Attentional enclitics of Chipaya

DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMARS AND TYPOLOGY
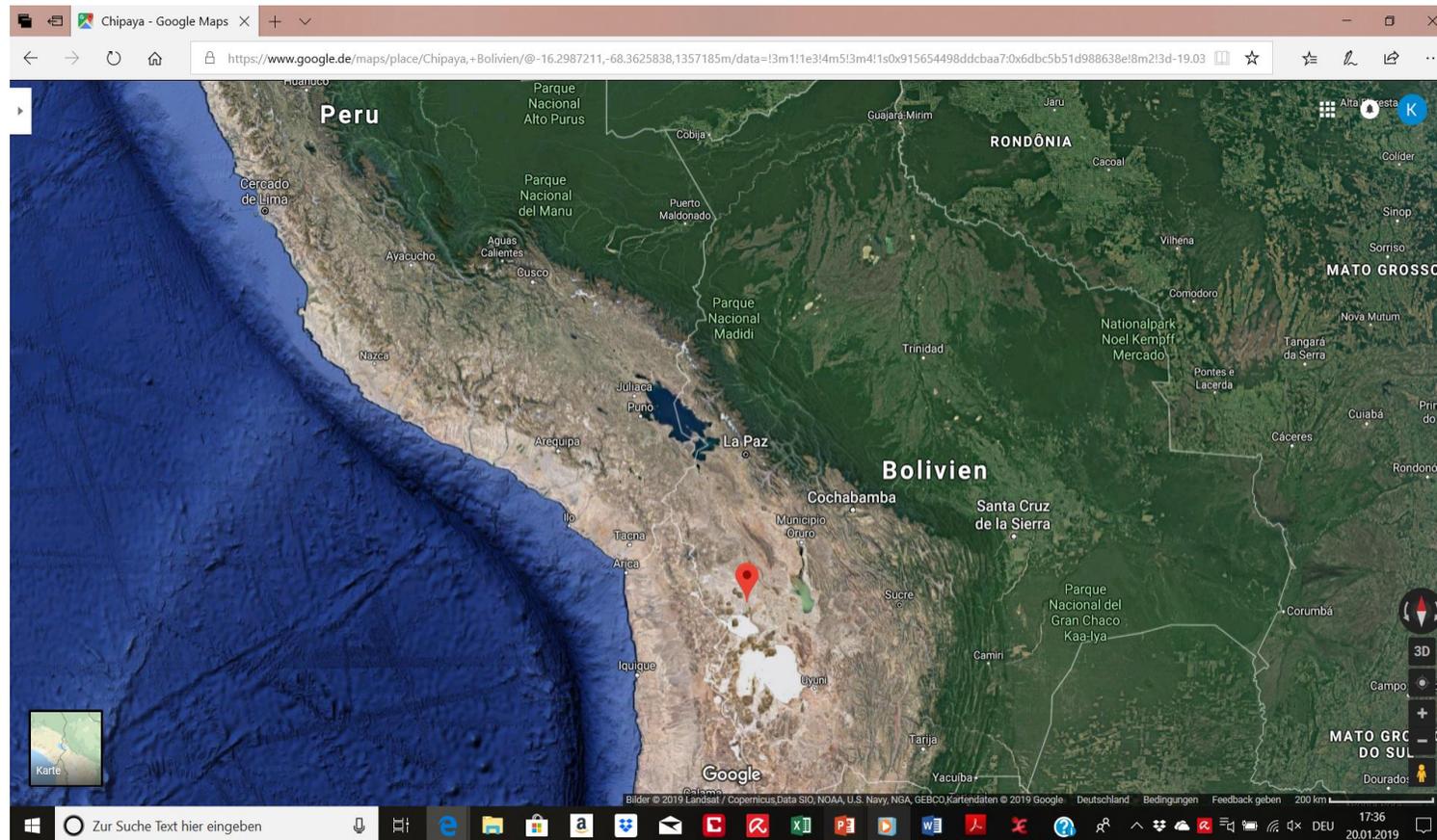
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Outline

- Introduction

- Theoretical background
  - Data

- Case study
  - Evaluation

- Discourse and grammar writing

- Summary

Introduction

- Endangered isolate of Bolivian highlands (Adelaar 2007: 19).

- Spoken only in the community of Santa Ana de Chipaya (some migrant speakers in La Paz and neighbouring countries).

- 1,000–2,000 speakers left

Map 1: Location of Santa Ana de Chipaya

Introduction

Subject referent	Attentional enclitics	Personal pronouns
1st singular	**=l**	*werh*
2nd singular	**=m**	*am*
3rd singular masculine	**=ź**	*ni*
3rd singular feminine	**=l**	*na*
1st plural inclusive	**=ź**	*ućhunnaka*
1st plural exclusive	**=l**	*werhnaka*
2nd plural	**=ź**	* anćhuk*
3rd plural masculine	**=ź**	*ninaka*
3rd plural feminine	**=ź**	*nanaka*

- Enclitics are not obligatory;
- They are co-referential with the subject of a clause.

