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CONTENTS

On the interpretation of two-headed stacked relative clauses Gregory T. Stump	1
Position in grammar: Sit, stand, lie Laurel J. Watkins	16
On the <u>Grammatica de Lingoagem Portuguesa</u> Elizabeth Barreto Reis	42
Teaching English suprasegmentals to Spanish speakers Bertha Chela de Rodriguez	63
The importance of phonetic data in all child language analyses Virginia C. Gathercole	83
The acquisition of English derivational suffixes: A pilot study Herbert Harris	96
The compound bilingual as an agent of language change: A psychological model of bilingualism Floyd C. Miller, Cynthia D. Park, Neusa M. Carson	115

POSITION IN GRAMMAR: SIT, STAND, LIE

Laurel J. Watkins

1. Introduction

Classification of nouns according to shape or form appears to be widespread in the languages of the world. Recent discussions by Haas (1967, 1969) and Friedrich (1970) suggest that shape-differentiated classification may be a typological universal, effected in some languages by numeral classifiers, in others by classificatory verbs or a combination of the two. The studies of Athapaskan classificatory verbs are well known: certain classes of verb roots refer to the physical characteristics of the object involved. Moreover Cherokee, a member of the Iroquoian family, appears to have a system of classificatory verbs very similar to that of the Athapaskan languages. Mary Haas also makes reference to a position classification in the Southeast which characterizes persons and things as sitting, standing or lying. Paul Friedrich brings his Tarascan material to bear on this question and demonstrates that in both numeral classifiers and verb roots reference is made to the "longish, flattish, or roundish" shape of the object. He further concludes that "the overt, obligatory morphology of perhaps the majority of the world's languages functions partly to express categories of shape, and that such categories are probably universally present in the semantic substructure of all languages" (p. 403).

Classificatory verbs in the Muskogean and Gulf families of the Southeast signal position classification of nouns (sitting, standing or lying), as we will see in section 3. One question I attempt to answer is whether position classification occurs in other language families of North America. Can we account for the grammatical resemblances in position classification among unrelated families? And finally, given the parallel oppositions in Friedrich's shape categories (long, flat, or round) and the Southeastern position categories (standing, lying or sitting), can we determine if one set of oppositions is primary, the other evolved through extension?

The approach, then, is typological-areal and only secondarily universal. I will review briefly the Athapaskan classificatory verbs and other possibly related systems in the Northwest, which have been given extensive treatment in several papers (Hoijer, 1947; Davidson, Elford, and Hoijer, 1963; Basso, 1968; and Krauss, 1968). Despite the presence of a complex partly shape-differentiated classificatory system, classes referring to long, round, fabric-like (flat), and animate are the only ones safely reconstructable in Proto-Athapaskan and probably Na-Dene. Next Muskogean and the Gulf isolates will be examined and contrasted with the Athapaskan system. In Muskogean and Gulf, there is a clearly position-differentiated classification. The three positions, (sitting, standing, lying) correspond to the reconstructable classes for Athapaskan. Cherokee, with classificatory verbs very similar to Athapaskan, also resembles Creek in some features. Finally, examples from the Siouan languages will be examined in light of the position classification found in Muskogean-Gulf. The Muskogean and Siouan systems show considerable convergence in many details, probably the result of areal diffusion. In addition, I suggest that, instead of considering shape to be the typological universal, position appears to be more widespread, at least in North America, and might be the source of shape classification, especially as extended to inanimate objects.

2. Athapaskan

Hoijer (1945) was the first to analyze the use of classificatory verbs in Apachean, or southern Athapaskan. These verb stems refer not to an event but the "the class of object or objects conceived as participating in such an event, whether as actor or goal" (p. 13). Four types of verbs exhibit these sets of classificatory stems: a) neutral verbs, denoting the object at rest; b) active verbs referring to the handling of things (put down, carry); c) active verbs referring to throwing or dropping; and d) active verbs referring to the free movement of the object (fall, drop). Table 1 lists the twelve classes of objects discovered for Navaho with the neuter verb, "lies at rest".

Object Category	Neuter Verb Stem	Description ¹
I	-?á ↓	Single round solid object (abstractions, and if the quality of the object if unknown)
II	-tá ↓	Long slender rigid object
III	-tí ↓	Animate (human or animal)
IV	-nìl	Aggregate of small objects

V	-ká 	Rigid container with contents
VI	-tsòòz	Fabric-like object
VII	-žóód	Bulky object
VIII	-žòòž	Set of parallel long rigid objects
IX	-džàà?	Mass or collectivity of objects
X	-džòòl	Wool-like mass
XI	-lá	Rope-like object ²
XII	-tléé?	Mudlike mass (also frogs)

Table 1

Davidson et al. (1963) provide the following example of the use of these classificatory verbs (p. 30): béésò sîʔá, I - a single coin; béésò sînil, IV - a handful of coins; béésò sîłtsòòz, VI - a bill (paper). All three sentences have the rough translation 'Money lies there,' but the different verb stems signal a different class of object as referent. It is clear from these examples that the classification is semantically based and not a purely grammatical classification of nouns.

Many of the classes discovered in Navaho exist in other Athapaskan languages as well. In fact, all the Athapaskan languages for which data are available exhibit some classificatory verb stems. Davidson and his colleagues compared the Apachean set of verb stems with the other branches of Athapaskan and concluded that all five (Navaho, Mattole and Galice of Pacific Athapaskan, Chipewyan and Dogrib of Northern Athapaskan) shared the object classes I, II, III, and IV, that is, round, long, animate, and fabric-like. The fact that these are clearly shared everywhere in Athapaskan and can probably be reconstructed for Proto-Athapaskan will be especially interesting as we examine the classificatory systems in other native American languages.

