

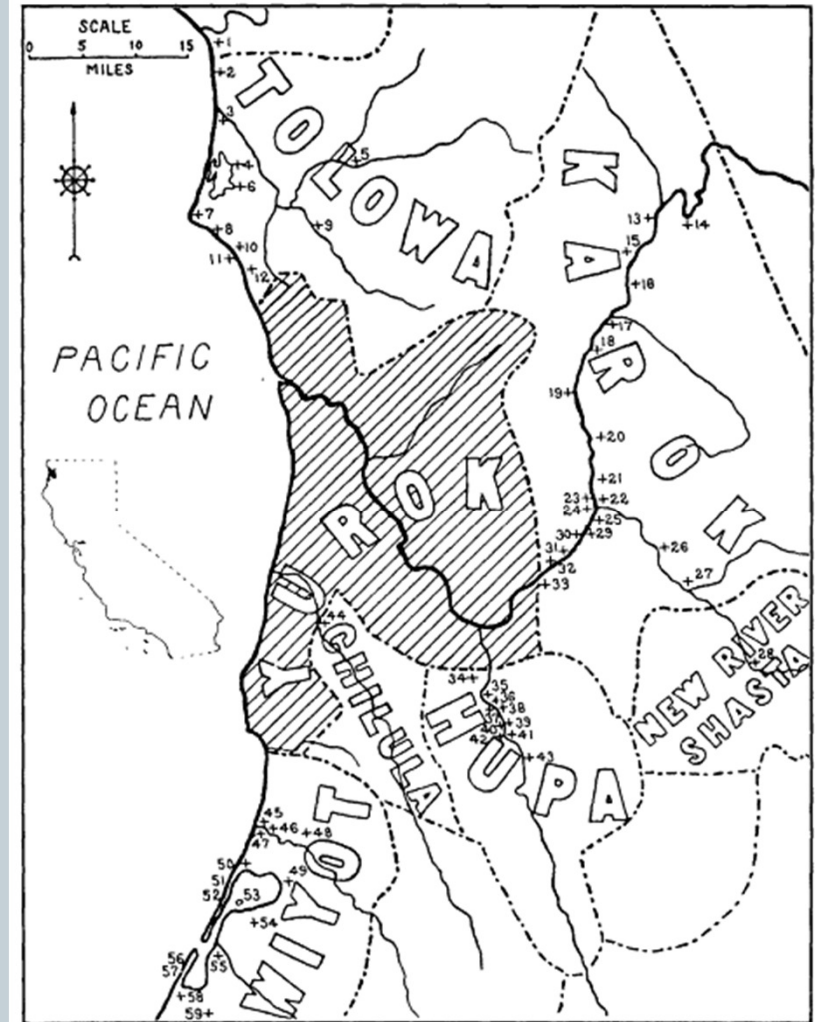
Preverbal Nonaffixal Ordering in Yurok (Algic)



HERMAN LEUNG
UC BERKELEY
GRAMMARGEDDON (QP FEST)
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Introduction

- Algic language in Northern California
 - distantly related to Wiyot and Algonquian languages

