Non-autonomous valency-changing devices in Chitimacha
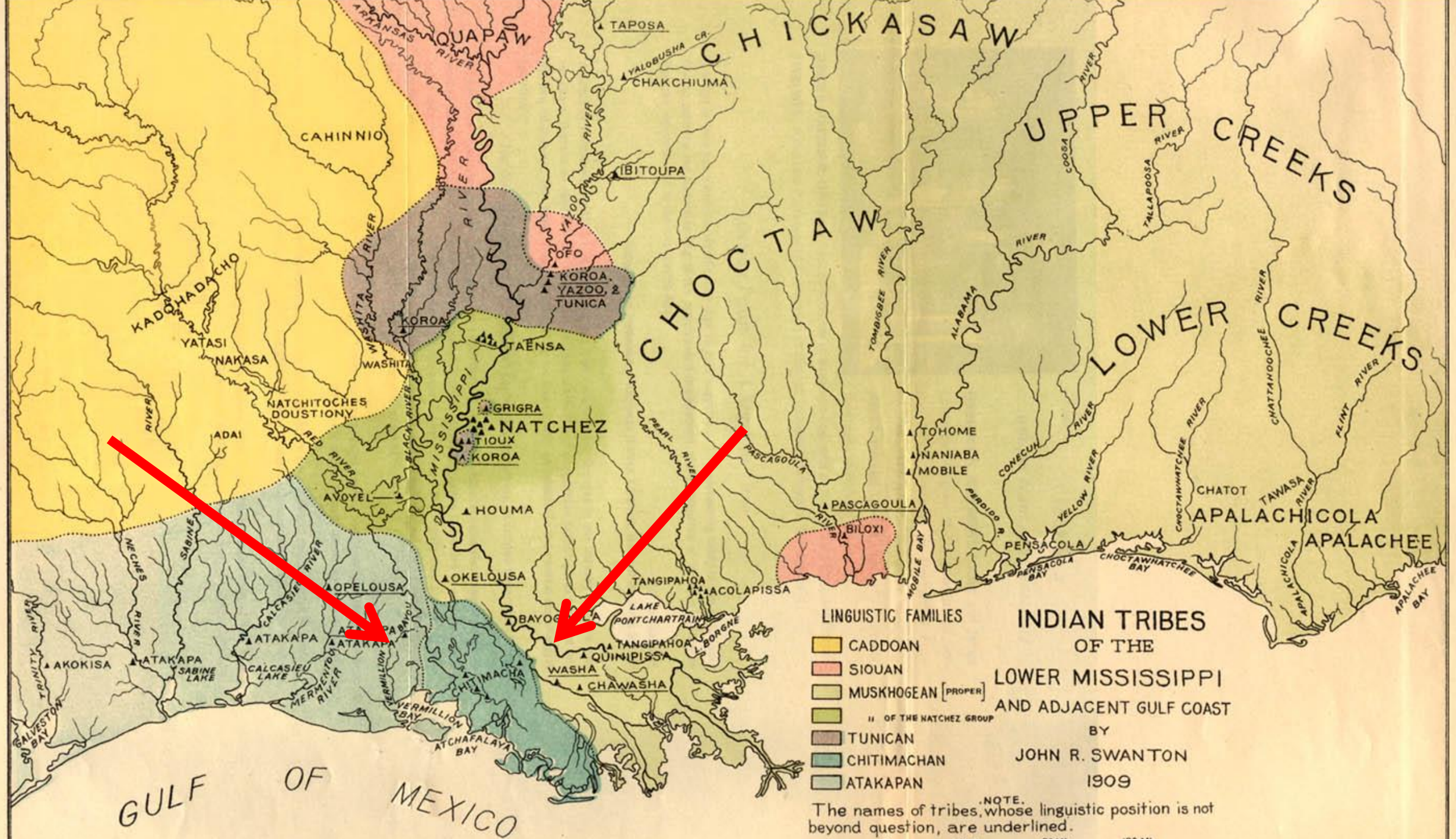
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INDIAN TRIBES
OF THE
LOWER MISSISSIPPI
AND ADJACENT GULF COAST
BY
JOHN R. SWANTON
1909

LINGUISTIC FAMILIES
- CADDOAN
- SIOUAN
- MUSKHOGEAN [PROPER]
- " OF THE NATCHEZ GROUP
- TUNICAN
- CHITIMACHAN
- ATAKAPAN

NOTE.
The names of tribes whose linguistic position is not beyond question, are underlined.

