

Hieber, Daniel W. 2014. Category genesis through schematicity: On the origin of Chitimacha preverbs. Talk presented at the UC Santa Barbara 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Reunion, Oct. 11, 2014, Santa Barbara, CA.

# Category genesis through schematicity: On the origin of Chitimacha preverbs

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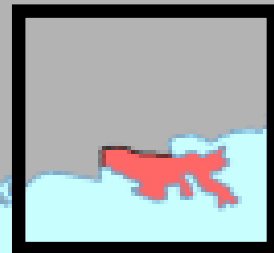
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UCSB 25th Anniversary Reunion

10/11/14

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# The Chitimacha Language



25 PICAS



Ill. 2. Benjamin Paul

460

24 PICAS



5. Delphine Ducloux



# Chitimacha Preverbs

<i>hi</i>	to, going
<i>his</i>	back to, returning there
<i>kap</i>	up; suddenly; INCEP, INCH, STAT
<i>kap's</i>	back up
<i>kas</i>	back across, returning across; apart, REV
<i>ka</i>	across, going across
<i>ni</i>	thing; down; INTR, NZR, IMP
<i>?ap</i>	here, coming
<i>?apš</i>	back here, returning here

- Form a semantic unit with the verb, often lexicalized
- Add directional and aspectual meanings
- Plain and reversative pairs
- Originate in verbs, postpositions, nouns, and possibly adverbs

# Chitimacha Preverbs

- *hi čuw-* ‘go (to)’
- *kas čuw-* ‘go back; return’
- *ni čuw-* ‘go down; decrease’
- *ʔap čuw-* ‘go here; come’
- *ʔapš čuw-* ‘go about; wander’
- *kas ʔi:kšt-* ‘sharpen s.t.’
- *ni wopma-* ‘ask s.t.’
- *šɛ:nink hup hi ničwiʔi*  
pond.LOC to<sub>POST</sub> to<sub>PREV</sub> he.came.to.water  
‘he came to a pond’
- *kap ʔuč’iki:k’š naʔa*  
INCH be.rotten-PTCP-SUBORD they.are  
‘they have become rotten’

# The Problem

- **How did this class of preverbs arise?**
- Not by analogy to other preverbs – they didn't exist!
- Not by analogy to just one preverb – not a strong category
- Solution: By analogy to *each other*, taking advantage of light paradigmaticity ('schematicity') across different constructions

# Diachronic Origins: *ni* ‘down; INTR’

- < *ni* ‘thing’
- No other unanalyzable word for ‘thing’ in modern Chitimacha
- > detransitivizer: *čuht-* ‘build s.t.’ vs. ***ni*** *čuht-* ‘build’
- > compound nominalizer:
  - *šapniš ni po?* ‘rattlesnake medicine’
  - *hi č’ipampa ni č’ah* ‘pet bird’
- Another root *ni-* ‘down’ merged with *ni* ‘thing’ into one preverb
  - *niihkup* ‘down’ < *niihk-* + *hup* ‘to’ < *ni-* ‘down’ + *-h* ‘in’ + *-k* PTCP
  - *neh-* ‘go down into’
  - *nih-* ‘turn over’ (lit. ‘turn down’) < *ni-* ‘down’ + *-h* ‘in’

# Diachronic Origins: *?ap* ‘here; coming’

- < *?ap*- ‘come’
- No modern unanalyzable verb meaning ‘come’
- Matches CVC pattern for verb roots
- > serial verb construction: *?ap mači*- ‘come (and) bring’
- > adverbial function?: *?ap čuw*- ‘go here’



# Diachronic Origins: *ʔapš* ‘return here; REFL/RECIP’

- *ʔap* ‘come’ + -s / -š REVERSATIVE
  - REV is a verbal suffix – more evidence for *ʔap* as originally verbal
- > serial verb construction: *ʔapš heyšt-* ‘come back and pick (it) up’
- ‘go and come back’ > ‘about; randomly’
- ‘back here’ > ‘back together’ > adverbial construction: *ʔapš he:čt-* ‘meet together’ > REFL / RECIP

# Diachronic Origins: *hi* ‘to; going to’

- < postposition *hi* ‘to’
  - < *hi*- ‘be’?: ‘be at’ > ‘to’?
  - < *hi*- ‘go’? – No unanalyzable verb for ‘go (to)’ in modern Chitimacha
- [*waʔank hi* <sub>PP</sub>] *pešiʔi*                      ‘he flew [to the other side]’

# Diachronic Origins: *his* ‘back to; undoing, redoing; doing in response’

- *hi* ‘to’ + *-s* / *-š* REVERSATIVE
- serial verb: ‘go back and do’ > ‘go back and do again’
- adverbial: ‘do back’ > ‘do in response’

# Diachronic Origins: *kap* ‘up; suddenly; STAT, INCH, INCEP’

- < *ka(:)p-* ‘go up’
- adverbial: ‘go up’ > ‘up’
- serial verb: ‘go up and verb’ > ‘up and verb suddenly’ > ‘up and become verb’ INCEP / INCH > ‘be verb’ STAT

# Diachronic Origins: *kap*'s 'returning up'

- < *ka(:)p*- 'go up' + *-s* / *-š* REVERSATIVE
- Occurs 7x in the corpus
- Still very adverb-like in its uses – no clear lexicalized cases

# Diachronic Origins: *kas* ‘returning there; reverse; apart’

- < *kaʔ*- ‘extend across’ + REVERSATIVE
- adverbial: ‘back across’ > ‘returning there’ > ‘back apart’
- serial verb: ‘go back across and verb’ > ‘go back across’ > ‘reverse’

# Diachronic Origins: *ka* (?) ‘going across’

- < *ka?*- ‘extend across’
- *ka* is a *hapax legomenon* – occurs 1x in the texts
- *we kimuš      ney = up      ka      nenštk*  
the branch   land = to   across   going.out.of.water  
‘bringing the branch out of the water across to land’



# Schematicity Across Constructions

## Syntactic Commonalities

- Adv V
- V<sub>SUBORD</sub> V<sub>MAIN</sub>
- [N PP] V
- N<sub>OBJ</sub> V

**Preverbal**

## Semantic Commonalities

- *hi* 'to'
- *his* 'back to'
- *kap* 'go up'
- *kap's* 'go back up'
- *ka* 'go across'
- *kas* 'go back across'
- *ni* 'go down'
- *?ap* 'come'
- *?apš* 'come back'

**Directional**

# Conclusion

- The class of Chitimacha preverbs did not emerge one word at a time, but rather as a category as a whole
- As each preverb developed its directional meaning and increased in frequency preverbally, speakers latched onto the schematicity across the different constructions
- Speakers reanalyzed each of these constructions on the basis of this cross-constructional analogy