Grammaticalizations and lexicalizations of cama ‘eat’ in Yakkha (Kiranti)

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Overview

1. The Yakkha language
2. Complex predicates in Yakkha
3. *cama* ‘eat’ in complex predication
4. Summary and conclusion
1 The Yakkha language

- TB > Eastern Kiranti > Greater Yakkha (with Belhare, Athpare, Chintang)
- Spoken in East Nepal; in Sankhuwasawa and Dhankuta districts; furthermore in the Tarai, in Ilam and Darjeeling.
1 The Yakkha language

- 14,000 speakers, mostly in the area south of Chainpur, 17,000 ethnic Yakkha (2001 census)
- Only few fluent speakers in the young generation
- Daily life, media and education dominated by Nepali
1 The Yakkha language

- At least 4 dialects, distinguished by interjections, exclamatives and phonological rules (e.g. restrictions on intervocalic voicing and initial nasal geminates)
- Tamaphok village considered as the center, high percentage of Yakkha population, language still regularly used among speakers older than 20 years, and even by some non-Yakkha residents
- Tamaphok dialect of Yakkha documented since 2009 (own PhD research)
1 The Yakkha language

- Complex morphophonology
- Highly synthetic:
  - both A and P indexed on the verb
  - sg, du, pl, incl/excl
  - TAM and polarity

(1) $n$-dund-wa-$m$-ci-$m$-$\eta a-n=ha$

NEG-understand-NPST-$1pl.A$-$3nsg.P$-$1pl.A$-EXCL-NEG=NMLZ.nsg

‘We (pl, excl) do not understand them.’
1 The Yakkha language

- Split alignment patterns in case and agreement
- Mainly SOV, head-final
- Arguments easily dropped
- Very productive system of complex predication
2 Complex predicates

- CP consist of at least **two verbal stems**
- CP have the functional structure of a **single predicate** (Butt 1997:108)
  - one set of arguments, one TAM and polarity value
- **Monoclausal**: no CL marker between the stems (cf. Dixon & Aikhenvald 2006 on SVC)
- CP refer to **one event**; a time-positional adverbial will locate all subevents of one CP in time (Bohnemeyer et al. 2007:505)
2 Complex predicates

- First verbal stem (V.\textit{lex}): 
  \textit{lexical information}

- Second verbal stem (V2, function verb): 
  \textit{semantic fine-tuning}
  (a) argument structure 
  (b) temporal structure 
  (c) spatial orientation, direction markers 
  (d) misc.: abilities, intentions, affectedness, referential properties of arguments

- V2: closed class, 27 verbs in Yakkha
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V2</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Lexical meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-kheʔ</td>
<td>Telic, irreversible change of state; intr. motion away</td>
<td>‘go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ghet ~ -het</td>
<td>Telic, tr. motion away</td>
<td>‘carry off’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ris</td>
<td>Tr. motion towards distant goal</td>
<td>‘invest, put and go away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bhes</td>
<td>Tr. motion hither</td>
<td>‘bring and go away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-end</td>
<td>Tr. motion down + away</td>
<td>‘insert’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-haks</td>
<td>Tr. motion up + away; irreversible caus. accomplishments</td>
<td>‘send’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-uks</td>
<td>Intr. motion down + towards</td>
<td>‘come down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ukt</td>
<td>Tr. motion down + towards</td>
<td>‘bring down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-geʔ</td>
<td>Intr. motion up + towards</td>
<td>‘come up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-get</td>
<td>Tr. motion up + towards</td>
<td>‘bring up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ap</td>
<td>Intr. motion across + towards</td>
<td>‘come from same level’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-apt</td>
<td>Tr. motion across + towards</td>
<td>‘bring from same level’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ra</td>
<td>Intr. motion towards</td>
<td>‘come from further away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-raʔ</td>
<td>Tr. motion towards</td>
<td>‘bring from further away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a ~ -na</td>
<td>Do X and leave object there</td>
<td>‘leave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V2</td>
<td>Function</td>
<td>Lexical meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pi?</td>
<td>Benefactive, affected arguments, intr. completive</td>
<td>‘give’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-met</td>
<td>Causative</td>
<td>‘apply’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ca</td>
<td>Reflexive, self-benefactive, middle (intentional)</td>
<td>‘eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-si?</td>
<td>Middle (unintentional, intr.)</td>
<td>(only V2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-les</td>
<td>Procedural knowledge</td>
<td>(only V2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-so?</td>
<td>Experiential</td>
<td>‘look’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bhoks</td>
<td>Punctual, sudden events</td>
<td>‘split’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nes</td>
<td>Continuative, habitual</td>
<td>‘lay’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-heks</td>
<td>Immediate prospective</td>
<td>‘cut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-si?</td>
<td>Block, prevent (trans.)</td>
<td>‘kill’ (sis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ghond</td>
<td>Walk around and do X</td>
<td>‘dig, roam’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i ~ -ni</td>
<td>Trans. completive</td>
<td>(only V2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2 Complex predicates

