

The grammaticalization paths of Proto-Chamic *hu ‘receive’

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Introduction

This paper focuses on three of the grammaticalization paths shown by the Proto-Chamic (PC) lexeme *hu ‘receive, get; have’:

- 0.1 a. ‘receive, get’ > ‘have’ > ‘exist’;
- b. deontic ability > general ability > possibility > permission
- c. ‘receive; get’ > resultative (under contact influence)

The similarities and differences in the grammaticalization paths are particularly evident in the grammars of the two best described daughter languages, Tsat and Phan Rang Cham, supplemented by the dictionary material in Aymonier and Cabaton’s 1906 monumental work on Written Cham. The literature on grammaticalization patterns allows us to make sense of the considerable range and scope in the reflexes of what is historically one and the same morpheme (Heine and Reh 1984, Bybee 1985, Heine, Claudi, and Hünemeyer 1991, Hopper and Traugott 1993, Bybee, Pagliuca and Perkins 1994); conversely, the Chamic data provide further documentation of the patterns of development. As Hopper and Traugott (1993:72) point out, “grammaticalization is in some sense the process *par excellence* whereby structural relationships and associations among them are given grammatical expression. It is therefore not surprising that it typically involves polysemy.” The polysemous *hu*³³ in Chamic languages is clearly a case in point.

The languages involved are all members of the Chamic subgroup of Austronesian languages. Tsat is a seriously endangered language spoken by some 3849 Utsat on Hainan Island. It is, and has been for some time, under considerable contact pressure from various Chinese dialects, principally Fukienese or Cantonese, the languages of business, and Mandarin, the language of school. Tsat appears to have been separated from the rest of Chamic since, at the very earliest, around 986 or so, but at the latest some time after 1471. Phan Rang Cham (or, Eastern Cham) is spoken by 80,000 or so people, chiefly in and around Phan Rang and Phan Ri in Vietnam. The written tradition, captured in Aymonier and Cabaton’s 1906 dictionary, is impressive: the great French scholar Coedes (1939, cited in Marrison 1975:53) dates the Cham inscription found at Tra-kieu near the old Cham capital of Indrapura (Amaravati) from the middle of the fourth century, noting that this inscription is “le plus ancien texte, actuelle connu, écrit dans un dialecte malayo-polynésien”, that is, “the oldest text, presently known, written in a Malayo-Polynesian dialect”. Much of the material, however, is inscriptions and thus difficult to work with.

Modern linguistic work on these languages includes work on genetic affiliation (Benedict 1941; Zheng 1986), on historical reconstruction (Thurgood 1999), on tones (Maddieson and Pang 1993; Thurgood 1996), and on language description (for

Phan Rang Cham: David Blood 1977; Doris Blood 1977; Thurgood, 2000, 2005; for Tsat: Ouyang and Zheng 1983; and, especially Zheng 1997).

1.0 The development of *hu* in Chamic

The reflexes of Proto-Chamic **hu* have a similar range of meanings and uses throughout Chamic. The older meanings of ‘receive, get; have’ are retained through the Chamic subgroup: Western Cham has *hu* ‘have’, Chru has *hū* ‘have’, Phan Rang Cham has both the ‘receive, get’ meanings and the ‘have’ meaning, and Tsat has retained the ‘receive; have’ meanings, with the earliest Tsat sacrificial prayers containing the meanings ‘get, reach, achieve’ (Zheng 1997:96), a range at least suggesting some grammaticalization. Also widely distributed is data showing the three paths of grammaticalization, with it being found in the three best described bodies of data—the data on Written Cham, on Phan Rang Cham, and on Tsat. Thus, it is not possible yet to tease out how much we are dealing with independent developments and how much we are dealing with developments in the older Chamic that have simply been retained in the daughter languages.

2.0 From ‘receive; get’ > ‘have’ > ‘exist’

The original meaning of *hu*³³ is reconstructed for Proto-Chamic as ‘receive, get; have’. The image schema involved in the transition from ‘receive; get’ > ‘have’ > ‘existential’ is transparent. The verb ‘receive’ involves a recipient and an object, with the object moving into the recipient’s sphere of influence; ‘get’ is essentially the same, except with the emphasis on the recipient. The verb ‘have’ retains both the recipient and the object, but without the movement, that is, the object is simply within the recipient’s sphere of influence. Finally, an existential sense has developed out of the ‘have’ sense with the major change being that the object is within the general scene, rather than more specifically within the recipient’s sphere of influence. Had a presentative reading developed, it would have been out of the ‘receive’ sense, since it would entail movement onto a scene rather than merely presence within it.

