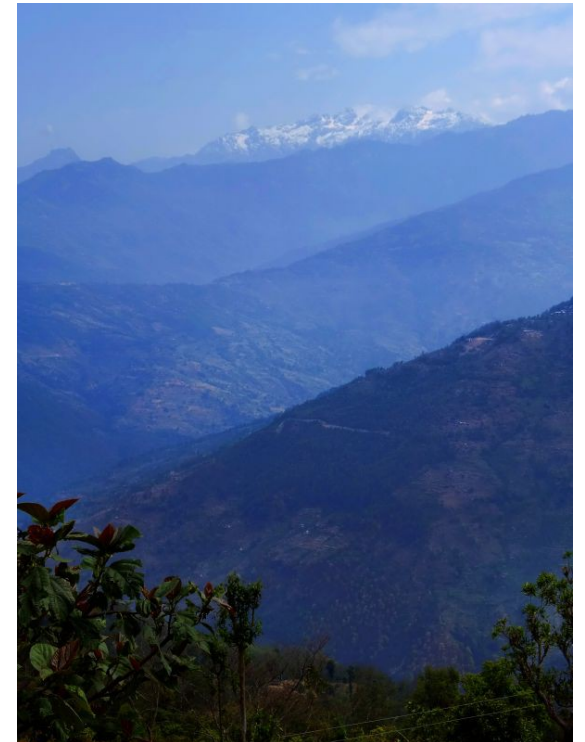


Grammaticalizations and lexicalizations of *cama* ‘eat’ in Yakkha (Kiranti)

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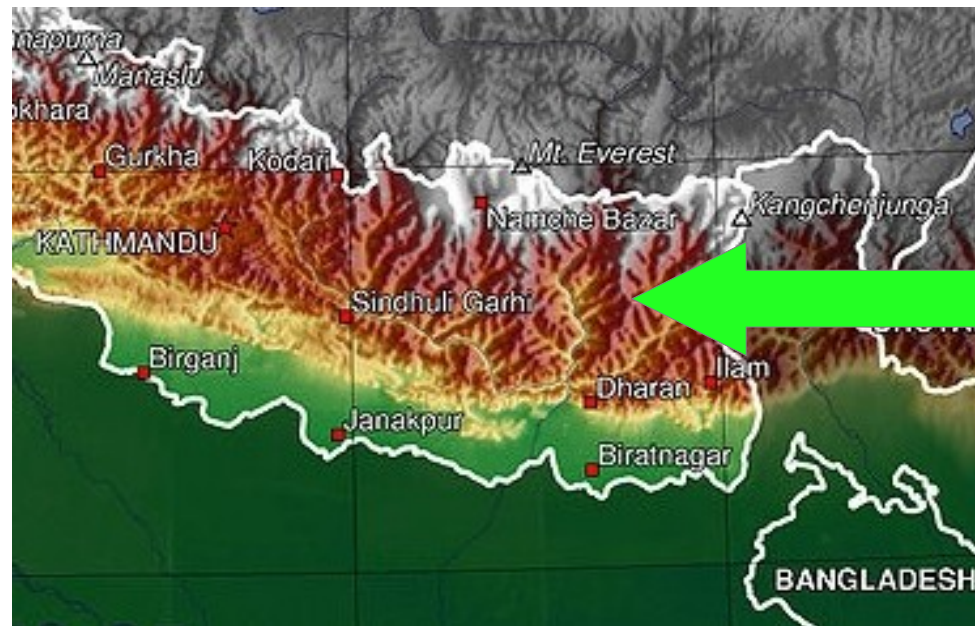


Overview

- 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-**du**nd-wa-**m**-**ci**-**m**-**ŋa**-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.lex**):
lexical information
- Second verbal stem (**V2**, function verb):
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

V2	Function	Lexical meaning
<i>-khe?</i>	Telic, irreversable change of state; intr. motion away	'go'
<i>-ghet ~ -het</i>	Telic, tr. motion away	'carry off'
<i>-ris</i>	Tr. motion towards distant goal	'invest, put and go away'
<i>-bhes</i>	Tr. motion hither	'bring and go away'
<i>-end</i>	Tr. motion down + away	'insert'
<i>-haks</i>	Tr. motion up + away; irreversable caus. accomplishments	'send'
<i>-uks</i>	Intr. motion down + towards	'come down'
<i>-ukt</i>	Tr. motion down + towards	'bring down'
<i>-ge?</i>	Intr. motion up + towards	'come up'
<i>-get</i>	Tr. motion up + towards	'bring up'
<i>-ap</i>	Intr. motion across + towards	'come from same level'
<i>-apt</i>	Tr. motion across + towards	'bring from same level'
<i>-ra</i>	Intr. motion towards	'come from further away'
<i>-ra?</i>	Tr. motion towards	'bring from further away'
<i>-a ~ -na</i>	Do X and leave object there	'leave'

