Title
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Hyphenating Harrington Style

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1. Introduction[1]

In his transcription of Barbareño Chumash, Harrington used a hyphen in what appear to be two straightforward contexts: margins and morpheme boundaries. The reason that Harrington would use a hyphen at a margin is obvious. His motivation for using a hyphen at what simply appears to be a morpheme boundary, however, is not as obvious as it may seem at first glance. In Harrington's transcription, hyphens that occur at morpheme boundaries actually fall into two categories: hyphens that function to clarify what the morphemes are, and hyphens whose actual purpose is to clarify *phonological* boundaries. There are thus three main contexts of hyphenation in Harrington's transcription system: margins, morpheme boundaries and phonological boundaries. These contexts may overlap, and indeed the latter two contexts of hyphenation always overlap in Harrington's transcription of Barbareño, but the function that a hyphen serves is radically different from one context to the next.

2. Hyphens at margins

As with standard usage, Harrington used a hyphen at a margin to indicate that the hyphenated word was to be completed on the following line. Harrington usually divided the word at a syllable boundary, as in (1):[2]

(1) 59:0355/57 *hi-l-ʔ-iy-e-ʔuniw̓ ineš* 'unmarried ones'
 DP-ART-NM-PL-N-be.married

As seen in example (1), the word *hiliye?uniẃineṭš* 'unmarried ones' occurs twice. It is hyphenated at the margin both times, at different places. In the first occurrence, the word is hyphenated as *hiliye?uni-ẃineṭš*, and the hyphen appears after the second syllable in the stem, *?uniẃineṭš* 'to be married'. In the second occurrence, the word is hyphenated as *hiliye-?uniẃineṭš*, and here the hyphen appears after the negative proclitic, *e-*. What this shows is that when Harrington used a hyphen at a margin, he did not necessarily hyphenate at a morpheme boundary. This in keeping with standard usage.

Example (1) also shows hyphenation at a syllable boundary, which is in keeping with standard practice. It is important to note, however, that Harrington would just as well hyphenate a word at an illicit syllable boundary, as seen in (2) (cf. also (29)). In these latter two examples, the hyphen follows the syllable onset, and thus interrupts the contiguity of the syllable.[3]

(2) 59:0148/198　　*hi-ho?-p-al-kilipištin-pi*　'where you open your eyes'
　　　　　　　　　DP-DIS-2-SUB-open.the.eyes-LOC

Thus in (2), the word *hiho?palkilipištinpi* 'where you open your eyes' is hyphenated as *hiho?palkilip-ištinpi*. This word would be syllabified as hi.ho?.pal.ki.li.piš.tin.pi,[4] thus the hyphen appears after a syllable onset. In standard practice, words at the end of a line are supposed to be divided at a syllable boundary. For Harrington, however, prosodic factors such as syllabification were irrelevant when he used a hyphen at a margin, because the hyphen served only to indicate that a word continues on the following line. However, as will be seen in section 4, in other contexts there is a pertinent relation between prosody and where Harrington placed a hyphen (e.g. the hyphenated word *?i-kas?išʰuy* above).

In sum, what examples (1), (2) (and (29)) reveal is that the hyphens that appear at margins were put there simply to show that the word continues on the next line. Such hyphens, in Harrington's transcription, need not respect morpheme boundaries or phonological boundaries. This context of hyphenation is rarely if at all ambiguous, as would be expected.

3. Hyphens at morpheme boundaries

In the narratives that Harrington wrote down, it is not unusual to find short paradigms or grammatical notes. Often these come at the end of the text. In such instances, Harrington might focus upon one or more of the morphemes that comprise the word or phrase in question. One way he would do this is by using a hyphen to isolate the boundaries of the morphemes. A typical example of this is seen in (3) below:

(3) 59:0666/69   *k-iy-saʔ-poš-un-ʔ*   'we're going to go gather pine nuts'
                    1-PL-FUT-pine.nut-VBL-AND

Example (3) shows a short, elicited paradigm, based on the root *-poš-* 'pine nut', that comes at the end of a text about pine trees. In this context, Harrington's use of the hyphen is meant to delineate the boundaries of certain morphemes: the first person plural prefix *kiy-* (from *k-* '1st person' and *iy-* 'plural'), the future tense prefix *saʔ-*, the root *-poš-* 'pine nut' and finally, the verbalizing suffix *-uṅ* (which also contains the andative glottal stop suffix here). Hyphens in this context are meant only to give information about morpheme boundaries; they are not meant to indicate phonological boundares, such as where syllables begin or end. Thus hyphens in this context can precede vowel initial stems and affixes like the suffix complex, *-uṅ* and the stem *išmax* 'to throw at' in (4), both of which begin as ill-formed syllables for lack of an onset.

This kind of hyphenation rarely appears in the narrative proper, but one instance is seen in (4) below, where Harrington and Yee were apparently discussing whether it was better to use the suffix -*šiš* instead of the suffix -*štiš*, both of which can be interpreted as either a reciprocal or a reflexive:

(4) 59:0228/232   *s-iy-išmax-štiš*   'they throw at one another'
                   3-PL-throw.at-RCP

Example (4) also reveals one more general context of hyphenation, as seen in *il-xapx'ap* and *hilon-ʔontokosnorloʔ*. This will be taken up in section 4. The hyphen in *il-xapx'ap* indicates a post-proclitic pause (to be discussed in 4.1), and the hyphen in *hilon-ʔontokosnorloʔ* marks a syllable boundary (to be discussed in 4.2).