2.1 ‘receive; get’

naw³³ na:w⁴² lay³³ hu³³ sien¹¹ ηaw²⁴ sa:η³³? (Tsat: Zheng 1997:1.2.15)

3p go where get money make house

tā qù nǎr dě qián zuò fángzi

‘Where did they get the money to build the house?’

2.2 ‘have’

dahlak dī hū ap̄ēi ō (Written Cham: AC 1906:522-523)

I at have fire NEG

‘I don’t have any fire’

təlam raay muu? oh mətə hu tòm kəya baŋ yaw nan ō. (Blood 1977:6.1.144)

in generation grandmother NEG ever have some thing eat like DIST NEG

‘In all her days the woman had never had food like that.’

2.3 Existentials

The existentials examples include those with exactly the same word order as the ‘have’ examples above, with two differences: First, while the ‘have’ examples involve locating an object near a ‘possessor’, the existentials designate a spatial or temporal location.

dī nəgar dī hū patau rēi auñ (Written Cham: AC 1906:522-523)
at country at have king grandfather
‘In this kingdom, is there a king, grandfather?’

tha hray nan hū tha muu? təha ... (Phan Rang Cham: Blood 6.1.126)
one day DIST have one grandmother old...
‘One day there was a poor old woman...’

hū tha uraṅ cam ṅa? kəŋi kəh lo. (Phan Rang Cham: Blood 6.2.21)
have one CLF Cham [make kanhi skillful very]
‘There is a Cham who makes the *kanhi* very skillfully.’

hū təmuh tha phun məkya (Phan Rang Cham: Blood 6.1.124)
have grow one CLF ebony
‘(there) grew an ebony (or kya) tree’

Second, in all cases the subject is now after, not before the verb, displaying an iconicity found in presentatives and existentials: the known place, if there is one, comes before the new subject—a subject which in the case of presentative is arriving at the known location.

3.0 Deontic ability > general ability > epistemic possibility > permission

In Tsat, in Phan Rang Cham, and in the Written Cham data, the uses of the reflexes of *hu a path of change taking it from a full verb (3.1), to an auxiliary verb marking deontic modality. The semantics of this auxiliary have then undergone a series of changes: from a deontic modal indicating agent-internal ability (3.2), to a deontic modal indicating agent-external physical enabling conditions (3.3), to an epistemic modal indicating social enabling conditions (3.4), and, finally, to a permissive (3.5).

It is well-documented that verbs meaning ‘get/obtain’ often provide the lexical source for modal auxiliary verbs. Bybee, Pagliuca, and Perkins (1994) note that verbs meaning ‘get; obtain’ often provide a lexical source for modal auxiliaries and then propose a cross-linguistic path of change for such auxiliaries: mental ability/physical ability > general ability > root possibility/permission.

3.1 ‘receive, obtain’

naw³³ na:w⁴² lay³³ hū³³ sien¹¹ ṅaw²⁴ sa:ŋ³³? (Tsat: Zheng 1997:1.2.15)
3p go where get money make house
tā qù nǎr dě qián zuò fángzi
‘Where did they get the money to build the house?’

It is quite clear from the context that *hu*³³ in example 3.1 still retains the concrete meaning ‘receive, obtain’. However, this older use of *hu*³³ is infrequent in current day Tsat; similarly, in modern Phan Rang Cham, this main verb use of *hu* to mean ‘receive; obtain’ is infrequent. Far more often it occurs as an auxiliary to another main verb. As an auxiliary, *hu*³³ (Tsat) and *hu* (Phan Rang Cham, Written Cham) express what is historically a continuum of grammaticalized meanings. First of all, it is used to express agent-internal ability, illustrated in the example in (3.2).

3.2 deontic modality (agent-internal ability)

naw³³ noŋ³³ hu³³ ta¹¹ tu³³ kan³³. (Zheng 1997:96)

3p carry get one hundred CLF

tā tiāo dě yǐbǎi jīn

‘He can carry 50 kilos on his shoulder.’

This is a clear example of *hu*³³ being used to express a concrete, agent-internal ability, since *noŋ*³³ *hu*³³ /carry get/ ‘can carry’ refers to the agent’s physical ability. Such agent-internal enabling conditions may go beyond physical to include desire or intention on the part of the agent. Then, once the purely physical ability is broadened beyond ability to include willingness, the transition to possibility is set up. And, for Written Cham, Aymonier and Cabaton (1906:522-523) note possibility as one of the meanings of *hu*.

A second path by which grammaticalization of concrete, agent-internal ability can occur is by relaxing the constraint that the enabling conditions be only agent-internal. This broadening of the enabling conditions to include external enabling conditions can be seen in 3.3 and 3.4. The occurrence of the auxiliary in contexts involving agent external enabling conditions provide fertile ground for a rich array of pragmatic inferences, giving rise to the epistemic modality reading of possibility. This is exactly what happened to *hu*³³ in Tsat. It has a high occurrence in contexts involving both physical and social agent external enabling conditions, which can be seen in the examples in 3.3 and 3.4, respectively.

