

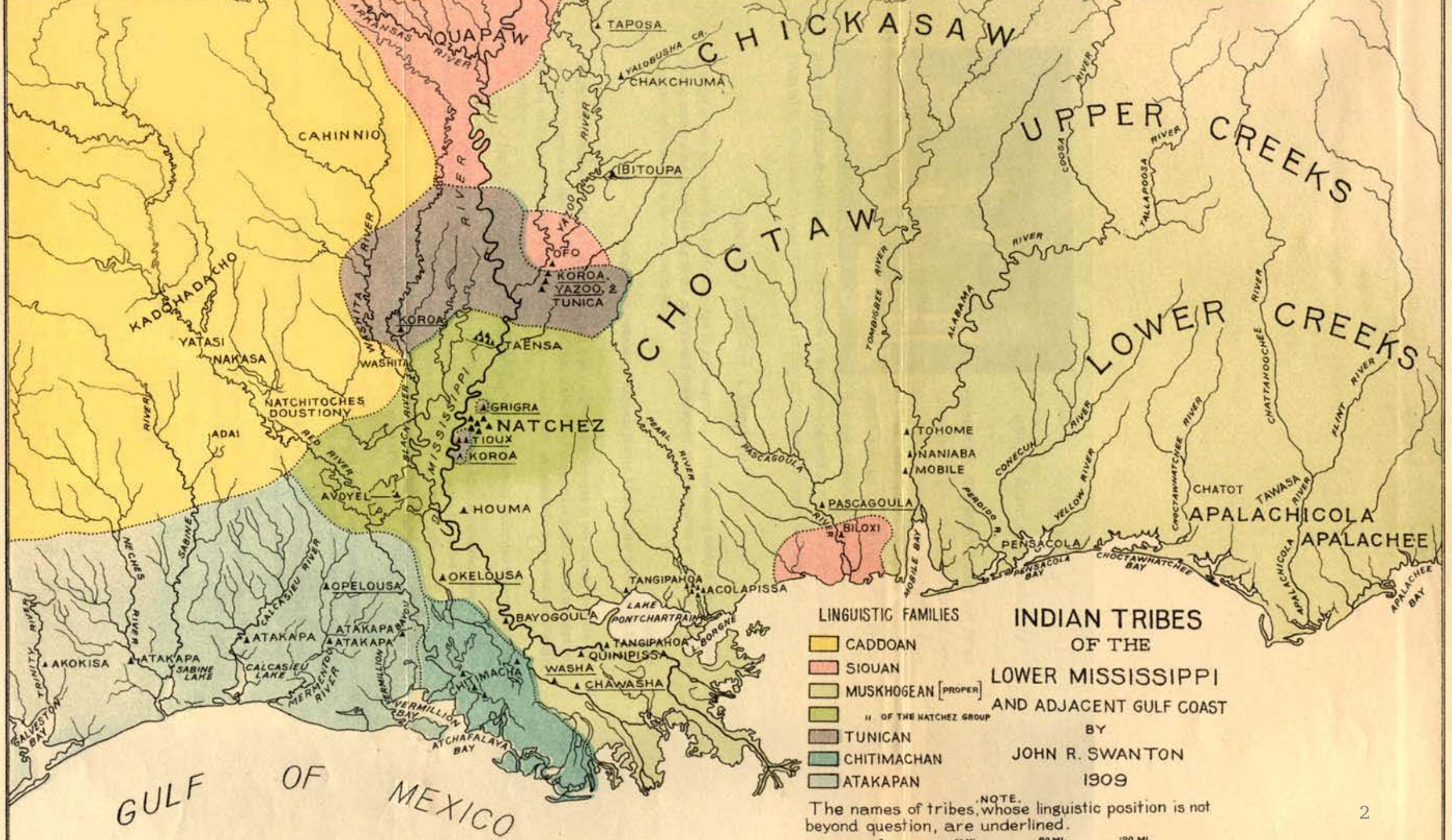
Lessons from an isolate: Chitimacha diachrony in areal perspective

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Three Features of Chitimacha Grammar

- I. positional auxiliary verbs
- II. switch-reference
- III. agent-patient alignment

- language-internal evidence for their diachronic development
- how this diachronic story is enriched by areal evidence

Positional Auxiliary Verbs

- *hi-* ‘be sitting (neutral)’ <-- default form
- *či-* ‘be standing (vertical)’
- *pe-* ‘be lying (horizontal)’

All three have the same plural:

- *naka* 1pl ‘we are sitting/standing/lying’
- *naʔa* NF.pl ‘y’all/they are sitting/standing/lying’

hi- default, neutral use

- 1) Waʔaš his kečmi-:k' **hi**-ʔi-n.
other 3SG wait-PTCP **NEUT**-NF.SG-PROG
'He was waiting for the others.'

