

The near side and the far side in Kiowa: A matter of perspective

Andrew McKenzie
University of Kansas
andrew.mckenzie@ku.edu

SSILA | January 6, 2019

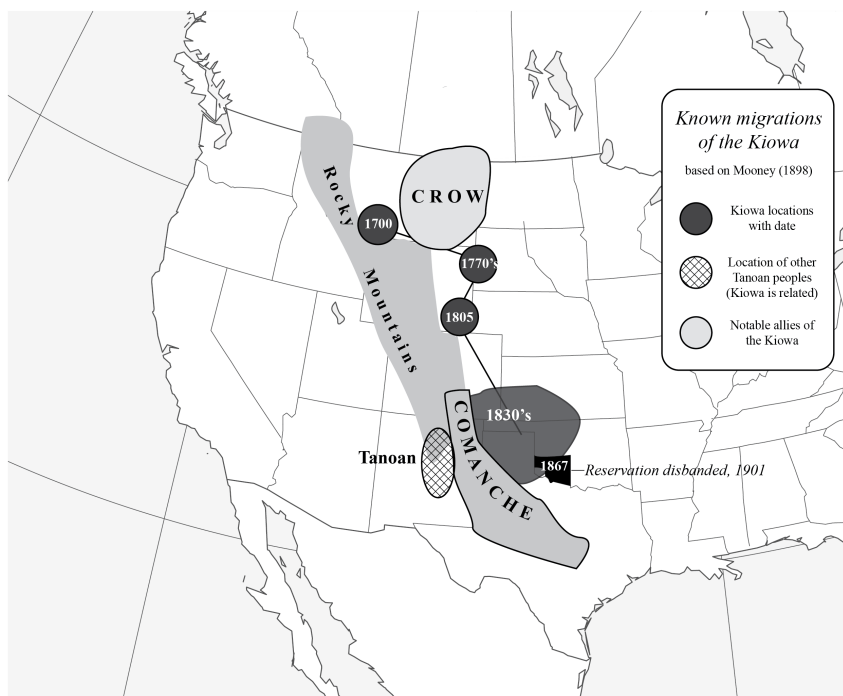
1 | Roadmap

- The semantics of perspective-oriented locatives
- Kiowa examples from text and elicitation
- spatial perspective taking
- extends to scalar comparative use
- extends to temporal use
- temporal use oriented to past or future

1 Introduction

2 | Kiowa language overview

Cáuijògà [kój.tò:ɡjǽ] Kiowa | kio | Kiowa-Tanoan | KS/CO/OK/TX → OK



Glossing mainly follows Leipzig Rules, except at places noted. The Kiowa Tribe has not yet adopted an orthography; I employ Parker McKenzie's orthography and glossed IPA.

3 | Kiowa language properties

sort of SOV - mainly Agr-V

Agreement for subject, object, dative in portmanteau prefix

- (1) *Bâ càunjàu.*
bâ-kè-n-tò:
2P/3S:1S-bring.PFV-MOD
‘You guys will bring it to me.’

SUBJ/OBJ:DAT

Widespread incorporation/polysynthesis

- (2) *Êm cícàujàujòt.*
è-m-kí:+kè:tò+tòt
1S/2S-meat_c+buy_c+send.PFV
‘I sent you to buy meat’.

c: combining form

Well documented, severely endangered

Harrington (1928), Watkins (1984)

Few dozen elderly speakers (EGIDS: 8/9)

Linn (2011)

2 Locative meaning

4 | Introducing *táu* and *fál*

The key targets of this talk are the locative stems

táu [t^hó:] ‘trans-’ and *fál* [pál] ‘cis-’

Widely used but not widely documented

Gatschet (1882), Harrington (1928), P. McKenzie & Harrington (1948), Wonderly et al. (1954), Crowell (1960), Watkins (1984), Yumitani (1984), Harbour (2007), Harbour et al. (2012), A. McKenzie (2012), Neely (2015)

Only mention in Parker McKenzie’s notecards, hard to define P. McKenzie (n.d.)

Use text analysis and targeted elicitation to figure out meaning.

5 | Morphology of *tâu* and *fâl*

These forms are stems that can be used freely or with nominal expressions.

When with nouns, they form compounds with their ground.

- (3) *ƶõtâu* *è dế.*
 tò: + t^hô: è – dé:
 house_c + **trans** 3I – be standing
 ‘They’re standing on the other side of the house’ (fn) I: inverse number (here pl.)
- (4) *Văufâl* *ét mầu.*
 p^ʔó: + pâl ét – mớ:
 river_c + **cis** 3I/R – move
 ‘They moved to this side of the river’ (fn) R: reflexive

When free, their ground is anaphoric.

