Prosodically Conditioned Allomorphy in a Kashaya Clitic

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Outline of talk

• Forms of the /yac/ clitic
  – marks Agentive and related meanings

• Iambic stress pattern
  – within words and phrases, including clitics
  – lengthening in the word domain

• Distribution of length in /yaco/ ~ /ya:co/
  – nearly captured by location of foot head
  – but actually depends on preceding syllable

• Speculation
  – historical shift from suffix to clitic
Pomoan languages
THE AGENTIVE CLITIC
Agentive clitic /yac/

• Realized as /yaʔ/ by debuccalization
  – unless followed by a vowel or a glottalizing clitic
• Core meaning of agency
  – Oswalt (1961), Hall (1990)
• But various uses
  – to be illustrated shortly
• Sometimes the clitic seems to be included specifically in order to mark plurality or case
Forms of the clitic

- Marks various case forms and plurality

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- In an open syllable, /ya/ is sometimes long
/yac/ for Agents

• Emphasizes intentionality of a person
  a. naṭa qawi =yaʔ maʔel kihlaʔ baṭó:l
     child small =AGT father.3P.OBJ still keep.asking
     ‘the young child still keeps asking his father’
  b. naṭa qawi =yaʔ hiʔbaya =ʔel mayic’-biw
     child small =AGT man =OBJ resemble-EVID
     ‘the baby acts like the man’

• Compare non-agentive reading
  c. naṭa qawi hiʔbaya =ʔel mayic’-biw
     child small man =OBJ resemble-EVID
     ‘the baby resembles the man’
/yac/ for Attributes

• Profession or attribute of a person
  – “one who is or does”, “those who”
  a. dic’má: =yaʔ
     translate =AGT
     ‘a translator’
  b. hiyémʔ =yaʔ
     hold.authority =AGT
     ‘the President’
  c. ?ahqʰa =yów =ʔbakʰe =yacʰma
     water =under =from =AGT.PL
     ‘the Undersea people’ (i.e., Russians arriving by ship)
/yac/ for Non-Humans

• Showing (apparent) agency
  – in everyday settings or traditional stories

a. s’ihta =yaʔ ya:pálka babolʔ
   bird =AGT apple make.hole.with.mouth
   ‘the bird pecked a hole in the apple’

b. qama:l-a buṭaqá =ya:co =ʔ
   start.play-IMP bear =AGT.VOC =IMP
   ‘start to play, Bear!’

c. ʔahqʰa =yaʔ miṭaʔ sihcʰúhcʰuw
   water =AGT sand wash.away
   ‘the water is washing away the sand’
Honorific /yac/

- Honorific or respectful
  - for an in-law, or a deceased person

a. **hiʔbayá =ya?**
   man =AGT
   ‘son-in-law’

b. **ʔa: Tim =yacol da:qa?**
   I Tim =AGT.OBJ like
   ‘I like Tim’ (of an in-law or deceased person)

c. **ʔa: Tim =to da:qa?**
   I Tim =OBJ like
   ‘I like Tim’ (in ordinary use)
Plural

• Plural can be followed by case-marked clitic
  a. duwení =bakʰe =yacʰma =ya:col
     long.ago =from =AGT.PL =AGT.OBJ
     ‘(to) the ancient ones’
  b. ʔacaʔ hiyémʔ =yacʰma =ya:coʔna
     person hold.authority =AGT.PL =AGT.LOC
     ‘at the place of the people in authority’

• Less often, the plural is directly inflected
  – essentially omitting /yaco/
  – thus =yacʰma-Ɂ or =yacʰma-ʔna
KASHAYA STRESS
Kashaya footing

• Crucial to evaluate the length alternations
  – common source of long vowels in the language
• Iambs from left to right
  – iterative, as evidenced by iambic lengthening
• First syllable is extrametrical by default
  – blocked if the root is monosyllabic and unprefixed
  – essentially, a root vowel must be footed
• Includes enclitics in the domain of footing
  – optionally, groups together separate words as well
Stress assignment