- Not all V2 have a lexical counterpart in Yakkha. (cf. definitions of function verbs in Schultze-Berndt 2006 and serial verbs in Dixon & Aikhenvald 2006)

- Semantically restricted collocations, many V2 may combine only with a subset of lexical verbs

- Productive and transparent CP found along with idiomatic CP

  → CP are a typical example for the gradual distinction between grammar and lexicon (Schultze-Berndt 2006, Lehmann 2002).
2 Complex predicates

- Morphological structure:

  Pref.-V.\text{lex}-Suff.[1]-V2-Suff.[all]

  - (a) Prefixes attach to V.\text{lex}
  - (b) Suffixes and clause-final particles attach to V2
  - (c) V.\text{lex} hosts max. one suffix, but only if it consists of a vowel
  - (d) Only suffixes that occur in the underlying suffix string following V2 may attach to V.\text{lex}
    (→ morphologically informed process, not just phonological copying)
2 Complex predicates

(2a)
\[ \text{asen} \quad \text{lukt-}i\text{-khe-}i\text{-}\eta=ha \]
yesterday \( \text{run-1pl.S-V2.go-1pl.S[PST]-excl=NMLZ.nsg} \)
‘Yesterday we ran away.’

(2b)
\[ \text{ka} \quad \text{yog-u-nes-wa-}\eta=ha \quad (/-wa-u-\eta=ha/) \]
1sg \( \text{search-3P-V2.lay-NPST[3P]-1sg.A=NMLZ.nsg} \)
‘I will keep searching for it (the language).’
2 Complex predicates

(3a) Yakkha
khun-kheʔ-ma
steal-V2.go-INF
‘to escape’ (lexicalized, no stealing implied)

(3b) Bantawa (Doornenbal 2009:255)
man-ma-khan-ma
lose-INF-V2.send-INF
‘to forget’
2 Complex predicates

- Exceptions to the double inflection: V2-stems with initial vowel or /h/

(4)  
\( nhaŋŋa=maŋ \quad \eta-ikt-\textit{haks-u-ci} \)  
and.then=EMPH 3pl.A-chase-V2.send-\textit{3P[PST]-3nsg.P}  
‘And then they just chased them away.’
3 The uses of *cama* ‘eat’

Sequences of activity + eating:

(5a)

*iya-iya sin-ca-sañ*

what-what kill-V2.eat-SIM.CVB

’hunting and eating anything (one can find)’

(5b)

*o-tokhumak nin-ca-meʔ=na*

3sg.POSS-alone cook-V2.eat-NPST[3sg.S]=NMLZ.sg

’He cooks and eats alone.’
3 The uses of *cama* ‘eat’

Sequences of activity + eating:

(5c)

*wandik*=ŋa  *hun-ca-cu*

tomorrow=INS  roast-*V2.eat*-du.A[3P;SBJV]

,Let us roast and eat it tomorrow.‘
3 The uses of *cama* ‘eat’

Manners of eating:

(6a)  
\textit{cama} \textit{ŋ-gom-ca-ma sim-me=ha}  
\textit{cooked.rice 3pl.A-pick.up-V2.eat-INF AUX-NPST=NMLZ.nsg}  
'They are eating the rice with their hands.'