One additional point about the Athapaskan system is pertinent to our discussion. As Keith Basso has made clear in his formal semantic analysis of the Western Apache classificatory system, the categories are not based solely on shape, which Friedrich implies. Shape, or something that could equally well be called position, interacts with characteristics such as texture, number and animateness to yield the several object classes. We should keep this in mind in evaluating Friedrich's claims about the universality of shape.

While considering both the Athapaskan studies on classification and Sapir's proposal for a Na-Dene stock, Michael Krauss has examined classification in Eyak, Tlingit and Haida. The evidence for a classification system similar to that in Athapaskan is poorly attested in Tlingit and Haida, although Haida does have an elaborate set of classifiers in one prefix position. Eyak, however, provides evidence of a partially similar classification combined with a different system whose semantic correlates are not entirely clear. Krauss comments that the verb stems which are cognate with the Athapaskan stems are clearly not classificatory, but in most cases have a more specific sense, as in *-te* (cognate with Navaho *-tí*) which refers to a singular animate being lying prone. He continues, "and for animate objects there are a number of themes used according to whether the object is singular or plural, sitting, standing, lying, or moving in various ways . . . Such stems, which refer to the positioning and posture of animate objects, constitute a separate system . . ." (p. 194-5). This tantalizing remark, which Krauss does not develop in his paper, leads one to wonder if the sitting/standing/lying distinction which is so obvious in the Southeast, also occurs in Athapaskan, but has been ignored because of the saliency of the classification discovered by Hoijer.

Two other languages in the Northwest appear to have classification systems similar to that described for Athapaskan. Yurok, a California Algonquian language, exhibits numeral classifiers corresponding to, among others, the neighboring Hupa (Athapaskan) animate, long sticklike, round, and ropelike categories. Mary Haas convincingly explains this situation as diffusion. As far as I can determine, no other Algonquian language has either the Athapaskan or the Southeastern sort of classification. In addition, Boas lists among the verb prefixes of Kwakiutl (Wakashan) four "limitations of form": long, flat, round, and human (p. 484). If we can stretch things a bit and consider fabric-like to be similar to flat, then these categories are just the ones that can be reconstructed in Proto-Athapaskan.

3. The Southeast

The expression of position categories by way of classificatory verbs is widespread in the Southeast. Very similar systems exist in the Muskogean languages, as well as the isolates subsumed under Haas's term Gulf: Tunica, Atakapa and Chitimacha. Grammatical description of the fourth Gulf language, Natchez, is too scanty to determine the existence of such a system. Among the non-Gulf non-Muskogean languages in the Southeast, Biloxi and Ofo represent the Siouan family. Position classification is evident in Biloxi, but Ofo, spoken very near Tunica, does not appear to make use of it. There is,

unfortunately, very little Ofo data on which to base a conclusion. In addition, Yuchi, a language isolate possibly remotely related to Siouan, uses articles to classify nouns according to characteristic position. This use of classificatory articles can also be seen in the Siouan languages, especially in the Dhegiha group, which is directly to the northwest of the western-most Muskogean languages. Their prehistoric location was undoubtedly different but we can suppose a long period of contact between these two groups. The existence of a position classification in several other southeastern languages, such as Catawba (Siouan), Shawnee (Algonquian) and Tonkawa is difficult to determine. Nevertheless, we find position classification operating in Muskogean, Siouan, and Gulf and now turn to a closer examination of the grammatical form of the system and its function in these languages.

3.1 Muskogean

There is evidence for classificatory verbs of position in all four branches of Muskogean. Persons and objects are characterized as standing (vertical), sitting (rounded) or lying (horizontal) by way of verbs which either occur independently or function as auxiliaries. Typically these position verbs occur in locative expressions equivalent to the English "There's an X (over there)," and as auxiliaries where English would omit the reference to position, "John is (sitting) eating an apple." In addition to the verbs 'sit, stand, lie', several Muskogean languages include in the position classification verbs indicating unspecified location and various sorts of motion. These verbs are all suppletive for number, a peculiarity of the Muskogean position and motion verbs for the most part. The classificatory verbs for the four branches of Muskogean are given in Table 2.³ It is interesting to note that, with the exception of Hitchiti-Mikasuki and Alabama-Koasati, most of the verbs appear not to be cognate. The position classification, however, was most likely a feature of Proto-Muskogean. This claim does not rule out the (probable) borrowing of the categories from neighboring Siouan speakers at the time of Proto-Muskogean or even Proto-Gulf.

		SG	DU	PL
SIT	'dwell' (general position)	atta	ašwa	aša/maaya
Ch	(animate)	binili	čiiya	binoh(maaya)
	(inanimate)	talaya	taloha	taloh(maaya)
C		lee(k)-	kaa(k)-	apoo(k)-
H-M		čokoo(l)-	wii(k)-	iil-

A-K		čokoo(ka)	(K) čikii(ka)	(A) čik(ka) (K) iisa
A	'dwell' ⁴	at-ta		is-a
STAND	Ch	hikiya	hiili	yoh(maaya)
	C	hoyt-	sihook-	sapaakl-
	H-M	hačaa(l)-	lokoo(k)-	lokoo(ka)-
	A-K	hačaa(li)	(K) hikii(li)	(A,K) lokoo(li)
LIE	Ch	ittola	kaha	kah(maaya)
	Ck	wakk-	wakhok-	lomh-
	H-M	talaa(k)-	šol(k)-	šol(ka)-
	A-K	balaa(ka)		bal(ka)

Table 2

Choctaw appears to make the widest use of the classificatory verbs, but the Eastern Muskogean languages all exhibit at least the locative function. In Creek suppletive verbs are more numerous, including, besides the position verbs, several transitive verbs with singular, dual and plural forms for the number of the object. We will return to the peculiarities of Creek in a later section.