• Second or third syllable
  – depending on weight of second syllable

a. cu-ʔdan-tʰu-meʔ  ‘don’t shoot! PL’
   <cuʔ>(dán)(tʰumeʔ)

b. cu-ʔdan-ad-u  ‘keep shooting’
   <cuʔ>(daná:)du

c. cahci-hqa-w  ‘place in seated position’
   <cah>(cíh)(qaw)

d. cahci-meʔ  ‘sit down! IN -LAW’
   <cah>(ciméʔ)
Iambic lengthening

• Long vowel in stressed open syllables
  – but not word-finally

a. *qa-sit-ala-med-u* ‘be peeling down with teeth’
   <qa>(sitá:)(lamè:)du

b. *mu-ʔc’aba-med-u* ‘be cracking from heat’
   <muʔ>(c’abá:)(medù)

c. *mo-ʔs’on-aduc-i* ‘dent it with force!’
   <moʔ>(s’oná:)(dúcì)

d. *mo-ʔs’ohn-aduc-i* ‘dent them with force!’
   <moʔ>(s’óh)(nadù:)ci
Non-lengthening suffixes

• Suffixes late in the verb all resist changes in length
  – “word-level” vs. “stem-level” suffixation

  a.  \textit{duʔ-k’u-mela} \quad \text{‘I’m finished’}
      \textit{<duʔ>(k’umé)la}

  b.  \textit{pʰi-libit-ci-mela} \quad \text{‘I caught a glimpse of him’}
      \textit{<pʰi>(libítʰ)(cimè)la}

  c.  \textit{daʔ-t’a-tʰi-ba} \quad \text{‘not having found it’}
      \textit{<daʔ>(t’atʰí)ba}

  d.  \textit{ba-hnat-qa-tʰi-qa-em} \quad \text{‘didn’t seem to ask him’}
      \textit{<bah>(nátʰ)(qatʰì)(qam)}
Non-lengthening clitics

• Most clitics also do not alternate in length
  – same as word-level suffixation

a.  \textit{kulu} \:\textit{=bak}^h\textit{e} \quad \text{‘from the woods; wild’}
    \textit{<ku>(lubá)k}^h\textit{e}

b.  \textit{šahya mo:du} \:\textit{=bak}^h\textit{e} \quad \text{‘in order to run fast’}
    \textit{<šah>(yamó:)(dubà)k}^h\textit{e}

c.  \textit{bihše} \:\textit{=?emu} \quad \text{‘the deer SUBJ’}
    \textit{<bih>(še?é)mu}

d.  \textit{naṭa qawi} \:\textit{=?emu} \quad \text{‘the young child SUBJ’}
    \textit{<na>(ṭaqá)(wi?è)mu}
DISTRIBUTION OF LENGTH IN /yac/
Short after closed syllable

• Vowel in /ya/ is short following heavy /CVC/ – never stressed in that position, given iambic feet

a. \text{kilákh} = \text{yacol}  \\
    eagle = AGT.OBJ  \\
    ‘(to) Eagle’

b. \text{qʰaʔbeqʰáʔ} = \text{yacoʔkʰe}  \\
    hawk = AGT.BEN  \\
    ‘for Hawk’

c. \text{pʰaláʔcay’} = \text{yacoʔna}  \\
    white.person = AGT.LOC  \\
    ‘to the white people’s place’
Short after long vowel

• Also short /ya/ following heavy /CV:/
  – accompanied by regular ACCENT SHIFT to the next foot

a. hadu: =yacól
   other =AGT.OBJ
   ‘(to) another’

b. nupʰe: =yacó
   skunk =AGT.VOC
   ‘hey Skunk!’

c. ʔacaʔ matʰí: =yacoʔkʰe
   man blind =AGT.BEN
   ‘for the blind man’

  a word that shows idiosyncratic accent shift
Long in stressed syllable

• Long /ya:/ where it would be a foot head
  – looks like iambic lengthening

a. **duwi** =**yá:coʔna**  
   coyote =AGT.LOC  
   ‘at Coyote’s place’

b. **qʰawáʔla** =**ya:col**  
   heron =AGT.OBJ  
   ‘(to) Heron’

c. **maki** =**yácʰma** =**ya:col**  
   older.brother.3P =AGT.PL =AGT.OBJ  
   ‘(to) her older brothers’

always long after  
=**yacʰma**
Long after light syllable

• In fact, /ya:/ after any /CV/, whatever precedes it – even if not a predicted foot head

a. **buṭaqá =ya:coʔkʰe**
coyote =AGT.BEN
‘for the bear’

b. **biʔda s’áwala =ya:co**
kingfisher =AGT.VOC
‘hey Kingfisher!’

c. **mámkolo =ya:col**
ground.squirrel =AGT.OBJ
‘to the ground squirrels’

Exception to extrametricality
ALLOMORPHY
Why allomorphy?

