

Chapter 6

On the grammaticalization of demonstratives in Hoocak and other Siouan languages

Johannes Helmbrecht

University of Regensburg

The present paper describes the grammaticalization of a paradigm of adnominal demonstratives in Hoocak out of a set of three verbs/auxiliaries of existence. This process has never been described for Hoocak nor does the literature on grammaticalization mention this kind of grammaticalization path. Hoocak (also known as Winnebago) is a Siouan language still spoken in Wisconsin. Hoocak has two paradigms of demonstrative pronouns. The first paradigm of demonstratives goes back to Proto-Siouan. The second paradigm is an innovation in Hoocak. Two bound deictic forms =*re* and =*ga* are systematically combined with the three positional verbs *nak* 'sit', *qk* 'lie' and *jee* 'stand' to form a new paradigm of demonstratives. These new demonstratives are grammatically and semantically different from the first paradigm. First, they are always adnominal demonstratives determining the head noun, while the old paradigm can be used as both adnominally as well as pronominally demonstratives. Secondly, they appear only post-nominally, while the old paradigm is more variable, occurring both pre- and post-nominally. Thirdly, the new demonstratives classify the head noun as proximate or distal as well as according to its spatial position (neutral, horizontal, vertical), while the old demonstratives distinguish only proximal and distal and are used to refer anaphorically to aforementioned participants, whole propositions and episodes in a narration. Finally, the new paradigm of demonstratives can be used as relativizers and subordinators, which is not possible for the old paradigm of demonstratives. The positional verbs themselves, on the other hand, go back to Proto-Siouan. They are grammaticalized in Hoocak (and other Siouan languages) as classificatory auxiliaries of being 'be.sitting/be.lying/be.standing' and as continuative/progressive markers when combined with other verbs. The grammaticalization processes that are observed in Hoocak are compared to those found in Siouan languages of other sub-branches of Siouan, in particular to the grammaticalization of classificatory definite articles in Omaha-Ponca (Dhegiha). It is shown that the positional verbs underwent a different grammaticalization path in this sub-branch of Siouan.



1 Introduction

1.1 Grammaticalization of demonstratives

Demonstratives are the starting point for a remarkable variety of different grammaticalization processes leading to quite different grammatical forms.¹ Well-attested in many languages and language families is the development of demonstrative pronouns into third person pronouns and finally into argument-indexing pronominal affixes. Another well-attested and often described grammaticalization process is the development of adnominal demonstratives to definite articles, specificity markers, noun class/gender markers and finally noun markers. A summary of the grammaticalization paths for demonstratives described in the literature is given in Table 1.

All targets in Table 1 that are marked **bold** are grammaticalizations that can be found in Siouan languages and will be presented later at different places in the course of this paper. Where do – in turn - demonstratives come from? From which sources do demonstratives grammaticalize? Not much is known about this question. The following answers are given in the literature:

- i. According to Diessel (1999: 154), there is no evidence that deictic roots, on which the demonstratives are based, are grammaticalized from lexical sources. Instead they belong to the basic vocabulary of every language and often show an iconic relationship between the phonetic shape and the meaning (with regard to distance relationships). Diessel (and others) claims that the exophoric usage of demonstratives is basic.
- ii. In Lehmann (1995[1982]: 37–38) it is suggested that deictic roots combine with categorial nouns in order to form new demonstratives (illustrated with examples from Japanese *ko-re* ‘this one’, *so-re* ‘that one’, and *a-re* ‘yonder one’ (Lehmann 1995[1982]: 38). One may also think of complex demonstrative pronouns like the ones found in Korean. Korean has three deictic particles that are used as determiners (cf. the paradigm in (1)). If they are used as demonstrative pronouns, they have to be combined with a defective categorial noun such as *il* ‘thing’ in example (2).

¹This paper is dedicated to the memory of Robert L. Rankin who passed away in February 2014. He was the leading scholar in comparative Siouan linguistics and much of what we know about Siouan languages today is based in one way or another on his research.

6 *On the grammaticalization of demonstratives in Hoocək*

Table 1: Demonstratives as sources for various grammaticalizations (summarized from Diessel 1999: Chapter 4, and Heine & Kuteva 2002)

Source(s)	Target(s)	Some references
demonstrative pronouns	> 3rd person PRON > clitic PRON > affix	Givón (1984: 353–360); Lehmann (1995[1982]: 39–42); Heine & Kuteva (2002: 112)
	> relative pronouns	Lehmann (1984)
	> complementizers	Harris & Campbell (1995: 287); Heine & Kuteva (2002: 106)
	> subordinators (adverbial clauses)	Heine & Kuteva (2002: 114)
	> sentence connectives	Diessel (1999: 125); Heine & Kuteva (2002: 108)
adnominal demonstratives	> definite articles > specific/indefinite > noun class/gender markers	Greenberg (1978); Lehmann (1995[1982]: 38, 55); Heine & Kuteva (2002: 109); and many others
	> relative pronouns	Lehmann (1984: 378–383); Heine & Kuteva (2002: 113)
	> linkers	Himmelmann (1997: 172–188)
	> boundary markers of postnominal relative clauses/ relative particles	Diessel (1999: 132)
	> determinatives (demonstratives that function as the head of a relative clause)	Quirk et al. (1972: 217)
adverbial demonstratives	> specific indefinite articles > temporal adverbs	Gundel et al. (1993) Diessel (1999: 139)
	> directional preverbs	Lehmann (1995[1982]: 97–104)
identificational demonstratives	> non-verbal copulas > focus markers	Diessel (1999: 147–148); Heine & Kuteva (2002: 108, 111)
	> expletives	Traugott (1992: 216–219)

- (1) Korean (Sohn 1999: 295)
i = person/thing near speaker
ku = person/thing near hearer
ce = person/thing away from speaker and hearer
- (2) Korean (Sohn 1999: 295)
[*ce il-ul*] *nwu-ka mak-keyss-ni*.
[that thing-ACC] who-NOM block-will-Q
'Who would be able to block **that**'?

iii. A third answer can be found in Heine & Kuteva (2002: 172/294). The authors provide a few examples from Hausa, Lingala, and Ngbaka that show that adverbial demonstratives such as 'here' and 'there' may become proximal and distal demonstratives ('this', 'that').

1.2 Goals of the paper

The goal of the present paper is to present an admittedly incomplete overview of the grammaticalization of demonstratives in Hooçak and other Siouan languages. A major role in these historical developments is played by posture verbs denoting 'sitting', 'standing' and 'lying'; Siouanists call them "positional verbs" or just "positionals". More specifically, it will be shown that:

- i. the Proto-Siouan posture verbs became aspect-marking auxiliaries in Hooçak and many other Siouan languages;
- ii. the aspect-marking auxiliaries (continuative aspect) were combined with subordinating deictic particles in Hooçak that grammaticalized to new adnominal demonstratives;
- iii. these "new" demonstratives preserved a noun classifying and aspect-marking function, if used to subordinate clauses;
- iv. the advent of these forms caused a shift in the usage of the old Proto-Siouan demonstratives in Hooçak; and finally that
- v. the same Proto-Siouan positional verbs underwent a different grammaticalization path in Mandan;

- vi. the same Proto-Siouan positional verbs underwent a different grammaticalization path in Omaha-Ponca and other Dhegiha languages; there they became classificatory articles probably without an intermediate step of being demonstratives, and from these classificatory articles new demonstratives were developed.

1.3 Hoocąk and the Siouan languages

Hoocąk is a North American Indian language of the Siouan language family still spoken at various places in Wisconsin. The Siouan language family consists of about 17 languages that were originally spoken in a large area covering most of the Great Plains expanding from the Southeast of the US to the Northwest into Southern Canada. The genetic sub-classification of the Siouan languages is generally considered to be as summarized in Figure 1 (cf. Rood 1979; Mithun 1999: 501; Parks & Rankin 2001).

Although there is some disagreement about the details of this reconstruction it is uncontroversial that Hoocąk (also called Winnebago in the older literature) and Chiwere (also called Iowa-Otoe-Missouria or Báxoje-Jíwere-Ñút'achi) form a subgroup of the Central Siouan or Mississippi Valley Siouan languages. All Siouan languages, except the Dakotan languages and perhaps Crow, are highly endangered and are on the verge of extinction or already extinct (indicated by little crosses in Figure 1). It is estimated that there are less than 200 Native speakers of Hoocąk left, who are all older than 60 years of age.