The position verbs are used very commonly in locative expressions in all the Muskogean languages. In Choctaw especially, the verbs typically take the incompletive nasal infix (Nicklas's N-grade), which is phonetically a nasalized vowel with accent.

- (Ch) 1) hattak mat čokwa bilinka hikínya 'That man is near the house.'
(man dem-subj house near stand-N)
- 2) Bill at ma binínli 'Bill is over there.'
(subj-there sit(anim)-N)
- 3) yammakõ ančokwa talányá 'There's my house.'
(there my-house sit(inan)-N)
- (A) 4) paalimpo tokloyá haayun lokóolo 'There are 2 tables inside.'
(table two inside stand)
- (C) 5) šampat čoka oofan léékiis 'The basket is in the house.'
(basket-sub house inside-obj sit)
- 6) asean spaaskat ahwiiliis 'The broom's over there.'
(there-obj. broom-sub. stand)
- (M) 7) ayyon ončokóolom 'It's (sitting) on the table.'
(table-obj. sit)

In several of the languages there is also a verb indicating unspecified location, which may be used instead of the position verbs. This locative verb, cognate in Choctaw and Alabama, is suppletive for number as are the position verbs and in Choctaw may take the incomplete infix.

- (Ch) 8) tákkon anónti tanci ma áša 'There are apples and
(apple also corn there be-loc.(pl) also corn.'
- (A) 9) ifa tokloya haayún aswo 'There are 2 dogs inside.'
(dog two inside be-loc.)

Possession may also be expressed by the general locative verb in Choctaw, usually for animate beings. Choctaw, like the other Muskogean languages has a verb *inši* 'to have' (*iši* 'to take, get'; with N-grade, *ínši*) but it is less typically used with humans and animals; and more commonly Choctaw uses the unspecified motion verb *aya* 'to go somewhere' rather than *atta* for possession of animals.

- (Ch) 10) ofi tokloš pimašwa⁵ 'We have two dogs.'
(dog two we be-loc-du)
- 11) čokfit pimánya 'We have some rabbits.'
(rabbit-subj we-go-N)

Both the use of motion verbs and the possible animate/inanimate distinction will be interesting when we turn to position classification in Siouan.

The second major function of position verbs is as auxiliaries. In Choctaw the main verb precedes the position verb and is marked by the suffix /-oš/. Tense, aspect and person markers are affixed to the position verb. Typically these constructions are incomplete; thus the position verb has the N-infix.

- (Ch) 12) John at takkon apaš hikínya 'John is standing there
(subj. apple eat stand-N) eating an apple.'
- 13) iti notta ma fohaš čínya 'They (2) are (sitting)
(tree under that rest sit-du-N) under that tree resting.'
- 14) iklah nosiš iikahmaaya 'We're lying here sleeping.'
(we sleep lie-pl)

Alabama, on the other hand, exhibits the opposite order of main and auxiliary verb. In the following examples the position verb precedes the main verb and is marked by /-t/. The main verb is marked for tense-aspect and person.

- (A) 15) čokoolit ompahči 'He is sitting (here) eating.'
(sit eat)
- 16) hačaalit talwaaliči 'I am standing here singing.'
(stand sing)

In Mikasuki, as in Choctaw, the verbs of unspecified motion and location are also used as auxiliaries. The Mikasuki order is like that of Alabama.

(M) 17) waakon yoolíicom hiicinli 'I saw some cows (moving around).'
(cow moving see)

(Ch) 18) tonksališ ánttali 'I'm working.'
(work be)

Mary Haas's "Classificatory Verbs in Muskogee" (1948) provides evidence of another sort of classification operating in Creek. Number suppletion, while common to all the Muskogean languages, occurs in many more verbs than those indicating position and motion in Creek. Transitive verbs like 'throw away' and 'put down' are suppletive for the number of the object. In addition, cloth and liquid objects require special treatment. The dual form of the transitive or intransitive verb is used if the article is cloth and the plural of transitive verbs is used if the article is liquid. The examples are from Haas (p. 245-6).

(C) 19) núuckat takáàs 'A handkerchief is on the floor.'
(sit-du)

20) úywan sakcáhweys 'I dipped up some water.'
(inst-liquid-pick up-pl)

There are the barest hints of this cloth-liquid classification in both Mikasuki and Choctaw. A rope or rope-like object in Mikasuki takes a dual verb, as in the following locative expression.

(M) 21) bakšot ayyon onšólkom 'The rope is lying on the table.'

Jeffrey Heath (1975) mentions the following suppletive verbs for Choctaw: fokki (sg)/ aapitta(du)/ani(pl) 'to put inside' and fonkka (sg)/anllo (pl) 'to be inside'.⁶ In my data liquids are always used with the plural form of these two verbs.

(Ch) 22) takkon at anšokča fonkka
(apple subj my pocket be-inside)
'There's an apple in my pocket.'

23) pišokčit /bucket/ anlo 'The milk is in the bucket.'
(milk-subj be-inside)

24) skali anšokča fokkili 'I put the money in my pocket.'
(money my-pocket put in-I)

25) pišokči ma /bucket/ ani 'Put that milk in the bucket.'
(milk that put-in)

Although Heath doesn't list it among the suppletive verbs of Choctaw, 'throw away' appears to classify liquids with plurals as well. This is one of the verbs in Creek that classifies liquids as dual.

