

## Periphrastic agreement in Yurok

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In this paper I present an analysis of levelling in Yurok pronominal prefix verb paradigms, and offer a feature-based analysis of secondary forms of pronominal prefix verbs. The primary data sources for this study are Robins (1958), Spott and Kroeber (1942), Berman (1982), Sapir (2001), Waterman (1920), and the author's fieldwork. Yurok pronominal prefix paradigms support the view that, in cases of periphrastic agreement, there is a strong tendency for individual morphological features to be associated with a single exponent. In cases where number features are expressed by simultaneous realization of pronominal prefixes and inflectional suffixes, realignment of morphological feature associations within the Yurok verbal word gives rise to paradigm levelling of the sort illustrated in the prefixed singular forms in (1), schematized diachronically in (2), and expressed by the synchronic rule of referral in (3).

### (1) Pronominal prefix verb forms in contrast to unprefixed forms: paradigm levelling in singular

<u>Unipersonal indicative</u>		<u>Unipersonal prefixed</u>		
1sg	nep-ekí	íne-nep-ekí		/nep-/ ěto eatí ( <i>e</i> -class)
2sg	nep- <b>eím</b>	kíe-nep- <b>ekí</b>		
3sg	nep <b>í</b>	íwe-nep- <b>ekí</b>		
1pl	nep-oh	íne-nep-oh		
2pl	nep-uí	kíe-nep-uí		
3pl	nep-ehl	íwe-nep-ehl		
1sg	tmool-okí	íne-tmool-okí		/tmool-/ ěto shootí ( <i>oo</i> -class)
2sg	tmool- <b>oóím</b>	kíe-tmool- <b>okí</b>		
3sg	tmool <b>í</b>	íwe-tmool- <b>okí</b>		
1pl	tmool-oh	íne-tmool-oh		
2pl	tmool-oíw	kíe-tmool-oíw		
3pl	tmool-ohl	íwe-tmool-ohl		

### (2) Analysis of unipersonal paradigm levelling: (cl = verb class, p = person, sg = singular)

	<u>Indicative</u>	<u>Pronominal prefix</u>	<u>Pronominal prefix</u>
Stage I:	nep - e- kí	*íne - nep - e - kí	*kíe - nep - e - ím
	[cl][1p,sg]	[1p] [cl] [1p,sg]	[2p] [cl] [2p,sg]
Stage II:	nep - e- kí	íne - nep - e - kí	*kíe - nep - e - ím
	[cl][1p,sg]	[1p] [cl] [sg]	[2p] [cl] [ ]
Stage III:	nep - e- kí	íne - nep - e - kí	kíe - nep - e - <b>kí</b>
	[cl][1p,sg]	[1p] [cl] [sg]	[2p] [cl] [ <b>sg</b> ]

### (3) A rule of referral for Yurok pronominal prefixed unipersonals

pronominal prefix UNI [sg SUBJ] verbform → PRONOMINAL PREFIX + [INDICATIVE UNI 1P SG]

A more general finding is the dual nature of paradigm levelling: paradigm levelling can result from paradigm-internal feature reassociations of the sort illustrated in (2), or from the extension of rules of referral from one paradigm to another. The prefixed bipersonal paradigm in Yurok, schematized in (4), illustrates how the rule of referral in (3), has been extended from one prefixal paradigm to another: any prefixed bipersonal form with a

singular subject is identical to the first singular subject bipersonal form, if there is one, in the bipersonal paradigm.

(4) Inflectional endings for indicative and pronominal prefix bipersonal verbs

(boxes show endings for pronominal prefix (PP) forms which *differ* from indicatives; parentheses indicate forms which are outside of the bipersonal paradigm)

	SUBJ	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
OBJ							
1sg	(REFL)		<b>-aí,</b> <b>-V-p-aí</b> <b>-V-p-ahí</b>	<b>-eín,</b> <b>-V-p-eín,</b> PASS-ekí	(REFL)	<b>-aí,</b> <b>-V-p-aí</b> <b>-V-p-ahí</b>	<b>-V-p-aahl,</b> PASS-ekí
2sg		<b>-V-c-ekí</b>	(REFL)	PASS-eím <b>-V-c-ekí</b>	<b>-V-c-oh</b>	(REFL)	PASS-eím
PP							
3sg		<b>-V-s-ekí</b>	<b>-V-s-eím</b> <b>-V-s-ekí</b>	(3sg UNI) <b>-V-s-ekí</b>	<b>-V-s-oh</b>	<b>-V-s-eím</b>	(3pl UNI)
PP							
1pl	(REFL)		PASS-oh, PASS-ogoh	PASS-oh, PASS-ogoh	(REFL)	PASS-oh, PASS-ogoh	PASS-oh, PASS-ogoh
2pl		<b>-V-cí-oí</b>	(REFL)	PASS- uí <b>-V-cí-oí</b>	<b>-V-cí-oí</b>	(REFL)	PASS- uí
PP							
3pl		<b>-V-sí-oí</b>	(2sg UNI)	(3sg UNI), PASS-ehl <b>-V-sí-oí</b>	(1pl UNI)	(1pl UNI)	(3pl UNI), PASS-ehl
PP			<b>-V-sí-oí</b>				

Finally, examination of secondary pronominal prefix forms reveals that pronominal prefixes, which typically mark person features of the subject, are free to mark person for object arguments in bipersonal forms where subject person-marking is unambiguously recoverable from feature specification of the inflectional suffixes. For example, corresponding to 2s/1s *tmoopai* 'you (sg.) shoot me' is the primary pronominal prefix form *kíe-tmoopah*, as well as a secondary form *íne-tmoopah*. In other words, where boxed inflectional suffixes in (4) are identical to first person singular subject exponents, person features of the subject are marked by the prefix, and no secondary form is possible. All of these findings lend further support to the view that pronominal prefixes are part of the syntactic word in Yurok (Blevins 2002).

*Selected References*

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