Table 1: Attentional enclitics and personal pronouns of Chipaya

4

Theoretical background

- Analysis of Chipaya enclitics embedded within discourse analysis (especially Redeker 2006; but see also Grosz & Sidner 1986; Schiffrin 1987; among others).

- I suggest that the Chipaya enclitics are **attentional cues** that occur at (major) **transitions** in a discourse; they thus operate at discourse level

discourse operators

Theoretical background

- "[…] those with discourse-structuring functions […] I call […] *discourse operators*." (Redeker 2006: 340; emphasis in the original).

"A *discourse operator* is any expression that is used with the primary function of bringing to the listener's attention a particular kind of relation between the discourse unit it introduces and the immediate discourse context. […] I will argue that DMs [i.e. discourse markers, KH] that signal segment transitions function as **cues** to **direct listener's attention**." (Redeker 2006: 341, 342; emphasis in the original and KH)

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interactional

Theoretical background

- Chipaya has at least two types of discourse operators:

- The **enclitics** =*l*, =*m* and =*ź* that occur at transitions between larger segments of discourse (not on a clause-to-clause level);

- **Lexical discourse markers** like *neqhśtan* 'then, later', *xalla* 'then', *nuź* 'thus, so', etc. that may connect utterances on a clause-to-clause level (although they do not have to appear in every clause).

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Theoretical background

Discourse segment transitions

Paratactic transitions

segments that follow each other

at the same level

- next-segment markers
- end-of-segment markers

Hypotactic transitions

interruption or suspension of an

 incomplete unit

- digression
- interruption
- specification
- paraphrase
- explication

- clarification
- background information
- comment
- repairs
- quotations
- return

see: Redeker (2006: 344–345)

Data

- The entire Chipaya corpus consists of about 11 hours of annotated data, collected between 2002 and 2006 in Santa Ana de Chipaya, Oruro and La Paz.

- My (preliminary) data sample consists of nine texts from six speakers:
  - three descriptive texts
  - two (semi-)spontaneous dialogues
  - four traditional folk stories.

- Two female speakers, four male speakers (two of whom are teenage boys).

- Entire length of Chipaya recordings: 45 minutes (without translations and explications).

Case study

- Traditional folk story.

- The king's daughter is so beautiful that she is kept in the house all time;

- both fox and armadillo desire the king's daughter, but only the armadillo can get to her and the princess becomes pregnant.

Summary: princess is pregnant

(1)	nuźkis ni wawaki phuchkiś paqchikićha	'Then, the child grew in the belly.'
(2)	nuźkiś waważ mathtan	'Then, when the child was born, [...]'
(3)	wawa mathtakhen	'[...] because the child was born, [...]'
(4)	ni reyki tuź khichikićha	'[...] the king thus said:'
(5)	jëkźtat xaśi ti wawa	''Whose child is this?''
(6)	ti wawax perśuna eph paxla khikan	'Saying that this child should recognise the father personally, [...]'
(7)	thappacha ti yoqkiś źelhñi animalanaka qhawśikićha	'[...] he called all the animals that exist on this world.'
(8)	ni wawa eph perśuna paxaxu	'This child should personally recognise the father.'
(9)	neqhśtan ni wawa thulhźtikiś nïż yukhkiś watqatchikićha	'Then where the child was seated, he [i.e. the king] made them [i.e. the animals] go by in front of him [i.e. the child].'
(10)	ni animala weźlanaka thapaman weźlanaka	'These animals, birds, all birds, [...]'
(11)	qhaśkiś źelhñi qhoñkin źelhñi	'[...] that are in the water, that are on dry land.'
(12)	nuźkiś ni wawa ana śinta wawaq jëkmi eph paxkićha	'Thus, this child did not recognise a single one [i.e. no one] as father.'
(13)	nuźkiś qitikiż thonchi	'Then the fox came.'
(14)	qiti ni wawż yukhkiś añcha khurś xwatxwatżinkixa	'The fox wagged his tail wildly in front of the child, [...]'
(15)	bataż khë tataż khë khïkan	'[...] saying 'Say father, say father!'.'
(16)	wawaśte ch'ujuqaś ana śinta ćhhulumi chï	'But the child did not call a single one.'
(17)	neqhśtan wiri thiyalla kerkakiż thoñchi	'Then, at last and only aside the armadillo came.'
	…	

Child is born: the story picks up speed—next segment

(1)	nuźkis ni wawaki phuchkiś paqchikićha	'Then, the child grew in the belly.'
(2)	nuźkiś waważ mathtan	'Then, when the child was born, [...]'
(3)	wawa mathtakhen	'[...] because the child was born, [...]'
(4)	ni reyki tuź khichikićha	'[...] the king thus said:'
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(9)	neqhśtan ni wawa thulhźtikiś nïź yukhkiś watqatchikićha	'Then where the child was seated, he [i.e. the king] made them [i.e. the animals] go by in front of him [i.e. the child].'
(10)	ni animala weźlanaka thapaman weźlanaka	'These animals, birds, all birds, [...]'
(11)	qhaśkiś źelhñi qhoñkin źelhñi	'[...] that are in the water, that are on dry land.'
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14

