

# Stress in Seri and Proto-Hokan

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# Hokan family

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Karuk

Chimariko

Shastan

Achumawi-Atsugewi (Palaihnihan)

Yana

Pomoan

Salinan

Yuman

Seri

Oaxaca Chontal (Tequistlatecan)

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# Hokan roots and stems

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Proto-Hokan roots are mainly monosyllabic: CV(C)

But there are also some disyllabic roots: CVCV

CV(C) roots may have

- a prefix: CV-CV(C)
- or a thematic vowel: V-CVC

Many stems are disyllabic.

Thematic vowels and (in some cases) prefixes become part of the root in daughter languages.

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Stress falls on the last or only root syllable.

# Proto-Pomo

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Retains Proto-Hokan stress.

Retains both syllables of the Proto-Hokan stem.

PH #V-C<sup>́</sup>V(C) > PP \*VC<sup>́</sup>(C)

PH #CV-C<sup>́</sup>V(C) > PP \*CV-C<sup>́</sup>V(C)

PH #CVC<sup>́</sup> > PP \*CVC<sup>́</sup>

# Proto-Yuman

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Retains Proto-Hokan stress.

Reduces vowels in unstressed syllables.

PH #V-C<sup>́</sup>V(C) > PY \*C<sup>́</sup>V(C)

PH #CV-C<sup>́</sup>V(C) > PY \*C-C<sup>́</sup>V(C)

PH #CVC<sup>́</sup> > PY \*CC<sup>́</sup>

# Seri

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Stress is synchronically opaque:

*ʔa-**fít*** 'head' (abs.), *i-**fít*** (3p.)

*ʔá-**seʔ*** 'shoulder joint' (abs.), *í-**seʔ*** (3p.)

*i-t-**áp*** 'to stitch basket' (realis, 3p.)

*í-t-**aʔ*** 'to accompany' (realis, 3p.)



# Seri stress shift

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Proto-Hokan stress shifted one syllable to the left in Seri.

PH #V-C $\acute{V}$  > Seri  $\acute{V}$ C(V)

PH #V-C $\acute{V}$ C > Seri  $\acute{V}$ C(V)C

PH #CV-C $\acute{V}$ C > Seri C $\acute{V}$ C(V)C

PH #CVC $\acute{V}$  > Seri C $\acute{V}$ C

# PH #V-CV̇ > PP \*VCV̇, PY \*CV̇, Seri V̇C(V)

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PH #V-yú(w) > PP \*huʔúy 'eye, face', PY \*yúw 'eye, face', Seri *í-to* 'eye' (pl. *í-to-x* [sg. possessor], *í-to-ʔkox* [pl. possessor], abs. *ʔá-to*)

PH #ʔa/i-há > PP \*ʔahá 'mouth', PY \*á 'mouth', Seri *í-ta* 'mouth (of animal or thing)' (pl. *í-ta-xam*, abs. *ʔá-ta*)

PH #-xí > PP \*ʔahxí 'name', PY \*ʂí 'to call by name', Seri *i-táasi* 'name' (pl. *i-táasi-tox*, abs. *ʔa-táasi*)

PH #a-sí > PY \*sí(:) 'to drink', Seri *-ási* 'to drink'

# PH #V-CV̇ > PP \*VCV̇, PY \*CV̇, Seri V̇C(V)

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PH #ʔa/i-kʰá > PP \*ʔahqʰá ‘water’, PY \*ʔ-xá ‘water’, Seri ʔá-χ ‘fresh water’ (pl. ʔá-χa-xam, pos. íi-χ ‘his or her water’); í-χ ‘liquid, sap, juice’

PH #ʔa/u-kʰá ~ #ʔa/uqʰá > PP \*ʔuhqʰá(:) ‘belly’, Seri yáχ ‘belly, abdomen’ (abs. ʔa-yáχ)

PH #ʔa/i-pá > PP \*hibá: ‘tail’, Seri íi-p ‘tail’ (pl. íi-p-kox, abs. ʔáa-p)

PH #ʔa/i-ʔí > PY \*ʔ-ʔíy ‘wood’, Seri ʔéʔe ‘plant, bush, tree; wood; stick, club; meter’ (pl. ʔéʔet)

PH #ʔa/i-sú > PP \*ʔisó: ~ \*ʔisóy ‘seed’, Seri í-š ‘semen’ (pl. í-š-χam, abs. ʔá-š)

# PH #-C'V > PP \*-C'V, PY \*C'V, Seri V'C(V)

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PH #-t<sup>h</sup>áy > PP \*-hṭ<sup>h</sup>é 'other person's mother', PY \*táy 'mother', Seri á-ta 'his or her mother' (pl. á-tox, abs. ʔapé-te, 1 sg. ʔí-ta)

PH #-pá > PP \*bá-:čí 'father's father', PY \*(n-)pá:w 'father's father', Seri á-pa-š 'paternal grandfather' (pl. á-pa-ṭk [sg. possessor], á-pa-ṭkox [pl. possessor], abs. ʔapé-pe-š, 1 sg. ʔí-pa-š)