- (Ch) 26) šološ ma kani pila 'Throw those shoes away.'
 (shoe that away throw-du?)
- 27) pišokči kani fohoopli 'Pour out the milk.'
 (milk away throw-pl?)

There is no evidence in Choctaw of a similar classification for cloth-like objects. Nevertheless the presence of even this limited correspondence to the Creek classification is interesting in light of the Cherokee object classes.

3.2 Cherokee

The classificatory verb system in Cherokee is remarkably reminiscent of the Athapaskan system discussed earlier. Subjects of certain intransitive verbs and objects of transitive verbs are differentiated as to characteristic shape, texture and animateness. Recent field work by Kathy Lance has revealed at least five object classes, four of which correspond to those mentioned by Haas (1948). Some of the verb stems which serve to classify nouns are the following: 'give, hold, carry, put down, pick up, put in, bring, hit, eat, be lying down'. The noun classes are:⁷

28)	I	small round/bulky	uha	He has (Class I object)
	II	long rigid	uwaya	" (Class II)
	III	animate	uwekaha	" (Class III)
	IV	flexible	una?a	" (Class IV)
	V	liquid	uneha	" (Class V)

Classes I, II, III, and IV are just those reconstructable for Athapaskan and classes IV and V correspond to the cloth and liquid classes for which we have evidence in Creek.

There appears to be no explanation for the similarity in the Cherokee and Athapaskan systems. To my knowledge no one has proposed a super-stock that includes Athapaskan and Iroquoian, nor does there appear to be anything like the Cherokee classification system in the northern Iroquoian languages. The similarities between Cherokee and Creek are more easily explained. Because the cloth/liquid classification is only hinted at in the other Muskogean languages, it may not have been a feature of Proto-Muskogean. This noun classification system is well developed in Cherokee, however, and within Muskogean is certainly more evident in Creek, which in early historic times was spoken in an area directly to the south of Cherokee. Diffusion of semantic features seems to be the most plausible explanation. There is, moreover, no evidence in Cherokee for the position classification that extends throughout the Southeast.

3.3 Gulf

Position classification in the Gulf isolates works much as it does in Muskogean. The position verbs are suppletive for number and function as auxiliaries and in locative expressions.

Haas's grammar of Tunica (1941) provides a detailed analysis of the use of position classification in a member of the Gulf group. Among the auxiliary verbs in Tunica, which are inflectionally distinct from active verbs, there are two which refer to position. The stems are -ra 'to lie' and -na 'to sit' and are listed in Figure 3 with the obligatory subject affixes (p. 42). In contrast to the other auxiliary verbs (e.g. come, go, cause), there are no plural forms for first and second person. Suppletion is also used in the third person plural for both verbs and third singular feminine for -na.

singular	dual	plural	
?arani	?irana		1 <u>-ra</u> 'to lie'
wira	wirana		2m
hara	hɛrana		2f
?ura	?urana	na?ara	3m
?ara	sirana	na?ara	3f
?anani	?inana		1 <u>-na</u> 'to sit'
wina	winana		2m
hɛna	hɛnana		2f
?una	?unana	?uk?ɛra	3m
?aci	sinana	?uk?ɛra	3f

Table 3

There is no auxiliary verb meaning 'to stand.' To complete the position classification when these verbs are used independently Tunica uses an active verb, kali 'to stand' combined with ?ura for things classified as vertical. The resulting incomplete verb is kal?ura, which cannot act as an auxiliary. As independent verbs these three are used in locative expressions similar to those in Muskogean. Humans and four-legged creatures can assume any position and can therefore be indicated by an appropriate position verb.

- 29) a. toniku ?ura 'There's the man.' (lying)
 b. toniku kal?ura (standing)
 c. toniku ?una (sitting)

The classification of other animates depends on their typical position, which is determined partly by their physical configuration.

Elongated creatures like fish, snakes and alligators are referred to by -ra, 'be lying'. Small squat creatures are classified as sitting.

- 30) turunat?eku ?una 'There is the bullfrog.' (sitting)
 31) tēmahkaku ?ura 'There is the alligator.' (lying)

Inanimates are classified as horizontal or vertical, abstract nouns as horizontal.

- 32) tawišēnahč ?ara 'There's the lake.' (lying)
 33) ?eksa kal?ura 'There's a pine tree.' (standing)
 34) hinahkun lahon sahkun 'There is one morning
?ara hatikan left.'

The two verbs -na and -ra are used as auxiliaries with active verbs to mean continuous or incompleting action as well. Since nouns are classified according to number, gender, and position, the choice of appropriate auxiliary depends on all of these factors. Because kal?ura cannot act as an auxiliary, one of the two auxiliaries 'to sit' or 'to lie' must be used for the third position, vertical. A single male animate subject, whose posture may be any one of the three, uses -na for vertical and sitting, -ra for horizontal.

- 35) pitahk?unani 'He was walking along.'
 36) pakan?unani 'He replied (from a sitting position).'

A single female animate subject, however, uses -na only for sitting and -ra for vertical and horizontal. Compare sentences 35 and 37. Number 38 is an example of the third feminine singular suppletive for -na.

- 37) pitahk?arani 'She was walking along.'
 38) toninuhčihč harahk?ačeni 'The woman (sat) singing.'

Although a dual male subject requires use of the male categories, a dual consisting of one male and one female and all animate plurals follow the female categories. Haas comments that there are further complications not fully worked out in the use of -na and -ra as auxiliaries.

The position classification in Tunica is also revealed in the use of two active verbs, 'to stop' and 'to put,' which have different forms depending on the position of the object of 'put' and the subject of 'stop.' If something horizontal comes to a stop, the pre-verb ha - 'up, down' is prefixed to na, the active verb 'to lie down.' If something vertical stops, ha- is attached to kali 'to stand.'

