Grammaticalization in Kewapi language

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Abstract: Grammaticalization is a linguistic process in which lexical words of languages undergo changes in form, function and meaning in various grammatical or syntactic contexts, often manifested as clitics or affixes. Contemporary linguistic theory has it that, once a lexical item undergoes grammaticalization, it ceases to occur as a lexical item. Data from the Kewapi language challenges this claim by providing evidence that lexical items only undergo grammaticalization where they are induced to do so by new grammatical contexts in which they occur and that they continue to retain their standard form, function and meaning in their normal (unmarked) grammatical or syntactic context of occurrence (SOV/SV). The subtle but significant retention of the original lexical semantics, despite semantic bleaching and morphophonemic changes to the lexical base form, is a semantic insight available clearly to the competent native-speaker linguist.

Key words: grammaticalization, polysemy, clitics, affixes, semantic bleaching, lexical forms, syntactic contexts

1. Introduction

Kewapi is a Papuan (Non-Austronesian) language with over 300,000 speakers in the Southern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea (Yarapea 2013). There are three dialects – East, South and West (as shown in the Language Map).

The purpose of this article is to present Kewapi language data showing grammaticalized forms and their functions, and to propose that grammaticalization in the language is a case of semantic extension (polysemy) motivated by formal, semantic and pragmatic functions.

The language data is largely from East Kewapi. The grammaticalized forms reported in this study have been checked for occurrences in previous Kewapi language documentations. Franklin's (1962,
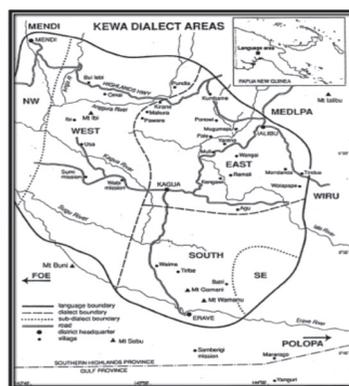
Map: Kewapi language and dialect areas

1971) and Yarapea (1992-3, 2001-7) document the same forms; there remains an historical account of the forms including the West Kewapi dialect. The data was cross-checked with eight lengthy authentic discourse texts – legend narratives, recount narratives, procedural, expository and business transactional texts secured through fieldwork.

The results show six lexical verbs (*ada* 'see', *pea* 'do', *la* 'say', *mea* 'get', *raa* 'burn', *na* 'eat') that have been grammaticalized and distributed in various morphosyntactic contexts.

It is concluded that the verbs still function as lexical verbs in their unmarked syntactic contexts (SOV and SV), but in other morphosyntactic contexts they function as medial and/ or serial verbs, nominal modifiers, clausal and discoursal function markers. Theoretically, the language evidence shows that grammaticalization is motivated by semantic extension – a type of polysemy but become formally reanalysed to function as nominal modifiers, clausal and discoursal markers. Appropriate semantic/pragmatic interpretations of the enclitics' functions in their formal and discoursal contexts can be related to the lexical semantics of the verbs because in the various morphosyntactic contexts or distributions, the basic lexical semantics is somewhat retained. This is quite obvious to this native speaker linguist.

2. Literature review
The concerns here are: 1) previous literature on the Kewapi language, and 2) the concept of grammaticalization as it applies to the language data.

2.1 Dialects of Kewapi language
As mentioned above, the Kewapi language has three main dialects - West Kewa, South Kewa and East Kewa. The language is known as the Kewapi language. But Karl Franklin, an American linguist, in the early 1960s first recorded the language as Kewa, a word which was, and still today, used to refer to people from the West and South dialect areas and so is not the correct name of the language.

Franklin (1971 and elsewhere) described the West Kewa dialect applying a linguistic theory called tagmemics theory developed by an American linguist Kenneth Pike but the grammatical description is unreadable to most structural-functional theorists and linguists.

Therefore Yarapea (2013, 2006 and elsewhere), a native speaker of the Kewapi language, produced the first reference grammar of the Kewapi language, using a structural-functional framework. It is readable for linguists and applied linguists the world over.

2.2 Grammaticalization

There has not been any previous study (description) of grammaticalization in the language. So this study is the first such description for the language. Grammaticalization is a process of language change in which a lexical meaning changes into a grammatical meaning (Matthews 1997:151).

 Characterizations of cases of grammaticalization in literature include the following:

 1) Cliticized forms become morphological case for argument marking (Kemenade &Vincent 1997:161).

 2) The semantic meaning persists in new contexts (Hopper 1991:22) so that grammaticalized forms function semantically as polysemous forms.

 3) Grammaticalized forms function as articles and enclitic forms (Zwicky 1985).

The above characterizations of grammaticalization cases are observed in Kewapi. The language data presented in section 3 below shows that lexical verbs have been cliticized in the specified morphosyntactic contexts. Two such proclitics (*na-* 'negative' and *ma-* 'causative' have further developed as verbal prefixes. Except in the cases of affixation (or prefixation), where the original lexical meaning is semantically bleached (total loss of lexical meaning), in all other cases of cliticization (enclitization) there is still the original semantic flavor of the particular lexical verb so that the enclitics function semantically as polysemous forms.

