

# The Great Chukchansi Yokuts Iambic Conspiracy



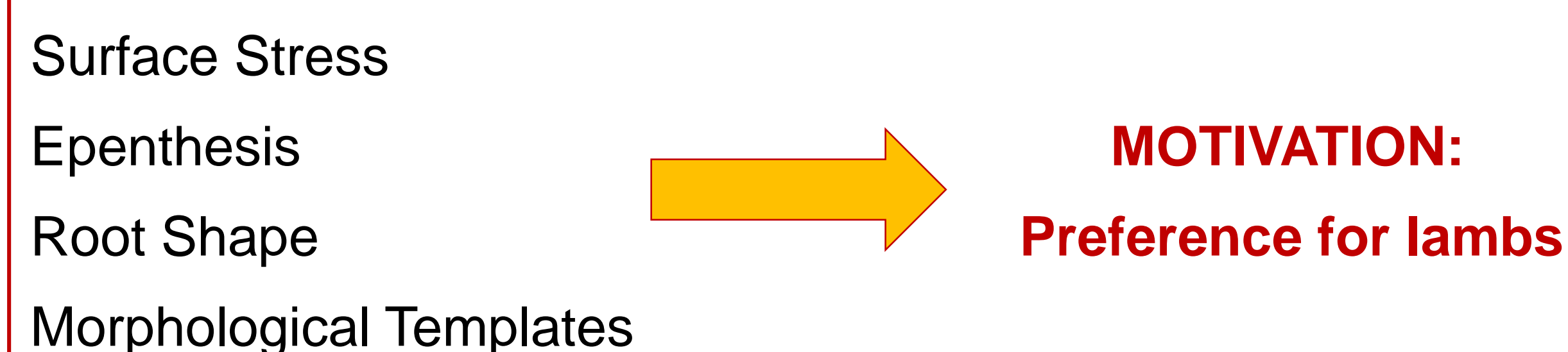
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## PROPOSAL

**Old Observation:** Abstract prosodic templates in verb morphology of Yokuts languages (Newman 1944, Archangeli 1983, 1991)

**New Data:** Chukchansi Yokuts stress patterns show iambic parsing

**Novel Claim:** LH iamb is the only “template” imposed on verb roots



## STRESS

**Claim:** Chukchansi Yokuts stress is **iambic**

### Data Generalizations:

- Final vowels never stressed → Penultimate stress in disyllables
- Long vowels always receive primary stress
- If no long vowel → Penultimate stress

**Account:** Left-to-right **iambs** w/ inviolable non-finality (cf. McCarthy & Prince 1993 for Axininca Campa)

- Codas contribute weight, except word-finally; but,
- Long vowels (V:) are heavier than closed syllables (VC)

### Stress Patterns:

- Trisyllables w/ light first syllables: Initial LH iamb
  - (ʔa.lé:).dʒan ‘is crazy’; (ʔa.déf).te ‘will bring for’
- Disyllables → Trochee due to **Non-finality**
  - (ʔá.de)n ‘will bring’; (ʔén).jay ‘grandfather’; (tífé:).xa? ‘dog’
- Trisyllables w/ heavy first syllables: **Clash Avoidance**
  - \*(k’á:).(bó.ta?) ‘had caught’; \*(bádʒ).(xá.l’i) ‘bad’
    - Clash resolved in favor of long vowel if present
      - (k’á:).bo.ta?
    - Otherwise, right foot receives stress
      - badʒ.(xá.l’i)
- Sufficiently long words: multiple iambic feet, no clash
  - (ʔa.lè:).(dʒa.láw).fit ‘just made oneself crazy’

| Stress Pattern(s) | Ranking                                       | Examples                           |
|-------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| (L’H)X            | FootForm                                      | (ʔa.lé:).dʒan’; (ʔa.déf).te’       |
| (’LL), (’H)X      | NonFinality >><br>FootForm                    | (ʔá.de)n’; (ʔén).jay’; (tífé:).xa? |
| (’H)XX, (L’H)XX   | *Head <sub>PRWD</sub> /V•VC >><br>AlignHdFt-R | (k’á:).bo.ta?                      |
| H(’H)X, H(’LL)    | AlignHdFt-R >><br>FootForm                    | badʒ.(xá.l’i)                      |

## ROOT SHAPE & EPENTHESIS

**Claim:** Preference for H or LH iambic feet is responsible for the inventory of root shapes and vowel epenthesis patterns