- 39) taherit?asahuč hana?keni 'The other boat stopped.'
 40) tīyanawihč hakal?ekeni 'When he spoke to her she stopped.'

Three separate active verb stems exist for the action of putting or placing: rawu 'to lay, put in a horizontal position'; ?uki 'to set, put in a sitting position'; and kali 'to stand, put in a vertical position'. In comparison, the Tunica classificatory system is quite similar to the Muskogean system. In both, the verbs marking position can be used as independent verbs and as auxiliaries in the incomplete aspect. Moreover they are inflectionally distinct from other verbs in the languages.

The other Gulf languages exhibit similar peculiarities. In Atakapa, the use of position verbs corresponds to that in Tunica and Muskogean. Swanton, in his sketch of Atakapa (1912), notes that a very few verbs use suppletion for their plural forms, among them the verbs 'to sit', 'to stand', and 'to lie'. (Table 4)

singular	plural	
ke	to	'to sit'
ta	co	'to stand'
ni	nok	'to lie down'

Table 4

A common predicate construction is one in which a position verb precedes an active verb and is marked with /-u/, which Swanton feels implies continuative aspect. The sentences closely resemble the Choctaw examples, in which the main verb was marked by /oš/ preceding a position verb.

- 41) keu kamskinto 'I am paddling (sitting).'
 42) tau koikit 'He speaks standing - he preaches.'
 43) yukit coopisicel 'We stand twisting.'

Atakapa, in addition, appears to use the verb ke in possessive constructions, much like the Choctaw use of the general position verb with indirect object prefixes. Swanton lists the following forms and their glosses:⁸

- 44) hike 'I possess'
 45) nake 'you possess'
 46) hake 'he possesses'

The third Gulf isolate is Chitimacha, for which Swadesh (1946) has provided some interesting comments. In its auxiliaries, Chitimacha distinguishes two actual positions and an unspecified or neutral position.

hi(h)	neutral
či(h)	standing
pe(h)	lying

Table 5

The plural for all three auxiliaries is unspecified. The classification is also indicated in the demonstrative han (horizontal), hač (vertical), and ha (neutral). Swadesh notes that these auxiliary verbs are limited inflectionally, lacking forms for voice, inchoative, and gerundive, which regular verbs possess. What is most interesting about this classification system, however, is the affective nature of its use. The denotation of the position verb is less important than its connotation. Disrespect towards a person is implied by the use of the horizontal reference pe, respect by the use of či. The most commonly used is the unspecified posture verb hi, which is neutral.

45) nu'pk <u>pen</u>	'He lies dead.' (of an animal)
nu'pk <u>hi</u> ?i	'He is dead.' (neutral, of a person)
nu'pk <u>či</u> ?i	'He stands dead.' (respectful)

The various nuances of use of these verbs are of more importance than the actual physical correlates. Friedrich comments that Tarascan speakers also use shape classification in humorous ways.

The languages of the Southeast discussed so far may well be distantly related. Haas has provided some, though not conclusive evidence for a Gulf stock which would include the isolates and Muskogean. The existence of a classification system based on characteristic position in all the languages in question would lend support to the theory of a proto-Gulf language in the Southeast and more specifically a reconstruction of position classification in this protolanguage. However, this classification could just as well have originated in Muskogean or in one of the isolates and spread throughout an area which we know to have been closely connected through trade.⁹

4. Siouan

One question that arises at this point is the degree to which this position classification exists in Southeastern languages that have not been proposed to be even remotely related. If we find such a classification system in the Siouan languages of the Southeast, then we could easily conclude that diffusion had occurred over time. In fact an almost identical set of classificatory verbs exists in Bilocli, a Siouan language spoken on the Gulf coast adjacent to Choctaw.

Furthermore, we have data for many Siouan languages which indicate that such a system was probably operating at some time in Siouan, if not to as full an extent as it does in Muskogean. A second question is, given the data on Siouan classification, can we determine the origin of position classification in the Southeast?

The presence of position classification in Hidatsa, Crow, Ofo, Catawba, Missouri, and Iowa-Oto is undetermined, primarily because the data are lacking. There is clear indication of the classificatory system in all branches of the Siouan family but Missouri Valley, however, not just in those languages that were in contact in the Southeast in early historic times. In Figure 1 the branches of the Siouan family are displayed with those languages exhibiting position classification underlined.¹¹

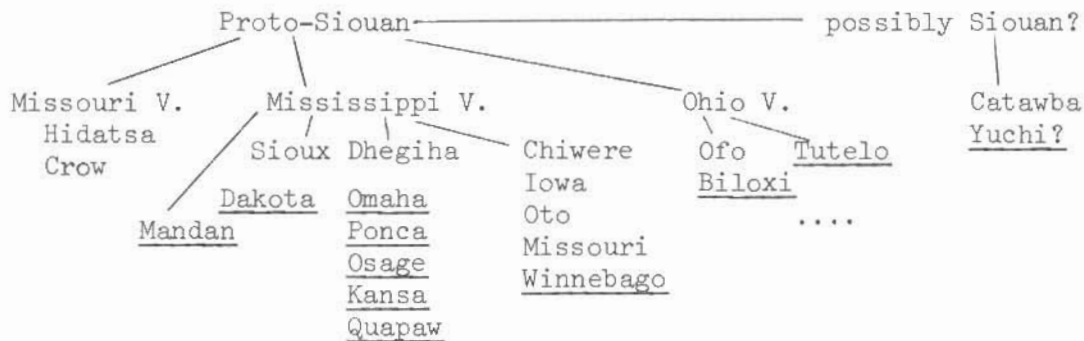


Figure 1

Siouan position classification is characterized by pairs of verbs referring to position, one a regular conjugated verb, the other a classifier, which may occur in conjunction with the regular verb. In Tutelo the only hint of this classificatory scheme is in the listing of two verbs meaning 'to sit' (Hale, 1883). Agi- appears to be a regular verb, is used in numerals, and may be cognate with Dakota akíгна, 'to sit' (Beuchel, 1970). Năká is also glossed as 'to sit, stay' and is clearly cognate with the classificatory verbs for the same position in the other Siouan languages. (See Table 7 for all the Siouan forms discussed in Section 4.) Beyond this shred of evidence, Tutelo position classification is undetermined.