QUAPAW
CHICKASAW
UPPER CREEKS
CHOCTAW
LOWER CREEKS
APALACHICOLA
APALACHEE

TAPOSA
YALOBUSHA CR.
CHAKCHIUMA
IBITOUPA
KOROA, YAZOO, & TUNICA
OFO
KOROA
TAENSA
GRIGRA
NATCHEZ
TIOUX
KOROA
CAHINNIO
KADOHADACHO
YATASI
NAKASA
ADAI
NATCHITOCHES DOUSTIONY
WASHITA
AVOYEL
HOUMA
OKELOUSA
OPELOUSA
ATAKAPA
ATAKAPA
ATAKAPA
AKOKISA
CHITIMACHA
BAYOGOULA
TANGIPAHOA
ACOLAPISSA
QUINIPISSA
WASHA
CHAWASHA
TANGIPAHOA
TOHOME
NANIABA
MOBILE
PASCAGOULA
BILOXI
PENSACOLA
CHATOT
TAWASA

GULF OF MEXICO

SABINE LAKE
CALCASIEU LAKE
SALT LAKE
VERMILLION BAY
ATCHAFALAYA BAY
GALVESTON BAY
LAKE PONTCHARTRAIN
LAKE BORGNE
MOBILE BAY
PENSACOLA BAY
CHOCTAWHATCHEE BAY
APALACHEE BAY

ARKANSAS RIVER
WASHITA RIVER
RED RIVER
MISSISSIPPI RIVER
YAZOO RIVER
BLACK RIVER
PEARL RIVER
PASCAGOULA RIVER
TOMBIGBEE RIVER
ALABAMA RIVER
COOSA RIVER
TALLAPOOSA RIVER
CHATTAHOOCHEE RIVER
FLINT RIVER
CONECUH RIVER
YELLOW RIVER
PERDIDO R.
NECHES RIVER
TRINITY RIVER
CALCASIEU RIVER
MERMENTO RIVER
VERMILLION RIVER
BAYOU
APALACHICOLA RIVER

0   40 MI.   80 MI.   120 MI.

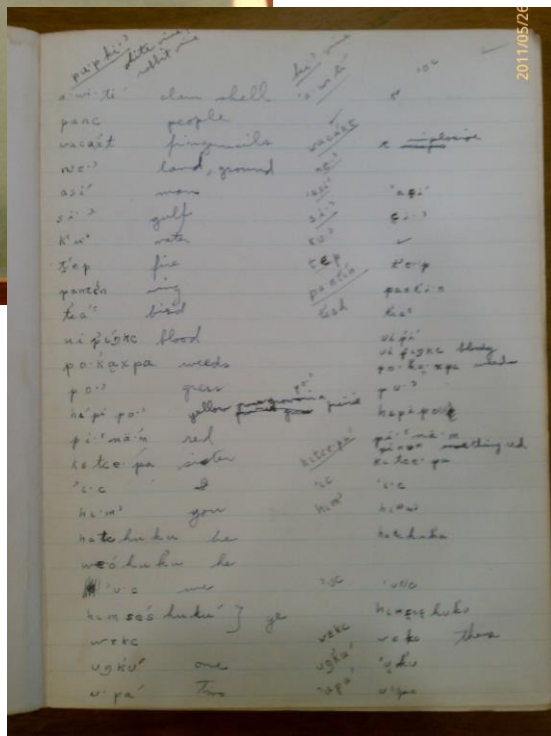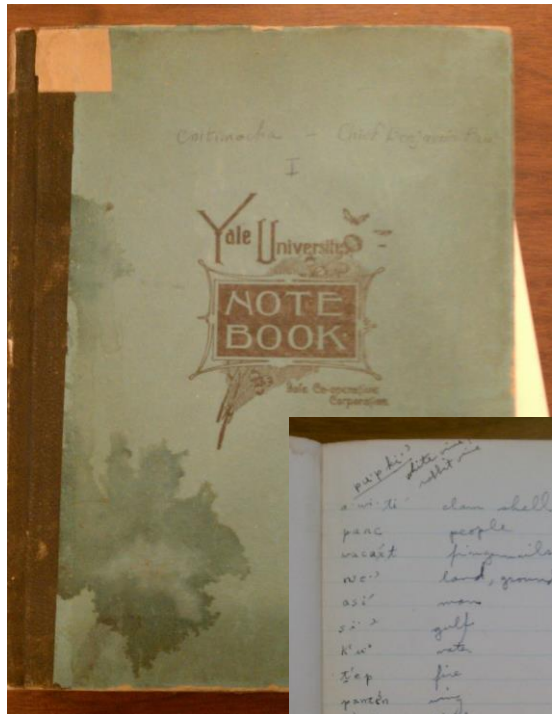Chief Benjamin Paul (1867-1934)