**Root Shapes:** Two classes: regular roots = one vowel quality; exceptional roots = multiple vowel qualities

Regular roots have three possible UR root shapes (Newman 1944, Kuroda 1967, Kenstowicz & Kisseberth 1979, Archangeli 1984, 1991)

- CVC(C) /tʃj/ ‘cut’
- CV:C(C) /se:p/ ‘tear’
- CVCV:C /hewe:t/ ‘walk’

Prosodification of these root shapes → **avored stress patterns:**

- Pre-V /-eʔ/ ‘FUT’ (sé:).pe? (he.wé:).te? (tʃj.fe)?
- Pre-C /-taʔ/ ‘NAR.PST’ (sép).ta? (he.wét).ta? (tʃj).ta?

Exceptional roots may begin with following sequences:

- CV:CV... /hu:je-/ ‘drive’ → (hú:).je-
- CVCCV... /hayk’it-/ ‘finish’ → (háy).kit-
- CVCV:CV... /ʔoyi:sa-/ ‘be happy’ → (ʔo.yí:).sa-
- CVCVCCV... /ʔanaswo-/ ‘dream’ → (ʔa.nás).wo-

There are no roots beginning in **two light syllables** (i.e., \*CVCVC...)

Available root shapes conform to **left-to-right iambic** parsing

- Roots can start in **H** or **LH**, not \***LL** (see Kager 1999 for H being better iamb than LL)

**Vowel epenthesis** applies to CVCC roots to conform to iambic pattern (Kuroda 1967, Kenstowicz & Kisseberth 1979)

- Driven by **consonant syllabification** (string of three consonants)
- Commonly applies when CVCC root meets C-initial affix
  - /lihm-taʔ/ ‘had run’ → li.hjm.taʔ, \*lihm.taʔ, \*lih.mtaʔ
- Placement of epenthetic vowel creates preferred iambic structure
  - Grammar picks iambic (li.hím).taʔ over trochaic lih.(mí.taʔ)

## SUFFIX-BASED ROOT CHANGE

**Claim:** Root-changing suffixes impose optimal foot (LH iamb) on roots

**Generalizations:** Some **root-adjacent** suffixes change root shape

- Six such suffixes in Chukchansi, e.g., Causative /-la-/ or /-e-/, Progressive [-ʔa-], Agentive /-tʃ’-/
- All similar **morphosyntactic groups** (voice, inner aspect, and nominalization)

## Patterns of LH-Imposition

CVC(C) and CV:C(C) Roots: **long vowel epenthesis** to create second, heavy syllable of iambic foot

- CVC /tʃj/ (tʃi.ǰa:).-la-n’ (tʃi.ǰa:).-tʃ’-i
- CV:C /se:p/ (si.pa:).-la-n’ (si.pa:).-tʃ’-i

Epenthetic vowel is ideally **low** [a:] to satisfy markedness constraints on sonority of stressed vowels (de Lacy 2002)

Harmony processes yield mid vowels in some triconsonantal roots as compromise between input height and sonority (Guekguezian 2012)

- CVCC /lihm/ (le.he:).m-e-n’ (le.he:).m-if’

Root with LH shape: no change

- CVCV:C /hewe:t/ (he.we:).t-e-n’ (he.we:).t-if’

Epenthetic vowel is predictably short:

- In a closed syllable: (le.hem).-ʔa-n’
- Before a glottal stop: (tʃi.ǰa).-ʔa-n’ (si.pa).-ʔa-n’

LH-imposition interacts with grammar → not special, isolated process

**Account:** LH-imposition = case of prosodic circumscription (McCarthy and Prince 1986, 1994)

Shape-imposing suffixes demand to attach to **Foot**

LH iamb: **best-formed foot** in iambic grammar (Hayes 1995)

Choice of LH iamb = **Derived Environment Effect** (see, e.g., Kiparsky 1982)

- Suffixation demands rearrangement of material to best satisfy prosodic constraints

No such suffix (non-derived environment): no imposition of an optimal LH iamb upon root

- Best available foot built out of lexical root shape

Suffix subcategorizes for optimal Foot → sufficient condition for **prosodic markedness** constraints to override lexical shape of root

## CONCLUSION

Appearance of prosodic templates in Yokuts verbs is result of iambic stress system

- Iambic nature of Yokuts reflected not only in stress, but also in templatic morphology, epenthesis, and root shape

**Implication:** Yokuts data support the thesis that prosodic templates are not abstract entities, but fall out of and interact with the grammar

See handout for notes and references