FOOT EXTRAMETRICALITY AND TEMPLATE MAPPING IN CUPEÑO*

This paper reanalyses the Cupeño habilitative construction (Hill, 1970; McCarthy, 1984; McCarthy and Prince, 1986, 1990) as association to a disyllabic template under initial foot and final consonant extrametricality. An advantage of the reanalysis is that it does not require a trisyllabic template proposed as part of earlier analyses (McCarthy, 1984; McCarthy and Prince, 1986, 1990), thereby making possible a more constrained inventory of template types. Other theoretical contributions of the paper are that it exemplifies two as yet uninstantiated predictions of prosodic circumscription theory: (i) foot extrametricality resulting from a morphological (as opposed to a metrical) operation and (ii) template mapping as an operation on the residue of negative prosodic circumscription. An empirical contribution of the paper is a synchronic metrical analysis of Cupeño accented and unaccented forms.

0. INTRODUCTION

The Cupeño habilitative construction, introduced into the literature by Hill (1970), has recently attracted attention as a case which apparently supports the existence of trisyllabic templates (McCarthy, 1984, McCarthy and Prince, 1986, 1990). Hill (1970) reports the habilitative facts as follows: A stressed syllable in a consonant-final verb stem is regularly followed by two syllables which do not necessarily appear in the plain stem.

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1 Cupeño (Hill, 1966; Hill and Hill, 1968; Hill and Nolasquez, 1973), now extinct, was a Takic language spoken in California. Habilitative forms can be glossed roughly as 'can VERB'.

2 The forms in (1) are from Hill (1970), Hill and Nolasquez (1973), and the original fieldnotes of Jane Hill (where indicated by the initials JH). In nǐću2K from a root /nǐćuw/ 'grow old' (cf. tuku2ap pàngwi 'yesterday she got old' JH) a rule applying after HAB deletes /w/ in coda position after a homorganic vowel.

(1) Stem           Habilitative   Gloss
a. čál         čáʔaʔal         ‘husk’
tów          táʔəw          ‘see’
táv          táʔəav         ‘put down’ JH
hólʔáp        hólʔəʔə póp         ‘hiccup’
koláw        koláʔaʔaw       ‘gather wood’
ʔatís         ʔatíʔis         ‘sneeze’ JH
b. páčik       páčiʔik        ‘leach acorns’
čáníw         čáníʔəw        ‘be angry’
/ničuʔ/      ničuʔ          ‘grow old’ JH
čékúkʷiʔilʔ  čékúkʷiʔilʔ   ‘joke’ JH
c. pínəʔwax    pínəʔwax       ‘sing enemy songs’
xáløyəw       xáløyəw        ‘fall’
d. čí           čí             ‘gather’
hú           hú             ‘fart’
ʔáyu         ʔáyu           ‘want’

In the habilitative (henceforth HAB) forms in (1b) and (1a), a final consonant (C) is preceded by one or two syllable(s), respectively, not present in the stem. “Extra” syllables have the form ʔV, where V (the vowel) matches the quality of the last vowel in the stem. The last three HAB forms in (1a) and čékúkʷiʔilʔ, in (1b), are quadrisyllabic in HAB, showing that the length of the form itself is not restricted to three syllables in HAB (cf. čáʔaʔal, páčiʔik, pínəʔwax). In (1c), where trisyllabic stems are initially stressed, no extra syllables surface in HAB. Finally, (1d) shows that V-final stems do not display the pattern attested with forms ending in a consonant.

In a recent article, McCarthy and Prince (1990) have claimed that in HAB, a maximally ternary stress foot is circumscribed and mapped onto a trisyllabic template. In cases where the stress foot contains fewer than three syllables, empty positions in the trisyllabic template are filled by spreading the last V in the metrical foot. Spread is possible because a final C is crucially treated as extrametrical in McCarthy and Prince’s account. The significance of Cupéño for McCarthy and Prince (1990) is its contribution to prosodic circumscription theory. The ternary template

3 McCarthy and Prince (1990) argue that Cupéño illustrates a case where positive prosodic circumscription is conditioned by the prior assignment of consonant extrametricality.