(6b)  
\textit{ka macchi leg-u-ca-ŋ=ha}  
\textit{1sg hot.pickle lick-3P-V2.eat-[PST;3P]-1sg.A=NMLZ.nsg}  
'I licked up the pickles.'
3 The uses of *cama* ‘eat’

More abstract, ‘consume, live on’:

(7a)

\[ \text{ak}=\text{ka} \quad \text{hiŋ-} \text{ca-} \text{ma}=\text{na} \quad \text{lambu} \]

1sg.POSS=GEN survive-V2.eat-INF=NMLZ.sg way

‘my means of subsistence’

(7b)

\[ \text{yan} \quad \text{naŋ-} \text{ca-} \text{ma} \quad \text{ucun} \quad \text{men} \]

money beg-V2.eat-INF nice COP.NEG

‘It is not nice to live on begging for money.’
3 The uses of *cama* ‘eat’

More abstract, ‘consume, live on’:

\[(7c)\]

\[ropsa=be \quad \text{camyøŋba lin-}ca-sanŋ=hoŋ=ca, \ldots\]

paddy.field=LOC food \quad plant-V2.eat-SIM.CVBP=SEQ=ADD

‘Even though they lived on paddy cultivation, ...’
3 The uses of *cama* ‘eat’

‘Enjoy, do to oneself’:

(8a)

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yunca-san kheps-u-co-ŋ-ci-ŋ
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*listen-3P-V2.eat*[PST]-1sg.A-3nsg.P-1sg.A

‘Laughing, I listened to them (making jokes).’

Laughing, I listened to them (making jokes).’
3 The uses of *cama* ‘eat’

‘Enjoy, do to oneself’:

(8b)

\[ kyɛmpɔs \ khy-a-ŋ \ bhoŋ \ imin \ leŋ-me=ha \]

campus \ go-SBJV-1sg.S \ COND \ how \ become-NPST=NMLZ.nsg

\[ bhoŋ \ mit-a-ca-ya-ŋ=na \]

COMP \ think-PST-V2.eat-PST-1sg.S=NMLZ.sg

‘I wondered how it would be if I went to study.’
3 The uses of *cama* ‘eat’

‘Enjoy, do to oneself’:

(8c)

*kon-ca-se* \( \text{walk.around-V2.eat-SUP.CVB go-1pl[SBJV]} \)

‘Shall we go for a walk?’
3 The uses of *cama* ‘eat’

Self-benefactive; with optional de-transitivization:

(9a)  
\[ ka \ \text{phurlun\text{\textregistered}phca-ca-wa-\textregistered} = na \]
1sg small.bamboo.box weave-V2.eat-NPST[3sg.P]-1sg.A=NMLZ.sg
'I make a small bamboo box for myself.'

(9b)  
\[ ka \ \text{pa\text{\textregistered}sen-ca-me-\textregistered} = na \]
1sg house clean-V2.eat-NPST-1sg.S=NMLZ.sg
'I clean my house.'
The uses of *cama* ‘eat’

Reflexive; with obligatory detransitivization:

(10a)  
*ijan*  *mon-ca-me-ka=na?*  
Why  *beat-V2.eat-NPST-2sg.S=NMLZ.sg*  
’Why do you beat yourself?’

(10b)  
*u-chik  *ekt-a-ca-ya=na*  
3sg.POSS-hate  *[stem]-PST-V2.eat[3sg.S]-PST=NMLZ.sg*  
’He hates himself.’
3 The uses of *cama* ‘eat’

- **Lexical compounds:**
  
  A intends to be (positively) affected by the action, e.g.

  - *chemcama*, tease each other‘ (chemma, tease‘)
  - *lemcama*, cheat‘ (lemma, persuade, flatter‘)
  - *luncama*, backbite‘ (luʔma, tell‘)
  - *oncama*, overtake‘ (omma, block‘)
  - *incama*, play‘ (ima, rotate, revolve‘)
3 The uses of *cama* ‘eat’

- Furthermore: *reciprocal auxiliary* (no V2); with obligatory detransitivization

(11)

\[ uŋci \ yaŋ \ \textcolor{red}{khu-khusa} \ ca-mé-ci=ha \]

3nsg  money steal-RECIP  AUX.eat-NPST-[3]duS=NMLZ.nsg

'They steal money from each other.'
4 Summary and conclusion

- Reflexive, self-benefactive, middle (and idiomatic)
- Semantic parallel: the intention to be affected by an action carried out by oneself
- Næss (2009): 'EAT' and 'DRINK' are not prototypically transitive concepts, A is affected by the event (cf. Hopper & Thompson 1980).
- Thus, the idiomatic use and the grammaticalization to reflexive, middle, and reciprocal markers are plausible developments.
Acknowledgements

- I am grateful to Kamala Linkha, Magman Linkha and Man Maya Jimi and many others from the Yakkha community for their hospitality, helpfulness and patience.

- The German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology and the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project have provided financial support and technical assistance to my work.
References


References

References