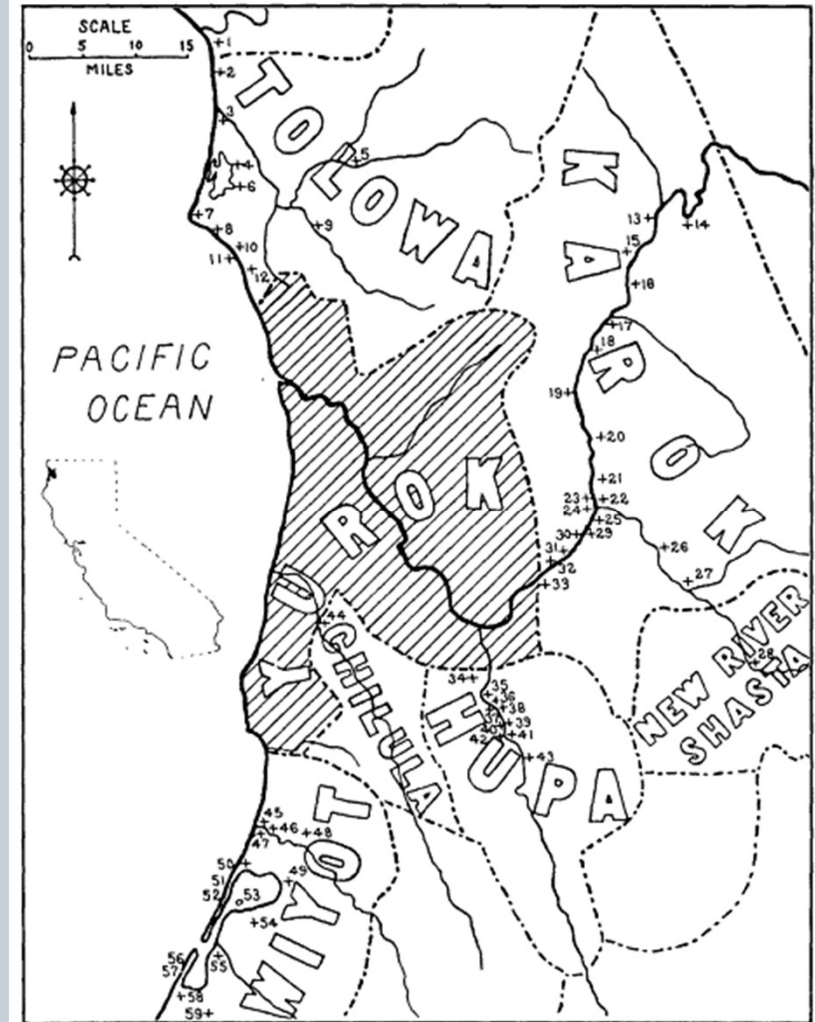


Introduction

- Algic language in Northern California
 - distantly related to Wiyot and Algonquian languages
- Over 70 preverbs (particles in preverbal position)
 - Various functions such as TAM, quantification, negation, manner, motion, etc.

Modal (1) **Cho'** kemey-em'. (LC-01-2, 2007)
MOD go.home-2S
'Go home.'

Motion (2) **Nu** hl'os! (GT3-06, 2003)
MOT get.IMP
'Go get it!'



Adverbial	Time ('still, yet'): kitkwela, kitkwo , tkwola, (‘and then’): to’s Other: ‘eni (‘completely, all over’), k’eso (‘apparently, it seems’)
Comparative	‘ini , nini , noni
Directional, Locational, Circumstantial (DirLocCirc)	<u>Directional</u> : hi, ‘ini (‘around’); → ho* ← (‘to’); s(h)o , sela (‘in a particular direction’) <u>Locational</u> : ‘i , ni , ‘o <u>Circumstantial</u> (‘by, for, from, with,’ etc.): ‘emehl , mehl
Manner	noo (‘like others’), s(h)oo (‘thus, thusly’)
Modal	<u>Imperative</u> : chi , cho <u>Desiderative</u> : kito , kitow <u>Irrealis</u> : si (would, could, should) <u>Necessity, Possibility, Future</u> : ki (will, can, must)
Motion	nu (‘go do X’)
Negative (+ other)	‘emi , mi , mo , mos , mosi, paas , s(h)emi ‘imi (‘i + mi), nimi (ni + mi), kimi (ki + mi), <u>Emphatic</u> : ‘imoksu , kenimi , nimok(w)su <u>Existential</u> : nimok’w (s) (‘there is not, not any, none’)
Quantifier	kichu (‘each’), chpi (‘only’), ‘all’: chu (chyu), nikichu , ikichu , kikichu (+ FUTURE), numichu
Time reference	<u>Future</u> : kesi , kit (INCEP), kiti (NEAR FUTURE), kiki (FUT + CONSEC) <u>Present</u> : kich (COMPL), ‘och , ‘ochkaa (DUR) <u>Past</u> : ‘ap , → ho* ←, ‘el , ‘ela , ‘esi , mela , mep , ‘ochkich (RECENT PAST), ‘u , ‘uma , wo (ho.PAST when preceded by negative preverb) <u>Modal/Future/Past/Other ??</u> : ko <u>Unrestricted</u> : ‘iki , niki (CONSEC); kap (‘then’); mesi (SUBSEQ); wo’ni (CONTEMP)
Modal + Motion	ku (ki + nu)
Modal + Circumstantial	kihl (ki + mehl)
Time + motion	kitu (kiti + nu); ‘ema/‘eme , → ma ← (me, maloh) (PAST.PUNCTUAL + MOTION)

Preverb clusters



- Preverbs may cluster
 - Up to groups of at least 4 within a clause/predicate attested
- (3) **Cho nikichu 'ap 'emehl 'r'grp 'wo-'o'lehl!** (YL, 1951)
MOD all/every TIME CIRC tell 3-house
'Go and tell the news at every house!'
- There can be intervening material between the preverbs
 - Only pronouns, adverbs, or numerals intervene (Robins 1958)
- (4) **Cho poy ko 'o key ku k'e-rahchin.** (YL, 1951)
MOD front MOD? LOC sit the 2-friend.
'Your friend must sit in front.'