• Many suffixes show lengthening within the word
  – a major source of derived long vowels in Kashaya
  – so one might expect that explanation here
• But other clitics do not alternate in length
  – does not even apply to (verb) suffixes late in the word
  – so not a general aspect of the language
• Distribution of /ya:co/ does not match footing
  – sensitive to immediately preceding /CV/
• Hence, allomorphy of this specific clitic
  – long vowel is listed, not generated
Speculation

• /ya:co/ originally arose from iambic lengthening
  – would be long only if the head of a foot
• Still found with kinship and personal suffixes
  a. t’ile-me-toʔna ‘at the old woman’s place’
     <t’i>(lemé:)(tòʔ)na
  b. ṭʰoʔo:koy’-me-to ‘(to) Miss Cricket’
     <ṭʰo>(ʔó:)(kòy’)(metò)
• These noun suffixes take further case marking
  – as does /yac/
  – but they do not pattern as clitics
Relic of earlier status?

- /yac/ is used for certain kinship terms
  - hiʔbaya =yac ‘my daughter’s husband’
  - t’ile =yac ‘my mother/father-in-law’
- In parallel position to suffix for naming
  - t’ile-ki-n’ ‘old man’
  - t’ile-me-n’ ‘old woman’
- Cognates of /yac/ in other Pomoan languages
  - clear in all Western languages; tenuous in E, SE
  - more suffix-like
  - used only, or mainly, with nouns
Diachrony

• Limited noun suffix generalized to more contexts?
  – beyond special category of case-marked nouns

• Shifted from suffix to clitic status
  – or at least, from more- to less-tightly bound
  – opposite of standard grammaticalization
    • normally words > clitics > affixes

• Compare English possessive clitic
  – DEGRAMMATICALIZATION (Norde 2009, 2010)
Reanalysis

• Length alternations were already in place
  – from prior status as noun suffixes
• But clitics don’t show iambic lengthening
  – shift to clitic status required new analysis
• Reference to immediate environment
  – more typical type of phonological conditioning
  – common in allomorph selection (Paster 2006)
    • although foot structure can also determine allomorphy
Limited changes

• Preceding /CV/ nearly the same predictions as a metrical trigger “stressed”
  – preceding CVC and CV: predict short
    ...(CVC)(ya.co)
    ...(CV:)(ya.co)
  – preceding CVC.CV and CV:.CV predict long
    ...(CVC)(CV.ya:)co
    ...(CV:)(CV.ya:)co
  – some preceding CV.CV predict long
    ...(CV.CV)(CV.ya:)co

  but different prediction for ...(CV.CV)(ya.co)
Minimal effect

• Small residue with different result
  – just words like <bu>ṭaqá and mámkolò are different

• Necessary pattern is not common
  – two CV syllables footed together
  – i.e. initial, or preceded by a heavy syllable

• And apparently absent from kinship vocabulary
  – simpler local CV generalization may have been completely accurate in the kinship system
  – this analysis might have preceded or followed the broadening of the context of use for /yac/
Kashaya-internal motivation

• Compare allomorphy in **durative suffix** (Buckley 2017)

• Following a vowel, two main options:
  – /cid/ if just CV precedes (modulo extrametricality)
    (ca-cí:)d-u  ‘be sitting on the ground’
    <da>(ma-cí:)d-u  ‘keep picking up’
  – /med/ if more material precedes
    (mítʰ)(ma-me:d)-u  ‘keep breaking them’
    <ma>(las’á:)-(med-u)  ‘keep breaking them’

• But could also be attributed to “first foot”
  – here not just any CV; must be maximally CV
Summary

• Vowel length alternation in /yaco/ not the same as iambic lengthening
  – long after CV regardless of foot structure
• But that is still the likely origin of the alternation
  – at an earlier time when it was more tightly bound
  – and occurred just after nouns
    • perhaps specifically in the kinship system
• Would mean the suffix was degrammaticalized
  – fits with comparative evidence
  – but remains speculative
References 1


References 2


SUPPLEMENTAL:
POMOAN COGNATES
Southern Pomo

• Clear cognates in clitics
  – Agent /yey/ :: /yac/
  – Patient /yčon/ :: /yacol/
  – Vocative /yčo/ :: /yaco/