PH #-má > PP \*má-:čí 'father's mother', PY \*(n-)má:w 'father's mother', Seri á-ma-š 'paternal grandmother' (pl. á-ma-ṭk [sg. possessor], á-ma-ṭkox [pl. possessor], abs. ʔapé-me-š, 1 sg. ʔí-ma-š)

# PH #V-CVC > PP \*VCVC, PY \*CVC, Seri VC(V)C

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PH #ʔa/i-pálʷ > PP \*haʔbálʷ ‘tongue’, PY \*pálʷ ‘tongue’, Seri í-pt ‘tongue’ (pl. í-pat-ox, abs. ʔá-pt)

PH #i-xálʷ > PP \*ʔixálʷ ‘arm’, PY \*(i:)-şálʷ ‘arm, hand’, Seri í-seʔ, í-siʔ ‘shoulder joint; pectoral fin’ (pl. í-seʔ-ox [sg. possessor], í-seʔ-kox [pl. possessor], abs. ʔá-seʔ)

PH #i-hák > PP \*ʔihyá(:) ‘bone’, PY \*(i:-)á:k ‘bone’, Seri ítak ‘bone; rib, petiole, limb, branch, stem; skeleton or rib (of boat)’

PH #ʔa-mát > PP \*ʔa(h)mát ‘earth’, PY ʔ-mát ‘earth’, Seri ʔánt ‘earth, dirt, land; world, earth; place; year; weather’

PH #CV-CVC > PP \*CV-CVC, PY \*C-CVC, Seri CVC(V)C

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PH #(ta-)qás >

PP \*-qás 'to scratch', \*da-qás 'to scratch with nails',

PY \*(t-)xás 'to scrape',

Seri -táχš 'to scratch; to take away forcibly'

# PH #CVCV́ > PP \*CVCV́, PY \*CCV́, Seri ĆVC

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PH #lʷitá > PY \*(x)lʷtá ‘hair’ (attested only in Kumeyaay), Seri *i-tít* ‘head; hair of head’ (pl. *i-tít-kox*, abs. *ʔa-tít*)

PH #kʰapí > PP \*qʰaʔbé ‘rock’, PY \*xpí ‘grinding stone’, Seri *χáp* ‘grinding stone (arc.)’ (pl. *χáp-kox*)

PH #Xamá > PY \*xmá ‘gourd, squash’, Seri *χám* ‘cushaw squash; butternut squash’

# Irregular stress in a loanword

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The irregular accent correspondence in the following word shows that we deal here with borrowing:

PP \**wa:ʔakʔ/qʔ* 'frog' (stress is irregular within Pomoan), PY \**xanták* 'frog', Seri *oták* 'frog, toad' (pl. *oták-χam*).

This is a Wanderwort in California:

Proto-Wintun \**wataq* 'frog'

Proto-Sierra-Miwok \**waʔak-* 'frog'.



# “Stress-retracting” verbs in Seri

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- eight verb roots
- highly irregular conjugation
- never have the stress on the root
- correspond to Proto-Yuman vowel-initial verbs

Seri stress-retracting verbs	Proto-Yuman vowel-initial verbs
'-om 'lie'	
'-at 'accompany'	
'-e 'give'	*áy, *íy 'to give'
'-e 'say'	*í: 'to say'
'-a 'grind'	*á: 'to grind'
'-a 'be'	
'-e 'do'	*í 'to do'
'-a in <i>mo-...-a</i> 'come' and <i>nt-...-a</i> 'go'	*á: 'to go'

# “Stress-retracting” verbs in Seri

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In the last common ancestor of Seri and Yuman, these verbs were monosyllabic and began with a vowel: \*-V̌ > Seri ʻ-V

All other Seri verb roots include either former thematic vowels:

PH #*a-sí* > Seri -*ási* ‘to drink’

or former prefixes:

PH #*ta-ǵás* > Seri -*táχš* ‘to scratch’

So, the shifted stress remains synchronically on the root.

The vowel-initial roots never had a thematic vowel, so the stress shifts to the prefixes.

# Internal Seri evidence for stress shift

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Some verbs have the plural infix <too> inserted after the stem-initial vowel. In such forms, stress occurs on the infix:

'stumble on' sg. -*éefetim*, pl. -*a<tóo>fetam*

'carry on head' sg. -*íp*, pl. -*i<toó>pax<sup>w</sup>*

The behavior of stress in these forms is easy to explain, if we suppose that the stress shifted one syllable to the left from the second vowel of the root, which was later reduced in some cases.

# Some references

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Marlett, Stephen A. 1981. The Structure of Seri. PhD dissertation, University of California, San Diego.

Munro, Pamela. 1982. Vowel-Initial Roots in Yuman // J. E. Redden (ed.). Proceedings of the 1981 Hokan Languages Workshop and Penutian Languages Conference, held at Sonoma State University, Rohnert Park, California, June 29–July 2, 1981. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, Department of Linguistics.

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Thank you!

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