

Binarity and ternarity in the Kadiwéu verb

Michael Becker & Seoyoung Kim (Stony Brook University) & Filomena Sandalo (UNICAMP) • AMP 2018 @ UCSD

Introduction

- (1) Kadiwéu (Guaikurúan)
~1,300 speakers.

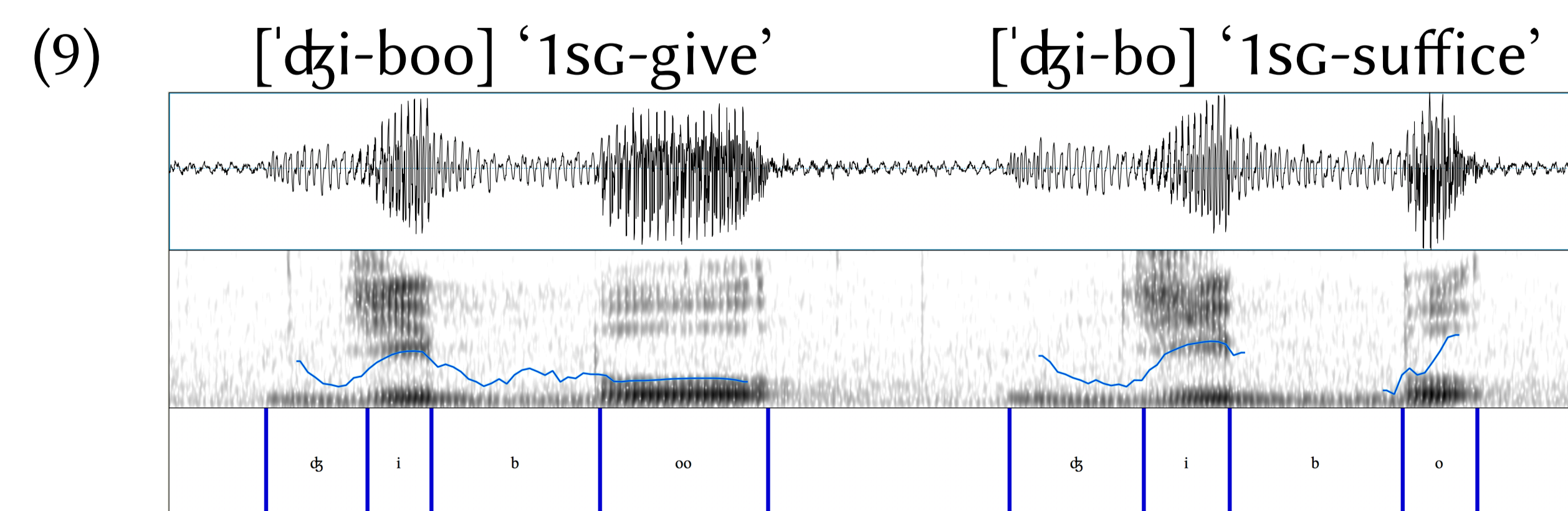
Our consultants:
a noble woman and her
husband in their 40's.



- (2) We recorded 533 verbal paradigms.
- (3) CV = L, CVV = H. No codas, no clusters.
- (4) Binarity (men): syllabic. No final stress.
- (5) Binarity (women): moraic. No monomoraic roots.
- (6) Ternarity (men & women):
a. Stress before heavy syllables: 'LH, *'LH, *'LLH
b. Final lengthening: 'LL# → 'LH, 'LLL# → *'LLH
- (7) Ternarity (women): root-initial lengthening:
a. CV roots always superlengthen, CV → CVVV
b. Long vowels often lengthen, CVV → CVVV
c. CV.CV roots lengthen more often than longer roots

Binarity (men)

- (8) Men only: No final stress.



- (10) Binarity (everybody): no monosyllabic verbs.
cf. monosyllabic noun ['li] 'pendant'.

Ternarity (everyone): phonotactics

When ternarity allows, lexical stress in #σσ window:

- (11) Lexical stress in all-light verbs:
• Initial 77% 344/444 [dʒi-biqo]
• Peninitial 22% 98/444 [dʒi-'biqo]
• Postpeninitial <1% 2/444 [dʒ-eli'cide]
- (12) Lexical stress with initial heavy:
• Initial 76% 16/21 [dʒ-oodʒete]
• Peninitial 24% 5/21 [dʒ-ii'catʃi]

Predictable ternary stress ≫ lexical stress:

- (13) #'LH: stress always initial
• Stress before H 100% 41/41 [dʒi-naalewe]
- (14) #L'LH: stress always peninitial, *'LLH
• Stress before H 100% 11/11 [dʒi-'giliitaga]
- (15) #LLLH: lexical, but *'LLH
• Before H: #LL'LH 18% 2/11 [dʒ-iwa'catee]
• Initial: #'LLLH 82% 9/11 [dʒ-owididʒee]

Ternarity (everyone): alternations

- (16) Final vowel lengthening to mark plural:

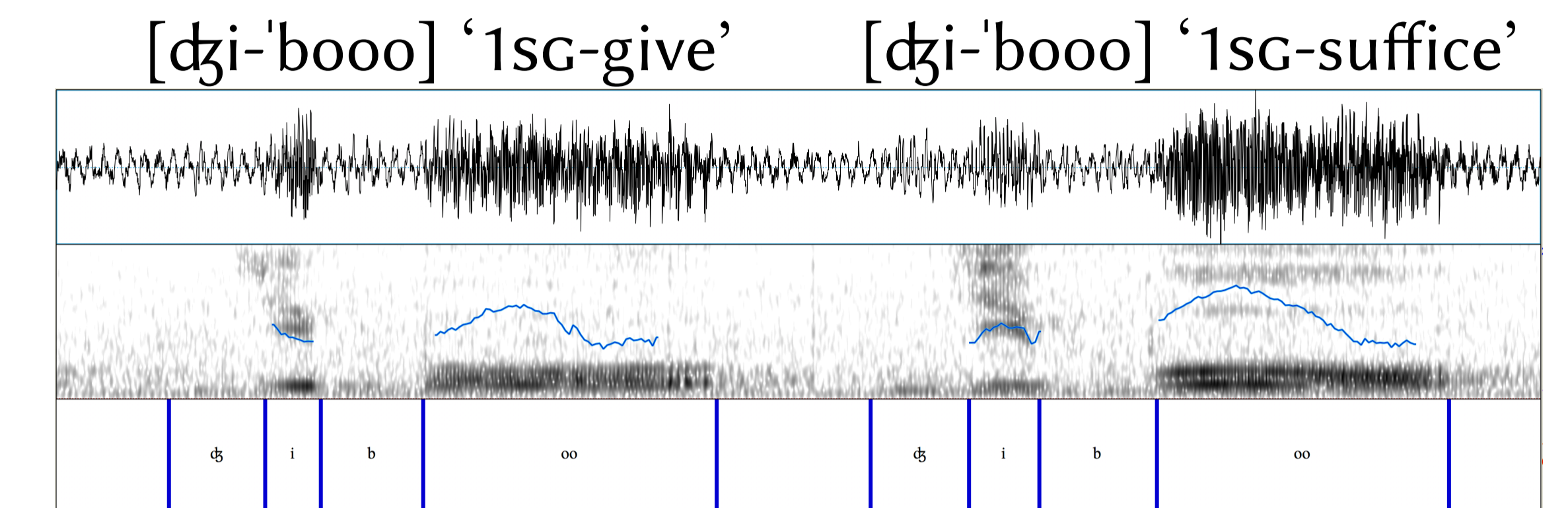
	1SG	2PL		
a. Suffix [ni]	dʒi-nage	'a-nage-ni	46%	245
b. Devoice	dʒi-godi	'a-goti	18%	96
c. Lengthen	dʒi-'lawi	a-'lawii	15%	80
d. No suffix	'dʒi-nidi	'a-nidi	15%	78

- (17) Final lengthening: 'LL → 'LH, 'LLL → *'LLH

	1SG	1SG	2PL		
a. 'LL	dʒi-bo	'a-boo	58%	46/80	
b. L'LL	dʒi-'lawi	a-'lawii	53%	17/32	
c. 'LLL	—	—	0%	0/118	
d. Longer	dʒi-gelade	'a-geladee	5%	16/300	

Ternary minimality (noble women)

- (18) Stress+lengthen root-initial syllable (16%, 83/520):



- (19) Binarity & ternarity: CV roots → CVVV (100%, 14/14)
Suffixes don't prevent lengthening:
[dʒi-bo] → [dʒi-'booo] 1SG-suffice
[dʒi-bo-tineki] → [dʒi-'booo-tineki] 1SG-suffice-INESS
- (20) Ternarity: Long vowels lengthen (32%, 11/34)
[dʒi-boo] → [dʒi-'booo] 1SG-give
[dʒi-laadʒo] → [dʒi-'laaadʒo] 1SG-accompany
- (21) Ternarity: CV.CV lengthens more than longer
[dʒ-iki] → [dʒ-iiki] CV.CV 25% 27/106
[dʒ-aloco] → [dʒ-aaloco] Longer 8% 31/366

Ternarity without ternary feet?

- (22) Our evidence for ternarity:
a. Preference for 'LH (men and women):
Primary stress assignment: 'LH, *'LLH
Final lengthening: 'LL → 'LH, 'LLL → *'LLH
b. Ternary minimal root (women):
CV, CVV, CV.CV lengthen more than longer roots.
- (23) Ternary minimal word also observed in Estonian (Prince 1980), Gilbertese (Blevins & Harrison 1999).
- (24) Hayes (1995) et seq: feet are maximally binary.
How do we enforce μμμ minimum with binary feet?

Selected references: Griffiths, Glyn (2002). Dicionário da língua Kadiwéu. Cuaibá, Brazil: Sociedade Internacional de Linguística. • Sandalo, Filomena (1997a). A grammar of Kadiwéu with special reference to the polysynthesis parameter, vol. 11 of MIT Occasional Papers in Linguistics. MIT Press. • Sandalo, Filomena (1997b). Stress in Kadiwéu and the maximality constraint. In MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 30, MIT Press. 209–227.