

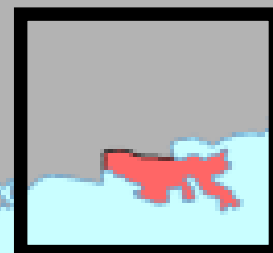
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Semantic alignment in Chitimacha

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25 PICAS



Ill. 2. Benjamin Paul

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5. Delphine Ducloux

Swanton: Perfect Suffix

ku: k'asti-**k'i**
water be.cold-**PRF**
'the water is cold'

ʔiš ša wiš-**ki**
my mouth burn-**PRF**
'my mouth is burnt'

ku: k'asti-**k'i**
water be.cold-**AZR**
'the water is cold'

ʔiš ša wiš-**ki**
my mouth burn-**1sg.P**
'my mouth is burnt'

Swadesh: Subject & Object Agreement

-ik 1sg Subject

-ki 1sg Object

k'et-**ik**
beat-**1sg.SBJ**
'I beat (him)'

k'et-**ki**
beat-**1sg.OBJ**
'(he) beat me'

Deponent Verbs

t'at'iwa-**ki**
be.cold-**1sg.OBJ**
'I feel cold'

nu:p-**ki**-čũ:-š
die-**1sg.OBJ**-FUT(sg)-COND
'if I die'

Mithun: Agent-Patient Alignment

k'et-**ik**

beat-**1sg.A**

‘I beat (him)’

t'at'iwa-**ki**

be.cold-**1sg.P**

‘I feel cold’

k'et-**ki**

beat-**1sg.P**

‘(he) beat me’

nu:p-**ki**-čux-š

die-**1sg.P**-FUT(sg)-COND

‘if I die’

Forms of the Person Markers

	1sg	1pl
Agent	-k(i), -ik(i)	-naka, -nuk
Patient	-ki	-kuy

Distribution of the Person Markers

(PREVERB)	STEM	PATIENT	TENSE		AGENT	
hi		-ki 1sg.P	Ø	PERFECTIVE	-ik(i) after PFV	1sg.A
his		-kuy 1pl.P	-(p)uy	IMPERFECTIVE	-k(i) after FUT	1sg.A
kap			-čuy (sg.)	FUTURE	-naka, -nuk	1pl.A
ka:p's			-t'i (pl.)		-i, -iʔi	NFsg.A
kas					-na, -naʔa	NFpl.A
ni						
ʔap						
ʔapš						

Ambiguous Case #1

ʔuči- + **-ki** + -čuy + -i → ʔuč**ki**čuyi
do **1sg.P** FUT(sg) NFsg.A ‘you will do to me’

ʔuči- + Ø + -čuy + **-ki** → ʔučiču**ki**
do NFsg.P FUT(sg) **1sg.A** ‘I will do to it’

Ambiguous Case #2

ʔuči- + **-ki** + Ø + Ø → ʔuč**ki**
do **1sg.P** PFV NFsg.A 'he did to me'

ʔuči- + Ø + Ø + **-iki** → ʔuč**iki**
do NFsg.P PFV 1sg.A 'I did to it'

Ambiguous Case #3

wopma- + **-ki** + Ø + Ø → wopma**ki**
ask **1sg.P** PFV NFsg.A 'he asked me'

wopma- + Ø + Ø + **-iki** → wopm**iki**
ask NFsg.P PFV **1sg.A** 'I asked her'

Ambiguous Case #4

he:čt- + **-ki** + Ø + Ø → he:čt**ki**
meet **1sg.P** PFV NFsg.A ‘you meet me’

he:čt- + Ø + Ø + **-iki** → he:čt**iki**
meet NFsg.P PFV **1sg.A** ‘I met you’

Intransitives

Patient Forms

ʔišk ne:m-**ki**

I be.afraid-**1sg.P**

‘I am afraid’

ni šik-**ki** ʔašt

DTRZR forget-**1sg.P** how

‘I have forgotten how’

Agent Forms

nenšwi-ču-**ki**

cross.water-FUT(sg)-**1sg.A**

‘I will cross the water’

ʔapš ʔeh-**iki**

REFL arrive-**1sg.A**

‘I returned’

Choice of Person Forms

him pan ki nu:p-ču-**ki**-š

you before LOC die(sg)-FUT(sg)-**1sg.A**-COND

‘if I die before you’

(Agentive)

him pan ki nu:p-**ki**-ču:-š

you before LOC die(sg)-**1sg.P**-FUT(sg)-COND

‘if I die before you’

(Patientive)

Lexically-Selected Person Marking

nit'i-**k**

believe-**1sg.A**

'I believe'

(Agentive)

kima-**ki**

believe-**1sg.P**

'I believe'