So far I have shown two contexts in which Harrington used a hyphen: at margins, to show that a word continues on the following line, and at morpheme boundaries, to make explicit where certain morphemes begin and end. There is a third context in which Harrington used a hyphen. This context happens to involve morpheme boundaries as well. The purpose of the hyphen in this case, however, is not to delineate morpheme boundaries; rather, it serves to clarify his transcription with respect to *phonological* boundaries.

4. Hyphens at phonological boundaries

Phonological boundaries are another context in which Harrington used a hyphen. There are two types of phonological boundaries in particular: the syllable boundary and the pause that may occur between a proclitic and the remaining stem. These comprise the third context for hyphenation in Harrington's transcription of Barbareño.

This third context is somewhat obscure because, in all the cases that I have seen, the phonological boundary happens to coincide with a morpheme boundary. So unless one is familiar with the phonology of the language (in this case, Barbareño) one might think that Harrington decided to put another hyphen at a morpheme boundary for no apparent reason, other than to make the morpheme boundary more explicit at that particular instance. It would then be tempting for one to conclude that Harrington's use of hyphens was inconsistent and not really meaningful. With such an erroneous assumption as that, one might easily miss out on some important insights into the phonology of the language.

The major difference between the hyphens used at margins and morpheme boundaries and the hyphens used at phonological boundaries is that the latter play an essential role in Harrington's phonetic transcription. They give explicit information about the pronunciation of a word. They alert the reader that there is a phonological boundary--not just any phonological boundary--but a boundary that cannot necessarily be assumed to exist, given the phonotactic patterning of the language. The hyphen in this context thus serves to make Harrington's phonetic transcription much more accurate and much less ambiguous than it otherwise would be. I shall illustrate this with examples from the two types of phonological boundaries mentioned above: pauses that may occur between proclitics and the remaining stem, and syllable boundaries.

4.1 Hyphens that mark the presence of a post-proclitic pause

In Barbareño Chumash narratives, Harrington would often put a hyphen after proclitics, especially the proclitics ʔi- and hi(l)-.[5] But one can count just as many instances where he does not hyphenate these clitics. This variation in hyphenation strikes one as arbitrary, until one learns that these clitics may or may not form a phonological word with the constituent that follows them. In listening to Madison Beeler's tape recordings of Mary Yee, one notices that she sometimes has longer pauses after these clitics. From these variations in Yee's pronunciation one can make certain assumptions about Harrington's transcription: the proclitic is written as directly preceding the stem without an intervening hyphen when the proclitic and the following stem *do* form a coherent, phonological word, with no noticible pause after the proclitic. However, if there is a noticible pause after the proclitic, then Harrington would put a hyphen between the proclitic and the following stem to make explicit the fact that there is a pause.[6]

This variation in pause length is often seen in different tokens of a given word, even within the same narrative. Examples (5) through (8) below show pairs of words that differ only in the presence or absence of a hyphen:

(5) *ʔi-ka-s-ʔisʰuy*   'it is a sign [that...]'
     ʔɪ-that-3-sign

a.   59:0140/198 (not hyphenated)

b.   59:0148/198 (hyphenated)

(6) *ʔi-s-wil-waš*   'it was'
     ʔɪ-3-be-PST

a.   59:0531/101 (not hyphenated)

b.   59:0529/101 (hyphenated)

(7)   *hi-l-xšoʔ*   'of a sycamore (tree)'
      DP-ART-sycamore

a.   59:0667/71   (hyphenated; second line to the top)
b.   same page   (not hyphenated; second line to the bottom)

(8)   *hi-l-xəp*   'a rock'
      DP-ART-rock

a.   59:0687/76   (hyphenated; second line to the top)
b.   same page   (not hyphenated; bottom line)

Examples (5) through (8) illustrated pairs of words that differ only in the presence or absence of a hyphen. Two of these pairs (examples (7) and (8)) are respectively on the same hand-written page of the narrative. When faced with pairs of words like these, one has a choice of two interpretations: either the hyphens were inconsistently used, or there is a meaningful pattern to them. There is also the question of what purpose the hyphens serve. One could choose the interpretation that Harrington simply decided to make a proclitic boundary explicit sometimes, but not at other times. I would argue that hyphens in this context were not meant to simply point out morpheme or proclitic boundaries, however. First, these proclitics occur in great frequency in Barbareño narratives. As discussed in section 3, when Harrington wanted to make morpheme boundaries explicit, he did so in specific contexts, such as the elicitation shown in (3), or when the choice of a specific morpheme was at issue, as seen in (4) with -štiš vs. -šiš. Also, as is evident in the previous examples, when the dependent proclitic hi- (sometimes elided to form i-) and the article, l-, come together to form hil- (or il-), Harrington never put a hyphen between them, i.e., one would not expect to see *hi-l- hyphenated as such, within a narrative. Obviously, then, the hyphens in (5) through (8) were not put there to mark off morpheme boundaries.

Harrington is known for going to great lengths to capture variable, phonetic minutiae in the speech of his consultants. It is therefore not surprising that he would make note of Yee's variation in post-proclitic pausing. It is important to note, however, that the hyphens are not redundant in this context. Since the pausing may or not occur, one cannot always know when to expect it. Thus without the hyphens, Harrington's transcription of Yee's pronunciation would be ambiguous in places: one could not always be certain when Yee's proclitics do and do not form a phonological word with the following stem.[7] The hyphens thus serve to make Harrington's phonetic transcription more accurate by indicating a phonological boundary that one could not be sure was there otherwise.

In 4.1 I examined one kind of phonological boundary that Harrington marked with a hyphen: the post-proclitic pause. In 4.2 I discuss one other kind of phonological boundary that Harrington marked with a hyphen: the syllable boundary. In both cases, the hyphen plays a crucial role in Harrington's phonetic transcription.