Research Questions



- What are the ordering facts of preverbal particles in Yurok?
- What constraints govern these ordering facts?
- Typological and theoretical questions
 - Non-affixal counterpart to verbal morphology in agglutinating languages?
 - How do the ordering facts stack up with existing theories of ordering constraints?

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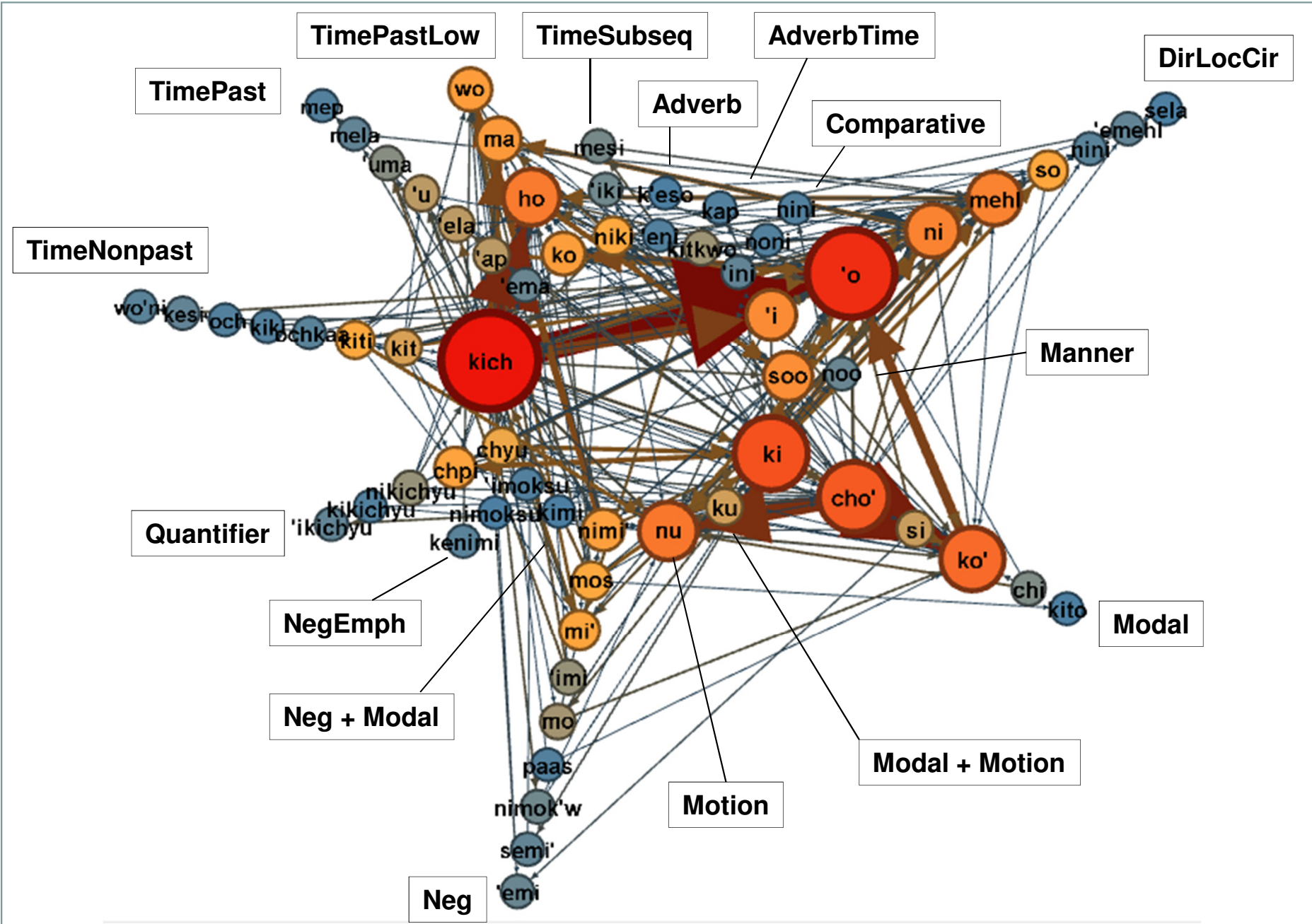
Research Questions + Method