4.1 Dakota

Grammars of Dakota (Boas and Deloria, 1941, Boas and Swanton, 1911, and Beuchel, 1939) do not explicitly mention position classification, but again there are hints that such a system may have existed. A full set of pairs of verbs exists for the three positions, the classificatory verbs being clearly cognate with most of the other corresponding Siouan forms. Boas and Deloria also list hă- 'to stand'

(inanimate objects) as the 'continuative enclitic' (p. 60), which frequently occurs in 'pleonastic phrases' with the active position verbs: nāzihā nāži 'standing he stands', iyotakehā yāká 'sitting he sits', and yūkaheya yūká '(the tree) is in a fallen position' (p. 61). This use of the position verbs for continuous aspect is typical of both Muskogean-Gulf and the Siouan languages.

Although a full-fledged position classification is lacking in Dakota, the use of position verbs with verbs of arrival suggests that it may be a remnant of a system that is more fully exploited in several other Siouan languages. The chronology of development is not clear. Boas and Deloria note that with verbs expressing arrival (i, hi, k^{hi}, g.li) preceding position verbs, both verbs have the regular pronominal markers (p. 84-5). It is apparently optional for the position verb to take pronouns.

- 54) wa-k^{hi}-yotaka or wa-k^{hi}-b.l-otaka 'I arrive back where I
I-poss-arrive-sit I-poss-arrive-I-sit belong and sit down.'

4.2 Mandan

Position classification is clearly operating in Mandan. Kennard (1936) notes that "the morphemes hāk, nāk, and māk refer to the position of the subject as standing, sitting or lying at the moment he is conceived as performing the action" (p. 31-2). This use of position verbs as auxiliaries to signal incomplete aspect parallels the situation in Muskogean.

- 55) mihūps íwatarakanakoc 'She is sewing my moccasins (sitting).'

Mandan also has a construction equivalent to the locative function of Muskogean position verbs.

- 56) wεrεx nakóc 'a pot was there (sitting)'
57) má:tamakmakoc 'a river was there'

In Mandan the position verbs fulfill a third function, as articles or demonstratives. Combined with the demonstrative pronouns, they yield sets like: dεmāk 'this one, lying', dεnāk 'this one, sitting', dεhāk 'this one, standing', etc.

4.3 Biloxi

In his 1893 address, entitled "The Biloxi Indians of Louisiana," Dorsey states with certainty that Biloxi makes use of position classification (pp. 276-77).

Classifiers. These words play a very important part in the Athapascan and Siouan languages. In these 2 linguistic stocks, all objects are classified on characteristics found in their attitudes, the primary attitudes being standing or perpendicular, sitting or curvilinear, and reclining or horizontal. The Biloxi classifiers mark not only these three attitudes, but also the walking and running; again, they distinguish between the horizontal animate and the horizontal inanimate object, between the sitting animate and the curvilinear animate, etc. There are also dual and plural forms of the classifiers. Another function of the classifiers is to mark continuous or incomplete action. This is effected by placing the proper classifier after the finite verb, as yaoⁿ, 'he sings', yaoⁿ nānki 'he sits singing, he is singing' (though nānki is distinct from qēhe, the regular verb, 'to sit').

Dorsey and Swanton's dictionary of Biloxi and Ofo (1912) also provides examples under lexical entries indicating that Biloxi made use of a position classification system. The entries for the verbs 'to sit,' 'to stand' and 'to lie' make it clear that their uses closely parallel those encountered in the other southeastern languages. These verbs have suppletive dual and plural forms in contrast to most of the other verbs in the dictionary. As auxiliaries they follow the main verb and indicate incompletive aspect.

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 46) sītó ĩksiyó duti nāki | 'The boy was (sat) eating the meat.' |
| (boy meat eat sit) | |
| 47) tāsí wak dúti ně | 'The cow is (standing) eating grass.' |
| (grass cow eat stand) | |
| 48) ayā kadēm māki | 'The wood isn't (lying) burning.' |
| (wood burn lie) | |

'Lie' and 'sit' are also used in referring to possession of kin and animals.¹⁰

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| 49) nkóni é nākí | 'I have a mother.' |
| (my mother she sit) | |
| 50) cūki ĩkták nākí | 'I have a dog.' |
| (dog my sit) | |
| 51) nkādiyā é māki | 'I have a father.' |
| (my father he lie) | |

In addition, Biloxi uses position classifiers with nouns. Frequently both the position verb and position classifier occur in the same sentence, as in 53.

- 52) ti ne ko sã xě 'The (standing) house is white.'
 (house stand- dem. white
 ing female speaker)
- 53) tohókx tohó mǎki ko sã xě 'The reclining horse is white.'
 (horse lie lying dem. white (The horse lies lying)
 female speaker)

This use of classifying particles does not occur in Muskogean but appears to be peculiar to Siouan. Biloxi, among the Siouan languages, is most like Muskogean in its classification system and at the same time exhibits all the Siouan classificatory characteristics.