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Child does not recognise any one as father—next segment

15

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Main character of fox enters the scene—next segment

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Reported direct speech by fox— quote

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Second main character of armadillo enters scene—next segment

18

Evaluation

Table 2: Functions of Chipaya attentional enclitics in different genres

Genre	Next segment	End of segment	Next segment & quote	Quote	Comment, back-ground	Specifica-tion, elabora-tion	(end of) di-gression	TOTAL
Descriptive texts	2				3		1	6

- In **descriptive texts**, speaker usually sticks to topic and enclitics are rather used to 'frame' comments, background information, explications and/or clarifications that are embedded within major discourse topic.

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Dialogues	2	2		1	1	1	2	9

- In **(semi-)spontaneous dialogues**, functions of enclitics are more varied. Dialogues show the greatest amount of interaction and are less planned than descriptive texts and folk stories. Therefore, enclitics less frequently mark beginnings/ends of segments but rather hypotactic transitions, such as clarifications, background information, etc.

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Dialogues	2	2		1	1	1	2	9
Folk stories	4	2	12	7				**25**

- **Folk stories** show the greatest frequency of enclitics. There, enclitics are used to mark next segments, ends of segment and quotations; so far no instance found where enclitics 'frame' background information, comments, explications, etc.
- That is, in **descriptive texts** and **dialogues**, enclitics tend to occur at **hypotactic transitions**, whereas in **folk stories** they occur at **paratactic transitions** (patterns of folk stories, segmentation is planned ahead).

Discourse and grammar-writing

1. Why place discourse-related phenomena in a grammar?

2. Corpus and database.

Discourse and grammar-writing

Why place discourse-related phenomena in a grammar?

- Most grammars do not describe a language beyond the level of clause—there are good reasons for this:
  - first (modern) description of language: we need to capture the basics, before turning to details of discourse
  - researcher is not yet familiar with language and subtleties of pragmatic language use are hard to capture (let alone to comprehend).

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- Moreover, discourse studies have so far not been at the forefront of typological research, mainly for the reasons just mentioned:
  - lack of discourse descriptions in grammars;
  - lacking proficiency in language to be described;
  - partly for terminological reasons ('topic', 'focus', …) (see Myhill 2001: 162–163).

Discourse and grammar-writing

Why place discourse-related phenomena in a grammar?

- Yet, it may pay off to include a (brief) description of discourse (if somehow possible):
  - features that appear at the morphological and/or syntactic level may have functions beyond the clause (see Chipaya enclitics);
  - trying to describe these features at clause-level may yield unsatisfying, wrong or simply no results at all;
  - if we do not start including discourse descriptions in grammars, no basis for a typological description of discourse will ever be built.

Discourse and grammar-writing

Why place discourse-related phenomena in a grammar?

• Grammar is not self-contained but serves to create coherence and structure in speech.

• Adding a description of discourse-related phenomena in a grammar is thus not only a 'nice-to-have', but a practical demonstration of what the (phonological), morphological and syntactic features just described actually do.

Thus, if possible, a grammar should contain a (brief) description of 'grammar in action'; i.e. discourse.

Discourse and grammar-writing

Corpus and database

- However, for the researcher to be able to say something about discourse, the collection of a large and varied corpus of naturally occurring speech is vital.

- This may sometimes be difficult:
  - only a very low number of speakers left;
  - one can work only with those who are willing to cooperate;
  - limited time resources;
  - sometimes, speakers tend to produce a lot of texts of the same genre (folk stories [see Chipaya corpus], songs, …); these may not be representative of the language system as a whole and create a notable bias in one's corpus.

Discourse and grammar-writing

Corpus and database

- Nonetheless, collection of as many different text types as possible from as many speakers as possible (men, women, elderly and young speakers, including semi-speakers).
  - Not every text or text type may contain enough mentions of a particular discourse-related phenomenon (see again Chipaya enclitics); thus, many different texts needed.
  - A limited corpus may restrict future research options.

- Many linguistic phenomena (variation, information and discourse structure, poetry and oral traditions, tail-head-linkage, …) can only be studied beyond clause-level

| **large and varied corpus of natural speech data** |

SUMMARY

- Chipaya enclitics are **attentional cues** that occur at **transitions** within a discourse.

- Their occurrence is (partly) determined by the genre: in **descriptive texts** and **dialogues**, enclitics occur rather at **hypotactic transitions**, 'framing' comments, explications, etc.;

- whereas in **folk stories**, enclitics rather mark **paratactic transitions** and also frequently occur inside quotations (transitions of 'speaker', hypotactic).

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SUMMARY

- Discourse-related phenomena should be included in grammatical descriptions (if possible) because **discourse** shows how grammatical forms interact to create a **coherent and structured text**.

- Therefore, a **collection** of large and varied **natural speech data** is necessary.

Thank you very much for your attention!