4.2 Hyphens that mark the presence of a syllable boundary

Syllabification in Barbareño Chumash is usually straightforward. A syllable must have at least one consonant as an onset. If there is an intervocalic, medial cluster of two consonants, then the first consonant closes the preceding syllable (becoming its coda), and the second consonant begins the following syllable (becoming its onset).[8] Thusly the medial cluster -qw- in ʔoqwoṅ 'hair; head hair' syllabifies as ʔoq.woṅ, the q serving as a coda, the w serving as an onset. However, there are two conditions for which this generalization does not always work: (1) when a consonant (a stop or sonorant) is followed by a glottal stop, as in -qʔ- or -wʔ-; and, (2) when a consonant is followed by an identical or nearly identical consonant, as in -kk- and -kq-. When either of these conditions occur, the consonants in question usually merge to form one consonant. The following examples illustrate how a -Cʔ- sequence is typically syllabified, when C is a stop or sonorant:

(9) *mut?ey* → *mu.íey* 'near [or] by (something)'
                                cf. *unimutey* 'to be about to'

(10) *?-itaq-?i?* → *?i.ta.qi?* 'hearing'
      NM-hear.INSTR.NM

(11) *s-iy-su-tip-?in* → *siy.su.ti.pin* 'they salt [food, etc.] with...'
      3-PL-CA-salt-INSTR.APPL

(12) *hi-s-iy-?ap* → *hi.si.yap* '[in] their house'
      DP-3-PL-house

(13) *?al-?atišwin-ič* → *?a.ĺa.tiš.wi.nič* 'shaman; sorcerer'
      STA-charm.stone-having

Examples (9) through (13) show that, when a stop or sonorant precedes a glottal stop, one can expect that both consonants will merge into one, glottalized consonant, and be syllabified as such. Thusly *mut?ey* always syllabifies as *mu.t?ey*, never as **mut.?ey*. One would not expect a stop or sonorant and a following glottal stop to be heterogeneously syllabified, as in **mut.?ey*. Yet, as it turns out, there are many instances in which the stop or sonorant and a following *?* do <u>not</u> merge. When they do not merge, they end up syllabifying to different syllables, and Harrington used a hyphen to mark the 'unexpected' syllable boundary between the consonant and the following glottal stop in such instances. Typically, one sees this in reduplicated words, as in example (4) seen earlier and examples (14) through (18) below:

(14) 59:0136/197
      p-al-nuh-nu-hik-wun   *hi-ho?-k-?al-?aliyu-?*
      2-SUB-R.-COM-do-PL.OBJ   DP-DIS-1-R.-brick-EM
      '[what] are you doing with my bricks?'

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(15) 59:0121/192
ʔi-me-s-iy-ʔap-ʔapi-tʼowotš   hi-hoʔ-l-kan-kanyon-ʔ
ʔI-EM-3-PL-R.-ITR-smoke   DP-DIS-ART-R.-cannon-EM
'the cannons were only just throwing out smoke'
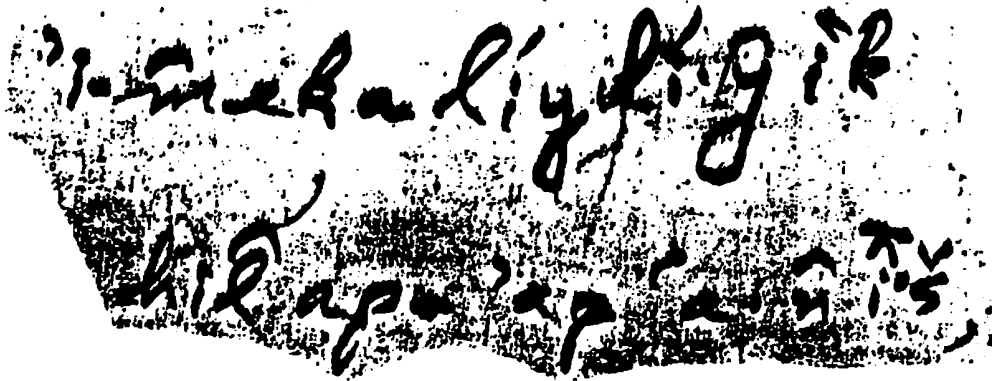

(16) 59:0334/137
hi-hoʔ-l-mol-moloq-iwaš-ʔ   hu-l-ʔin-ʔinyu-ʔ
DP-DIS-ART-R.-long.ago-NPST-EM   RM-ART-R.-Indian-EM
'of the ancient Indians'

(17) 59:0639/46
hu-s-iy-kum-kumi   hi-l-ʔol-ʔolomowil-ʔ
RM-3-PL-R.-arrive   DP-ART-R.-automobile-EM
'(when) the automobiles were [first] coming in'

(18)   59:0528/101
    ʔi-ṁeka-liy-liyik   *hi-l-ʔap-ʔapʰaɾ́iš-ʔ*
    ʔɪ-each-R.-middle   DP-ART-R.-village-EM
    'between each of the villages'

As seen in examples (4) and (14) through (18) above, Harrington often used a hyphen in reduplicated words. Not in all reduplicated words, however. In (18), for example, there is a hyphen between the reduplicant prefix *ʔap-* and its base, *ʔapʰaɾ́iš* 'village', yet there is no hyphen within the reduplication that is written directly above it, *..liyliyik* 'between [the villages]'. Harrington's use of the hyphen in these examples reflects the expected and unexpected syllabification of consonant clusters. There is no need to put a hyphen in *..liyliyik*, because the consonants of the medial cluster, *-yl-*, syllabify in the expected way: *..liy.li.yik*. This is what one would anticipate given Barbareño syllabification as explained at the beginning of section 4.2. It was also shown that, when a stop or sonorant is followed by a glottal stop, the two consonants usually merge into one, glottalized consonant (cf. (9) through (13)). In the reduplication *..ʔap-ʔapʰaɾ́iš*, however, the final coda *p* in the reduplicant prefix, *ʔap-*, does not merge with the glottal stop onset of the base, *ʔapʰaɾ́iš*; that is to say, the reduplication syllabifies as *..ʔap.ʔa.pʰa.ɾ́iš*. Given the examples in (9) through (13), one might expect this reduplication to be syllabified as **ʔa.ṗa.pʰa.ɾ́iš* instead.