(Patientive)

Patientive Objects (repeated)

k'et-**ik**

beat-**1sg.A**

'I beat (him)'

(Agentive)

k'et-**ki**

beat-**1sg.P**

'(he) beat me'

(Patientive)

Transitives

ʔam ha:na: ne ka:kw-**iki**
what happened.to.them even know-**1sg.A**

‘I do not know what happened [to them]’ (Agentive)

ka:kwa-**ki** k'an ʔašt
know-**1sg.P** not how

‘I do not know how’ (Patientive)

Contextually-Determined Person Marking

ʔiš ʔa:y ʔatin hi kow-**iki**
my mother big TLOC call-**1sg.A**

‘I called to my grandmother’

(Agentive)

ʔiš hup ʔap ko:-**ki**-ʔi
me to CIS call-**1sg.P**-NFsg.A

‘he called to me’

(Patientive)

ho waštaš Misye ko:-**ki**
these day Monsieur call-**1sg.P**

‘(from) these days (on) I call you “Mister”’

(Patientive)

Ditransitives

ʔiš hoku = nk-i neh-**ki**-ču:-š
my mortar = LOC-NZR strike-**1sg.P**-FUT(sg)-COND
'if you hit **me** on my 'mortar' (Patient)

wetkš we nitiyankš ʔiš hi šankint-**ki**
then the boat.master me CIS put.off-**1sg.P**
'then the boat master put **me** off [the boat]' (Theme)

ʔišk kacinkhokt-a:-**ki**.
me bones leave-AFF-**1sg.P**
'They left **[for] me** only the bones.' (Affectee)

Active & Stative Verbs

ka:kwi k'ay-**ki**
knowing be.not-**1sg.P**
'I do not know [why]'

t'at'iwa-**ki**-:k'
be.cold-**1sg.P**-PTCP
'because I felt cold'

ka:kwi k'ay-**ik**
knowing be.not-**1sg.A**
'I do not know [anything
more]'

?iš t'at'iwa-:š-**iki**
I be.cold-PROG-**1sg.A**
'I felt cold'

External Possession

ʔiš mahčiš kap ʔič'ima-**ki**
my tail INCH be.yellow-**1sg.P**
'my tail turned yellow'

ʔiš kamikiš kap k'et-a:-**ki**
my wolf STAT kill-AFF-**1sg.P**
'you have killed my wolf'

Non-Obligatory External Possession

himsis ʔiš kani ʔapš huktma-**ki**-čuy-i-nk'-š
you my eye REFL close-**1sg.P**-FUT(sg)-3sg.A-NEC-COND
'you must close my eyes'

himsis ʔiš kani ʔapš huktmi-čuy-i
you my eye REFL close-FUT(sg)-3sg.A
'you will close my eyes'

Conclusions

1. Agent vs. Patient is not just a morphological alternation
2. Agent-Patient, not Active-Stative
3. The Agent-Patient distinction is contextually determined (“fluid”)
4. The semantic basis for the distinction is control
5. The basis for grammatical relations is semantic and not syntactic

Future Directions

- Interaction with aspect, mood, or negation
- Interaction with reflexive/reciprocals (but ask me afterwards!)
- Complex clauses (“subject raising”, causatives – ask me afterwards!)
- Interaction with pluractionality (but ask me afterwards!)

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Huya!

Causatives

ču:-pa-**ki**-t'i-na

go-CAUS-**1sg.P**-FUT(pl)-NFpl.A

‘they would have made me go away’ (Causative)

Deverbals

hananki hi hokt-**ki**-ḱ, hanisc'in hup hi šanšwi:k'
in.the.house TRANS leave-**1sg.P**-PTCP porch to CIS going.out
[leaving me in the house, and going out onto the porch]

wey hi natma-ḱ-**ki**-nk-i-š wek-ki.
that TLOC say-AFF-**1sg.P**-LOC-NZR-TEMP laugh-1sg.P
'When he told me that, I laughed.'

ni ka:kw-**iki** = nk-i
DTRZR know-**1sg.A** = LOC-NZR
'when I found out'

Reflexives / Reciprocals

siʔ ʔapš k'ahm-**ki**-**k**
lip REFL bite-**1sg.P**-**1sg.A**
'I have bitten myself in the lips'

Pluractionality

hus na:nča:kamankš wetk hi hok-**mi**-ʔi
his brothers that.one TLOC leave-**PLURACT**-NFsg
'he left his brothers' (Agentive transitive; -ma = pl. obj.)

ka:ku-**mi**-:k'-š naki k'an
know-**PLURACT**-PTCP-SUBORD be.1pl not
'we do not know [that]' (Patientive transitive; -ma = pl. subj.)