• Attached to common nouns
  – one possible example of =yčon as relativizer
  – Walker (2013: 110) classifies them as special clitics
    • the most affix-like category of clitics

• In kinship system, -yey is treated as a suffix
  – Agent + Plural, integrated into the case-marking system
  – in same slot as cognates of Kashaya kinship suffixes
Central Pomo

• Some elements are clear cognates
  – Patient /yačol/, Oblique /yačo:kʰe/
  – used generally with nouns referring to humans

• Possible cognate to simple /yac/
  – Topicalizer /ya/ rather than Agent
  – still mainly with nouns referring to humans

• Both are restricted in what they follow
  – compare suggested earlier use in Kashaya
  – closer to status of noun suffix
Northern Pomo

- Many similar uses of cognate clitic /yaʔ/
  - distinct from inflectional case marking
  - encodes sentience, self-motivation, consciousness
    - including animals described as showing intention
- Also in related case forms
  - Patient /yačul/, Oblique /yačuʔ/
- Seems to occur just after nouns
  - apparently not after verbs in nominalizing function
  - thus, also more restricted than in Kashaya today
Eastern Pomo

• More distantly related to Kashaya
• But a possible cognate suffix
  – Individuating Agentive Animate /-yeʔèkʰ /
  – shares link to agency and animacy in other languages
    • attaches to substantives (personal and common nouns, adjectives, demonstratives, numerals), an indefinite anaphor, and a stative verb

• Correspondences of y:y and č:k are regular
  Kashaya =yya / =ʼay Eastern -(a)ya PLURAL
  Kashaya čahno Eastern ka:ŋu ‘word’
Southeastern Pomo

• Most divergent language of the family
• One tantalizing suffix (regular č:k here also)
  – /-myak/
  – not defined by Moshinsky
• Occurs with just two roots
  – but resulting noun is a person or agent
    kníl-myak ‘sprinter’
    bʔá-myak ‘rich; rich man’
    bʔá-mʔed ‘rich woman’
    cf. SE -med in pronouns, Kashaya -me-n? for female terms
SUPPLEMENTAL:
ACCENT SHIFT
Accent shift

- If leftmost foot is (CV:), pitch accent will fall on the following foot instead
  - thus occurs on third or fourth syllable
  - depending on weight of third syllable
- Skipped (CV:) is a nonbranching foot
  - parallel to (CVC) that takes the accent
Accent shift within a word

• To third or fourth syllable

  a. *dase:-wa-em*  ‘I see (you’re) washing it’
     <da>(se:)(wá-m)

  b. *dase:-wetì*  ‘although I washed it’
     <da>(se:)(wetí)

  c. *maṭ’a:-qac’-tʰuʔ*  ‘don’t let it hex you!’
     <ma>(ṭ’a:)(qáʔ)(tʰuʔ)

  d. *maṭ’a:-wi-y-e: to*  ‘it hexed me’
     <ma>(ṭ’a:)(wi-yé:)to
Phrasal groupings

- Stress is often assigned across two or more words
  - or to a word and following clitic(s)
- Distinct from lexical footing
  - for words beyond the first in the phrase
  - iambic lengthening depends on word-internal feet
- Assume basic stratal architecture
  - Word vs. Phrase
- Examples presented here show phrasal footing
  - this is the source of surface accent
  - even in one-word utterances
Stress within a phrase

• Second or third syllable, once again
  – but no lengthening of stressed syllable

a. bihše hcʰoyic’-ʔ 'the deer died'
   <bih>(šéh)(cʰoyiʔ)

b. bihše boʔo-ʔkʰe 'will hunt deer'
   <bih>(šebó)(ʔoʔ)kʰe

c. sima =ltow 'during sleep'
   <si>(mál)(tow)

d. sima miḥi-ad-u 'lying asleep on the ground'
   <si>(mamí)(ti:)du
Accent shift within a phrase

• Quite a common occurrence
  – provides frequent evidence for phrasal stress

a. ʔima:ta =ʔyow-a-em ‘former woman NOM’
    <ʔi>(ma:)(táʔ)(yowam)

b. ʔima:ta našoya ‘young woman’
    <ʔi>(ma:)(taná)(šoya)

c. qahwe: wahqa-qa =ʔ ‘must have swallowed gum’
    <qah>(we:)(wáh)(qaqaʔ)

d. qahwe: qac-id-u ‘ask for gum’
    <qah>(we:)(qací:)du