As it turns out, there is a good reason that productive reduplications like *..ʔap-ʔapʰaɾ́iš* do not syllabify like the words seen in (9) through (13). In Barbareño productive reduplication (as discussed in Wash 1995), it is normally the case that the reduplicant and base do <u>not</u> share the same syllabification domain. Hence, the coda (i.e. final) consonant of the reduplicant does not syllabify as (or with) the onset to the base.

In other words, the reduplicant and base are separated by a syllable boundary. However, for a significant number of high-frequency words, this boundary has broken down. Often, these words have <u>two</u> variants in reduplication: a productive variant, which has a syllable boundary separating the reduplicant and base, and a lexicalized variant, which has no such boundary. In the latter case, the coda or final consonant of the reduplicant <u>must</u> syllabify homogeneously (and phonetically merge) with the onset of the base if the phonotactics allow it. Most of the remaining examples show both the productive and lexicalized variant of the reduplicated word in question. A few words, however, have retained only the lexicalized variant, such as *ʔaxliẃ* 'word' in (19) and *ʔeneκ* 'woman' in (20) below:

(19)   59:0021/4
    l-ʔaκ+ʔaκliʍ   'words'   (no other variant)
    ART-R.+word

(20)   59:0594/116
    tšu-he-l-ʔen+ʔeneq   'women'   (no other variant)
    but-PRX-ART-R.+woman
    'but the women...'

The reduplication of *ʔaκliʍ* 'word' is syllabified as *ʔa.κʔaκ.liʍ*, not as **ʔaκ.ʔaκ.liʍ*, which would be the productive variant. The glottalization that Harrington wrote over the reduplicant's coda, *κ*, shows that it has merged with the glottal stop onset of the base. The syllabification is clear, and thus there is no need for a hyphen.

The reduplicated word for *ʔeneq* 'woman' is lexicalized, and thus syllabifies as *ʔe.ɹe.neκ* rather than as **ʔen.ʔe.neκ*, which would be the expected syllabification if this word were productively reduplicated. Harrington noted this fact, using a hyphen to show where the syllable boundary would be if this were a regular reduplication:

"Absolutely not **ʔen-ʔé·n͡ěκ.* Impt. If you did not know the irreg.
pl. you wd say **ʔen-ʔé·n͡ěκ*" (33:0436).

Other words that derive from the same root for 'female' do show the regular reduplication however, as seen below in (21) for 'old woman' and in (22) for 'adolescent girl':

(21)   33:0436
       ʔenexiwaš 'old woman'   →   *ʔen-ʔenexiwaš*   'old women'

(22)   59:0501/90
       ho-l-ʔen-ʔenxwek-ʔ
       DIS-ART-R.-adolescent.girl-EM
       'of the adolescent girls'

Given this difference between the reduplicated form for 'woman' and those seen for 'old woman' and 'adolescent girl', if Harrington had left out the hyphen in (21) and (22), i.e., if he had written them as *ʔenʔenexiwaš* and *holenʔenxweʔk*, then one could not be certain about how these forms should be syllabified or pronounced. Without the hyphen, the consonant and the following glottal stop would be written right next to each other, in this case ..*nʔ*.., which could be interpreted as a glottalized *n*, i.e. [ň]. This would have made his transcription ambiguous. Harrington of course was well aware that the reduplicated form for 'woman' syllabifies differently from the reduplicated forms for 'old woman' and 'adolescent girl'.[9] His use of a hyphen at the correct syllable boundary makes his phonetic transcription clear, and serves to show that there is indeed a syllable boundary between the final consonant of the reduplicant and the initial glottal stop of the base.

The importance of the hyphen in making his transcriptions accurate is even more evident in (23) through (26), which show words that have both a productive and lexicalized variant of reduplication. Again, the main difference between these variants is in how they are syllabified:[10] in the productive variant there is a syllable boundary between the reduplicant prefix and the following base, whereas in the lexicalized variant this boundary no longer exists. The productive variant is given in part (a.) of the examples below, and it is always written with a hyphen; the lexicalized variant is given in part (b.) of the examples, and does not have a hyphen. To further illustrate the difference in pronunciation between the two variants, I show how each reduplication is syllabified in the examples below:

(23) reduplications for *ičalayaš* 'one's own trail'

a.   59:0651/132   (productive variant; hyphenated)[11]
       hu-s-iy-itš-ʔ-itš alayaš-ʔ   'their (own) trails'
       RM-3-PL-R.-EP.ʔ-one's.own.trail-EM

Syllabification: *hu.si.yitš.ʔitš a.la.yaš*

a. place

b.   59:0531/101   (lexicalized variant; not hyphenated)
       hi-s-iy-itš+ʔ+itš alayaš   'their (own) trails'
       DP-3-PL-R.+EP.ʔ+one's.own.trail

Syllabification: *hi.si.yi.tši.tš a.la.yaš*

(24) reduplications for *ʔelyewʼun* 'swordfish'

a.   59:0207/221 (productive variant; hyphenated)
       hi-heʔ-l-ʔel-ʔelyewʼ un-ʔ   'the swordfish (as a group)'
       DP-PRX-ART-R.-swordfish-EM

