

## **Grammaticalized verbs in Hayu**

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### **1. INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>**

This paper aims to discuss the development of grammaticalized verbs (GV henceforth) of Hayu, one of the Tibeto-Burman languages that belong to the Bodic branch (Michailovsky 1988), from the viewpoint of current grammaticalization theories (e.g. Hopper 1987; Bolinger 1980; Heine et al. 1991a,b; Heine 1992, 1993; Hopper and Traugott 1993). GVs are a common characteristic of Tibeto-Burman languages (DeLancey 1991; Matisoff 1969, 1991; Smeall 1976; Lehman 1986; Park 1993, 1994). The development of GVs in Hayu is of particular interest in the study of the grammaticalization of verbs in Tibeto-Burman languages, because it provides the basis for comparison between languages like Hayu that have complex verbal morphology and complicated agreement paradigms and those that do not, for example, Burmese.<sup>2</sup>

It will be shown that as in other Tibeto-Burman languages, in Hayu GVs originated from two sources, clause chain constructions and complement clause constructions.

### **2. DESCRIPTIVE PRELIMINARIES**

As a preliminary to a detailed discussion of GVs, the clause structure of Hayu is presented.

#### **2.1. Simple clause structure**

Hayu is an SOV language but the word order is not strict. The variable order seems possible because of the obligatory agreement marker on the verb. The agreement marker is a portemanteau that also conveys tense in addition to indexing the participant(s) involved. Hayu is an ergative language. The ergative marker is *ha*; absolutive does not have a phonetic realization. This section describes the structure of simple clauses.

In intransitive clauses, the subject is in the absolutive case and the verb agrees with the subject:

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Scott DeLancey and Tom Givón for their valuable comments and criticism on earlier versions of this paper. The data for this paper are from Michailovsky (1988).

<sup>2</sup> See Park 1993, 1994 for a detailed discussion of GVs in Burmese.

- (1) nukun le gu itha bela na phi:-ro-mi  
 tomorrow also 1SG.ABS same time EMP come-1SG.NP-ASS<sup>3</sup>  
 'I will come tomorrow at the same time.'
- (2) aba aŋ xwaptso met-Ø  
 now my spouse die-3SG.NP  
 'Right now, my wife is on the verge of dying.'

In transitive clauses, the subject is ergative and the direct object is in absolutive form. The verb agrees with both the subject and the object:<sup>4</sup>

- (3) ga thur-no-mi gon  
 1SG.ERG take-1SG→2SG.NP-ASS 2SG.ABS  
 'I will take you.'
- (4) gu tsu-ha ko-sur-mi  
 1SG.ABS thorn-ERG prick-3SG→1SG.P-ASS  
 'I was pricked by a thorn.'

In ditransitive clauses, the subject is in the ergative case. The recipient indirect object precedes direct object and both of them are in absolutive form. But the verb agrees with the recipient indirect object/BEN, not with the patient direct object:

- (5) ga gon pipira mum-no-m  
 1SG.ERG 2SG.ABS bread give.to.eat-1SG→2SG.NP-ASS  
 'I give you bread.'
- (6) uxpu-ha a-ta:wo cu?wa-khata cup-to-m  
 father-ERG his-son clothes-PL put.on-3SG→3SG.P-ASS  
 'The father dressed his son with the clothes.'

<sup>3</sup> Abbreviations used in examples are as follows:

ABS : absolutive	IMP : imperative
ADV : adverbial	INC : inclusive
ASS : assertive	IRR : irrealis
APPL : applicative	NEG : negation
BEN : benefactive	NP : non-past
COMP: complementizer	P : past
CLS : classifier	PL : plural
DEM : demonstrative	POSS: possessive
EMP : emphatic particle	REFL: reflexive
ERG : ergative	REL : relative clause marker
EXC : exclusive	SG : singular
HUM : human	TH : theme

<sup>4</sup> The arrow in the gloss for the agreement morpheme indicates the direction of action. For example, 1SG→2SG means that 1st person singular is acting upon 2nd person singular.

- (7)    ga            gon            tso    puk-no-m  
       1SG.ERG 2SG.ABS child get.up-1SG→2SG.NP-ASS  
       'I get the child up for you.'

