

Cayuga and Contiguity Theory

Michael Barrie, Sogang University, mikebarrie@sogang.ac.kr

Objectives

- **Phenomena:**
 - default agreement with 3rd neuter (usually null)
 - noun incorporation
- **Proposal:**
 - both fall out from Contiguity Theory
 - agreement prefix provides metrical support for the verb and for the incorporated noun
 - default agreement prefix is necessary if no other agreement prefix is present

Background

- Cayuga: Polysynthetic (like Mohawk)
- Stress: penultimate or antepenultimate (not reliably left-adjacent to aspect)
- Aspect is structurally the highest suffix on the verbal complex
- Incorporated noun is adjacent to the agreement suffix (and the verb root)
- Normally, only animate arguments trigger agreement.



Figure 1: Figure caption

Contiguity Theory

- Dispenses with feature strength and other diacritics
- Relies on prosody
- **Core Properties:**
 - highest affix must have metrical support in the direction it attaches
 - if metrical support is absent, it can be supplied by
 - metrical foot (ex., Spanish),
 - an expletive (ex., English), or
 - a clitic (ex., Yagua)

Cayuga Agreement and NI

- Overt agreement only with animate arguments
- Inanimate arguments never trigger agreement
- Unless no animate arguments present
- (1) and (2) → no agreement with inanimates
- (3) → agreement with lone inanimate

Proposal

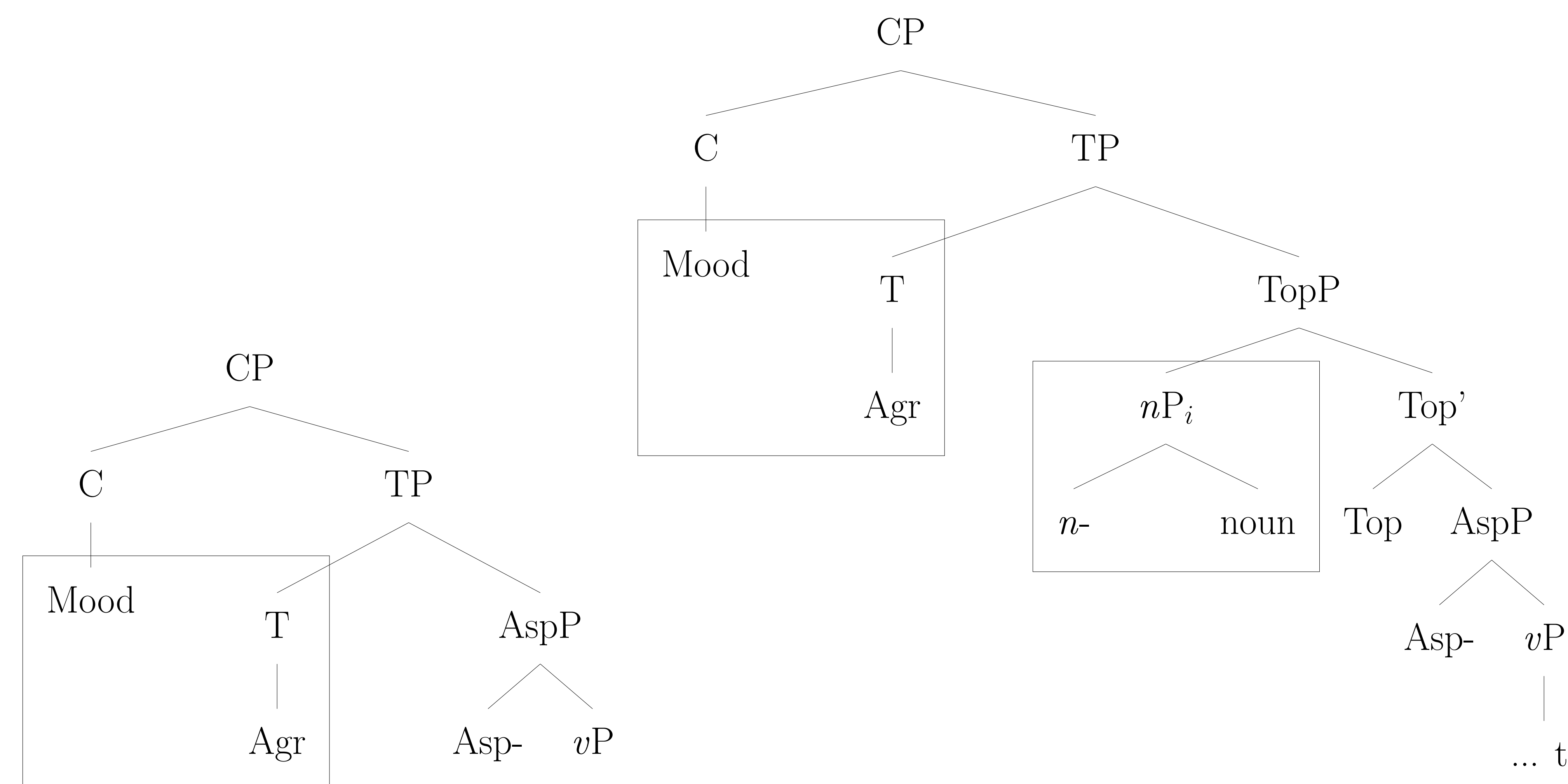
- aspect morpheme is suffix
- requires metrical support to its left.
- no metrical support or expletives
- agreement prefix serves this purpose.
- only inanimate arguments → inanimate agreement obligatory
- IN cannot serve this function - base position is to the right of V
- aspect suffix (PUNC) requires metrical support to its left
- Dyck (2009) and Barrie (2018) for arguments that the prefix domain in Cayuga is a phonological word, thus strengthening the claim that the prefix provides metrical support for the aspect suffix.

Important Result

(1) Unexpected inanimate agreement, and (2) Noun Incorporation take place to satisfy metrical constraints as proposed by Contiguity Theory.

Agreement Data

- (1) Hohsɛ:ni:yo: a-ha-(*o)-adrihd-á-nawɛ-ht-∅
Hohseniyo FACT-3SG.M.AG-(3sg.nt.pat)-car-JOIN-wet-CAUS-PUNC
'Hohseniyo got the car wet.'
- (2) Hohsɛ:ni:yo: a-ha-(*o)-na?ná:wɛ-ht-∅
Hohseniyo FACT-3SG.M.AG-(3sg.nt.pat)-wet-CAUS-PUNC
'Hohseniyo got it wet.'
- (3) Ne? gadre:hda a?-(o)-adrihd-a-nawɛh-?t-∅
NE car FACT-3sg.nt.pat-car-JOIN-wet-INCH-PUNC
'The car got wet.'



Analysis

Phonological words (ω) enclosed in squares in trees

- Asp- requires metrical support to the left
- provided by ω containing agreement
- n- IN requires metrical support to its left
- raises to SpecTopP for support by ω containing agreement

References

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