4.4 Winnebago

Winnebago position verbs have also been described explicitly. Lipkind (1945) states that they are used for continuous action, in which both the principal and the auxiliary (position) verbs take pronouns. They are also used with demonstratives to indicate the characteristic lying, sitting or standing position of objects. They appear not to be used in general locative expressions. They are used, however, with the regular verbs in a construction that functions like independent personal pronouns; as in Dakota, both verbs take personal pronouns.

- 58) jaguamĩnǎgiré skanǎksêgízi 'What he sat on he didn't know
 (sitting).'

Although Lipkind lists hǎk as the classificatory verb 'standing', which is not the expected Siouan correspondent, hǎk alternates with wǎk, which does correspond to Dakota wǎká, Mandan mǎk, and Biloxi mǎkí, all with an initial bilabial.

4.5 Dhegiha

The languages of the Dhegiha branch all make use of position classification by means of pairs of regular and classificatory verbs. Moreover they seem to have innovated a more extensive series of articles indicating, in addition to position, animateness, subject vs. object, and stationary vs. moving. Boas and Swanton (1911) list the following articles in Ponca (p. 939-40).¹²

Inanimate articles		Animate articles	
<u>k^he</u>	horizontal	<u>ak^há</u>	sg. subj. at rest
<u>th^he</u>	standing, collective	<u>amá</u>	sg. subj. in motion, plural
<u>ōā</u>	rounded	<u>thā</u>	sg. object standing
<u>ge</u>	scattered	<u>ōī</u>	sg. object moving
		<u>ma</u>	pl. object (see <u>amá</u> above)
		<u>ōīk^he</u>	sg. object sitting
		<u>ōāk^ha</u>	pl. object sitting

Table 7

The Quapaw, Kansa and Osage cognates are listed in Table 6 for comparison with the other Siouan classificatory forms.

In Dhegiha, classificatory verbs and articles function as they do throughout Siouan. Dorsey's texts in Quapaw and Kansa provide examples of position verbs as auxiliaries and of classifying articles. In (59) both the regular verb knī and nīk^he are used.¹³

- (Q) 59 kóišättā šemižíka knī piá xaké nīk^he iyawé
 (then little sit knew she sat(=was) they say)
 girl how crying
- (Q) 60 kóišättā wahanīkhé thā óppiži khe kdiáze
 (then Orphan the box the she opened)
 standing long her own
 object
- (K) 61 c'é khe žíheyabe au 'They had laid out the
 (dead the was caused) corpse.'
 object to recline)
 reclining

Recently recorded Kansa texts indicate that the Dhegiha group also uses the position verbs in locative expressions, as in (62-3).¹⁴

- 62) šóhīŋa-aba áwanōble-khe lí-žē-aba
 (dog anim. table horiz. sit neg anim.)
 sg. obj. sg.
 moving moving
 'The dog's not (sitting) on the table.'
- 63) yiǰége-ak^ha žō- khe éǰi nōžī-ak^ha
 (your sg. tree horiz by stand sg.)
 uncle anim. anim.
 subj. at rest
 at rest
 '(That's) your uncle (standing) over there
 by the tree.'

The Dhegiha languages differ from the other Siouan languages in their extensive use of articles, which signal, in addition to position, animate vs. inanimate and moving vs. stationary. In all other significant respects they follow the Siouan pattern of position classification.

4.6 Yuchi

Although its relationship to Siouan is questionable, Yuchi also marks position by means of classifying articles, according to Günter Wagner (1933-38). Nouns in Yuchi are distinguished first as animate and inanimate. Animate nouns are then classified on the basis of tribal affiliations, kinship, and sex. Inanimate nouns on the other hand, are classified as horizontal, vertical, or roundish or unspecified as to horizontal and vertical. The postposed articles are homophonous with the verb stems in Figure 9.

Yuchi Verbs	
<u>fa</u>	'to stand'
<u>?e</u>	'to lie'
<u>ji</u>	'to sit, stay'

Table 8

Wagner's sketch provides no hint of a verb system resembling that of the other Siouan languages. Singular nouns are simply marked by the appropriate article, the positions being neutralized in the plural. The choice of marker for abstract nouns and nouns whose physical dimension is unimportant does not appear to have any semantic basis. Where the physical extensions of an object are not obvious, these articles may reflect purely grammatical gender.

Yuchi Articles		
<u>vertical</u>	<u>horizontal</u>	<u>roundish, unspecified</u>
y <u>afa</u> 'the tree'	ya <u>?e</u> 'the log'	ti <u>ji</u> 'the chair'
y <u>ufa</u> 'the house'	s?a <u>?e</u> 'the field'	ce <u>tapaxji</u> 'my strength'
ce <u>wonefa</u> 'my spirit'	ce? <u>ẽ?e</u> 'the rain'	di <u>taxji</u> 'my heart'
di <u>cifa</u> 'my eye'	howe <u>dene?e</u> 'their language'	

Table 9

This is apparently the only realization of a position classification in Yuchi.

5. Summary

Classification of nouns according to position (sitting, standing, lying) is widespread in the Southeast. The Muskogean and Siouan families exhibit similar inflectional peculiarities and grammatical functions within this classification. In Muskogean and the Gulf isolates, as well as in Biloxi, the position verbs are suppletive for number and are typically not cognate with each other. In many cases both dual and plural forms exist. The position verbs are used in three types of constructions: a) independently in locative expressions; b) for possession in some languages; and c) as auxiliaries signaling incompletive aspect. There is no evidence for classificatory articles in Muskogean; nouns are marked instead for subject vs. oblique case by suffixes. Only Chitimacha made use of position classification in demonstratives. Furthermore, the animate-inanimate distinction does not play a role in Muskogean-Gulf classification.