In reflexive clauses, the subject and object are coreferential and the subject is in absolutive form:

- (8)    mi            top-tse  
       3SG.ABS hit-3SG.REFL.P/NP  
       'He hit himself.'

## 2.2. Complex clause structure

In this section, we present a description of the clause chain construction and the finite complement clause construction.

### 2.2.1. Clause chain construction

Hayu has several subordinators that indicate different semantic relations of the adverbial clause to the main clause. Since Hayu is a verb final language, the adverbial clause precedes the matrix clause. The verb preceding the subordinator is non-finite and the main verb carries all the inflection. Three subordinators seem to be functionally equivalent to so-called non-final markers: they convey temporal succession; a series of clauses can be connected by them; and there is asymmetry in finiteness between medial clauses and the final clause (cf. Longacre 1985, Givón 1990). For these reasons, I will call these 'non-final markers' although they are not formally different from other subordinators, and the construction which has clauses connected by these markers the 'clause chain construction'.

In the following sections, we describe the clause chain construction with each non-final marker.

#### 2.2.1.1. The non-final marker *ha*

The non-final marker *ha* indicates temporal succession. The verb preceding it is reduplicated.<sup>5</sup> In the second sentence of (9), three non-final clauses connected by *ha* are non-finite and only the final verb *piri*<sup>6</sup> is finite. Also, all the clauses share the same subject:

<sup>5</sup> In the reduplication, if the verb root does not have a coda consonant, the whole root is reduplicated. But if its final consonant is /t/ or /n/, it is dropped in the reduplication. With other coda consonants, either the whole root or the root without the coda consonant is reduplicated.

<sup>6</sup> It is realized as *pti*: by a phonological process that operates at the boundary between verb root and verbal suffix.

- (9) *mii sabai-janā totop-ha tox-tome.*<sup>7</sup>  
 DEM all-HUM beat-NF chase-3SG→3PL.P  
 totop-ha totot-ha nontalik mumut-ha  
 beat-NF chase-NF quietly sit-NF  
 mi wol-ta xwan-xwan dza pī:-ko  
 DEM decrepit-NOM full eat allow-3SG→3SG.P  
 'He beat them and chased them. Having beaten them, and chased them,  
 he sat quietly and made the decrepit (bird) eat his fill.'

In (10) below, which is from a narrative, eight clauses are marked with *ha*:

- (10) *kem-noŋ thoŋthoŋ-ha me dupdup-ha*  
 house-to bring-NF fire light-NF  
*kharkunda-noŋ ti tsu?tsuk-ha me lagāi-ha*  
 cauldron-in water put.to.cook-NF fire set-NF  
*me gurudugut du?dup-ha timsit tsu?tsuk-ha*  
 fire crackling light-NF exactly put.to.cook-NF  
*ka:muŋ thi?thik-ha khilsinŋ tsinŋtsinŋ-ha*  
 door shut-NF bar put-NF  
*lei thi la?natshe-m ix-tse*  
 millet grind go-3D.P-ASS say-3.REFL  
 'They brought it to their house, made fire, and put water in a cauldron.  
 After making a crackling fire, they put water in the cauldron, shut the  
 door, blocked it with a bar, and then went to grind millet.'

#### 2.2.1.2. The non-final marker *noŋ*

The non-final marker *noŋ* also indicates temporal succession, but the verb preceding *noŋ* is not reduplicated:

- (11) *sin pa la?-noŋ ban-noŋ bilu ux-totshe-m*  
 wood do go-NF forest-in tiger meet-3PD→3.P-ASS  
 'They went to gather wood and met a tiger in the forest.'
- (12) *phi?-noŋ phi?-noŋ phi?-noŋ minor na doŋ-Ø*  
 come-NF come-NF come-NF here EMP arrive-3SG.P  
 'He came and came and came, and arrived here.'

According to Michailovsky, the clause marked by *noŋ* might not share a subject with the final clause while non-final clauses marked with *ha* share the same subject with the final clause in most cases. In the example below, the subject of *bu* 'carry' and *cun* 'carry.up' is 'she', but the subject of the final verb, *su*: 'scratch' is 'tiger':

<sup>7</sup> Loanwords from Nepali are italicized in the examples from now on.