap's</i>	returning up
<i>kas</i>	returning there, reverse, apart
<i>ni</i>	down, thing, detransitivizer, nominalizer, imperative

Historical origins of Chitimacha preverbs

- Reversative *-š / -s
 - *?ap* ‘here’ → *?apš* ‘returning here’
 - *hi* ‘there’ → *his* ‘do in response’ (< ‘back there’)
 - *kap* ‘up’ → *kap’s* ‘back up’
- *ni* ‘thing’ → *ni* DTRZR
- **ka?* ‘extending across’ + -š REV → *kas* ‘returning back’
- *hi* POSTP ‘to’ → *hi* ‘to there’
 - e.g.

<i>ni ti:kmiš</i>	<i>hi</i>	<i>ko:naka</i>	
Governor	to	we.called	(A03e.2)
- **kap* ‘up’ → *kap* ‘up’ (cf. *kapte-* ‘sprout’)
- *?ap* ‘come’ ??? → *?ap* ‘here, coming here’

Unifying Features of Chitimacha Preverbs

- **Phonology:** do not phonologically attach to verb / other words
- **Phonotactics:** monosyllabic, short vowels, CVC / CV{k/p}S
- **Prosody:** part of the same prosodic group as the verb
- **Paradigmaticity:** *?ap* ‘to here’ vs. *?apš* ‘returning here’, etc.
 - mutually exclusive with each other (with lexicalized exceptions)
- **Syntax:** all occur in same preverbal slot
 - adverbs don’t appear here (and are always bimorphemic)
- **Semantics:** all share a directional sense as a core meaning
- **Lexicon:** frequently form a lexicalized unit with the verb

Degrees of grammaticalization: Frequency

Preverb	Frequency	% of Occurrences	Rank in Corpus
<i>hi</i>	1298	33.50 %	#2
<i>kap</i>	775	20.00 %	#3
<i>ni</i>	646	16.67 %	#5
<i>ʔapš</i>	462	11.92 %	#8
<i>ʔap</i>	335	8.65 %	#14
<i>kas</i>	279	7.20 %	#17
<i>his</i>	74	1.91 %	#51
<i>kap's</i>	6	0.15 %	#534

Degrees of grammaticalization: Productivity

Preverb	# of Verbs Preverb Co-occurs With	% of Verbs Preverb Co-occurs With
<i>ni</i>	195	25.42 %
<i>hi</i>	190	24.77 %
<i>kap</i>	154	20.08 %
<i>ʔapš</i>	82	10.69 %
<i>kas</i>	67	8.74 %
<i>ʔap</i>	57	7.43 %
<i>his</i>	20	2.61 %
<i>kaɹp's</i>	2	0.26 %

Tmesis

hus waši ki:ctiš we piyi ših ki hi nam č'aht'iši

her thumb those cane joints LOC **to** brand **it.hews**

‘Her thumb print is **embossed** in those cane joints.’ (A13e.2)

lit. ‘Her thumb print **hews a brand** in those cane joints.’

hi kayi ʔučičuy

to life **you.will.do**

‘you will **live**’ (*lit.* ‘you will **do a life**’)

Degrees of grammaticalization:

Syntactic independence

hi: 23 cases

hi *ney* *nučminaʔa*
there land they.worked
'they buried him' (A35a.2)

ni: 2 cases

ni *kač* *hamčik'*
thing fortune having
'having (good) luck' (A10k.2)

ʔapš: 4 cases

ʔapš *ni* *nektmašnaʔa*
together DTRZR they.leagued
'they leagued together (as with
an animal spirit guide)' (A67a.11)

kas: 1 case

kas *panš* *teyk'š*
back person turning
'turning back into a person'
(A35d.15)

Degrees of grammaticalization:

Syntactic independence

<i>na:kšte-</i> , <i>na:kšt-</i>	‘write’	<i>ha:kšte-</i> , <i>ha:kšt-</i>	‘write, draw’
<i>nap’e-</i> ‘be raw’; <i>napšč’e-</i> ‘be black’		<i>hapt</i> ‘vermillion’; <i>*hapš</i> ‘black’	
<i>nakst-</i>	‘sell’	<i>?akst-</i> , <i>?aks-</i>	‘buy’
<i>naši-</i> , <i>našma-</i>	‘hunt’	<i>haši-</i> , <i>hašma-</i>	‘stalk, hunt’
<i>nemi-</i>	‘be scared’	<i>?em-</i>	‘fear’
<i>neč’in</i>	‘temple’	<i>heč’i-</i>	‘be holy’
<i>nekt-</i>	‘skin, peel’ (tr.)	<i>haki-</i>	‘peel’ (tr.)
<i>nit’i-</i> , <i>niya?-</i>	‘believe’	(both forms have <i>ni</i> in common)	
<i>nih-</i>	‘turn over’	<i>?iy-</i> ‘turn’;	<i>?iht-</i> ‘circle’
<i>ninšt-</i>	‘turn upwards’	<i>?inšt-</i>	‘upturn’ (tr.)
<i>niki</i>	‘real’	<i>?iki-</i>	‘hide’
<i>nokt-</i>	‘permit, release’	<i>hokt-</i>	‘leave, permit, release’
<i>nokun</i> ‘shoulder’;	<i>mokun</i> ‘knee’	<i>?okun</i>	‘shoulder’
<i>nuki-</i>	‘pray’	<i>hu:ka</i>	‘prayer’

Degrees of grammaticalization: Semantic compositionality

kap	183
ʔapš	127
ni	114
kas	64
hi	30
his	15
ka:p's	3
ʔap	2

Degrees of grammaticalization: Functional renewal

- = *nk* – locative (among other uses)

we semi = nk hi ničwinkiš
the pond = **LOC** **to** when.he.came.to.water
‘when he got to the edge of the pond’ (A01a.3)

ha = nk ?ap nemna?a
this = **LOC** **here** they.crossed.water
‘they crossed over [water] to here’ (A02c.1)

Degrees of grammaticalization: Functional renewal

Preverb	% of Cases Where Preverb Appears with =nk
<i>kas</i>	21.15 %
<i>hi</i>	11.02 %
<i>his</i>	10.81 %
<i>?ap</i>	6.87 %
<i>ni</i>	6.19 %
<i>kap</i>	5.29 %
<i>?apš</i>	3.90 %
<i>kap's</i>	0.00 %

More grammaticalized



Less grammaticalized

Frequency	Productivity	Tmesis	Incorporation	Compositionality	Renewal
hi	ni	other	ni	kap	kas
kap	hi		other	ʔapf	hi
ni	kap			ni	his
ʔapf	ʔapf			kas	ʔap
ʔap	kas	kas		hi	ni
kas	ʔap	ni		his	kap
his	his	ʔapf		ka:pʔs	ʔapf
ka:pʔs	ka:pʔs	hi		ʔap	ka:pʔs

Conclusions

1. Constructions are grammaticalized in different ways to varying degrees – not a monolithic process
2. No one process is sufficient for grammaticalization – only when these processes converge sufficiently do we recognize it
3. Grammaticalization is less about unidirectionality and more about *unity in change* – the extent to which these processes happen in tandem

Thank you!

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