3.3 agent-external, physical enabling conditions:

?a:n²⁴tui³³ kia⁵⁵la:n¹¹ tsa:t²⁴, so¹¹zi¹¹ t^he¹¹ pu³³ la:w²⁴ hu³³. (Tsat: Zheng 1997:102)

because road narrow therefore vehicle NEG pass get

yīnwèi lù zhǎi suǒyǐ chē bù guò dé

‘Because the road is narrow, (therefore) the vehicle cannot pass.’

ziu¹¹zi¹¹ ma²⁴ ka:n³³ sa³³ ku³³ki³³ lok²⁴haw³³, ma²⁴ pu³³ hu³³ ka:n³³.

due.to catch fish GEN tool backward, catch NEG get fish

yóuyú bǔyú de gōngjù luòhòu bǔ bù dé yú

‘Because the fishing gear was out-of-date, not many fish were caught.’

3.4 agent-external, social enabling conditions:

pu³³ hu³³ p^hay^{ʔ42} k^ha:n^{ʔ42} sa³³ p^hin³³ hia³³ tsuŋ³³ nuŋ³³, (Tsat: Zheng 1997:2.1.7)

not get read book GEN poor-and-lower-middle peasants

bù dě dú shū de pín-xiàzhōngnóng

‘The poor-and lower middle peasants who didn’t get to read books (i.e., they didn’t get to go to school)

zin^{ʔ24} ni³³ ʔdaw³³ hu³³ k^ha:n^{ʔ42} p^hay^{ʔ42} lə¹¹.

now all get book read PERF

xiànzài dōu dě shū dú le

now have the chance to get books to read.’

(i.e., they now get to go to school.)

In this last example, both instances of *hu*³³ refer to the ability to go to school (i.e. get to read books) being restricted or enabled by social conditions, not by agent internal desire or strength.

Summarizing with a quotation from Bybee *et al.*, “Ability generalizes to root possibility, which reports on general enabling conditions and is not restricted to the internal conditions of ability, but also reports on general external conditions, such as social or physical conditions” (1994:178).

Given the relaxation of constraints on the sources of enabling conditions, a reasonable extension is found in the permissive use of the examples in the first example of 3.5. In that example, the very act of the speaker asking the addressee about the speaker’s ‘ability to visit his house’ implies that the ‘ability’ lies with the addressee, hence, it is a permissive use. The second example also follows from the relaxation on enabling conditions; here both males and females are able to come, that is, socially permitted.

3.5 permissives (no agent-internal constraints)

təhlaʔ naaw thaŋ aay hu laay? (Phan Rang Cham: David Blood 1977:43)

I go house elder.brother able Q

‘Can I go to your house?’

na^{ʔ24} kay³³ hok²⁴ tsak²⁴ na^{ʔ24} may³³ za:y^{ʔ42} ʔdaw³³ ŋaw^{ʔ24} hu³³. (Zheng 1997:85)

male or female come all make get

nánrén háishì nǚrén lái dōu zuò dé

‘Males or females can both come’

4.0 Resultatives

Although the phrase “verbe qui indique l'accomplissement de l'action exprimés par un autre verbe” [Verb which indicates the achievement of the action expressed by another verb] in the Aymonier and Cabaton (1906:522) definition of Written Cham *hu* suggests that Written Cham has resultatives, only Tsat data has clear examples of what we are terming resultatives. The Tsat examples, however, are built on the Chinese using *dě* ‘receive; get/obtain’, not on an inherited Chamic construction.

Abundant examples show that the resultative sense of *hu*³³ in Tsat is a calque on the potential sense *dě* ‘get; obtain’ in Chinese. As is true, throughout the paper, the Tsat examples are glossed both in English and in Chinese pinyin. What is remarkable in the examples below is that the pinyin glosses of the Tsat are equivalent (except as noted) to a Mandarin translation. The construction for both the Tsat and the Mandarin is V1 + ‘get’ + V2, where the semantics are V1 results in V2. These semantics, unlike the other grammaticalizations discussed in this paper, do not seem to fall out of Chamic language-internal documents (with or without the facilitating effects of contact); instead, the Tsat resultative construction seems to be the result of calquing the Chinese construction based on the equating of Tsat *hu*³³ ‘get; receive’ with the Chinese *dě* ‘get; obtain’.