- (7) *Tâu* *è dế.*
 t^hô: è – dé:
 trans 3I – be standing
 ‘They’re standing on the other side.’ (fn)
- (8) *Fâl* *bé mầu.*
 pâl bé – mớ:
 cis 3I/R – move
 ‘They moved to this side.’ (fn)

6 | Morphology of *tâu* and *fâl*

As stems, they can host additional locative and directional affixes.

- (9) *Qóptâui* *è cíl.*
 k^ʔóp + t^hó – j è – kíł
 mountain_c + **trans** – NS 3I – be living
 ‘They live somewhere beyond the mountains.’ (fn) NS: non-specific
- (10) *Qópfâlcà* *è cíl.*
 k^ʔóp + pâl – kjæ è – kíł
 mountain_c + **cis** – at 3I – be living
 ‘They live somewhere on this side of the mountains.’ (fn)
- (11) *tâu/fâl* : figure is specific

We set aside issues of syntactic structure

Svenonius (2010), Saeed (2016)

7 | The basic meaning of *táu* and *fál*

Táu and *fál* are relative locatives

Levinson (2003)

Based on a perspective point (P)

cp. 'viewer-oriented' Kracht (2002)

Employing a figure/ground framework

Talmy (1972)

Three-way relation (G, F, P) along a vector

Zwarts (1997)

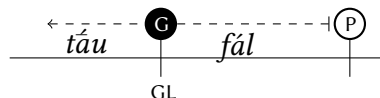


8 | Perspectives in space

Due to composition, locatives in Kiowa are all event-modifying

Figures of locatives are always events: Event location (EL)

- *Fál* describes event locations EL between ground location (GL) and PP
- *Táu* describes ELs where GL is between EL and PP



But what location is the perspective point?

9 | Setting a perspective point

Perspective point is typically the utterance location. (UL)

(12) Context: Speaker in OK is alluding to the linguist's previous studies in Europe.

Văutâu fê *á qácômthâu.*
 pʔó:+tʰô:-pè á-cʔákôm+tʔò:
 water_c+trans-along 3P-life_c+stay

‘There are people living across the ocean.’

Crowell (1960)

To test: embedded use/shifting? ‘The French say that we live across the ocean’

10 | Setting a perspective point

In narratives this can be shifted, as we might expect.

- (13) Context: Some Kiowa warriors are being carted off to jail, but one decides he won't go out like that.

óigàu thógá áddàu è chél dēē háun cáp à tódâu hàu.
 ój-gò t'ó:-jæ á:-dò è-tsél dé=è: hõn cáp à-t^hó:dô:=hò:
 there-PRES front-IN tree-INV 3I-stand.s/D NOM=at not onward 1S-pass.NEG=take_{AUX}
 'I shall not continue on past that point up ahead where a tree stands.'

Fál hégáu ôihyàu à hêmà!
 pâl hégó ôjhjò: à-hê:mà
cis then right now 1S-die.IPFV

'I'm going to die right now **before we get there!**'

- (14) Máu **fál**cà hégáu á áumdéhèl..
 mý: pâl-càe g| á-?ýmde-hèl..
 somewhat **cis**-at then 3P-make.DETR.PFV-EVID

'They reached fairly close (to where the tree stood)

Imprison

11 | Antonyms in use

The two terms are essentially antonyms and can be directly contrasted.

- (15) Fá Chènvàutâuchò ém qóp nàu fǎ **fálfèchò**.
 pá: tsèn+p[?]ò:+t^hô:=tsò ém-k[?]óp nẹ pá: pâl-pè=tsò
 some mud_c+water_c+**trans**=CST P/R-put.PL.PFV and:DS some **cis**-along=CST
 'Some had camped across Rainy Mountain Creek and some along the near side.'

A Butchering Story
 CST: contrastive

12 | Contrast to intrinsic locatives

Other locatives depend on the intrinsic properties of the ground

- (16) a. thó [t'ó:] 'in front (of)' (> face)
 b. góm [góm] 'behind' (> back)

- (17) Jó hâuigàu dáu chél né gúidè yí thádâu è chél.
 tó: hõjgò dó-tsél nẹ gújdè jí: t'á:d-ô: è-tsél
 house nearby 3S:1P-be set.s/D but other two between-in 3D-be set.s/D
 'Our house was nearby but there were two others before it.'

Aúphàu jògóm bè à dáu hàu.
 óp=hò tò:+góm-bè à-dó:hò:
 there.ONW=REF house_c+**back**-along 1S-move fast

'I ran there behind the houses.'