Siouan position classification is characterized by pairs of classificatory and regular verbs. The classificatory verbs are cognate in nearly all the Siouan languages for which we have data. The position verbs used as auxiliaries indicate incompletive aspect (as in Muskogean), and in Biloxi and Kansa can be used in locative expressions as well. Classificatory articles are used extensively in Siouan, especially in the Dhegiha group, where semantic and grammatical features other than position are also signaled. This use of articles is reflected in Yuchi, which may be only remotely related to Siouan, but was nevertheless spoken in the Southeast.

It is unlikely that position classification as it has been described here developed independently in Muskogean-Gulf and Siouan. The detailed agreement between the two families, and especially the widespread use of auxiliary position verbs to indicate incompletive aspect, lends strong support instead to an areal explanation. The facts suggest that Siouan was the source of position classification, which subsequently spread to Muskogean- and Gulf-speaking neighbors. First, the classificatory system seems to be more fully developed in Siouan, where both position verbs and articles signal noun classification. Second, the classificatory forms can be reconstructed phonologically in Siouan but not in Muskogean. If the Siouan homeland was in fact somewhere along the Ohio Valley, as several scholars have suggested, there could have been considerable contact between Siouan and the other Southeastern languages. Diffusion from Siouan, then, can explain the occurrence of this particular grammatical realization of position classification from Mandan and remnants in Dakota in the Plains to Tutelo and Yuchi in the East. There also appears to have been some influence in the opposite direction, suggested by the use of suppletive verbs in Biloxi but not elsewhere in Siouan.

Chafe (1973) uses the existence of a similar position classification in Caddoan as evidence for a Macro-Siouan stock composed of Siouan, Iroquoian and Caddoan. Unfortunately, the Caddo forms he proposes as cognate with his Siouan reconstructions **wa(ki)* 'lying', **ra(ki)* 'sitting', and **ha(ki)* 'standing' do not look promising: *?ini-* 'lying', *?awi-* 'sitting', and *?ani(ki)-* 'standing'. A more fruitful comparison would be between Proto-Caddoan and the Siouan reconstructions. If a Macro-Siouan stock proves to be difficult to determine, we could still account for the position prefixes in Caddoan verbs by diffusion given the location of the Caddoan tribes directly to the west of the Muskogean and Siouan groups. In fact, Chafe notes that "there are some resemblances between Caddo and Siouan which are in all likelihood the result of diffusion, probably from Osage ... into Caddo" (p. 1190). This position classification may be particularly susceptible to borrowing because of the salience of the perceptual correlates on which the classification is based.

6. Speculations

We return now to the earlier question of universals. Friedrich argues for a universal typology of shape. The classification of the Southeast is best analyzed as position, however, animate beings occurring with all three of the verbs since they can assume any of the three positions or postures. Inanimate objects are classified according to typical position, although the appropriate verb is not always predictable on pragmatic grounds. We might explain Friedrich's Tarascan data as an extension of the relatively free position classification used for animate beings to the typically limited position of inanimate objects.

If we survey other languages in just a superficial way, we discover that position is indicated by verbs in widely divergent languages. Yuman (Halpern, 1946) has three thematic verb prefixes that make reference to the sitting, standing, or lying position of the subject of the verb. English and Russian, as representatives of Indo-European, both have pairs of transitive and intransitive verbs referring to the placement and location of objects: set/sit, stand/stand, and lay/lie. Even Aristotle makes specific reference to position in his "Categoriae": "'Lying', 'sitting', are terms indicating 'position'." (sec. 2^a).

The system of classificatory verbs in the Athapaskan languages represents the sort of development that might take place with the extension of position classification to objects. For the class of animates, as Krauss mentions, verbs distinguish sitting/standing/lying position. For inanimates, just the classes that correspond to these positions are safely reconstructable in Na-Dene: I, II, and

VI (round, long, fabriclike). One further typological similarity is the use of the verb meaning 'to sit' or the verb stem for the class of round objects for abstractions and unspecified position. My hypothesis is that position may be universal and that shape categories can be explained by a process of extension to inanimate objects.

FOOTNOTES

1. The descriptive terms are those of Davidson et al.
2. The rope-like class in other Athapaskan languages frequently refers to plural objects as well.
3. The abbreviations for languages are: Ch=Choctaw, C=Creek, H=Hitchiti, M=Mikasuki, A=Alabama, K=Koasati. The verbs listed are drawn from several sources: Haas (1948, 1972), Nicklas (1974), and the personal field notes of L. Watkins (Choctaw), K. Lupardus (Alabama) and K. Booker (Creek, Mikasuki).
4. Alabama atta 'to dwell, be in a place' is the only example of a cognate for the Choctaw position verbs.
5. In these possessive expressions, the pronouns prefixed to the verb (pim-) is the indirect object form.
6. The forms for 'be inside' are in the N-grade.
7. The noun classes are numbered to correspond with the Athapaskan noun classes.
8. The bound object prefixes for Atakapa are hi-, na-, and ha- for first, second, and third person.
9. Haas (1945) comments on the dominance of the Creek in the Creek Confederacy. There was a great deal of contact among tribes and speakers often knew another language, probably Creek, in addition to their own. Haas found non-Muskogean speakers in the area who still knew at least some of the Creek tongue. The Mobilian trade jargon may have been another vehicle for diffusion.
10. Atakapa, Choctaw and Alabama also use position verbs to express possession.
11. The Siouan relationships are drawn from Voegelin (1941).

- 12.-13. The transcription has been modified to correspond to current transcription practices for the Dhegiha languages.
14. The examples and analysis were generously provided by Robert L. Rankin.

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