- 4.1 a. loŋ¹¹zay³³ ʔbu¹¹ hu³³ ma³³ ʔda⁵⁵ phi⁵⁵. (Zheng 1997:97)
sun roast.in.sun get field crack PERF
tàyàng shài dé tián liè le (=identical)
‘The sun dried the fields until they cracked.’
- b. naw³³ kiaw³³ hu³³ ʔia³³ta³³ lyo¹¹ phia^{ʔ24}. (Zheng 1997:97)
3p laugh get tear flow emerge
tā xiào dé yǎnlèi (dōu) liú chū (an extra word)
‘He laughed until the tears flowed from his eyes.’
- c. ʔa¹¹kay³³ ha:y³³ hu³³ pha^{ʔ42} pu³³ phi⁵⁵. (Zheng 1997:86)
old.man tired get walk NEG PERF
lǎorén lèi dé zǒu bù (dòng) le (an extra word)
‘The old man was too tired to walk.’
- d. naw³³ ʔan³³ hu³³ ta¹¹tə^{ʔ24}. (Zheng 1997:86)
3p cold get shiver
tā lěng dé fādǒu (=identical)
‘She was so cold that she was shivering.’
- e. naw³³ sa³³ sien¹¹ lu³³ hu³³ zaw^{ʔ24} pu³³ phi⁵⁵. (Zheng 1997:97)

3p GEN money many get number NEG PERF
 tā de qián duō dé shǔ bù wánle(=identical)
 ‘He has too much money to count.’

In all of the above examples under 4.1, *hu*³³ denotes a result of some kind. In (a), *hu*³³ marks the result of the sun scorching the fields to the point of cracking. In (b) and (c), *hu*³³ marks the result of the action or state change encoded in the main verbs *kiaw*³³ ‘laugh’ and *ha:y*³³ ‘tired’ respectively. In (d), *hu*³³ conveys the resultant state of the action encoded in the verb *?an*³³ ‘cold’. In (e), *hu*³³ expresses the result of his amount of money having reached the point that makes it impossible to finish counting it. All these are resultatives.

The fact that the use of *hu*³³ has been extended, developing a resultative reading, is the result of intense contact with Chinese for an extended and persistent period of time. Tsat is a seriously endangered language under intense contact with Chinese for an extended period of time. Its speakers possess a high degree of bilingual or trilingual proficiency in Tsat and a variety of Mandarin, plus either Fukienese or Cantonese in the case of many speakers. Several recent publications have started to sort out the complex phenomena of contact induced structural changes attributable to impact of the superstratum language Chinese on Tsat. Zheng (1997) sprinkles her grammar of Tsat with valuable observations on the influence of Chinese on Tsat, both identifying Chinese borrowings and commenting on Chinese structural influence; other work has also been done on contact induced changes in Tsat (Thurgood, 2005, Thurgood and Li, 2003).

The path taken by the extension is itself interesting. Although there is complete semantic congruity in the lexical source meanings of the markers in question, it is not clear that the semantics of the two resultative constructions are identical. In the Tsat examples, the *hu*³³ is used as a resultative marker, but the corresponding Chinese *dě* ‘get; obtain’ has been described, not as a resultative marker, but a ‘potential’ marker (Li and Thompson 1989:56), indicating “*potential* realization of the verbal action”, i.e., in essence, a potential resultative, illustrated in the examples under 4.2.

- 4.2**
- a. Zhǎo dào
look.for arrive
‘find’
 - b. Zhǎo dé dào
look.for POTENTIAL arrive
‘can be found’

In (a), the first V in the V-V resultative verb compound *zhǎo* ‘look for’ is atelic; it lacks an endpoint. When the second element *dào* ‘arrive’ is added, the compound verb becomes telic; thus, a resultative. In (b), the presence of the potential marker *dé*

conveys the idea of being able to find (it). Tsat moves the focus to the endpoint of the action, marking “the resultant state of the verbal action”; in short, it has reinterpreted the construction, not as potentially resultative, but as resultative—an entirely reasonable inference.

5. Conclusion

The history of the grammaticalization paths of *hu ‘receive, get; have’ is consistent with both Bybee, *et al.*’s paths of grammaticalization and with Hopper and Traugott’s contention that pragmatic inferencing plays a central role in the grammaticalization process (Hopper and Traugott, 1993). Three paths have been taken by the Proto-Chamic (PC) lexeme *hu ‘receive, get; have’: ‘receive, get’ > ‘have’ > ‘exist’; deontic ability > general ability > epistemic possibility > permission; and, ‘receive; get’ > resultative (under contact influence). The last path—Tsat’s extension of the *hu construction to a resultative under the influence of a parallel construction in Chinese—showed an extension driven more by external than internal factors.

Acknowledgements

The research in this paper is supported in part by National Science Foundation Grant No. SBR60232 An Investigation of Three Endangered Languages in China.

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