1.4 The data

The data for this study are taken from grammatical descriptions and published text sources preferably of the Siouan languages that are documented best. Since the languages of the Southeastern Siouan branch (Ohio Valley Siouan) are extinct for a long time now the descriptive information is not as detailed as for Lakota and other Mississippi Valley Siouan languages, or from the Missouri River branch of Siouan. The data for Hoocąk come from fieldnotes and texts that were collected within the DOBES project of the documentation of Hoocąk (2003–2008). The historical-comparative data are mainly taken from Rankin et al. (2015).²

²See the website of the DOBES funding initiative of the Volkswagen Foundation (<http://dobes.mpi.nl>). The glossed texts and audio and video files of the Hoocąk documentation project are stored in the digital archive of the Max-Planck-Institute for Psycholinguistics called “The Language Archive”; the corresponding URL is: <http://dobes.mpi.nl/projects/hocank>. The website of the DOBES project “Documentation of the Hoocąk Language” led by Johannes Helmbrecht

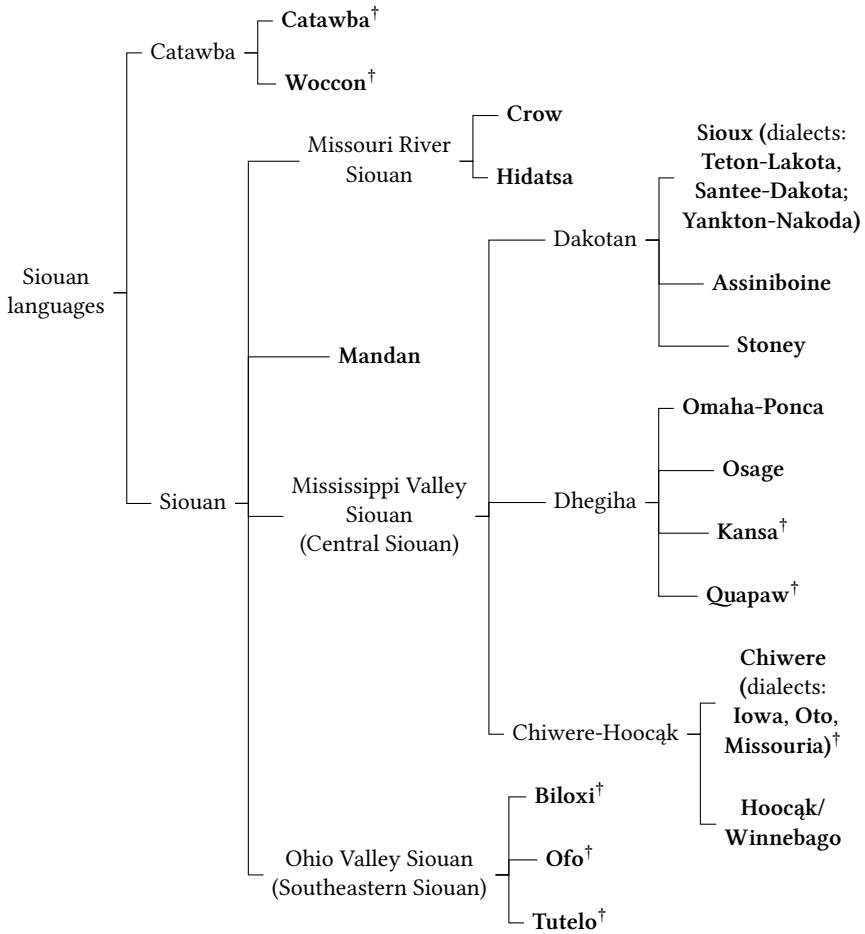


Figure 1: Genetic classification of the Siouan languages (cf. Rood 1979; Mithun 1999: 501; Parks & Rankin 2001)

2 From positional verbs to aspect markers in Siouan

2.1 Positional verbs of Hoocak

Hoocak has a set of three so-called positional verbs, which belong to the group of verbs of ‘being/existence’. These positionals denote the bodily posture of a human or animate subject, or the spatial orientation of an inanimate subject. See the forms and their meanings in Table 2.

Table 2: Hoocak positionals (cf. Lipkind 1945: 45; Helmbrecht & Lehmann 2010: 26)

positional(s)	meaning
=nək	‘be (sitting position/neutral position)’
=jee/=jaə	‘be (standing position/vertical)’
=(h)ak/=(h)ək	‘be (lying position/horizontal)’

The positional verbs may be used as full verbs (as illustrated in (3), or as auxiliaries in combination with another full verb that precedes; cf. the subsequent examples in (4) and (5). The positionals in Hoocak have to be analyzed as enclitics, if they are used as auxiliaries.

(3) GMA007

CW: wağiği šuucra nųųpi ‘eegi hanəkwi
 wağiği šuucra nųųpi(w)i ‘eegi hanəkwi
 wağiği šuuc=ra nųųpiwi ‘eegi ha-nək-wi
 ball be.red=DEF two here COLL-POS.NTL-PL

CW: ‘there are two red balls sitting here’

In (3), the positional *nək* ‘be.sitting’ is used as the sole verb in a predication of existence/location. In this case, it classifies the referent of the subject NP, ‘the two red balls’, according to its inherent spatial orientation as sitting. In (4), =*nək* ‘be.sitting’ is used as an auxiliary to the main verb *wee* ‘talk’ marking continuative aspect. In addition, the positional marks the spatial orientation of the actor/subject.

and Christian Lehmann at the University of Erfurt, Germany can be found under the following URL: http://www2.uni-erfurt.de/sprachwissenschaft/Vgl_SW/Hocank/index_frames.html.

(4) CGF011

CG: *Virgilga waanqkšqna:*

CG: *Virgil-ga wee=naq=šana:*

CG: *Virgil-PROP talk(SBJ.3SG)=SBJ.3SG.POS.NTL=DECL*

“Hakerekjane ‘ee waakšqna.”

ha-kere-kjane ‘ee wee=ak=šana

1E.A-go.back.there-FUT 3EMPH talk=SBJ.3SG.POS.HOR=DECL

BO: “Hakerekjane, connection”.

BO: ha-kere-kjane, connection

1E.A-go.back.there-FUT, connection

CG: *Virgil was saying: “he’s saying I’m going home”.*

BO: *I’m going home, connection.*

There is a second positional in (4), =*ak* ‘be.lying’, which is an auxiliary to the main verb *wee* ‘talk’. The positional in this construction indicates likewise the spatial orientation of the actor/subject and continuative aspect. However, in this example, the actor is not lying, but moving horizontally. The way home is conceptualized as a long line lying on the surface; movement always requires the ‘be.lying’ or horizontal positional. The next example in (5) represents an instance of =*jee* ‘be.standing’. This positional indicates that the actor/subject of the ‘telling’ is in a vertical/standing position. In addition, =*jee* marks continuative aspect.

(5) MOV024

heejága hopinjsge ‘eeja

heejaga ho-pij=nijsge ‘eeja

now APPL.INESS-be.good=VAGUE there

hagiregaja, Hank Tga

ha-gii-ire=gaja Hank T-ga

COLL-arrive.back.there-SBJ.3PL-SEQ Hank T-PROP

wokarakjeena, hegu.

wa-ho-<ka->rak=jee=na, hegu

OBJ.3PL-<POSS.RFL->tell=POS.VERT=DECL that.way

‘and when they got back to good ground, Hank T was telling about himself.’

It has to be noted that the positional auxiliaries are not the only verbs of ‘being’. There are four others (see Table 3) and one of these indicates continuative aspect in Hoocak likewise.

Table 3: Other verbs of being/existence in Hoocąk

verb of being	meaning	comment
n̄ihé	‘to be/CONT’	this verb of being can be used to mark continuative aspect; cf. example (11)
heré	‘to be’	copula/auxiliary, never used to indicate aspect
’úy	‘to be/do’	never used as an auxiliary with a full verb in order to mark continuative aspect, rather sometimes it marks a slight causative meaning, frequently combined with one of the positionals
wa’u	‘to be/do’	similar as ’úy

2.2 Positionals of other Siouan languages

The positionals of Hoocąk discussed in the previous section are from Common Siouan. In all Siouan languages, at least traces of the positional verbs can be found. Compare the cognate forms as reconstructed by Rankin et al. (2015) in the *Comparative Siouan dictionary* (cf. also Rankin 2004a) in Table 4.

In all Siouan languages – except the languages of the Dhegiha branch – the positionals are used as auxiliaries and often as markers that indicate continuative aspect. The Dhegiha languages lost the Proto-Siouan positional verbs. The positionals developed into classificatory definite articles in these languages, see §6.1 below.