Syllabification: *hi.heʔ.lel.ʔel.ye.wʼuⁿ*

b.   59:0071/181 (lexicalized variant; not hyphenated)
       hi-ho-l-ʔel+ʔelyewʼ un-ʔ   'the swordfish (as a group)'
       DP-DIS-ART-R.+swordfish-EM

Syllabification: *i.ho.le.lel.ye.wʼuⁿ*

(25) reduplications for *ekwel* 'to make'

a.   59:0708/248 (productive variant; hyphenated)
       s-am-eκ-ʔ-eκwel-ʔ   'they are making [a canoe]'
       3-IDF-R.-EP.ʔ-make-NM

Syllabification: *sa.meκ.ʔeκ.wel*
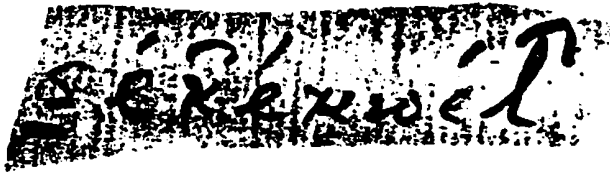
b.   33:0581 (lexicalized variant; not hyphenated)
       s-eκ+ʔ+eκwel-ʔ   'she is making it'
       3-R.+EP.ʔ+make-NM

Syllabification: *se.κ'eκ.wel*

Even high-frequency loan words will show this variation:

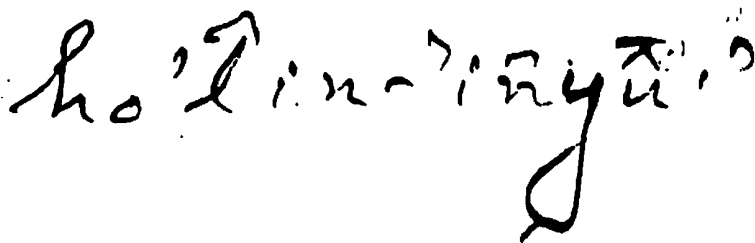(26) reduplications for *ʔinyu* 'Indian' < Spanish *indio*

a.   59:0590/42 (productive variant; hyphenated)
       hoʔ-l-ʔin-ʔinyu-ʔ   'the Indians'
       DIS-ART-R.-Indian-EM

Syllabification: *hoʔ.lin.ʔi.n'yuʔ*
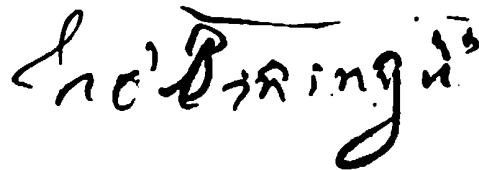
b.   59:0331/138 (lexicalized variant; not hyphenated)
       hoʔ-l-ʔin+ʔinyu-ʔ   'the Indians'
       DIS-ART-R.+Indian-EM

Syllabification: *hoʔ.li.n'in.yuʔ*

The hyphen seen in the examples on the preceding pages serves to mark a syllable boundary that one might otherwise not know was there. It thereby makes Harrington's phonetic transcription more accurate. On rare occasions, Harrington left out a hyphen without indicating whether or not the coda consonant was glottalized. In these cases, his transcription *is* ambiguous with respect to the syllable boundary in question. In example (27) below, there are three reduplications for the word *ʔəl*, 'leg; foot; paw'. The productive reduplication in (a) has a hyphen to mark the syllable boundary between the reduplicant and its base:
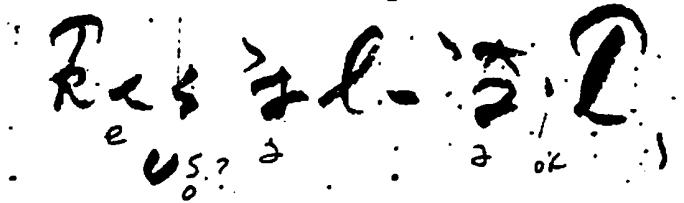
(27) reduplications for *ʔəl* 'leg; foot; paw'

a. 59:0057/178 (productive variant; hyphenated)
    ḱe-s-ʔəl-ʔəl'-ʔ   'and his legs'
    and-3-R.-leg-EM

Syllabification: *ḱes.ʔəl.ʔəl*

The lexicalized reduplication in (b) is written with an 'arc of glottalization' over the reduplicant coda, *-l*, which means that the coda and the base-initial glottal stop have merged (becoming *l-*), and thus syllabify as an onset to the base:

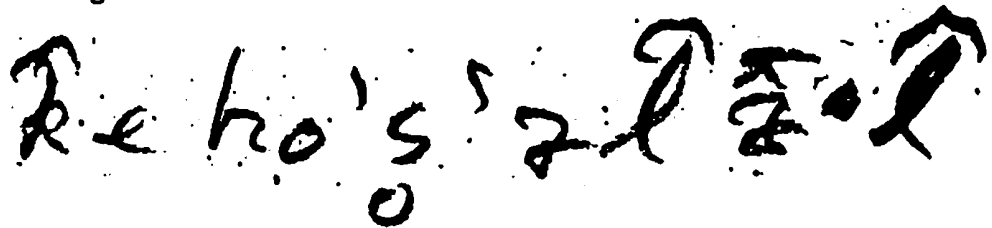b. 59:0053/178 (lexicalized variant; not hyphenated)
    ḱe-hoʔ-s-ʔəl+ʔəl'-ʔ   'and his legs'
    and-DIS-3-R.+leg-EM