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- Look at bigram patterns (adjacent and nonadjacent)
- Categorize preverbs into semantic bins and examine bin bigrams
 - Non-cooccurrence restrictions might be expected of preverbs of highly similar functions
- Continually analyze data and recategorize bins as needed



Following preverb

Preceding preverb

	Adv time	Adv	Neg Emph	Neg	Quant	Comp	Neg + Modal	Modal	Time Nonpast	Time Subseq	Time Past	Time Past Low	DLC	Motion	Manner	Mod + Mot
Adverb time				6							1	4	5			
Adverb								1				1				
Neg Emph								1						1		
Negation				2				22	7		16	49	4	1	3	1
Quantifier								17	3		2	1	19	1	3	2
Comparative							1	3				1				
Neg + Modal																
Modal				9	22	2		90	4	10	10	2	103	61	23	5
Time Nonpast				15	7			12	4		13	82	167	17	4	
Time Subseq		1		1				2	4			7	9	1	1	
Time Past									3		2	3	12			
Time Past Low					1			1			1	8	12		18	
DLC	2			5			1	20	5	3	3	62	39	19	14	
Motion					1			5	1				3			5
Manner				3				1		1		2	8			
Modal + Motion								2					4			

Findings (thus far)



- General order observed:
 - Modal/Time Nonpast > Time Past > DirLocCir > **Time Past Low** > Motion/Manner

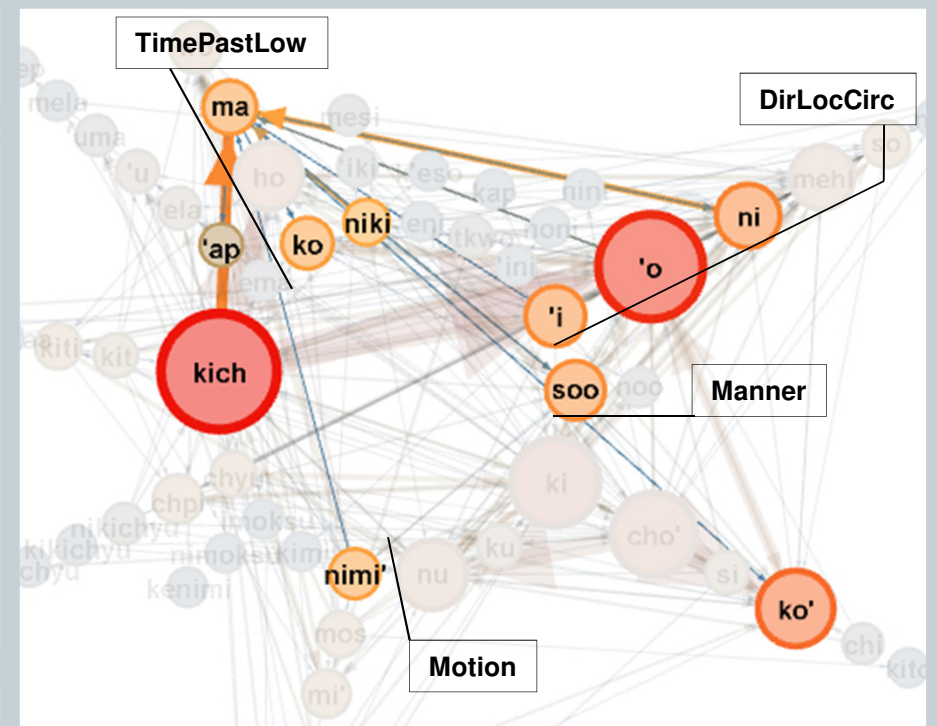
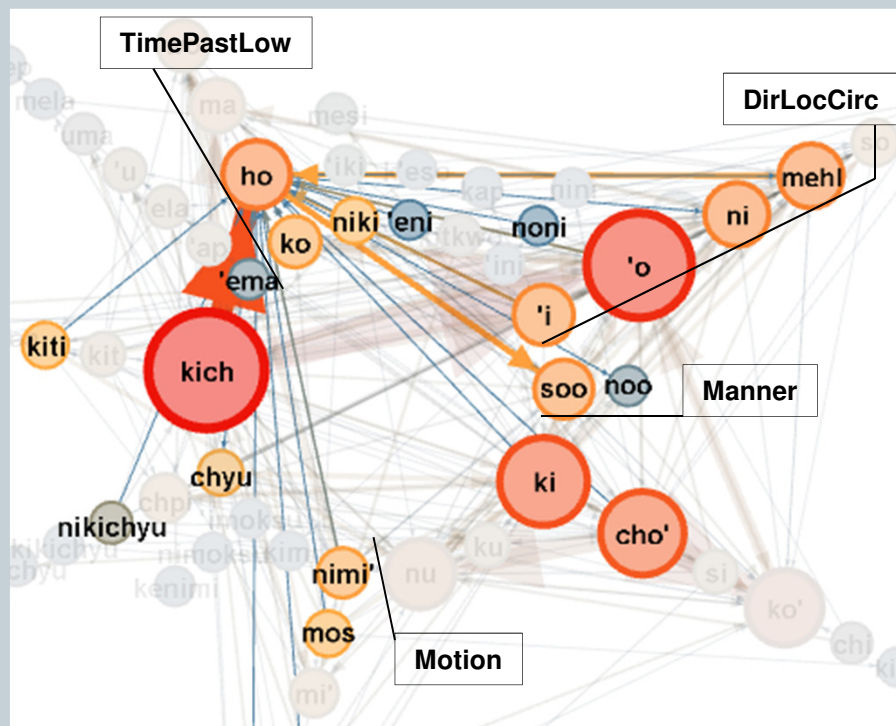
Findings (thus far) + Case Study