2.2.1 Crow positionals

In Crow, there is a set of six auxiliary verbs/markers that indicate continuative aspect. Three of them are descendants of the Proto-Siouan forms marked in bold face in Table 5.

These auxiliaries are inflected for person/number of the actor/subject. The actor/subject is obligatorily co-referential with the actor/subject of the main verb. If the main verb preceding the auxiliary does not form a single word with it, it obligatorily has the same subject marker (*-ak* SS). Crow as well as Hidatsa have developed a switch reference marking system. Otherwise, there is an additional continuative marker (*-a* CONT) between the main verb and the auxiliary. These

Table 4: Positionals in Siouan (cf. Rankin 2004a, Rankin et al. 2015)

	SIT	LIE	STAND	STAND
Proto-Siouan	* <i>rǎ•kE</i>	* <i>wǎ•kE</i>	* <i>rahÉ</i>	* <i>hǎ(-kE)</i>
Crow	<i>da•čí</i>	<i>baačí</i>	-	<i>áahku</i>
Hidatsa	<i>rǎ•kE</i>	<i>wǎ•kE</i>	<i>rahÉ</i>	<i>háhku</i>
Mandan	<i>rǎk</i>	<i>wǎk</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>hǎk</i>
Lakota	<i>yǎká</i>	<i>yǎká</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>hǎ</i>
Chiwere	<i>nǎŋe</i>	<i>hǎŋe</i>	<i>je</i>	-
Hoocąk	= <i>nǎk</i>	=(<i>h</i>) <i>ǎk</i>	= <i>jee</i>	= <i>jaq</i>
Biloxi	<i>nǎki</i>	<i>mǎki</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>hǎde</i>
Tutelo	<i>nǎka</i>	- <i>mǎki-</i>	<i>ne</i>	- <i>hǎk</i>

Table 5: Continuative markers in Crow (cf. Graczyk 2007: 305–309)

Form	Meaning	Degree of coalescence with main verb	Proto-Siouan
datchí	‘continue (by mouth)’	[V+AUX] one word	SIT
dawí	‘continue in motion; begin to’	[V+AUX] one word	
(d)ahkú	‘continue in activity, remain, dwell’	also independent verb	STAND
dachí	‘remain voluntarily’	also independent verb	
baachí	‘lie, remain involuntarily’	always independent	LIE
ilúu	‘do repeatedly, continue’	always independent	

auxiliaries behave differently with respect to the closeness of the coalescence with the main verb.

2.2.2 Mandan positionals

Mandan has four positional verbs with a stative meaning; all of them are descendants of the Proto-Siouan positionals. These positional verbs are used as full verbs designating the existence or being of an entity at some place. For instance, the bound form *te-* ‘stand’ is used to indicate the position of a village in the text in Mixco (not reproduced here; see Mixco 1997: 66, sentence 1). Three of the four positionals are used – in addition – as auxiliaries to indicate continuative aspect. They have a continuative marker *-æ* (CONT) with them and are translated by Mixco as ‘abide:sitting/standing/lying’; cf. Table 6.

Table 6: Mandan positionals (Mixco 1997: 48f).^a

Stative verbs		Continuative auxiliaries		Proto-Siouan
<i>rək</i>	‘sit’	<i>rək-æ</i>	‘abide:sitting’	SIT
<i>hək</i>	‘stand’	<i>hək-æ</i>	‘abide:standing’	STAND
<i>wək</i>	‘lie’	<i>wək-æ</i>	‘abide:lying’	LIE
<i>te-</i>	‘stand’	<i>ruŋh</i>	‘exist.PL’	STAND

^aMixco’s (1997) analysis deviates somewhat from Kennard’s (1936). Kennard takes the three positionals *-nək* ‘be.sitting’, *-hək* ‘be.standing’ and *-mək* ‘be.lying’ as auxiliaries that indicate CONTINUATIVE aspect if they are preceded by the continuative marker *ha-*. This marker is not mentioned in Mixco. Instead, Mixco postulates that the element *-æ* marks continuative aspect. Note also that [n] and [m] are taken as allophones of /r/ and /w/ before nasal vowels in Mandan by Mixco. There are no nasal consonants in the phoneme inventory of Mandan.

Interestingly, the continuative LIE *wək-æ* is by far the most frequently used aspect marker in the Mandan text that I examined. The posture meaning is neutralized in most of these usages. In addition, if the subject is plural, only the LIE continuative can be used bearing the regular plural marker; cf. the example in (6).

(6) Mandan

”ko- húj:- æ ki-rút-rj, wək:k- æ- kræ- oʃš!”

”3SG-mother-SV MV-eat-SS abide:lie-CONT-PL-IND.male”

é= he- ro:wək- oʃš.

PV=say-NARR.PAST-IND.male

“‘They’re eating their mother up!’ he said.” (Mixco 1997: 69)

The combination of full verb plus auxiliary indicating continuative aspect is not as close as the one in Crow; the SS marker is not obligatory, often one finds a simultaneous (SIM) ending on the preceding verb. In addition to the aspect marking function of the positionals, Mandan has developed classificatory demonstratives on the basis of these positionals. They are not as firmly grammaticized as in Hooçak and differ from the Hooçak ones in that the positional follows the deictic particle (cf. Mixco 1997: 42). I will discuss this construction below in §5.

2.2.3 Teton-Lakota, Santee-Dakota, Yankton-Nakota positionals

In Lakota, i.e. the Teton dialect of the Sioux language, there are likewise at least three verbs of ‘being/existence’ that are descendants of the Proto-Siouan positionals (cf. Boas & Deloria 1941: 126f); cf. Table 7.

Table 7: Positionals in Lakota (cf. Boas & Deloria 1941: 126)

Form	Meaning	Proto-Siouan
yąká	‘to sit’, ‘be.sitting’ (spherical objects, animals etc.)	SIT
=hą	‘to stand’, ‘be standing’ (long upright objects)	STAND
yųká	‘to lie’, ‘be.lying’ (mostly animate beings)	LIE

All three forms can be used as independent verbs of posture and of ‘being’/‘existence’ in all three dialects of Siouan proper (Santee-Dakota, Teton-Lakota, and Yankton-Nakota). See an example from Lakota in (7). Further examples can be found in Rankin (2004a) and Barron & Serzisko (1982).

(7) Lakota

... *k'eyaś t'imá yąká-pi ki 'átayaś wąwíc'ayakapišni ną* ...
 but in.the.tent **sit-they** the entirely they.did.not.see.them and
 ‘but sitting in the tent they (the twins) did not see them, and...’ (Deloria 1932: 193ff; Boas & Deloria 1941: 170)

However, in Lakota, =hą has become a fully grammaticalized enclitic that marks continuative aspect (cf. Boas & Deloria 1941: 60f; also Ingham 2003: 31). As such, it can no longer be inflected for person/number of the subject/actor; it can even be combined with one of the other positionals; see the example from the same text in (8). In this usage, =hą has lost completely its posture meaning.

(8) Lakota

t'éhą *yés tąyą waáp'e yąká-hą-pi* *k'u...*
 a.long.time but well wait **sit-CONT-they** the.past

'but a long time they were waiting...'
 (Deloria 1932: 193ff; Boas & Deloria 1941: 170)

Note also, that =*hą* has become the basis of a variety of derivations such as time adverbials; compare *t'éhą* 'a long time' in (8); cf. Boas & Deloria (1941: 60f). The two other Siouan proper dialects, Santee-Dakota and Yankton-Nakota (cf. Figure 1) specialized the positional *ya*ká 'be.sitting' as the neutral or general auxiliary in order to mark continuative aspect in case that the posture of the actor/subject is not in focus or is unimportant (see Deloria 1932: 165). The same holds for Hoocąk: the 'be.sitting' positional =*ną*k is also used as the neutral unmarked continuative marker. This unmarked/neutral usage of the 'be.sitting' positional =*ną*k is nicely reflected in the textual frequencies of this auxiliary in the entire DOBES corpus of Hoocąk; cf. Table 8.

Table 8: Absolute frequencies of the positionals in the DOBES corpus

Form	Gloss	Frequency
= <i>ną</i> k	POS.NTL	n = 1286
= <i>jee</i> /= <i>jaą</i>	POS.VERT	n = 522
=(<i>h</i>) <i>ą</i> k/=(<i>h</i>)ak	POS.HOR	n = 167

The 'be.sitting' positional =*ną*k occurs as an auxiliary/verb twice as often in the corpus as the two others together.