Ill. 2. Benjamin Paul

Mrs. Delphine DuCloux (1872-1940)

5. Delphine Ducloux

valency: argument structure of the verb, i.e. number and type of arguments that a particular verb has in a given context (Crystal 2008:507)

transitivity: changes in event perspective corresponding to foregrounding/backgrounding in discourse (Hopper & Thompson 1980; Martin 2000)

Chitimacha has a number of transitivity-adjusting devices, but none which are purely valency-adjusting

Transitivity-Adjusting Devices in Chitimacha

- locational: *-n*   'out'
                  -h   'in, at, on'

- manner: *-kint*   'dropping'
                  -k'eš   'pouring'
                  -t'uwa   'suddenly'
                  -či   'handling'
                  -c   'touching'
                  -wa   'moving'

- intransitive: *-te*

- transitive: *-t*

- pluractional: *-ma*

- causative: *-pa*

- benefactive: *-aʔ*

- patient: *-ki* (sg), *-kuy* (pl)

Chitimacha Preverbs

hi
'to' (andative)
'there' (distal)

his
'back to'
'again'
'in response'

kap
'start' (inceptive)
'become' (inchoative)
stative / change of state
'up'

kaːpʼs
'back up'

ka
'across'

kas
'apart' (dislative)
'reverse'
'back across'

ni
'thing' (dtrzr.)
imperative
nominalizer

Locational Suffixes (-*n* 'out'; -*h* 'in, at, on')

- Sometimes Goal / Ground is overt

  we   ʔakuntk-š   hus   hiʔi=nk   kas   ʔe-**h**-i-š*
  DET bear-TOP   his   place=LOC   back   be-**LOC**-3sg-SUBORD
  'when the bear got (back) to his house'

- Sometimes implied

  we   ʔakuntk-š   kas   ʔe-**h**-i-nki-š
  DET bear-TOP   back   be-**LOC**-3sg-TEMP-SUBORD
  'when the bear got back [to there]'

Locational Suffixes (-*n* 'out'; -*h* 'in, at, on')

- Sometimes Goal / Ground is overt

napšc'ank	kiš ʔatin	pe-**h**-k
black	horse	be-**LOC**-PTCP

  'a black person <u>on a horse</u>'

- Sometimes implied

We	kuukš	k'amik'i	wetk	his	pe-**h**-w-i.
DET	water	long	then	DUR	be-**LOC**-moving-3sg

  'The water was on [the land] a long time.'

Manner Suffixes

Sometimes there is no change in valency with a manner suffix

Hesik'en	kas	ʔiː-**wi**-t'i-nuk.
again	back	go.around-**moving**-IRR-1pl

'We will go back around again.'

k'ast'a=nk	kas	ʔiː-**t'uwi**-čuː-š
north=LOC	back	go.around-**sudden**-IRR-COND

'if (the wind) turns suddenly to the north'

Manner Suffixes: *-kint* 'dropping, pushing'

Sometimes the semantics of the manner suffix changes the valency

- without *-kint*: intransitive

  ǯaː   kap   ša-n-i-nki
  sun   up   container-out-3sg-TEMP
  'when the sun rises'

- with *-kint*: transitive

  We   nitiyankš   ʔiš   hi   ša-n-**kint**-ki
  DET   master   me   DIST   container-out-**drop**-1sg.P
  'The boat master put me off.'

Manner Suffixes: -*čt* 'handling'

But the effect on valency is not consistent

- no manner suffix
  Wetk we   ʔuːstipu šuš=up kap   pe-h-iʔi.
  then   DET   Ustupu   tree=on up   be-LOC-3sg
  'That Ustupu climbed a tree.'