- 2) Kaye **hi**-ʔuy-i.
alive **NEUT**-PAST.IPFV-NF.SG
'He was alive.'

hi- ‘sitting’

3) Hi tey-k’-š

DIST sit(SG)-PTCP-SUBORD

‘I was sitting down.’

hi-ʔuy-ki-n.

NEUT-PAST.IPFV-1SG-PROG

4) Tey = k’iš

hi-ʔi.

sit(SG) = alone **NEUT**-NF.SG

‘He just sat [there].’

č̣i- ‘vertical’

5) We ʔakšuš ku: =ki **č̣i-ʔi**.
DET cypress water =LOC **VERT-NF.SG**

‘That cypress stands in the water.’

6) ʔuybi =nk pi:hni-:k’-š **č̣i-ʔuy-i**
blood =NOM be.red-PTCP-SUBORD **VERT-PAST.IPFV-NF.SG**

we šuš =ki.

DET tree =LOC

‘The blood was red on that tree.’

pe- ‘horizontal’

7) ʔiš ʔinčʰ ʔatin kiš natʰi-:kʰ-š **pe-ʔe**
1SG father big dog lie-PTCP-SUBORD **HORIZ-NF.SG**

sa šuš kuti = nki.
DEM tree head = LOC

‘My grandfather’s dog is lying in the top of that tree.’

8) Him čiski nowa = nki ʔapš šahtʰi-:kʰ-š **pe-ʔe.**
2SG pumpkin mellow = LOC CIRC crawl.in-PTCP-SUBORD **HORIZ-NF.SG**

‘He crawls about amongst your watermelons.’

Plural Auxiliaries

- 9) ʔiʂ ʔinč'i ʔiʂ ne we k'inkk'ank kin hi teni-:k' **naku-n.**
1SG father 1SG and DET girls with DIST sit(PL)-PTCP **AUX(1PL)-PROG**
'My father and I and those girls were sitting.'
- 10) We kimi sek'is tapšmi-:k' **na-ʔuy-na.**
DET branch among stand-PTCP **AUX(PL)-PAST.IPFV-NF.PL**
'They were standing among those limbs.'
- 11) Kamč'in namč'em-i-:k'-š **naʔa** šuš tapšn keta = nki.
deer be.camped-PTCP-SUBORD **AUX(NF.PL)** tree upright side = LOC
'Deer are lying beside that upright tree.'

Irrealis

- 12) Kaya = nk ni k'ap-čuy-i.
rain = NOM DEF get-IRR(SG)-NF.SG
'The rain will get you.'
- 13) ?ampi = nk kin k'ušmi-:t'i-naka.
what = ABL with eat-IRR(PL)-1PL.A
'With what shall we eat it?'

Irrealis Reflexes

14) Č'a: šahyn = iš hup **čuy**-i?i.
sun going.in = TOP to **go(SG)**-NF.SG
'He went toward the sunset.'

15) K'ast'a = nk hi **t'ut**-na?a.
north = LOC AND **go(PL)**-NF.PL
'They went toward the north.'

Past Imperfective

16) ?iš=k šuš hup nuhč-k ša-?uy-ki-n.

1SG=NOM tree to run-ss sleep-**PAST.IPFV**-1SG.P-PROG

‘I used to run off to the woods and sleep (there).’

17) We=nki hi šak’it-k hi-?uy-i.

DEM=LOC DIST hang-PTCP AUX(NEUT)-**PAST.IPFV**-NF.SG

‘[During all the big water (the flood)], he hung there.’

Past Imperfective Reflex

- 18) Hatka = nkiš hi ?uy-naka.
six = alone DIST arrive(PL)-1PL.A
'Only six arrived (there).'

?uy- 'happen, arrive at'

Present Imperfective

- 19) Ha nasta kap tohw-**ʔiš**-i.
DEM root INCH break-**PRES.IPFV**-NF.SG
'This root is breaking.'
- 20) Kaya kap tey-**ʔiš**-i.
rain INCH stop-**PRES.IPFV**-NF.SG
'The rain is stopping.'

Present Imperfective Reflexes: *ʔiš-* COP

21) Kaye **ʔiš**-iki-n.

alive **COP**-1SG-PROG

‘I’m still alive.’

