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

INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE FAMILIES

Algc
- Wiyot
- Yurok

Athabaskan
- Bear River–Mattole
- Chetco–Tolowa
- Eel River
- Hupa
- Kato

Chumashan
- Barbareño
- Ineseño
- Interior Chumash
- Island Chumash
- Obispeño
- Purisimeño
- Ventureño

Hokan
- Chimariko
- Esselen
- Karuk
- Palaihnihan languages
- Pomoan languages
- Salinan
- Shastan languages
- Washo
- Yana
- Yuman languages

Penutian
- Klamath–Modoc
- Maiduan languages
- Miwokan languages
- Ohlone languages
- Wintuan languages
- Yokutsan languages

Uto-Aztecan
- Numic languages
- Takic languages
- Tübatulabal

Yuki–Wappo
- Coast Yukian
- Northern Yukian
- Wappo
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Variant</th>
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<td>SUBJECT</td>
<td>yac (ya?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJECT</td>
<td>yacol</td>
<td>~ ya:col</td>
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<tr>
<td>BENEFACTIVE</td>
<td>yacoʔkʰe</td>
<td>~ ya:coʔkʰe</td>
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<td>LOCATIVE</td>
<td>yacoʔna</td>
<td>~ ya:coʔna</td>
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<tr>
<td>VOCATIVE</td>
<td>yaco</td>
<td>~ ya:co</td>
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<tr>
<td>PLURAL</td>
<td>yacʰma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 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.ʔahqʰa =yów =ʔbakʰe =yacʰma
        water =under =from =AGT.PL
        ‘the Undersea people’ (i.e., Russians arriving by ship)
Showing (apparent) agency

- in everyday settings or traditional stories

a. s’ihta =yaʔ ya:pálka babol?
   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. ?ahqʰa =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 =yaʔ
   man =AGT
   ‘son-in-law’

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

c. ?a: Tim =to da:qaʔ
   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. ?acaʔ 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-ɨ or =yacʰma-ʔna
KASHAYA STRESS
Kashaya footing

• Crucial to evaluate the length alternations
  – common source of long vowels in the language
• Iamb 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’
   *<cu?><(dán)(tʰumeʔ)*

b. *cu-ʔdan-ad-u*  ‘keep shooting’
   *<cu?><(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:)(ducì)
  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{du-ʔk’u-mela} \hfill ‘I’m finished’
   \hfill <duʔ>(k’umé)la

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

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

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

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

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

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

c. \( \text{bihše} = \text{ʔemu} \) ‘the deer SUBJ’
   \(<\text{bih}>(\text{šeʔé})\text{mu}\)

d. \( \text{naṭa qawi} = \text{ʔemu} \) ‘the young child SUBJ’
   \(<\text{na}>(\text{ṭaqá})(\text{wiʔè})\text{mu}\)
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. kilákh =yacol
   eagle =AGT.OBJ
   ‘(to) Eagle’

b. qʰaʔbeqʰáʔ =yacoʔkʰe
   hawk =AGT.BEN
   ‘for Hawk’

c. pʰaláʔcay’ =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’

<ha>(du:)(yacól)

<nu>(pʰe:)(yacó)

<ʔa>(caʔ)(matʰí:)(yacòʔ)kʰe

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 =yáčʰma =ya:col  
   older.brother.3P =AGT.PL =AGT.OBJ
   ‘(to) her older brothers’

always long after
=yačʰma
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


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 / =’ay   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-nʔ 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:)(wám)
  b. dase:-weti ‘although I washed it’
     <da>(se:)(wetí)
  c. mat’a:-qac’-tʰuʔ ‘don’t let it hex you!’
     <ma>(t’a:)(qáʔ)(tʰuʔ)
  d. mat’a:-wi-y-e: to ‘it hexed me’
     <ma>(t’a:)(wiyé:)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. \textit{bihše} \(hc^\text{h}oyic’-?\) ‘the deer died’
   \textcolor{orange}{\langle bih\rangle(šéh)(c^\text{h}oyiʔ)}

b. \textit{bihše} \textit{boʔo-ʔkʰe} ‘will hunt deer’
   \textcolor{orange}{\langle bih\rangle(šebó)(ʔoʔ)kʰe}

c. \textit{sim}a =ltow ‘during sleep’
   \textcolor{orange}{\langle si\rangle(mál)(tow)}

d. \textit{sim}a miṭi-ad-u ‘lying asleep on the ground’
   \textcolor{orange}{\langle si\rangle(mamí)(ṭi:)du}
Accent shift within a phrase

- Quite a common occurrence
  - provides frequent evidence for phrasal stress

a. \(?ima:ta =\?yow-a-em\) ‘former woman NOM’
  \(<\textit{i}> (\textit{ma:}) (\textit{táʔ}) (\textit{yowam})\)

b. \(?ima:ta našoya\) ‘young woman’
  \(<\textit{i}> (\textit{ma:}) (\textit{taná}) (\textit{šoya})\)

c. \(qahwe: wahqa-qa =?\) ‘must have swallowed gum’
  \(<\textit{qah}> (\textit{we:}) (\textit{wáh}) (\textit{qaqaʔ})\)

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