Syllabification:

ḱe.hoʔs.ʔə.ləl

The reduplication in (c), however, is ambiguous. It does not have a hyphen or seemingly any indication of whether the reduplicant coda is glottalized:

c. 59:0484/86 (not hyphenated, could be either productive or lexicalized)[12]
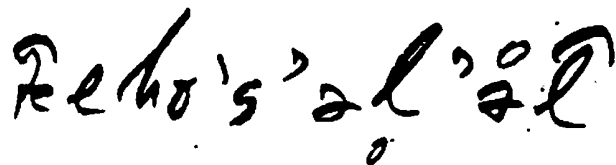   *ḱe-hoʔ-s-ʔəl-ʔəl'*   'and its legs'
    and-DIS-3-R.-leg

Syllabification:

ḱe.hoʔs.ʔəl.ʔəl' (if productive)

ḱe.hoʔs.ʔə.ləl (if lexicalized)

From the examples of reduplication given in section 4.2, it is clear that the hyphen plays a crucial role in Harrington's phonetic transcription. However, there are instances in which the hyphen is somewhat redundant, as in the reduplications in (28) and (29) below:

(28) 59:0229/232
      hi-s-iy-iš-ʔ-išmax-wun
      DP-3-PL-R.-EP.ʔ-throw.at-PL.OBJ
      '[stones which they will use] to throw at (the others)'

Syllabification: *hi.si.yiš.ʔiš.max.wun*

(29) 59:0264/240
      hi-l-ʔ-iy-uš-ʔ-ušuyep-š
      DP-ART-NM-PL-R.-EP.ʔ-change-IP
      'different (people)'

Syllabification: *hi.li.yuš.ʔu.šu.yepš*

In (28) and (29) above, Harrington used a hyphen to make it clear that there is a syllable boundary between the reduplicants *iš-* and *uš-* and their respective glottal stop-initial stems, *-ʔišmax* and *-ʔušuyepš*. Since this use of the hyphen parallels its usage in the previous examples to a great extent, one might think that the hyphens in (28) and (29) are just as necessary as those in the previous examples. The reason the hyphens are not as necessary in (28) and (29) is that the syllable boundary is readily predictable, and never ambiguous, for medial clusters that consist of a fricative and a following glottal stop, i.e. *-sʔ-*, *-šʔ-*, *-xʔ-* and *-hʔ-*, for Barbareño. Such medial clusters always syllabify in the following way: the fricative closes the preceding syllable, and the glottal stop begins the following syllable. This is illustrated in the words below:

(30) *us?ismon*   →   *us.?is.mon*   'to gather'

(31) *uš?ex*   →   *uš.?ex*   'to spread'

(32) *ex?eč*   →   *ex.?eč*   'to laugh'

Given these facts of Barbareño phonotactics, one can see that the hyphens in (28) and (29) are redundant. What Harrington was probably trying to do, in cases like these, was be as consistent as possible with how he transcribed the syllable boundary in other consonant-glottal stop environments, like those seen throughout the examples in 4.2, in order to make his transcription as clear as possible.

Throughout 4.2 I have shown that Harrington used the hyphen as a transcriptional device for marking syllable boundaries. Reduplications are the most common venue for this type of hyphen because the syllable boundaries in many reduplicated forms must be made explicit and cannot be taken for granted. On rare occasions, however, there will appear a non-reduplicated word containing an unexpected syllable boundary. Likewise in these instances, Harrington used a hyphen to make this boundary explicit in his phonetic transcription. This is seen in (33):[13]

(33)   59:0129/195
        hi-p-sa?-itš-?alaкutay-us-wun
        DP-2-FUT-ASSOC-be.kind-APPL-PL.OBJ
        '[it was necessary] that you be kind to them [the sorcerers]'

Syllabification: *hip.sa.?itš.?a.la.кu.ta.yus.wun*

Harrington originally wrote the ..tš.. as ..t͡š.., but then apparently decided that the ..tš.. was not glottalized by the following stem-initial ? after all, as would otherwise be expected, hence he erased the glottalization over the ..tš.. and put a hyphen between the ..tš.. and the following glottal stop. The second and last time that this verb was mentioned, Harrington again used a hyphen:

(34) 59:0129/195
hi-s-itš-ʔalaкutay-waš
DP-3-ASSOC-be.kind-PST
'she treated him kindly'

Syllabification: *hi.sitš.ʔa.la.кu.tay.waš*

So far all of the examples of hyphen usage in 4.2 have shown how the hyphen serves to mark a syllable boundary between a consonant and a following glottal stop. While this happens to be the most potentially ambiguous context for a syllable boundary, there is one other context that can be just as problematic. This is exemplified in (35) below:

(35) 59:0089/9
p-saкʰкʰalкʰalalan-us-wun[14]
2-R.+holler-APPL-PL.OBJ
'you holler at them'

Syllabification: *psaкʰ.кʰal.кʰa.la.la.nus.wun*

In this instance, the hyphen serves to mark a syllable boundary between to identical consonants. In Barbareño, if two identical or similar obstruents are adjacent and syllabified homogeneously, an aspirate form will occur:

$$k + k \rightarrow k^h, \ k + \kappa \rightarrow \kappa^h, \ s + s \rightarrow s^h, \ s + \check{s} \rightarrow \check{s}^h, \ p + p \rightarrow p^h, \text{ etc.}$$

This has been discussed by Harrington (various places throughout the grammatical notes in Reel 33), and in Beeler 1970, 1976, 1979; Beeler and Whistler 1980; Klar 1977; Whistler 1980; and (briefly) Wash 1995. Given this characteristic of Barbareño, if Harrington had not put the hyphen in the word in (35), one might misinterpret the sequence *..$\kappa^h\kappa^h$.. as having the phonetic value *[q^h] (Harrington's κ = [q]), and pronounce the word as *[sa.q^{h}al...] instead of as [saq^h.q^{h}al...].The use of the hyphen in this context, then, makes the transcription less ambiguous and less subject to misinterpretation.