22) ʔus = k ka:kumi-:k’ **ʔiš**-naku-n ʔuš nitiya

1PL = NOM know-PTCP **COP**-1PL-PROG 1PL master

‘We knew that it was our master.’

Present Imperfective Reflexes: = (i)š TOP

- Originally a cleft construction: “It was TOPIC that ...”

23) Hus na:nča:kamank =š we-t = k hi hokm-i?i.
3SG brothers =TOP DET-ANA =NOM DIST leave-NF.SG
‘He left his brothers.’

Present Imperfective Reflexes: = (i)š TOP

24) ʔašant'i ʔunk'u = š nus = up kun namki-:k' hi-ʔuy-i-n.
old one = TOP west = to some live-PTCP AUX(NEUT)-PAST.IPFV-NF.SG-PROG

'A certain old man lived in the west.'

25) Ho kačm = iš = hiš načpi-:t'i-na-n hesik'en.
DEM doctor = TOP = ERG cure-IRR-NF.PL-PROG again

'Those doctors will cure you.'

Present Imperfective Reflexes: *ʔiška* ‘say’

- 26) Kutnehin č’ah ʔiř-ka.
God bird COP-PL
‘They say it is God’s bird.’

Summary of Diachronic Origins of Aspectual Markers

Aspectual Marker		Diachronic Origin
<i>-čuw-</i> / <i>-t'i-</i>	IRR	<i>čuw-</i> / <i>t'ut-</i> 'go'
<i>-ʔuy-</i>	PAST.IPFV	<i>ʔuy-</i> 'happen'
<i>-ʔiš-</i>	PRES.IPFV	<i>ʔiš-</i> COP

Positional Auxiliaries in the Southeast

Language	'sit'	'stand'	'lie'
Chitimacha (isolate)	<i>hi-</i>	<i>či-</i>	<i>pe-</i>
Atakapa (isolate; Swanton 1929)	<i>kē</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>tīxt</i>
Choctaw (Muskogean; Broadwell 2006:209–211)	<i>átta-</i>	<i>hikíya-</i>	<i>ittóla-</i>
Tunica (isolate; Haas 1946:349–351)	<i>-na</i>	<i>-hki</i> 'exist'	<i>-ra</i>

27) Piya ših hi **k'a:ct-k**, wetk we nuš **k'apt-k** ?utp =ki
cane belly DIST **cut-SS** then DET stone **take-SS** leather =LOC

?apš **wa:ct-k**, huyk'i ?apš **?uti-:k'**, wetk we piya k'a:cn =ki
SOC **wrap-SS** good SOC **tie-SS** then DET cane cut.piece =LOC

hi **šahčt-k**, wetkš huyk'i kas **hukt-k**, wetkš hesik'en ?utp
AND **put.in-SS** then good back **close-SS** then again leather

hi **k'apt-k**, we piya k'a:cn we ?utp =ki ?apš **wa:ct-k**,
DIST **take-SS** DET cane cut.piece DET leather =LOC SOC **wrap-SS**

huyk'i ?apš **?uti-:k'**, wey-t huk'u kas **nučmi-:k'**,
good SOC **tie-SS** DEM-ANA COP(EMPH) back **work-SS**

kas **hamča-:š-na?a**.
back **keep-PRES.IPFV-NF.PL(DS)**

‘They cut a cane joint, take the stones and wrap them in hide, tie them well, put them into the section of cane, cork them well, again take hide and wrap the cane section in the hide, tie it well, and, having prepared it in that way, they save it.’

Switch Reference

28) Wenk hi **ču-:k'** = š ku: **k'apt-k** we ʔakšuš
now DIST **go(SG)-SS** = TOP water **take-ss** DET cypress

hi **t'eyktepi-ču-ø-:š,** kayi pa:hmpa him
AND **splash-IRR-NF.SG(DS)-COND** thunder 2SG

ni **k'apt-'iš-i.**
DEF **get-PRES.IPFV-NF.SG**

‘Now if you go there, take water, and (if) you splash that cypress, thunder gets you.’

Origin of Switch Reference in Chitimacha

- 29) Kiš ʔatin nuhčpa-pa **k'iht-k** hi-ʔi?
dog big make.run-NZR **want-PTCP** AUX(NEUT)-NF.SG
‘Do you want your horse to run?’

Origin of Switch Reference in Chitimacha

30) Ka:cpa = nk ?am ?oonak = hiš **k'et-k**
stick = ABL everything = INSTR **beat(SG)-PTCP**

?ap t'u:t-š-na?a.

VEN go(PL)-PRES.IPFV-NF.PL

‘They came beating him with sticks and so forth.’