3. Data analyses

The language data presented in Tables 1 and 2 below show that six lexical verbs:
ada 'see', *pea* 'do', *la* 'say/talk', *mea* 'get', *ra* 'burn/emit', and *na* 'eat' have undergone grammaticalization in the morphosyntactic contexts: medial or serial verb forms, participial verb forms, nominal forms, clausal enclitics, discoursal enclitics.

Table 1: Independent (morphosyntactic categories) and dependent (lexical verbs) variables

Lexical verb base form	Medial/Serial verb form	Participial verb form as nominal modifier	Cliticized verb form as nominal affix/ clitic	Cliticized verb form as clausal affix/clitic	Cliticized verb form as discoursal affix/ clitic
1. *ada* 'see'	*ado* 'see': *epa ado* 'come see' (medial verb) *ado mea* 'see get = see and it (serial verb)	*ade ali* 'seen man (the man that we saw/know')	*ali-de* 'man-seen-DEF (the man)	*ali-de ipi-sa-de* man-DEF come-3SG.RPT-DEF '(I believe you know-by seeing that) the man came.'	Not observed
2. *pea* 'do'	*pu* 'do': a) *pu mea-wa* 'do get-1SG.NPT = I completed it (serial verb)', b) *kogono pu-ma pa-sa* 'work do-3SG.RPT = he did the work and went (medial verb)	*pi kogono* 'done work (the work that had been done)'	*mena-pe* 'pig-AUG = a huge pig'	*la-wa-pe* 'say-1SG.NPT-EMP = 'do note that I DID say it'	*la-wa-pere na-paga-me* 'say-1SG.NPT-but NEG-listen-3PL.NPT = 'Note that I said it, but they didn't listen/ refused.'
3. *la* 'say'	*lo* 'say' *lo kala-wa* 'say give-1SG.NPT = 'I told him.' (serial verb) b) *lo-ma pua-wa* 'say-SEQ go-1SG.NPT = 'I said it and went.' (medial verb)	*le agale* 'spoken talk/message (message which had been spoken	*su-le* 'land-RE (saying about the land)	*su-le epa-lia* 'land-RE come-3SG.FUT =he will come to talk about the land'	*epa-lia-le eda sa-pe* 'come-3SG.FUT-so, food leave-2 NON-IMP = 'he will come so, leave food for him.'

Table 2: Independent (morphosyntactic categories) and dependent (lexical verbs) variables

Lexical verb base form	Medial/Serial verb form	Participial verb form as nominal modifier	Cliticized verb form as nominal affix/ clitic	Cliticized verb form as clausal affix/clitic	Cliticized verb form as discoursal affix/ clitic
4. *mea* 'get'	a) *ma gi* 'get give = get it and give it' (serial verb) b) *mu-ma gi* 'get-SEQ give me' (medial form)	*pake mi kana* 'steal gotten money = money which had been stolen'	*ro-me* 'stick-INST = stick get' *roto-me tya-me* 'stick-INST hit-3PL. NPT = they hit (it) with a stick.' *ma*-CAUS *-ma* 'SEQ' *-me/mi* 'ERG'	Not observed	*Ipu pa-lua-me ipu-la* 'he go-3SG.FUT-INT come-3SG. PRG 'He is coming with the intention to go (somewhere)'
5. *ra* 'burn/emit'	*ro-ma* 'burn-SEQ' (medial form)	*re repona* 'burnt tree = tree which had been burnt by fire'	*repona-re* 'tree-TOP = as for tree (as for the burning of the tree)'	*winya ipi-sa-ra* 'woman come-3SG.RPT-TOP (topicalized clause)' 'as for the coming of the woman…'	*Winya epa-lia-re, kala-pe* 'woman come-3SG.FUT-CONJ, give (it) to her' = if the woman comes, give (it) to her'
6. *na* 'eat'	*no* 'eat' (medial or serial form)	*ne eda* 'eaten food = 'food which had been eaten' *na eda* 'my food' (a case pronominal resumption)	*ali-na* 'man-POSR = 'man's'	*ipi-sa-na* 'come-3SG. RPT-INF = I infer that he had come.'	*ipu-ma* li-sa-na 'come-SEQ say-3SG.RPT-INF = 'he had come and ..' (event cast in the viewpoint of the actor rather than narrator).

4. Discussion/explanation of data analyses

It is important to observe that all the verbs occur in the normal word order (syntactic context) – SOV or SV as lexical verbs. In the morphosyntactic contexts specified or identified above they occur as phonetically, formally and somewhat semantically as reduced or changed forms to assume the various morphosyntactic, semantic, and discoursal functions.

4.1 Formal roles/distribution

When the lexical verbs occur clause-medially, they acquire medial or serial verb forms. Apart from other distinguishing features of medial and serial verbs, the verbs occurring in a series cannot be interrupted by a sequential marker –ma 'SEQ', whereas strings of medial verbs can be sequenced by –ma 'SEQ'.