2.2.4 Biloxi positionals

Biloxi is a Siouan language of the Southern branch. The cognate Biloxi positionals *ną*ki 'sit', *mą*ki 'lie', and *ne* 'stand' (see Table 4) are all used as classifiers in copula clauses that localize a non-human subject, and in verbal clauses with a complex predicate to mark continuative aspect; cf. (9).

(9) Biloxi

Ayáⁿ xotká u-xě' **náńki**, xyihě' **náńki** [On'ti-yánda]
 tree hollow in-sit **be.sitting** growl **be.sitting** Bear-SBJ

'Bear was then in a hollow tree where he was growling.'
 (Dorsey & Swanton 1912: 16; sentence 10)

There is one peculiarity in Biloxi that other Siouan languages lack. Biloxi developed a gender classification of the possessum in possessive predications with positionals. The positional *nąki* ‘sit’ is used as a copula in possessive clauses that express possession of a female kin. The positional *mąki* ‘lie’ is used in turn to indicate that the possessum is a male kin; cf. Table 9 and an illustrative example in (10). There are numerous examples in Dorsey & Swanton (1912: 130; cf. also Kaufmann 2011) that illustrate this sex classification.

- (10) Biloxi
Ay-óⁿni é nañki
 Your-mother he/she sit(female.possessum)
 ‘You have a mother.’ (Dorsey & Swanton 1912: 130)

Table 9: Biloxi positionals as copula in possessive clauses (cf. Kaufmann 2011)

Positional	Possessum	Meaning	Proto-Siouan
nąki	female kin	‘be.sitting’	SIT
mąki	male kin	‘be.lying’	LIE
(h)ąde	singular; no classification	‘to be’, ‘be.moving’	STAND
yukê	plural of (h)ąde; no classification	‘to be’, ‘be.moving.PL’	

Interestingly, one of the Proto-Siouan positionals in Biloxi, *ne* STAND (cf. Table 4) seems to have developed into a demonstrative, cf. the entry in Kaufmann’s Biloxi dictionary (2011: 100); there are also examples in Dorsey & Swanton (1912: 117–167), where *ne* is used alternatively as a definite article and a demonstrative.

3 From positional auxiliaries to classificatory demonstratives

Synchronically, Hoocąk has two paradigms of demonstratives. The first paradigm is called here the “old” paradigm, since these forms can be traced back to Proto-Siouan as will be shown later. The second paradigm is called here the “new” paradigm, since it is a recent innovation in Hoocąk. The forms are composed of

the positional auxiliaries plus a deictic particle distinguishing proximal (-re) and distal (-ga); (on the grammaticalization of these particles, see §4 below).

Table 10: Two paradigms of demonstratives in Hoocak

Form	Meanings
“old” paradigm	
<i>tée/te'é</i>	‘this’, ‘here’, ‘now’
<i>mée/me'é</i>	‘this’
<i>žée/že'é</i>	‘that’, ‘there’
<i>?ga'á</i>	‘that’
“new” paradigm	
= <i>nąka</i> (<=nąk-ga)	‘that (sitting/neutral position; distal)’
= <i>nąqka</i> (<=nąqk-ga)	‘those (sitting/neutral position; plural; distal)’
= <i>nąqgre</i> (<=nąqk-re)	‘these (sitting/neutral position; proximal; plural)’
= <i>nągre</i> (<=nąk-re)	‘this (sitting/neutral position; proximal)’
= <i>jeega</i> (<=jee-ga)	‘that (standing/vertical position; distal)’
= <i>jaqne</i> (<=jaq-re) = <i>jaane</i> (<=jee-re)	‘this (standing/vertical position; proximal)’
= <i>ąka</i> (<=ąk-ga)	‘that (lying/horizontal position; distal)’
= <i>ągre</i> = <i>ągre</i> (<=ąk-re)	‘this (lying/horizontal position; proximal)’

Both paradigms are frequently used in Hoocak texts. In the subsequent sections (§3.1–§3.2) I will present a brief overview of the semantic, pragmatic and distributional properties of the forms of both paradigms. In §4 I will present some suggestions on the grammaticalization of the new paradigm and the effects on the usages of the “old” paradigm.

3.1 The “new” paradigm of adnominal demonstratives in Hoocak

3.1.1 Morphosyntactic and semantic properties

The “new” demonstratives in Hoocak are used exclusively as adnominal demonstratives. They always follow the head noun and occur in the same structural position as other determiners such as the definite and indefinite articles at the right edge of the NP; cf. the structural template of the lexical NP in Table 11.

The postnominal demonstratives classify the head noun according to the postural position of its referent and according to its distance from the reference point (proximal vs. distal). If the postural position of the referent is non-salient, the neutral demonstrative is chosen; cf. example 11. The postural position of the

Table 11: Structure of the NP in Hoocak. Elements in parentheses are optional.

(N)	(Lexical modifier)	Determiner	(Quantifier)
- noun	- adjectival concepts	- definite article = <i>ra</i> ; - indefinite article = <i>hiža</i> ; - “new” adnominal demonstratives - Ø	- numerals - etc.

‘coal’ in this utterance is not salient, hence the be.sitting/neutral demonstrative has been chosen.

(11) BOF008

Hegu ‘*u* *hanjhaire*, *hagoreižq* ‘*u**xin**i*
hegu ‘*u* *ha-njhe-ire* *hagoreiža* ‘*u**xin**i*
 that.way do/make COLL-be/PROG-SBJ.3PL sometime charcoal
seepnaka *tuusšqnq.*
 seep=*naka* *tuus=šana*
 be.black=POS.NTL:DIST take\1E.A=DECL

‘They kept on going that way, **that coal** at some point I took it.’

In general, the postural classification of the referents is semantically motivated. Larger animals, for instance, usually are standing, hence the ‘standing/vertical’ demonstrative is chosen in the utterance in (12).

(12) HOR064

Šuškigjeega *šuškxetera haracap naq’i* *hegu.*
 šušk-*jk*=jeega *šuškxete=ra haracap naq’i* *hegu*
 dog-DIM=POS.VERT:DIST horse=DEF taste try(SBJ.3SG) that.way

‘That dog tried to bite the horse.’

The adnominal demonstratives are - like the definite article (= *ra*) - used to nominalize a clause. This is a general strategy in Hoocak to indicate subordination. Relative clauses, for instance, usually require a nominalizing determiner such as the definite article or one of the “new” adnominal demonstratives; cf. an elicited example in (13). The new demonstrative classifies the head noun according to the posture; in addition, it still preserves a progressive meaning for the relative clause.

- (13) (Phil Mike; elicited example)

waninq tuujágre[waní=ra [tuuc haa=ágre]_{relative clause}]

meat=DEF cooked

‘this meat (**lying/horizontal**) I am cooking now’

Example (14) illustrates that the “new” adnominal demonstratives are used as subordinators in general.

- (14) BOF023

‘Eejaxji hegu haqp hitanihqija hegu gaja hegu

‘eejaxji hegu haqp hi-taani-ha=hija hegu=gaja hegu

about.there that.way day ORD-three-times-there that.way=SEQ that.way

žige hišjuwqk, hegu hegu ‘eeja

žige hi-šjuwq=’ak hegu hegu ’eeja

again 1E.U-get.sleepy=POS.HOR that.way that.way **there***hamiknaka, žige hanqañegi, ‘eeja wažq***ha-mjik=naka** žige ha-naq=regi ‘eeja wažq**1E.A-lie.down=POS.NTL:DIST** again 1E.A-sleep=SIM/LOC there something*yaahqte.*

hi<ha>hate

<1E.A>dream.of

‘About on the third day I got sleepy again, **lying there** I went to sleep again, I dreamed again.’

From a semantic point of view it is interesting to see that the speaker chose the demonstrative of the neutral position, and not the one of the lying position, which one would have expected.

3.1.2 Pragmatics of the adnominal demonstratives

NPs with one of the adnominal demonstratives mostly appear in texts, if the referent had already been introduced at some distance in the previous text; the demonstratives are used to refer back to an old or faded topic. The following example illustrates this nicely.

- (15) BOF035

*Hiraijixjigaja hegu caaxšepjaane žige hižq*hira<gi>ji-xji=gaja hegu **caaxšep=jaane** žige hižq<APPL.BEN>reach-INTS=SEQ that.way **eagle=POS.VERT:PROX** again one

haḡepšqna.
 haḡep=šana
 appear=DECL

‘He was getting close and then **this eagle** appeared again.’