- transitive -*čt*
  hus   nuku=nki kap   pe-h-**čt**-iʔi
  his   back=LOC up   be-LOC-**handle**-3sg
  'he put it on his back'

- intransitive -*čt*
  Weyt   hugu   ʔiː-**čt**-'iš-naʔa.
  DEM   COP   turn-**handle**-IPFV-3pl
  'That is the way they turn-weave.' (lit. 'they turn handling')

Intransitive -*(t)e* suffix

- Certain verbs derive from a Noun/Adjective + -*(t)e* INTR
  - *teet*- 'be like, say'

šuš   čiːš-**e**-pa-nki   (< čiʔiš 'leaf')
tree   leaf-INTR-CAUS-TEMP
'when the leaves bud'

kap naktaːšiʔi   (< nakt 'ice')
kap   nakt-**te**-ʔiš-iʔi
STAT   ice-INTR-IPFV-3sg
'it (the weather) freezes'

Intransitive -(t)e suffix

• But -te sometimes creates polyvalent verbs

Waʔaš ney kin pokti kin kap t'ik-**te**-mi-ʔi.
others earth with sky with STAT burst-**INTR**-PLACT-3sg
'The earth and sky crushed the others.'

hak-**te**-ma-ːs-naʔa
drink?-**INTR**-PLACT-IPFV-3pl
'they had him drink it (the medicine)'

Transitive *-t* Suffix

Wetk	panš pinikank	ʔoːnak	kap	hok-naʔa.
then	Indians	all	STAT	leave-3pl

'The Indians all left.'

- *-t* often increases the valency of the verb

kičant'i	ʔunk'unk=š	hok-**t**-naʔa
old.woman	one=TOP	leave-**TR**-3pl

'they had left only one old woman'

Transitive -*t* Suffix

- very often the syntactic object is only implied

Weyč'iːk'š	hiʔniš	hi	hok-**t**-naʔa.
therefore	alone	DIST	leave-**TR**-3pl

  'Therefore they left (it) alone.'

- and sometimes the verb is monovalent

Him	ʔiː	kap	toh-**t**-k	hi-ʔi.
your	tooth	STAT	break-**TR**-PTCP	COP-3sg

  'Your took is broken out.' (anticausative)

Šuš	kimu=nki	ʔap	neh-**t**-iʔi.
tree	branch=on	VEN	hit-**TR**-3sg

  'It struck on the branch of a tree.' (extended intransitive, with postpositional phrase)

Transitive *-t* Suffix

- Another monovalent example with *-t*:

   ʔastkanki   te   k'as-**t**-'iš-iʔi   ?

   when   INTER   plant-**TR**-IPFV-2sg

   'When are you planting?'

Pluractional *-ma*

- For transitive verbs, *-ma* may index plural objects

  Wetkš   <u>hus   naːnčaːkamankš</u>   wetk   hi   hok-**mi**-ʔi.
  then   his   brothers=TOP   he   DIST   leave-**PLACT**-3sg
  'He left his brothers.' (plural object)

- But it often indicates plural actions instead of plural objects

  wetk   ʔapš   c'it-**mi**-ʔi
  he   about   cut-**PLACT**-3sg
  'he cut him up (stabbed him in several places)' (singular object)

Causative -*pa*

Wetk we šeːni hi nenšwiʔi.

wetk	we	šeːni	hi	ni-n-čwa-iʔi
then	DET	pond	AND	water-out-moving-3sg

'He crossed that pond.'

Wetkš ʔap nenčupi.

wetkš	ʔap	ni-n-čwa-**pa**-i
then	VEN	water-out-moving-**CAUS**-3sg

'Then he got him across (the water).'