Ghost Woman Demands a
 Check

3 Scalar comparative use

13 | Extension to comparatives

- (18) *Ámtàui à cyói.*
 ám+t^hò-j à-có:j
 you+trans-NS 1s-be tall.sg
 ‘I am taller than you’

(fn)

- (19) *Óidèfál à-cyói.*
 óidè+pàl à-có:j
 that+cis 1s-be tall.sg
 ‘I am less tall than him.’

(fn)

14 | Comparison in perspective

The perspective is set along a scale Figure: Subject Ground: Object of comparison (= threshold?) Perspective point: zero on the scale



15 | Other types of comparison

- (20) Idiomatic usage to describe inability (cp. not being up to the task)

Fâl à dǎu.

pâl à-dó:

cis 1s-be

‘I can’t/am not up to it.’

(fn)

- (21) Context: Speaker is mentioning the linguist’s previous language studies

Hègáu án-háigàdǎu nǎu máun táui.

hègó án-hájjàè+dò: nǎ mǎn t^hó:-j

already 3P:3S-teach.DETR_c+be and:DS EPIS trans-NS

‘She has learned these and perhaps more.’

Crowell (1960)

4 Temporal usage

16 | Relations in time

These stems are also used for temporal purposes, where they are often translated as ‘before’ or ‘after/since’.

- (22) *Fál hábé gá cómàumdèhèl.*
pál hábé jàè-kó:m+ỳ:mdè-hèl
cis sometime 3P-friend_c+become.PFV-EVID
 ‘Sometime **since then** they (the Utes) became (our) friends.’
- (23) *Táu gá dǎumêê háyá Cáuigú ém dǎuchálidè hégáu háun yá háigáu.*
t^hô: jàè-dǎmê:=è hájá kǎjǎu ém-dó:tsá:Ái:=dè hégó hǎ:n jǎ:-hájgô:
trans 3P-be.EVID=when way Kiowas 3P/R-pray.IPFV.EVID=REL then not 3P:1s-be known.NEG
 ‘I don’t know how Kiowas used to pray before that time.’

Fima’s story

17 | Relations in time

They can be free-standing (as above) or attached to nominalized clauses.

- (24) *[Pólǎjè é hólidè]táu sákòvài gá dǎumê...*
p^hólǎ:tè é-hól=dè+t^hò: sá:+k^hòp[?]ǎ-j jàè-dǎ:mê:
 (name) 3I/3s-kill.PFV=NOM+trans winter_c+middle-NS 3P-be.EVID
 ‘It was mid-winter, before Poolant’s killing...’
- áugáu tǎlyóp è qáuhêmdè.*
ógò t^hà:Áóp è-k[?]ó:+hêmdè
 SUB boy.INV 3I-freeze_c+die.PFV=NOM
 ‘that the boys froze to death.’

Poolant’s Killing

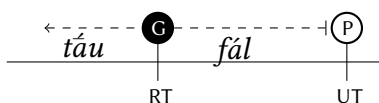
18 | Perspective toward the past

In stories about some past moment:

- Perspective point is the utterance time (UT)
- Figure is the topic time (TT)
- Ground is a referred-to time (RT) in sentence or discourse

Klein (1994)

Fál describes a TT between the RT and UT *Táu* describes TT before the RT



19 | Example from text

Wind Goomda's 1946 version of the story of Poolant's killing includes an epilogue insisting on the timing of an event.

(24) *Pólájè é hólèdè̀tàu sákòv̀àui gá d̀aùmê...* 'It was mid-winter, **before** Poolant's killing...' *aúgàu tàlyóp è q́áuhêmdè.* 'that the boys froze to death.'

(25) *Háun q́ígà gá d̀aùmâuhèl.*
 h́on k'í:jàè jàè-d́:mô:-hèl.
 not **after** 3P-be.NEG-EVID
 'It wasn't afterward.'

Poolant's Killing

20 | Toward the future

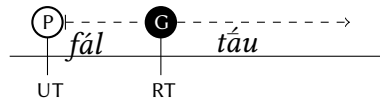
When describing the future, the perspective point doesn't change, but the directions do.

In stories about some future moment:

- Perspective point is the utterance time (UT)
- Figure is the topic time¹ (TT)
- Ground is a referred-to time in the discourse (RT)

Klein (1994)

Fál describes a TT between the RT and UT *Táu* describes TT before the RT



21 | Fixed perspective

With times of the day, the perspective point is midnight, so *t^hó:* denotes after that time, and *pál* before.

Moreover, it is normal with times of day to employ the directional suffix *-p*, which indicates that an event progresses along a direction away from a deictic center (glossed ONW 'onward')

(26) *Kísáutàup gá sálhèl.*
 k^hí:só:+t^hò=p jàè-sál-hèl
 noon+trans=ONW 3P-be hot-EVID
 'It was hot by afternoon'

Palmer, Jr. (2003) 'Thebol'

¹Or instead a shifted time introduced by a modal (Klecha 2013).

