The Great Chukchansi Yokuts Iambic Conspiracy

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Patterns of LH-Imposition
CVC(C) and CV:C(C) Roots: long vowel epenthized to create second, heavy syllable of iambic foot
- CVC /ˈtʃi.ʃ/ (ʃi.ʃ:)-la-'n' (ʃi.ʃ:)-li-
- CV:C /ˈse.p/ (se.p:)-la-'n' (se.p:)-li-
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 (Guéquezian 2012)
- CV'C /ˈlihm/ (lihm:)-m-e-'n' (lihm:)-m-il'
- CV'C /ˈhe.w/ (he.w:)-t-e-'n' (he.w:)-t-il'
Roots with LH shape: no change
- CV:C /ˈhe:w/ (he.w:)-t-e-'n' (he.w:)-t-il'
Epenthetic vowel is predictably short:
- In a closed syllable: (le.hgm)-, {-a}-
- Before a glottal stop: (ʃi.ʃ:)-, {-a}-
LH-imposition interacts with grammar → not special, isolated process

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)
- Suffocation 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

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 /-ʔ/-
  - All similar morphosyntactic groups (voice, inner aspect, and nominalization)

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