The eagle had been introduced a few clauses before the one in (15), and is then reintroduced by means of a NP with a proximal demonstrative. Since the eagle appeared up in the sky, its position is conceptualized here as vertical. There are also textual examples that illustrate that the proximal adnominal demonstrative can be used as a specific indefinite article like Colloquial English *this*. Compare the following utterance in (16). The “man” in this story is mentioned the first time; he is specific, but indefinite.

(16) TWI003

<i>Ciinąk kaṅąkiregi</i>	<i>‘eeja ciiregi</i>	<i>hagoreižq</i>
ciinąk kaṅąk-ire=gi	‘eeja cii-ire=gi	hagoreižq
village place(OBJ.3SG)-SBJ.3PL=TOP	there live-SBJ.3PL=TOP	sometime
<i>hagoreižq waḡkjaané</i>	<i>hinųkra</i>	<i>hakaraikižu</i>
hagoreižq waḡk=jaane	hinųk=ra	ha<kara-kii>kižu
sometime man=POS.VERT:PROX	woman=DEF	<POSS.RFL-RCP>be.together
<i>rooḡųñe.</i>		
rooḡų-ire		
want-SBJ.3PL		

‘Where they lived, **a man** and his wife wanted (something).’ (lit. ‘They placed a village, there they lived, once upon a time **this man** together with his wife, wanted something’)

3.2 The “old” paradigm of Hoocąk demonstratives

3.2.1 Common Siouan origins

The paradigm of “old” demonstratives can be shown to be of Common Siouan origin; cf. the cognate forms in Table 12. The forms for Proto-Siouan that were reconstructed distinguish three grades of deictic distances.

- proximal/close to speaker,
- medial/close to hearer, and
- distal/away from both speaker and hearer.

Table 12: Cognate sets of the Common Siouan demonstratives (Rankin et al. 2015)

	THIS (proximal)	THIS (proximal)	THAT (medial)	THAT (distal)
Proto-Siouan ³	* <i>Ree</i> - ⁴	* <i>re</i> -	* <i>šee</i>	* <i>kaa</i>
Crow				<i>kaka</i>
Hidatsa			<i>še-’e</i>	<i>kaa</i>
Mandan		<i>re</i>		<i>ká-</i>
Lakota	<i>le-</i>		<i>še-</i>	<i>ka-</i>
Chiwere	<i>je-</i>		<i>šé-’e</i>	<i>gá/gá’e/ká</i>
Hoocąk	<i>te-’e, tée</i>		<i>že-’é/žée</i>	<i>=ga/ ?ga’a</i>
Omaha-Ponca ⁵		<i>đe</i>	<i>še</i>	<i>ka</i>
Kansa ⁶		<i>ye, yé-che,</i> <i>yé-khe</i>	<i>še</i>	<i>ga</i>
Osage ⁷		<i>đe, đee</i>	<i>še/ šee</i>	<i>ka/kaa</i>
Quapaw ⁸		<i>de</i>	<i>še</i>	<i>ká-khe</i>
Biloxi ⁹	<i>ne-tka</i>	<i>de</i>		<i>ká-wa</i>
Tutelo ¹⁰	<i>née</i>	<i>lèe</i>		<i>ka/ ko</i>

³Cf. the *Comparative Siouan Dictionary* (Rankin et al. 2015).

⁴The capital *R* in **Ree* symbolizes a hypothetical cluster of a resonant /*r*/ plus a laryngeal; cf. Rankin et al. (1998). According to the authors of the CSD, there are independent reasons to postulate two different /*r*/ sounds.

⁵Cf. Boas (1907: 324–326); Koontz (1984: 138–142).

⁶Cf. Cumberland & Rankin (2012: 350f); the proximal form is only attested as an adverbial demonstrative, otherwise only in combination with one of the classifying definite articles.

⁷Cf. Quintero (2004: 359–368).

⁸Cf. Rankin (2002: ms); the medial and distal forms are attested only in combination with one of the classifying and definite articles in Quapaw.

⁹Cf. See Einaudi (1976: 69) for the proximate and medial form; see Kaufmann (2011: 77) for the distal form.

¹⁰Cf. Oliverio (1996: 155).

That the authors of the CSD reconstructed two different proximal demonstratives (**Ree-* and **re-*) is motivated by independent reasons (cf. Rankin et al. 1998).

- The languages of Mississippi Valley Siouan all preserved the whole set of demonstratives; see the shaded lines in Table 12.
- Reflexes of the Proto-Siouan demonstratives are lacking in the Northwestern Siouan languages (Crow, Hidatsa and Mandan).
- The forms of Biloxi and Tutelo (both Ohio Valley) are less certain; these languages are not well documented.
- Interestingly, reflexes of the distal form can be found in all Siouan languages.

The Hooçak forms that are of Common Siouan origin are given in Table 13 together with their function and meaning in contemporary Hooçak.

The proximal and medial forms (*te'e* 'this' and *že'e* 'that') are obviously a composition of the Proto-Siouan deictic stem (*te-* and *že-*) plus a demonstrative pronoun *'ee* 'that (aforementioned)', which is likewise attested in all Siouan languages. This form is variably analyzed as a free pronoun or demonstrative pronoun referring back to something already mentioned (aforementioned) in discourse. In Hooçak, it is not only used as an anaphoric pronoun, but also in focus constructions in order to express emphasis on a third person participant.

Semantically, both the proximal and medial demonstratives seem to have neutralized the deictic distance distinction almost completely; only in the adverbial uses the distinction between "close to speaker" and "far from speaker" is preserved.

The distal form *ga'a* 'that' is mentioned in older sources on Hooçak (cf. Lipkind 1945: 52); however, there is not a single instance of this form in our DOBES corpus (which contains contemporary but also older texts from the beginning of the 20th century); the composition of this form is analog to the one of the proximal and medial forms attaching the anaphoric pronoun *'ee* 'that, etc.' to the distal demonstrative stem *ga-*. The vowel in turn is assimilated to the stem vowel (compare also the closely related Chiwere form *ga'e* 'that', where the vowel did not undergo this assimilation).

However, the distal deictic stem =*ga* developed different functions in Hooçak: first, this demonstrative became an enclitic proper name marker that is used obligatorily with anthroponyms and with kinship terms, if they are used in third person reference function. Secondly, this distal demonstrative became a clause

6 On the grammaticalization of demonstratives in Hoocąk

Table 13: Hoocąk demonstratives: the “old” paradigm and its grammaticalizations

Hoocąk forms		Meaning	Proto-Siouan	Meaning
te'e/tee	< te- + 'ee	'this', 'here', 'now'	*Ree-	'this' (proximal)
me'e/mee	< me- + 'ee	'this', 'here'	?	
že'e/žee =že/=še	< že- + 'ee	'that', 'there', 'then' QUOT	*šee	'that' (medial)
?ga'a	< ga- + 'ee	'that'		
=ga		'that'; (bound enclitic form)		
=ga		proper name marker (anthroponyms, kinship terms as proper names);		
=ga		sentence connector continuative ('and then');	*kaa	'that' (distal)
=ga	POS+ga	distal classifying adnominal demonstrative		
'ee		'thus', 'it', 'this', 'that', 'he', 'she' (aforementioned); always EMPH or in focus constructions (as a 3rd personal pronoun, free form);	*'ee	'that' (aforementioned)

or sentence connecting element expressing temporal continuation. And thirdly, this form is used as a distal demonstrative. The latter is certainly not the major function of this demonstrative, there are only a handful instances of this usage in our DOBES corpus. However, the distal deictic stem =*ga* plays an important role in the formation of the new adnominal demonstratives with the positional auxiliaries; see below §4.

There is a second proximal demonstrative *me'e* 'this', which is mentioned in older sources (Lipkind 1945: 52) and occurs occasionally in our corpus. The origins of this /m/ initial form are unclear. This form cannot be traced back to one of the two Proto-Siouan proximal demonstratives on the basis of the known sound laws.

3.2.2 Morphosyntactic and semantic properties of the Hoocak forms

The “old” demonstratives are used predominantly as demonstrative pronouns or as adverbial demonstratives ('here', 'there', 'now', 'then') in our texts. Sometimes they are also used as adnominal demonstratives, but these occurrences are not frequent. If they function as adnominal demonstratives, they occur always postnominally or more specifically, at the right edge of the NP. This is probably the Common Siouan order. The descendants of the Proto-Siouan forms in the other Siouan languages are all postnominally. However, the word order rules with respect to the “old” demonstratives have become less strict. Although these instances are rare in our corpus, the forms can also occur prenominally. If the demonstratives are used prenominally, they are used almost always endophorically, i.e. they refer back anaphorically to a previously mentioned discourse participant, or they refer back to a whole proposition or episode of a narration; this is called here discourse deictic reference. Note that this kind of discourse deictic reference is possible also with the demonstrative pronoun 'ee 'he/she/it/this/that etc.' The “old” demonstratives may also be used as identificational demonstratives in non-verbal or copula clauses. Probably the most frequent use of these demonstratives in our text corpus is their use as adverbial demonstratives that are better translated as 'here' and 'there' or 'now' and 'then'. In these uses, the adverbial demonstrative refers to a previously mentioned situation or exophorically to the actual speech situation (proximal).

