

**Poster Presented at Phonology 2014, MIT, September 21<sup>st</sup>, 2014**

1. All the data in this poster have been collected from personal fieldwork. Data on LH-Iamb imposition come from Guekguezian (2011, 2012). The stress data come from an informal pilot study I have conducted. The data I have collected largely agree with Mello's (2012) more limited study of Chukchansi stress.
2. Chukchansi might seem to be special among Yokuts dialects in only imposing the LH iamb (cf. the CVCVV(C) or  $\sigma_\mu\sigma_{\mu\mu}$  template in Archangeli 1983, 1991). Following Newman (1944), most research assumes that Yokuts has other shape-imposing suffixes that trigger a CVC(C) ( $\sigma_\mu$ ) or a CVVC(C) or ( $\sigma_{\mu\mu}$ ) template. However, upon closer look, this is not the case: Newman (1944) states that "the suffixes allocated to [the  $\sigma_{\mu\mu}$  template] are either portions of a morphological cleavage [i.e., restricted to certain forms] or suffixes in rare use" (1944: 51), indicating that  $\sigma_{\mu\mu}$ -template imposition is not productive. The suffixes that Newman analyzes as imposing a  $\sigma_\mu$  template begin with an [-a:]; Guekguezian (2011) reanalyzes such suffixes in Chukchansi as imposing an LH iamb, with the [a:] being part of the template, not an underlying part of the suffix. All the productive suffixes in the other Yokuts dialects are thus identical to Chukchansi in only having suffixes impose attach to LH iambs.
3. I give the following paradigms of LH-imposition with roots differing in UR root shape, vowel quality, and number of consonants. I use the Agentive Nominalization suffix [-tʃ<sup>o</sup>-] (followed by an obligatory case suffix; I have chosen either the Nominative or the Accusative, whichever one's phonotactics allows a long vowel to surface).

Root UR	LH Iamb + [-tʃ <sup>o</sup> -]	Root UR	LH Iamb + [-tʃ <sup>o</sup> -]
/tʃi/ 'cut'	tʃi.ʃa:-tʃ <sup>o</sup> -i 'cutter-ACC'	/wan/ 'give'	wa.na:-tʃ <sup>o</sup> -i 'giver-ACC'
/se:p/ 'tear'	si.pa:-tʃ <sup>o</sup> -i 'tearer-ACC'	/ma:x/ 'collect'	ma.xa:-tʃ <sup>o</sup> -i 'collector-ACC'
/lihm/ 'run'	le.he:m-ɪtʃ <sup>o</sup> 'runner-NOM'	/ʃawk/ 'buy'	ʃa.wa:k-ɪtʃ <sup>o</sup> 'buyer-NOM'
/be:wn/ 'sew'	be.we:n-ɪtʃ <sup>o</sup> 'sewer-NOM'	/ha:tm/ 'sing'	ha.ta:m-ɪtʃ <sup>o</sup> 'singer-NOM'
/hewe:t/ 'walk'	he.we:t-ɪtʃ <sup>o</sup> 'walker-NOM'	/bala:f/ 'crawl'	ba.la:f-ɪtʃ <sup>o</sup> 'crawler-NOM'

4. Six suffixes trigger LH-Iamb imposition, given in the table below. The Causative is encoded by one of two allomorphs, [-e-] and [-la-]; the choice of allomorph is often determined by the root shape, though occasionally a root can take either allomorph. The [-e-] allomorph is used exclusively with triconsonantal roots, and always triggers LH-Iamb imposition. The [-la-] allomorph is used with both biconsonantal and triconsonantal roots; within the latter group, LH-Iamb imposition does not apply consistently across roots. The Distributive [-e-] and Inchoative [-a-] suffixes cause mutation of the second syllable nucleus to [e:]. The Adjunctive Nominalization suffix [-ʔhiy-] loses its initial [ʔ] with triconsonantal roots (cf. Hansson 2005)

Suffix	Meaning	Example
[-tʃ <sup>o</sup> -]	Agentive Nominalization	si.pa:-tʃ <sup>o</sup> -i 'tearer-ACC' (from /se:p/ 'tear')
[-ʔhiy-]	Adjunctive Nominalization	si.pa-ʔ.hiy- 'tearing place/tool' (/se:p/)
[-ʔa-]	Progressive	ʃa.wak-ʔa-n 'is buying' (/ʃawk/ 'buy', /-n/ 'Non-Past')
[-e-]	Causative	le.he:m-e-t 'made run' (/lihm/ 'run', /-t/ 'Recent Past')
[-la-]	Causative	si.pa:-la-t 'made tear' (/se:p/, /-t/ 'Recent Past')
[-e-]	Distributive	ʃa.we:k-e-n 'will buy many X' (/ʃawk/, /-n/ 'Non-Past')
[-a-]	Inchoative	ga.ye:s-a-n 'will get better' (/gays/ 'good', /-n/ 'Non-Past')

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