V2	Function	Lexical meaning
<i>-pi?</i>	Benefactive, affected arguments, intr. completive	'give'
<i>-met</i>	Causative	'apply'
<i>-ca</i>	Reflexive, self-benefactive, middle (intentional)	'eat'
<i>-si?</i>	Middle (unintentional, intr.)	(only V2)
<i>-les</i>	Procedural knowledge	(only V2)
<i>-so?</i>	Experiential	'look'
<i>-bhoks</i>	Punctual, sudden events	'split'
<i>-nes</i>	Continuative, habitual	'lay'
<i>-heks</i>	Immediate prospective	'cut'
<i>-si?</i>	Block, prevent (trans.)	'kill' (<i>sis</i>)
<i>-ghond</i>	Walk around and do X	'dig, roam'
<i>-i ~ -ni</i>	Trans. completive	(only V2)

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.lex**-Suff.[1]-**V2**-Suff.[all]

- (a) Prefixes attach to **V.lex**
- (b) Suffixes and clause-final particles attach to **V2**
- (c) **V.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.lex**
(→ morphologically informed process, not just phonological copying)

2 Complex predicates

(2a)

asen *lukt-i-khe-i-η=ha*

yesterday run-1pl.S-V2.go-1pl.S[PST]-excl=NMLZ.nsg

‘Yesterday we ran away.’

(2b)

ka *yog-u-nes-wa-η=ha* (/ -wa-*u*-η=ha/)

1sg search-3P-V2.lay-NPST[3P]-1sg.A=NMLZ.nsg

‘I will keep searching for it (the language).’

2 Complex predicates

(3a) Yakkha

khun-khe?-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)

nhanŋa=man ŋ-ikt-haks-u-ci

and.then=EMPH 3pl.A-chase-V2.send-**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-saŋ

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)

cama *ŋ-gom-ca-ma* *sim-me=ha*

cooked.rice 3pl.A-pick.up-V2.eat-INF AUX-NPST=NMLZ.nsg

‘They are eating the rice with their hands.’

(6b)

ka *macchi* *leg-u-ca-ŋ=ha*

1sg hot.pickles 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)

ak=ka *hiŋ-ca-ma=na* *lambu*

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

,my means of subsistence‘

(7b)

yaŋ *naŋ-ca-ma* *ucun* *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)

ropa=be *camyonba lin-ca-saη=hoη=ca, ...*

paddy.field=LOC food plant-V2.eat-SIM.CVB=SEQ=ADD

,Even though they lived on paddy cultivation, ...‘

3 The uses of *cama* ‘eat’

‘Enjoy, do to oneself’:

(8a)

*yun***ca**-*saŋ* *kheps-u-co-ŋ-ci-ŋ*

laugh-SIM.CVB listen-3P-**V2.eat**[PST]-1sg.A-3nsg.P-1sg.A

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

3 The uses of *cama* ‘eat’

‘Enjoy, do to oneself’:

(8b)

kyempɾɔs 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

khe-i?

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 detransitivization:

(9a)

ka phurlun pha-ca-wa-η=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 pan seη-ca-me-η=na

1sg house **clean-V2.eat**-NPST-1sg.S=NMLZ.sg

,I clean my house.’

3 The uses of *cama* ‘eat’

Reflexive; with obligatory detransitivization:

(10a)

ijaŋ moŋ-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.

<i>chemcama</i> ,tease each other'	(<i>chemma</i> ,tease')
<i>lemcama</i> ,cheat'	(<i>lemma</i> ,persuade,flatter')
<i>luncama</i> ,backbite'	(<i>lu?ma</i> ,tell')
<i>oncama</i> ,overtake'	(<i>omma</i> ,block')
<i>incama</i> ,play'	(<i>ima</i> ,rotate, revolve')

3 The uses of *cama* 'eat'

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

(11)

uŋci yaŋ khu-khusa ca-me-ci=ha

3nsg money steal-RECIP AUX.eat-NPST-[3]du.S=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.

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