- (27) *Kísáufál bé qáujé.*
 k^hi:só:+pàl bé-kʔó:té
 noon+cis 1P/R-meet.IMPER
 ‘Let’s meet before noon.’ (fn)

22 | Contrast to intrinsic temporal locatives

Kiowa temporal expressions generally follow simple precedence relations

- (28) a. *tògàu* [t^hògò:] ‘a long time ago’
 b. *thópjèl* [tʔóptèl] ‘previously’
 c. *àunqî* [ʔnkʔi:] ‘in the past, beforehand’
 d. *sáut* [sót] ‘just recently’
 e. *hègáu* [hègó] ‘then (next)’
 f. *hégáu* [hégó] ‘meanwhile, just as’
 g. *qígà* [kʔí:jà] ‘after, afterwards’
 h. *thófěgù* [tʔópé:gù] ‘in the future’

5 Summary

23 | Summary of uses

táu and *fál* indicate a comparative relation between three objects

usage	persp. pt.	figure	ground
locative	usu. utterance	event	entity
scalar	zero	subject	entity/event
temporal	utterance time	topic time	reference time

24 | Acknowledgements

Óbàhàu. That’s all I came to say. Àhô! Thank you!

Thanks to my Kiowa speaker consultants for sharing so much: Dorothy DeLaune, Delores Harragarra, and Juanita Ahtone.

Thanks also to Darren Zotigh at the Elders’ Center, Amie Tah-Bone and the rest of the Kiowa Culture and Language Revitalization Program. Thanks for helpful feedback from the RiFFL group at the University of Kansas.

This material is based upon work supported by the National Science Foundation under Grant No. BCS-1664431 through the Documenting Endangered Languages program (in conjunction with the National Endowment for the Humanities and EPSCoR).

Any opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this material are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the National Science Foundation.

References

- Crowell, Edith. 1960. The Kiowa Language: A Grammatical Study. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania dissertation.
- Gatschet, Albert A. 1882. Phonetics of the Kayowē Language. In Proceedings of the A.A.A.S., Salem, Mass.
- Harbour, Daniel. 2007. Morphosemantic number: From Kiowa noun classes to UG number features. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Harbour, Daniel, Laurel Watkins & David Adger. 2012. Information structure, discourse structure, and noun phrase position in Kiowa. IJAL 78(1). 97–126.
- Harrington, John Peabody. 1928. Vocabulary of the Kiowa Language, vol. Bulletin 84. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of American Ethnology.
- Klecha, Peter. 2013. Diagnosing modality in predictive expressions. Journal of Semantics doi: 10.1093/jos/fft011.
- Klein, Wolfgang. 1994. Time in Language. London: Routledge.
- Kracht, Marcus. 2002. On the semantics of locatives. Linguistics and Philosophy 25(2). 157–232.
- Levinson, Stephen C. 2003. Space in language and cognition. Cambridge, England: Cambridge U. Press.
- Linn, Mary. 2011. State of the State: Oklahoma native languages in the 21st century. 4th annual Oklahoma Workshop on Native American Languages.
- McKenzie, Andrew. 2012. The role of contextual restriction in reference-tracking. Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Amherst dissertation.
- McKenzie, Parker. n.d. Collected papers. At Oklahoma Historical Society Research Archive, Oklahoma City.
- McKenzie, Parker & John P. Harrington. 1948. Popular account of the Kiowa Indian language. Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research.
- Mooney, James. 1896. Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians 17th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.
- Neely, Amber. 2015. Speaking Kiowa today: Continuity and change through the generations. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma dissertation.
- Palmer, Jr., Gus. 2003. Telling Stories the Kiowa Way. Tucson, Arizona: U of Arizona Press.
- Saeed, Sameerah Tawfeeq. 2016. Space and Events: Spatial PPs and Motion VPs. Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Svenonius, Peter. 2010. Spatial P in english. In Guglielmo Cinque & Luigi Rizzi (eds.), The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, vol. 6, Mapping Spatial PPs, Oxford Univ. Press.
- Talmy, Leonard. 1972. Semantic structures in English and Atsugewi. Berkeley: University of California dissertation.
- Watkins, Laurel. 1984. A Grammar of Kiowa. Lincoln, NE: U of Nebraska Press.
- Wonderly, William, Lornia Gibson & Paul Kirk. 1954. Number in Kiowa: Nouns, demonstratives, and adjectives. IJAL 20. 1–7.
- Yumitani, Yukihiro. 1984. Case marking in Kiowa: A study of organization of meaning. NY: City University of New York dissertation.
- Zwarts, Joost. 1997. Vectors as relative positions: a compositional semantics of modified PPs. Journal of Semantics 14. 57–86.