To summarize the findings:

- The major result of the grammaticalization of the “new” demonstratives is that there appeared a new paradigmatic distinction between **demonstrative pronouns** and **adnominal demonstratives**. The “old” demonstratives

lost their usage as adnominal determiners (not entirely, though). This function has been taken over by the “new” paradigm of demonstratives.

- On the other hand, the “old” demonstratives are dominantly used pronominally in a variety of constructions and adverbially.
- In addition, it can be observed that the Proto-Siouan threefold proximal/medial/distal distinction has been bleached or even neutralized in the “old” Hoocək demonstratives. There is no longer semantically a medial demonstrative, and the distal form *ga’a* ‘that (distal)’ has been lost entirely in this paradigm.

4 The grammaticalization of the Hoocək adnominal demonstratives

As has been shown in Table 10, the adnominal demonstratives are historically a combination of the positional auxiliaries plus two deictic particles; =*re* for proximal and =*ga* for distal deixis. The different functions/distributions of both deictic particles are summarized in Table 14.

Besides the occurrence of these particles in combination with the positional auxiliaries, they are still used independently; =*re* (DEM.PROX) is quite frequent in our texts corpus, =*ga* (DEM.DIST) rather rare. If they are used independently, they usually nominalize a clause in order to indicate subordination. Recall that nominalization is a major strategy to form subordinate clauses in Hoocək; cf. (17) for an illustrative example.

(17) MAP013

<i>jaagu waac</i>	<i>‘eeja hamjɨnqgre</i>	<i>paaxu</i>	<i>naga hegu</i>	<i>‘eeja</i>		
<i>jaagu waac</i>	<i>‘eeja ha-mjɨnək=re</i>	<i>paaxu</i>	<i>naga hegu</i>	<i>‘eeja</i>		
what	boat	there	1E.A-sit=DEM.PROX	pour\1E.A and	that.way	there
<i>waac ‘eeja</i>	<i>nqajjɨp</i>	<i>naga nɨj</i>	<i>‘eeja</i>			
<i>waac ‘eeja</i>	<i>nqə<ha>jjɨp</i>	<i>naga nɨj</i>	<i>‘eeja</i>			
boat	there	<1EA>tilt.with.the.foot	and	water	there	
<i>waakɨnɨpʂanq</i>						
ho-ha-kinɨp	=ʂanq					
APPL.INESS-1E.A-fall.down	=DECL					

‘whatever, I sat in the boat, I poured it out, and there I tipped over it (the boat), I fell in the water.’ (lit. ‘whatever, sitting in the boat there, I poured it out, and’)

Table 14: Grammaticalization of the deictic particles/bound forms =re and =ga

form	target(s)
=re (proximal) ¹¹	proximal adnominal demonstrative (positional auxiliary + =re) nominalizer/subordinator imperative marker (IMP) derivational means for time adverbials
=ga (distal)	distal adnominal demonstrative (positional auxiliary + =ga) nominalizer/subordinator sentence connector (continuative) proper name marker

The clitic deictic particle =re (DEM.PROX) indicates subordination of the entire clause (in bold face), which otherwise could not be distinguished from a main clause with regard to its grammatical marking. Other determiners such as the definite article and the “new” adnominal demonstratives occur in the same structural slot with the same function, namely indicating subordination. It seems quite likely to me that the grammaticalization of the “new” demonstratives was mediated by the subordinating function of these particles. The deictic particles as subordinators always appear at the end of the subordinate clause, and if this subordinate clause contains a continuative marking positional, this positional always appears immediately before the deictic particle. At one point in the history of Hoocąk, the positional auxiliary lost its person/number inflection for the subject/actor of the subordinate clause and got fused with the nominalizing deictic particle. Finally, this fused form extended its distribution and was generalized as a demonstrative determiner that could also occur with plain nouns in a NP. The grammaticalization of the “new” adnominal demonstratives, therefore, may have come about in three principal steps, cf. Table 15.

A construction that represents the development from step 1 to step 2 in Table 15 could be the following text example:

¹¹The historical source of =re remains speculative. Perhaps it goes back to Proto-Siouan *ree. I am grateful to Rory Larson, who indicated to me this possibility. As far as we know, such a historical development would not violate known Siouan sound laws.

Table 15: Grammaticalization of classifying adnominal demonstratives in Hoocak

Step 1	relative clauses or subordinated clauses with a positional auxiliary (continuative aspect marking) are nominalized by =re/=ga
Step 2	the positional auxiliary + =re/=ga are reanalyzed as a subordinating demonstrative
Step 3	extension of the range of usages of the subordinating demonstratives, for instance as a determiner with a plain noun in a NP

(18) MOV041

<i>nige</i>	<i>paašihajawiga</i>		<i>'eeja (hąho) žegu</i>
<i>nige</i>	<i>paašihajawiga</i>		<i>'eeja hąho žegu</i>
<i>nige</i>	<i>paaši=ha-jee-wi=ga</i>		<i>'eeja hąho žeegu</i>
where	dance	1E.A=COLL-POS.VERT-PL=DEM.DIST	there INTJ thus
<i>howé</i>	<i>hiperes</i>	<i>kijjee(n)</i>	
<i>howé</i>	<i>hiperes</i>	<i>kijjeena</i>	
<i>howe</i>	<i>hiperes</i>	<i>kij=jee=na</i>	
go.about	know(SBJ.3SG)	make.self-POS.VERT=DECL	

'The place, **where we were dancing**, there he knows his way around.'

The positional auxiliary =jee 'be.standing' that marks continuative in the subordinate clause (given in bold face) is still inflected for the person/number of the subject/actor of the subordinate clause. The distal =ga is a nominalizing form marking subordination; once this inflection disappears, =jee and =ga are ready to be reanalysed as a single form. As was shown above, the "new" demonstrative retains the continuative aspect marking function (the auxiliary had) and in relative clauses the classificatory function. It makes also sense to interpret this construction as the starting point for the grammaticalization of =ga as a sentence connector indicating continuation.

5 Grammaticalization of classificatory demonstratives in Mandan

A different way to create classificatory demonstratives can be found in Mandan. As already mentioned, Mandan has three positional auxiliaries (cf. Table 6 above) that are used as full verbs in existential and locative clauses, and that are used as auxiliaries expressing continuative aspect when accompanied by a continuative marker. In addition these positionals combine with two demonstrative pronouns - *dε* ‘this’ and *qt* ‘that’ - in order to form classificatory demonstrative pronouns; cf. the forms in (19).

(19) Mandan (Kennard 1936: 28f)

dε-nąk

this-sitting

‘this one (be.sitting)’

dε-hąk

‘this one (be.standing)’

dε-mąk

‘this one (be.lying)’

qt-nąk

that-sitting

‘that one (be.sitting)’

qt-hąk

‘that one (be.standing)’

qt-mąk

‘that one (be.lying)’

Note that the proximal *dε* ‘this’ in Kennard is represented as *re* ‘this’ in more recent studies (cf. Mixco 1997: 42). Of the two demonstratives *dε* ‘this’/*qt* ‘that’, only *dε* ‘this’ can be traced back to Proto-Siouan. A similar combination of “old” demonstratives with the positionals as in Mandan does not exist in Hoocąk (I found only one example of this composition in the entire Hoocąk corpus). What is also interesting is that the order of forms in Mandan is different. The demonstrative form precedes the positional auxiliary. It is particular this property that suggests that a different scenario has to be assumed with respect to the grammaticalization of the classificatory demonstratives (with regard to posture) in Mandan. This question needs more research.

Another interesting difference between Hoocak and Mandan is that Mandan, in addition, grammaticalized the positional auxiliaries to adnominal classificatory demonstratives without any combination with deictic particles. It is the plain forms of the positional auxiliaries that are used as demonstratives in the examples in (20) from Kennard.