Finally, it should be noted that Harrington sometimes used a period instead of a hyphen to mark what would otherwise be an ambiguous syllable boundary in his transcription:

(36)   60:0622
       hiṁeka-s-š^{h}ut-š^{h}utowitš
       right.away-3-R.-quick
       'he was very quick'

Syllabification: *hi.ṁe.ka.š^{h}ut.š^{h}u.to.witš*

If Harrington had not used a period or any other device, such as a hyphen, to mark off the syllable boundary between the *t* and *š*, one could then easily misinterpret his transcription and think that the word should be syllabified or pronounced as *hi.ṁe.ka.š^{h}u.tš^{h}u.to.witš* because, in Harrington's transcription, the sequence ..*tš^h*.. always has the value [č^h].

5. Conclusion

I have shown that there are three major contexts of use for hyphenation in Harrington's transcription of Barbareño Chumash: margins, morpheme boundaries, and phonological boundaries. At margins, the hyphen serves to show that a word continues on the following line. In this context, the hyphen may or may not respect morpheme boundaries and/or syllable boundaries. At morpheme boundaries, the hyphen's purpose is to show clearly what the morphemes are in a given word or phrase. In this context, one usually sees several hyphens in the word or phrase, which is often a grammatical note or elicitation

involving a certain root or stem that Harrington was especially interested in. Finally, at phonological boundaries, the hyphen serves two specific purposes: to indicate that there is a pause between a proclitic and the following stem, and to mark a syllable boundary, especially when such boundaries might otherwise be unexpected or unpredictable given the regular, productive patterns in the language. In every instance, these latter two sub-contexts happen to coincide with a morpheme boundary, so unless one is familiar with the phonology it may appear that Harrington's use of hyphens was not only random, but relatively meaningless as well. I have shown, however, that the hyphen serves an extremely important role in Harrington's phonetic transcription. It alerts the reader to an expected pause or syllable boundary, thereby giving crucial information about how a given word is correctly pronounced. In this final context, the hyphen serves to make Harrington's transcription much more accurate and less ambiguous than it otherwise would be.

Endnotes

1. My work on Barbareño Chumash has been made possible by grant BNS90-11018 from the National Science Foundation (Marianne Mithun, principal investigator). This particular study is an outgrowth of the research I did for my master's thesis, 'Productive reduplication in Barbareño Chumash' (Wash 1995). This study is also a continuation of my research on Harrington's notations and transcription methods (cf. Wash 1993).

The Barbareño data come from microfilms of John P. Harrington's manuscript materials. These microfilms were kindly made available by John Johnson at the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History.

2. Each example number is followed by a reference number that indicates the microfilm reel, frame, and narrative text to which I have given an interlinear gloss. The citation form for reference numbers is e.g. '59:0355/57', which reads 'microfilm reel 59, frame 708, Barbareño text 57'.

For the hyphenated words in question I have provided an underlying form, interlinear gloss and free translation. The abbreviations in these glosses are as follows:

1	'first person'
2	'second person'
3	'third person'
AND	'andative'
APPL	'applicative'
ART	'article'
ASSOC	'associative'
COM	'comitative'
DIS	'distal'
DP	'dependent marker'
EM	'emphatic'
EP	'epenthetic'
FUT	'future'

IDF	'indefinite'
INSTR	'instrumental'
IP	'imperfective'
ITR	'iterative'
LOC	'locative'
N	'negative'
NM	'nominalizer'
NPST	'noun past'
OBJ	'object'
PL	'plural'
PRX	'proximal'
PST	'past'
R.	'reduplicant'
RM	'remote'
SUB	'subordinator'
VBL	'verbalizer'

All Barbareño examples are from Mary Yee, the last known fluent speaker of any Chumash language.

3. In the Barbareño lexicon, syllables must have an onset, as was first noted by Harrington (33:0230). Barbareño syllable structure is discussed in detail in Wash 1995.

4. Incidentally, the syllabification could also be ..pi.štin.pi, but not in careful speech. As Harrington explains (33:0230), "The first consonant of a word-interior two-consonant cluster ends the preceding syllable, the second to the following syllable." I confirmed this in my M. A. thesis (Wash 1995) after listening carefully to Mary Yee's pronunciation on Madison Beeler's (1954-1961) recordings.

5. ʔi- means something like 'as for the one in question; pertaining to what was just mentioned'; hi- is a marker of dependency; l- is an article.

6. Once in a while Harrington wrote these proclitics separately, leaving an obvious space between the proclitic and the following word.

7. This is not to say that one could not make predictions about where this type of hyphen would and would not appear. A good example is seen with the proclitics in the reduplicated words in example (4). One would predict that a hyphen would *not* occur between *hil-* and the reduplicated word in *hilon-ʔontokosnoʔo?* for the following reason: the article, *l-*, merges phonetically with the glottal stop onset of the reduplicant, thereby becoming glottalized, and is parsed as the onset to the reduplicated form. Since the proclitic merges phonetically with the stem, a post-proclitic pause would be highly unexpected, if not impossible. Thus one would not expect Harrington to write something like **hil-on..* or even *hi-lon...* (The hyphen that appears after the reduplicant in *hilon-ʔontokosnoʔo?* serves to mark a syllable boundary between the reduplicant and the base, and is unrelated to the proclitics. This function of hyphenation is further discussed in **4.2**).