Causative -*pa*

- Sometimes -*pa* changes the argument structure in unexpected ways

hunks   k'ušti   kap   k'ay-i-nki-š
their   food   STAT   be.not-3sg-TEMP-SUBORD
'when their food ran out'

ʔiš   ko   hus   kicnahc'ip'u   hi   k'ay-**pi**-ʔi
my   aunt   her   girl   DIST   be.not-**CAUS**-3sg
'my aunt lost her little girl'

Causative -*pa*

- Sometimes -*pa* changes the argument structure in unexpected ways

Wetk	hus	hiʔi=nk	na-h-wi-naʔa
then	his	place=LOC	go-LOC-moving-3pl

  'Then they sent him home.'

huːh	na-h-**pi**-naʔa
lake	go-LOC-**CAUS**-3pl

  'they crossed the lake'

Wetk	we	poː	wiš-**pa**-nki
then	DET	grass	burn-**CAUS**-TEMP

  'When the grass took fire'

Preverbs: *hi* 'to'

- Often change valency by licensing (or removing) an argument

Kunuk'u   wašt'unk'u   panš   ʔašinč'aťa   ʔap   ni-čw-iʔi.
QUOT   one.day   person   old.man   VEN   water-move-3sg
'Once an old man came (to the bayou).'

hesik'en   <u>šeːni=nk</u>   **hi**   ni-čw-iʔi
again   <u>pond=LOC</u>   **AND**   water-moving-3sg
'he came again to the (edge of) a pond'

Preverbs: *hi* 'to'

- But not always

Wetkš	hesik'en	čuː-k'-š	**hi**	ni-čw-iʔi.
then	again	go-PTCP-SUBORD	**AND**	water-moving-3sg

'Then he went (on) again and came to (a body of water).'

hi	t'ut-naʔa	hesik'en
AND	go-3pl	again

'they went on again (to their destination)'

Preverbs: *Ɂapš* 'back, together'

- Sometimes functions as a reflexive, reducing valency
- *k'et-* 'hit, kill'

We	kamikiš	=hiš	kunuk'u	k'et-iɁi.
DET	dog	=ERG	QUOT	kill-3sg

'They say the wolf killed it.'

Hus	nehe	**Ɂapš**	k'et-iɁi.
his	self	**REFL**	kill-3sg

'He killed himself.'

- Often co-occurs with overt reflexives *hus nehe* 'himself', *Ɂiš nehe* 'myself', etc.

Preverbs: *ʔapš* 'back, together'

- But sometimes the meaning is simply lexical, 'back, together'

Wetkš	kaːyčʼinkš	**ʔapš**	tʼut-k	kačm	kap	ten-naʔa.
then	three	**back**	go-PTCP	doctor	STAT	become-3pl

'Then three (of them), coming back, became doctors.'

Wetk	we	čʼahk	hus	paːntʼin	**ʔapš**	kʼet-k,	[…]
Then	DET	animal	his	wing	**together**	beat-PTCP	

'The beast, beating his wings together, […]'

Preverbs: *ʔapš* 'back, together'

• Sometimes displays reflexive semantics without change in valency

ʔišk   huy   keystik'i   wok-t-k-š=iki
I   well   very   feel-TR-PTCP-SUBORD=COP:1sg
'I feel very comfortable.'

Huy   keystik'i   **ʔapš**   wok-t-iki.
good   very   **REFL**   feel-TR-1sg
'I feel very well.'

Transitivity in Chitimacha

- Location suffixes *-n, -h*   imply a Ground
- Manner suffixes *-kint, -čt*   implies an Object
- Intransitive *-te*   implies an action relating to [N/Adj]
- Transitive *-t*   implies a Patient
- Pluractional *-ma*   plural actions often imply plural Patients
- Causative *-pa*   implies a Causer
- Preverbs   changes verb semantics
  - Sometimes transitivity-reducing: *ʔapš* 'back, together'
  - Sometimes transitivity-increasing: *hi* 'to'

Transitivity in Chitimacha

- Verbal morphology changes the semantic transitivity of the verb, enabling but not requiring changes in valency

- Chitimacha verbal morphology is fundamentally about event perspective and construal (transitivity) rather than argument structure (valency) per se

Abbreviations

AND	andative ('to')		LOC	locative/location
CAUS	causative		PLACT	pluractional
COND	conditional		PTCP	participle
COP	copula		QUOT	quotative
DET	determiner		REFL	reflexive
DIST	distal		STAT	stative/change of state
ERG	ergative		SUBORD	general subordinator
INTER	interrogative		TEMP	temporal subordinator
INTR	intransitive		TOP	topic
IPFV	imperfective		TR	transitive
IRR	irrealis		VEN	venitive ('coming')

References

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Hopper, Paul J. & Sandra A. Thompson. 1980. Transitivity in grammar and discourse. *Language* 56(2):251-299.

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