- General order observed:
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- Why “Time Past Low” so low?

Findings (thus far) + Case Study

- General order observed:
 - Modal/Time Nonpast > Time Past > DirLocCirc > **Time Past Low** > Motion/Manner
- Why “Time Past Low” so low? Two core examples:
 - ho* (directional/past)
 - ma* (past + motion)



Case study: *ho*



[Modal/Time Nonpast > Time Past > DirLocCir > **Time Past Low** > Motion/Manner]

- *ho* (preposition >) directional preverb > past time preverb

- Preposition

(5) Chpaanik' **ho** Kohpey. (YL, 1951)

be.far.3 to Crescent.City

It is a long way to Crescent City.

- Directional preverb

(6) Hitoo **ho** nii'nes! (GT3-06, 2003)

here DIR see.2.IMP

'Look this way!'

- Past time preverb

(7) Kich hoo'yk'etek' [ku ko'l mehl **ho** nepi'moh.] (MM3, 1927)

COMPL.PRES lose.1SG the thing CIRC PAST eat.COLL.1PL

'I lost what we used to eat with.'

Case study: *ma*



[Modal/Time Nonpast > Time Past > DirLocCir > **Time Past Low** > Motion/Manner]

- *ma* past + motion > past only

- Past + motion

(8) Nek kem **ma** chege'loh. (YL, 1951)
I too PAST.MOT gather.seaweed
'I too went seaweed gathering.'

- Past (+ metaphorical motion?)

(10) Ni **ma** kaamu'n '-uuksoh. (LA138-057, 1980)
LOC PAST(.MOT?) grow.badly 3-child
'His or her child is deformed.'

Case summary



[Modal/Time Nonpast > Time Past > DirLocCir > **Time Past Low** > Motion/Manner]

- *ho* and *ma* have overlapping functions (past time) and never co-occur
- both are or have low preverb components, diachronically or synchronically (directional *ho*, motion in *ma*), and stay low despite time semantics

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Case summary + Ongoing questions



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- How do the Yurok preverb ordering facts stack up with existing theories of ordering constraints?
 - Templatic (e.g., Hyman 2003)
 - Semantic/syntactic scope (e.g., Rice 2000)
 - Morpho/phonological (e.g. Inkelas 1993, Paster 2006)
 - Processing (e.g., Hay and Plag 2004, Plag and Baayen 2009)
 - Acquisition (e.g., Ryan 2010)
 - Historical

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 - Acquisition (e.g., Ryan 2010)
 - Historical ← *ho* and *ma*
- What about other preverbs (and preverb bins)? And counter orders?

References



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All Yurok data from:

University of California. 2001-2014. Yurok Language Project Digital Archive [YLPDA].
<http://linguistics.berkeley.edu/~yurok>