Locative > Participle

(31) Še:ni-**nk** hup hi ničwi-ʔi.

pond-LOC to DIST move(VERT).to.water-NF.SG

‘He came to the edge of a pond.’

(32) Hi čuy-iʔi namu hi kuti-**nk**.

AND go(SG)-NF.SG town DIST end-LOC

‘He went to the end of that village.’ (lit. ‘the village’s end’)

Locative > Participle

- (33) ?iš hi-ki-nk naʔa.
1SG COP(NEUT)-1SG-LOC COP(NF.PL)
'You [pl.] are at my place.'

- (34) [...] ža: kap šan-i-nk k'iš.
sun up go.out-NF.SG-LOC until
'[...] until the sun comes up.'

Temporal Subordinator *-nk*

- (35) Ney kap šanšw-i-nk-i, [...] [
earth up go.out-NF.SG-TEMP-NZR
'When the ground emerged, [...]'

- (36) K'ast'a ʔap ho: k'ih-čuy-i-nk-i weyži:k'
north.wind VEN blow want-IRR(SG)-NF.SG-TEMP-NZR thus

yeht-'iš-iki.

cry-PRES.IPFV-1SG.A

'That is why I cry out when the north (wind) is going to blow.'

Participle *-nk*

- (37) Wetkš ni k'ast-k, [...] weytenk'enkš t'ut-na?a hesik'en.
then DEF plant-PTCP after.that go(PL)-NF.PL again
'Then they planted, [...] and after that went on again.' (lit. 'planting, they went')

- (38) Kap ten-tk ni k'as-mi-na?a.
STAT stop(PL)-PTCP DEF plant-PLACT-NF.PL
'They stopped and planted (again).' (lit. 'stopping, they planted')

Locative > Participle: Phonology

Environment	Locative	Participle
N_	<i>-tk</i>	<i>-t'k</i>
V_	<i>-nk</i>	<i>-:k'</i>
/w, y/_	<i>-k</i>	<i>-k'</i>
C_	<i>-k</i>	<i>-k</i>

Switch Reference in Southeast

Choctaw

39) Kaah sa-nna-haatokoosh, iskali' ittahobli-li-tok.
car 1SI-want-because:SS money save-1SI-PAST
'Because I wanted a car, I saved money.' (Broadwell 2006:263)

40) Kaah banna-haatoko, iskali' ittahobli-li-tok.
car want-because:DS money save-1SI-PAST
'Because he wanted a car, I saved money.' (Broadwell 2006:263)

Non-First Person

- 41) T'ut-**naʔa** hesik'en. (intransitive)
go(PL)-**NF.PL** again
'They went on(wards) again.'
- 42) Waštik k'et-**naʔa**. (transitive, accusative unmarked)
cow kill-**NF.PL**
'They kill a cow.'

Agent & Patient Suffixes

PREVERB	STEM	PATIENT	ASPECT	AGENT / SUBJECT
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Agent-Patient with Intransitives

First Person Patient

43) ʔiš = k ne:m-**ki**
1SG = NOM be.afraid-**1SG.P**
'I am afraid'

First Person Agent

44) ʔiš šuš sek'is ʔapš ču:-m-**iki**
1SG wood in CIRC go(SG)-PLACT-**1SG.A**
'I have gone about in the wood sufficiently.'

Agent-Patient with Transitives

Transitive with First Person Patient

47) k'et-**ki**-ʔi we ko:š = iš
beat-**1SG.P**-NF.SG DET switch = INSTR
'she beat me with the switch'

Transitive with First Person Agent

48) we ka:ci ʔatin kap k'et-**iki**
DET owl large STAT kill(SG)-**1SG.A**
'I killed the horned owl'