(20) Mandan (Kennard 1936: 28f)

óti-hqk

lodge-this.standing

‘this lodge’

máta-mqk

river-this.lying

‘this river’

háre-naq

cloud-this.sitting

‘this cloud’

It is difficult to think of a grammaticalization process that reanalyzes ‘be’ auxiliaries to proximal demonstratives without any support from deictic particles, and to the best of my knowledge, such a process never has been described in the literature. This process is attested, however, only for proximal deixis. For distal deixis, the *qt* ‘that’ demonstrative has to be used. The positional auxiliaries do not occur in this function.

6 Omaha-Ponca (Dhegiha) made it differently

The grammaticalization of the positional verbs/auxiliaries in the Dhegiha subgroup of Siouan is remarkably different from that of the other Siouan languages and has been extensively investigated by several authors: cf. Rankin 1977; Barron & Serzisko 1982; Rankin 2004a; Eschenberg 2005. This section strongly builds on the results of their research. I won’t summarize these results *in toto* here for lack of space. Instead, I will select some of the grammaticalizations involving the Proto-Siouan positionals, classificatory demonstratives, and continuative aspect marking auxiliaries in this sub-branch of Siouan, in order to contrast them with Hoocak. The following grammaticalizations of positionals and definite articles in Omaha-Ponca (OP) will be presented:

- from positionals to classificatory definite articles (§6.1);
- from classificatory definite articles to classificatory demonstratives (§6.2); and
- from classificatory definite articles/copulas to continuative marking auxiliaries (§6.3).

It will be shown, in particular, that the Proto-Siouan positionals developed very differently in OP and the other Dhegiha languages compared to what has been discussed so far with regard to Hoocak and some non-Dhegiha Siouan languages.

6.1 From positional verbs/auxiliaries to classificatory definite articles

All Dhegiha languages have developed remarkable paradigms of up to ten definite articles that - among other things - classify their nouns according to semantic features such as: animate vs. inanimate, agent, vs. non-agent, moving, standing, sitting, horizontal, vertical, round, scattered and singular and plural, cf. the summary in Figure 2 below.

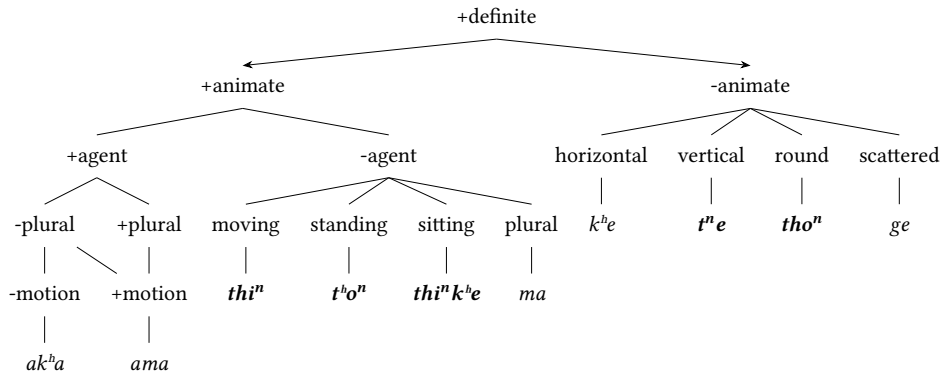


Figure 2: System of definite articles in Omaha-Ponca (cf. Koontz 1984: 144)

Some of these definite articles are descendants of the Proto-Siouan posture verbs; they are marked bold in Figure 2; the others have presumably a different origin or their etymology is unclear (cf. Rankin 2004a: 209; Eschenberg 2005: 181ff). All classificatory definite articles in OP (cf. Figure 2) are multifunctional and occur in different constructions; for textual evidence and discussion, see Eschenberg (2005: 112–176):

- they can be used as **relativizer**, some of them also as **general subordinator** (with a locative element attached to it);
- almost all classificatory definite articles in OP (except *ge* +def/-anim/scattered (PL)) can be used as **auxiliaries indicating progressive aspect**;
- all definite articles occur as **copulas in existential and locatives clauses** of the type “it/this is.standing a dog”;
- some of the definite articles in OP are used as sentence-final **evidential markers** indicating either direct evidence of the event by the speaker, inferential evidence, or hearsay;
- a few of the classifying definite articles can be used as **clause linking devices** (this holds for *t^he* +def./-animate/vertical and *ge* +def./-animate/scattered).

The question arises: how do positional auxiliaries become definite articles? Eschenberg (2005: 182–206) argues that the positional auxiliaries were reanalyzed as definite articles via their function as copulas in locative/existential clauses. The definite articles in OP (all the forms in Figure 2) – no matter whether they come from Proto-Siouan positionals, or not – are all used as copula verbs in locative or existential clauses; cf. the illustrating examples in (21) and (22).

- (21) Omaha-Ponca
Tizhebe t^he. *Uthidoⁿ.*
 Door be.located.vertical 3SG.lock
 ‘The door is positioned vertically. It is locked.’ (Eschenberg 2005: 189)
- (22) *Tizhebe-t^he* *uthidoⁿ.*
 Door-DEF.VERT 3SG.lock
 ‘The door is locked.’ (Eschenberg 2005: 189)

In (21), the form *t^he* ‘be.located.vertical’ is used as a copula in a clause of location/existence. If the second predication “It is locked” becomes pragmatically more important than the existence of the “door”, the copula may be reinterpreted as a determiner, which simply presupposes the existence of the “door”; this is illustrated in (22). No matter whether the historical scenario proposed by Eschenberg in her dissertation is correct or not, there is no evidence so far that the classificatory definite articles in OP developed from demonstratives (what one

would expect). To the contrary, it is the classifying definite articles that became eventually classificatory demonstratives as will be briefly shown in the next section.

6.2 From classificatory definite articles to classificatory demonstratives

OP has preserved the “old” paradigm of Proto-Siouan demonstratives; see Table 12 above and Table 16.

These demonstratives are used variously as **demonstrative pronouns** and as **determiners**. In both usages they **co-occurred with the definite articles**, which led to the merging of the demonstrative stems plus a classificatory article. The results are grammaticalized **classificatory demonstratives** (cf. Rankin 2004b: 215).

- (23) Omaha-Ponca (Dorsey 1890: 26/27)
Égaⁿ ḏisan~'ga *mégaⁿ še-k^he* *ḏizáiga hǎ,*
 so your.younger.brother likewise **that-def.inanimate.lying** take.ye ?
á-biamá.
 said.he-they say
 ‘ “Do you and your younger brother take that?” he said.’

Table 16: Omaha-Ponca “old” demonstratives

demonstrative pronouns/determiners	demonstrative adverbs
ḏe ‘this’ (close to speaker)	<i>tu</i> here
še ‘that’ (close to hearer),	<i>šu</i> there
ka ‘that’ (remote, out of sight)	<i>ku</i> yonder

In (23), the demonstrative pronoun *še* ‘that (close to hearer)’ is combined with the inanimate definite classificatory article *k^he* forming a classificatory demonstrative. This combination is phonologically one word. Other examples in the text collection of J. O. Dorsey (1890) illustrate that these classificatory demonstratives may be formed with other definite classificatory articles (sitting/lying/standing) as well, and that they also may occur as determiners (see also Rankin 2004b: 215; Eschenberg 2005: 101f). The formation of classificatory demonstratives in OP resembles closely the forms in Mandan, see §5 above. The difference, however, is that in OP the deictic stems are combined with definite articles, while in Mandan

these stems are combined with positional auxiliaries. The order of elements in the classificatory demonstratives in OP is also different to the order of elements in Hoocąk, where the deictic particle follows the positional auxiliary.

6.3 From classificatory definite articles to continuative aspect marking auxiliaries

The last grammaticalization process in OP with regard to the positional verbs and classificatory definite articles that will be presented here is the development of auxiliaries that indicate continuative aspect. The Dhegiha languages had lost the Proto-Siouan positionals that were used as aspect marking auxiliaries in other Siouan languages. Instead, the Proto-Siouan positionals developed into classificatory definite articles. The next step in the historical process is that these classificatory definite articles developed into continuative marking auxiliaries. This can be concluded from the fact that the classificatory definite articles received a new verbal conjugation that differs from the inherited conjugation of the positionals. It is not fully clear how this process came about. Rankin argues that it was the Proto-Siouan sitting positional **rjk* that inherited the aspect marking function in OP. This positional developed into different definite articles on the one hand, but was also combined with a bound verb *-he* ‘to be in a place’, which in turn could be conjugated. Later on, the other classificatory definite articles were analogically conjugated according to this model. Eschenberg contests this view. According to her, the starting point for the grammaticalization of the definite articles to continuative auxiliaries is their use as locational copulas; compare the scenario in (24) and (25).