The morphosyntactic contexts provide a haven for complementary distribution of grammaticalized forms: Noun Phrase (NP), Clause, Sentence, Discourse. The unmarked position of verb is: SOV. Grammaticalization occurs when the verb occurs in marked positions: medial/serial positions VVV (VP), participial position VN (which is reanalysed as a participial form of the verb, functioning as an attributive/descriptive modifier of the Noun).

The grammaticalization pathway for Kewapi appears to be: =>prefixation=>main verb => medial/serial verbs => participial verbs => nominalization enclitics => clausal enclitics => sentential enclitics => discourse enclitics=>. A verbal form cannot occur in a preverbal slot (SO*V), and when proclitics occur in preverbal positions, they become integral part of the main lexical verb and are reanalysed as verbal prefixes, and this has happened in only two cases for the language: the causative prefix ma- CAUS and negative prefix na- 'NEG'.

4.2 Polysemous semantic roles

Retention of lexical meanings occur when the grammaticalized verbs occur in: VP and NP but only remotely in Clausal and Discoursal contexts. There they acquire pragmatic-semantic roles/meanings as shown in Tables 1 and 2 above.

4.2.1 The verb *mea* 'get' as case enclitics

The verb *mea* 'get' has changed to become case markers (enclitics) and acquire other grammatical meanings as follows: (see also Tables 1 and 2 above)

mea 'get'(lexical verb base form) =>*mi* 'one that had been gotten'(participial nominal verb) => -*me/mi* 'ERGative or INSTrumental case markers' reanalysed nominal marker =>*mu* 'get' medial verb form'=> *ma-* 'CAUS' reanalysed verbal prefix => -*ma* 'SEQ' (reanalysed grammatical form)

Other forms: verb compounds, serial/medial verbs, e.g. *lo-mea* 'say-get =>flood-receded river', *ada-mea* 'see-get =>meet/greet/welcome someone' ado-mea 'see-get =>choose one',

etc.

4.2.2 The verb *ada* 'see' as article enclitics

The verb *ada* 'see' has changed to become article markers (enclitics) and acquire other grammatical meanings as follows: (see also Tables 1 and 2 above)

ada 'see'(lexical verb base form) =>*ado* (medial/serial form) =>*ade ali* 'seen man =the men we saw/know' (participial verb, nominal modifier) => *ali-de* 'man-seen=>DEF (the man: definite NP marker/suffix => *ipi-sa-de* 'someone came – *de*=seen event=>DEF: definitely, someone came' i.e. I believe (I saw/know) that 'someone came' (a case of semantic extension).

4.2.3 The verb *ra* 'burn' as topic marker

The verb *ra* 'burn' has changed to become topic marker (enclitic) and acquire other grammatical meanings as follows: (see also Tables 1 and 2 above)

ra 'burn/emit' (verb base) => *ro* (medial form) => *re kana* 'burnt money=money that has been burnt' (participial form) =>*kana-re* 'money-TOPic' as for money => *kana-re* 'money-TOP' (reduced clause=> 'what about the money?' => *epa-lia-re*, *kala-pe* 'come-3SG.FUT-TOP (if), give-IMP = if he comes, give it to him.' Conditional clausal markers as topic markers are common in many Non-Austronesian languages of Papua New Guinea.

5. Conclusion

The lexical verbs (*mea* 'get', *ada* 'see', *raa* 'burn', *na* 'eat', *la* 'say', *pea* 'do') undergo change from lexical meaning to grammatical meaning in different morphosyntactic contexts of a language (Matthews 1997:152). The grammaticalized forms operate at morphological, syntactic and discourse contexts, as case-like enclitics, and as clausal, sentential and discoursal enclitics. The prefixal affixes *ma-* 'CAUSATIVE' and *na-* 'NEGATIVE' have undergone affixation from being clitics as a result of grammaticalization.

Theoretically, data from Kewapi appears to provide counterexamples of grammaticalization: whereby grammaticalized lexical forms remain grammatical forms like clitics and do not retain their original lexical semantics. In Kewapi however, the grammaticalized forms appear as grammatical forms in certain morphosyntactic contexts only and outside of that context and in their normal syntactic contexts they function as main lexical verbs. In other words, certain lexical verbs have been formally and semantically

extended to derive polysemous meanings and functions in various grammatical contexts through grammaticalization.

Abbreviations

1 first person	FUT future tense	POSS possessed
2 second person	GEN genitive marker	PRG present progressive tense
3 third person	IMM immediate command	PT participial verb
Adj adjective	IMP imperative	PUNCT punctual aspect
SOV subject-object-verb	INDF indefinite referent	PUR purpose
ASP aspect	INST instrumental case	Q question
AUG augmentative mode	N noun	S subject of in/transitive verb
CAUS causative	NEG negative	SEQ sequence
CONJ conjunction	NON-IMM non-immediate	SG singular
CONT continuative aspect	command	SOV subject-object-verb
DEF definite referent	NON-SING non-singular	SPR simple present tense
DIM diminutive	number	SR switch-reference
DL dual number	NP noun phrase	SS same subject
DUR durative aspect	NPT near past tense	SV subject-verb
EMP emphatic assertion marker	O object of transitive verb	TNS tense
ERG ergative marker	POS possessor	TOP topic
		VP verb phrase

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