8. This generalization is more relaxed in fast speech. Further details of Barbareño syllable structure and syllabification are given in Wash 1995. Cf. also footnotes 3 and 4.

9. Interestingly, in Bill Bright's (1952) Barbareño field notes, there is a lexicalized variant of reduplication for the word 'old woman' which he recorded from Mary Yee: [ʔɛ·ʔneʔnexí·waš]. It is quite possible Harrington recorded this variant as well but I just have not come upon it yet.

10. Another difference that is often seen is in the degree of final, emphatic glottalization: the productive variant may show a greater degree of glottalization on the final syllable, but the lexicalized variant may show some or none at all.

11. Example (23) illustrates two trademark features of Barbareño productive reduplication: (1) the coda (final consonant) of the reduplicant is never underlyingly glottalized or aspirated; and, (2) if the base is underlyingly vowel initial, it will get an epenthetic glottal stop onset. For a detailed explanation of why and how this happens, see Wash 1995.

12. Though it is impossible for me to tell at this point whether this is a productive or a lexicalized variant of reduplication, if I had to choose between the two, I would choose the latter. The reduplication in (c) does not appear to have emphatic glottalization, which, as seen in (a) and (b) of example (27), often has the effect of giving emphatic stress and length to the vowel of the final syllable. The lexicalized variant of a reduplicated noun may or may not have emphatic reduplication, but it is extremely unusual for the productive variant *not* to have emphatic glottalization. For this reason, the reduplication in (c) is probably lexicalized.

Emphatic glottalization is often a secondary consequence of nominal reduplication (the fact that something is reduplicated means that it is, in a sense, given emphasis, hence the emphatic glottalization). In some cases, however, the presence of the emphatic glottal clitic has more to do with the pragmatic use of that reduplication in the context of the narrative, rather than with the fact that the word in question is reduplicated. Example (27b) is a lexicalized variant, and as such would not normally show full emphatic stress and lengthening on the final vowel (both of which are a consequence of the emphatic glottal clitic). However, this particular reduplication appears in a story about a Chumash man who was punished (to death) by having various body parts cut off. Judging from Harrington's transcription of the story, as Mary Yee tells which body parts were cut off, she uses an emphatic tone of voice for each one.

13. The word in (33) also shows one of the few times that Harrington neglected to hyphenate at a margin.

14. This reduplication is based on the stem *saꞩˣalalan* 'to holler, give one holler'. This stem seems to be a lexicalization that involves the classifier prefix *aꞩ-* 'of/with the mouth' and *ꞩˣal-* 'to loosen up'. Elsewhere in my corpus, another token of the reduplicated form of this word appears as *saꞩˣalꞩˣalalan*.

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REPORT 10

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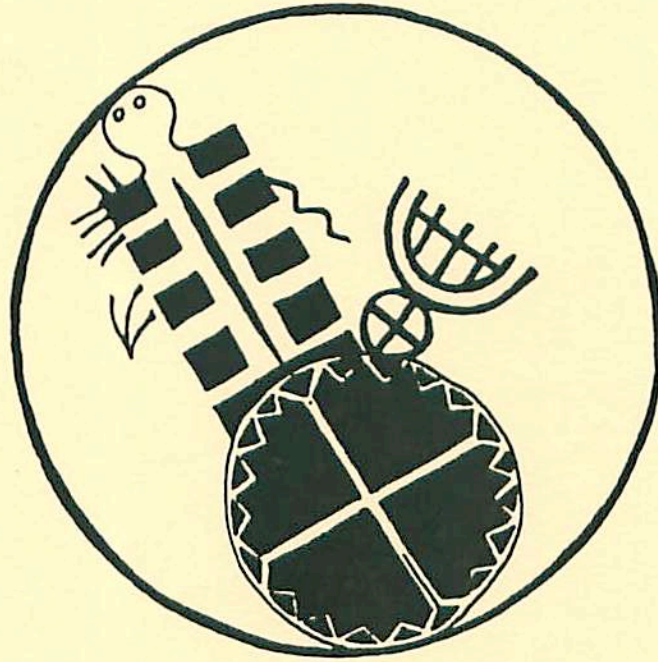
THE HOKAN, PENUTIAN & J.P. HARRINGTON CONFERENCES
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THE MARY R. HAAS MEMORIAL

June 28-29, 1996
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This volume is dedicated to the memory of

MARY R. HAAS

Professor emeritus of Linguistics

at the University of California at Berkeley

INTRODUCTION

This volume of the Survey Reports is the Proceedings of the Hokan, Penutian and J.P. Harrington Conferences, held at the University of California at Berkeley on June 28-29, 1996. Part I includes five of the papers that were presented at that conference, and also a paper by George V. Grekoff, who was unable to attend the conference but arranged in advance to submit an article for inclusion in the Proceedings. During the conference, a memorial session was also held for Mary R. Haas, who died a month before the conference. Part II of this volume consists of the presentations that were made about her life and research.

We gratefully acknowledge grants from Joseph Cerny, Vice Chancellor for Research and Dean of the Graduate Division, and William Simmons, Dean of Social Sciences, that helped make this conference possible.

Leanne Hinton
Volume and Series Editor

THE HOKAN, PENUTIAN AND J.P. HARRINGTON CONFERENCES

and the

MARY R. HAAS MEMORIAL SESSION

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PART I: PAPERS FROM THE HOKAN, PENUTIAN AND J.P. HARRINGTON CONFERENCES

PART II: THE MARY R. HAAS MEMORIAL SESSION

PART I

The Hokan, Penutian
and J.P. Harrington Conference