Agent-Patient with Transitives

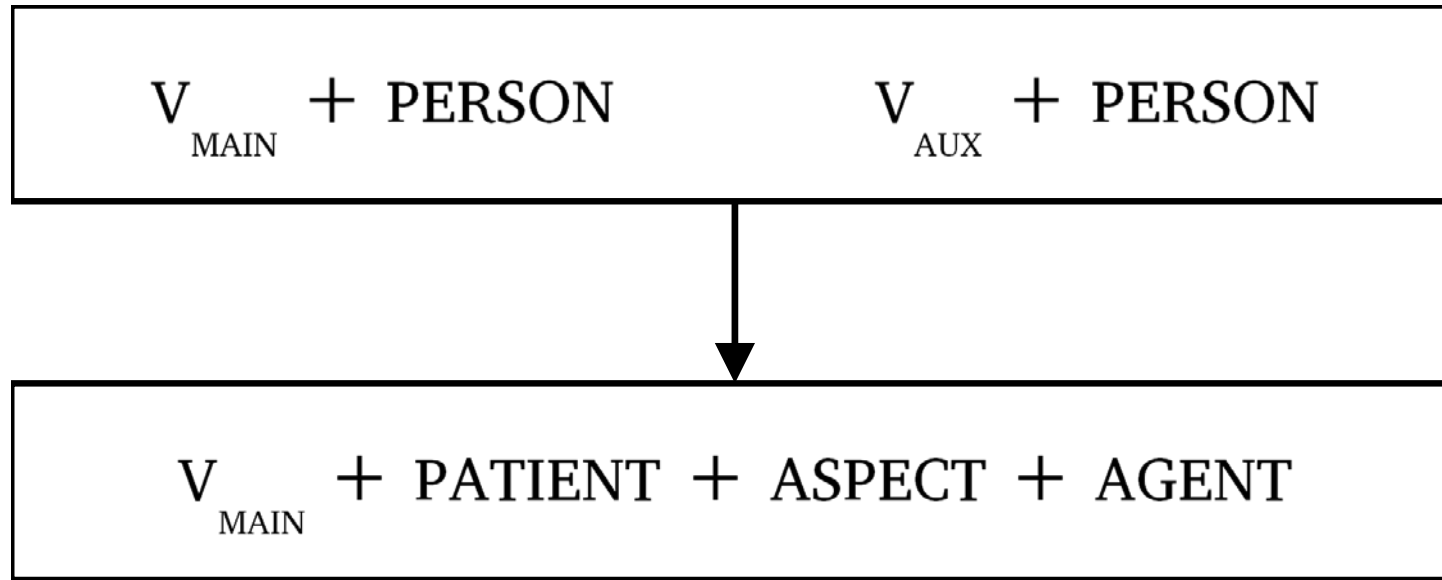
Transitive with First Person Patient

49) Huykš ʔam ʔo:nak ni šik-**ki**.

yet thing all DEF forget-**1SG.P**

‘I have not forgotten everything yet.’

Reanalysis of Chitimacha Auxiliaries



Stem-Final /e/ → /i/ Before Aspectual Markers

- (50) ?iš kiča hokšti-ču-ki. < hokste- 'feed
1sg wife feed-IRR(SG)-1SG.A
'I shall feed my wife.'

Pleonastic Suffix *-i*

(51) Wey ne ʔapš kimikiš wekka:š*i*.

wey ne ʔapš kima-iki-š

wek-ki-ʔiš-*i*.

DEM just REFL think-1SG.A-SUBORD laugh-1SG.P-PRES.IPFV-~~∅~~

‘I laugh when I think about it.’

(52) ʔaštkaŋki k’an ni šik-ki-čuy-*i*.

sometimes NEG DEF forget-1SG.P-IRR(SG)-~~∅~~

‘I shall never forget.’

Morphonological Deletion of *-i*

(53) Nu:p-ki-čuy hi kimi-:k'-š huk'u
die(SG)-1SG.P-IRR (**NF.SG**) DIST think-PTCP-SUBORD COP(EMPH)

hi šankint-ki.
DIST put_out-1SG.P

‘You put me out thinking I would die.’

(54) Pa:kine-ki-ču:-š, [...]
be.tired-1SG.P-IRR (**NF.SG**)-COND

‘If I get tired, [...].’

Morphophonological Deletion of *-i*

- (55) Wetkš we nitiya = nk = š ?iš hi šankint-**ki**.
then DET master = NOM = TOP 1SG DIST put_out-**1SG.P (-NF.SG.A???)**
'Then the (boat) master put me off.'

Some Takeaways

- The structural features and shared grammaticalization processes examined here situate Chitimacha firmly within the Southeast linguistic area.
- The forms and internal histories of these grammatical structures suggest contact-induced grammaticalization rather than genetic inheritance.
- Despite being an isolate, data from other languages are useful in understanding diachronic developments in the language. Contact phenomena illuminate language-internal histories as much as areal ones.

Some Takeaways

- Internal reconstruction can be quite robust, especially when reflexes of past forms remain in the language (Givón 2000).
- Stylistic preferences in discourse can completely restructure grammar.
- Chitimacha's isolate status is precisely what gives us this window into the history of contact in the Southeast. While internal evidence suggests what seems *prima facie* to be a fairly comprehensive story regarding how these structural features arose, when we step back and examine these histories in light of their larger historical and social context, we gain a much deeper understanding of the area.

Huya!

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