(24) Omaha-Ponca (Eschenberg 2005: 190)

[[*Tizhebe uthidoⁿ*] *t^he*].

Door 3SG.lock **be.located.vertical**

‘The locked door is vertical.’

(25) [[*Tizhebe*] [*uthidoⁿ-t^he*]].

Door 3SG.lock-**be.located.vertical**

‘The door is being locked.’

In (24), the copula modifies the whole NP “the locked door”. This clause represents the original usage of the definite article *t^he* ‘the.inanimate.vertical’, while in (25), the same form is used as an auxiliary and modifying only the preceding predicate. No matter, which hypothesis is correct, it remains that the continuative auxiliary in OP developed from the definite articles perhaps via their use as

copulas and NOT from the old Proto-Siouan positional auxiliaries directly that were lost in Dhegiha eventually.

7 Conclusions

It has been shown that the Proto-Siouan posture verbs (“positionals” in Siouanist terminology) grammaticalized to aspect marking auxiliaries in many Siouan languages. As auxiliaries, they underwent different degrees of coalescence with the full verb up to the point of being an uninflected continuative aspect marker in Lakota. These aspect marking auxiliaries were ultimately lost in the Dhegiha languages. In Hoocąk, the positional auxiliaries grammaticalized to adnominal demonstratives via a subordinating construction and the coalescence with a deictic particle. The “new” adnominal demonstratives preserved a classificatory function; cf. (26).

(26) Grammaticalization of positionals to demonstratives in Hoocąk

posture verb	→	positional	→	classificatory	→	nominalizer
		auxiliary/ continuative aspect marker		adnominal demonstrative		<u>subordinator</u>
						<u>relativizer</u>

A different grammaticalization path towards demonstratives was found in Mandan. The positional auxiliaries combine with one of the “old” Proto-Siouan demonstrative pronoun to form a “new” classificatory demonstrative pronoun. The other path is the reanalysis of the positional auxiliary as an adnominal demonstrative; cf. (27).

(27) Grammaticalization of positional to demonstratives in Mandan

posture verbs	→	positional auxiliary/ continuative aspect marker	→	classificatory demonstrative pronoun of the type <i>de-nąk</i> ‘this one (be.sitting)’
			→	classificatory demonstrative determiner of the type <i>óti-hąk</i> ‘this lodge’

Even more different are the grammaticalization paths found in Omaha-Ponca representing the Dhegiha sub-branch of Siouan. Here the positional auxiliaries grammaticalized to classificatory definite articles perhaps via their use as copulas

References

- Barron, Roger & Fritz Serzisko. 1982. Noun classifiers in the Siouan languages. In Hansjakob Seiler & Franz Joseph Stachowiak (eds.), *Apprehension. Das sprachliche Erfassen von Gegenständen, III: Die Techniken und ihr Zusammenhang in Einzelsprachen*, 85–105. Tübingen: Narr.
- Boas, Franz. 1907. Notes on the Ponca grammar. *Papers of the International Congress of Americanists* 15(2). 317–337.
- Boas, Franz & Ella Deloria. 1941. *Dakota grammar*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.
- Cumberland, Linda A. & Robert L. Rankin (eds.). 2012. *Kaá'ze Íe Wayáje. An Annotated Dictionary of Kaw (Kanza). Kaw-English/English-Kaw*. Kaw City, OK: Kanza Language Project of the Kaw Nation.
- Deloria, Ella. 1932. *Dakota texts*. New York: Stechert.
- Diessel, Holger. 1999. *Demonstratives: Form, function, and grammaticalization* (Typological studies in language 42). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Dorsey, James O. 1890. *The Čegiha language* (Contributions to North American Ethnology VI). Washington: Government Printing Office.
- Dorsey, James O. & John Swanton. 1912. *A dictionary of the Biloxi and Ofo languages* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 47). Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.
- Einaudi, Paula F. 1976. *A grammar of Biloxi*. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.
- Eschenberg, Ardis. 2005. *The article system of Umo^oho^o (Omaha)*. Buffalo, NY: University of Buffalo dissertation.
- Givón, Talmy. 1984. *Syntax. A functional-typological introduction, vol. 1*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Graczyk, Randy. 2007. *A grammar of Crow*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- Greenberg, Joseph H. 1978. How does a language acquire gender markers? *Universals of Human Language* 3. 47–82.
- Gundel, Jeanette K., Nancy Hedberg & Ron Zacharski. 1993. Cognitive status and the form of referring expressions in discourse. *Language* 69. 274–307.
- Harris, Alice & Lyle Campbell. 1995. *Historical syntax in cross-linguistic perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heine, Bernd & Tania Kuteva. 2002. *World lexicon of grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Helmbrecht, Johannes & Christian Lehmann (eds.). 2010. *Hocqk Teaching Materials, vol I. Elements of grammar, learner's dictionary*. Albany: SUNY Press.

- Himmelmann, Nikolaus P. 1997. *Deiktikon, Artikel, Nominalphrase: Zur Emergenz syntaktischer Struktur*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Ingham, Bruce. 2003. *Lakota* (Languages of the World/Materials 426). München: LINCOM EUROPA.
- Kaufmann, David V. 2011. *Tanêks-Tqyosq Kadakathi. Biloxi-English dictionary with English-Biloxi index*. Lawrence: The University of Kansas.
- Kennard, Edward. 1936. Mandan grammar. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 9. 1–43.
- Koontz, John E. 1984. *Preliminary sketch of the Omaha-Ponka language*. Boulder: University of Colorado. Doctoral dissertation.
- Lehmann, Christian. 1995[1982]. *Thoughts on grammaticalization*. Munich: LINCOM EUROPA.
- Lehmann, Christian. 1984. *Der Relativsatz: Typologie seiner Strukturen, Theorie seiner Funktionen, Kompendium seiner Grammatik*. Tübingen: Narr.
- Lipkind, William. 1945. *Winnebago grammar*. New York: King's Crown Press.
- Mithun, Marianne. 1999. *The languages of Native North America* (Cambridge Language Surveys). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mixco, Mauricio. 1997. *Mandan* (Languages of the World/Materials 159). München: LINCOM EUROPA.
- Oliverio, Giulia R. M. 1996. *A grammar and dictionary of Tutelo*. Lawrence: University of Kansas. Doctoral dissertation.
- Parks, Douglas R. & Robert L. Rankin. 2001. Siouan languages. In Raymond J. DeMallie (ed.), *Handbook of North American Indians* (Plains 13), 94–114. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.
- Quintero, Carolyn. 2004. *Osage Grammar. (Studies in the Anthropology of North American Indians)*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech & Jan Svartvik. 1972. *A grammar of Contemporary English*. London: Longman.
- Rankin, Robert L. 2004a. The history and development of Siouan positionals with special attention to polygrammaticalization in Dhegiha. *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung STUF* 57. 202–227.
- Rankin, Robert L. 2004b. *An Ofo grammar sketch – based on materials collected by John R. Swanton and John R. Swanton's Ofo-English dictionary*. Lawrence: University of Kansas. Unpubl. manuscript.
- Rankin, Robert L. 1977. From verb to auxiliary to noun classifier and definite article: Grammaticalization of the Siouan verbs 'sit,' 'stand,' 'lie.' In Robert L. Brown, Kathleen Houlihan, Larry Hutchinson & Andrew MacLeish (eds.), *Pro-*

- ceedings of the 1976 Mid-America Linguistics Conference*, 273–283. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.
- Rankin, Robert L. 2002. *Quapaw dictionary*. Lawrence. Unpubl. manuscript.
- Rankin, Robert L., Richard T. Carter & A. Wesley Jones. 1998. Proto-Siouan phonology and grammar. In Xingzhong Li, Luis Lopez & Tom Stroik (eds.), *Papers from the 1997 Mid-America Linguistics Conference*, 366–375. Columbia: University of Missouri-Columbia.
- Rankin, Robert L., Richard T. Carter, A. Wesley Jones, John E. Koontz, David S. Rood & Iren Hartmann. 2015. *Comparative Siouan dictionary*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. <http://csd.cld.org>. Accessed on 2015-09-24.
- Rood, David. 1979. Siouan. In Lyle Campbell & Marianne Mithun (eds.), *The languages of native America: Historical and comparative assessment*, 236–298. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Sohn, Ho-Min. 1999. *The Korean language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Traugott, Elizabeth C. 1992. Syntax. In Richard M. Hogg (ed.), *The Cambridge history of the English language. Vol. 1: The Beginnings to 1066*, 168–289. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.