
The emergence of the *ed in Yokuts stemplates

Chris Golston¹ & Martin Krämer²

¹California State University Fresno, ²UiT The Arctic University of Norway

chrisg@csufresno.edu, martin.kramer@uit.no

Yokuts stemplates (stem templates, Newman 1944) cannot be due to The Emergence of The Unmarked (McCarthy & Prince 1994) because each dialect has an average of eight stemplates, at most one of which could be due to TETU. Also, template *shape* is only part of the issue: (sub-)segmental details distinguish the stemplates and cannot be overlooked, *pace* work from Archangeli (1983, 1991) to Guekguezian (2017).

Yokuts stemplates are not TETU; they increase markedness, rather than reduce it, replacing unmarked sounds with marked sounds ($k \rightarrow \bar{k}$) and unmarked prosody with marked prosody (no coda $\rightarrow$ coda), never the reverse. The markedness can be severe: e.g., $\bar{e}$ -induced stems have superheavy syllables otherwise banned in Yokuts and Long Caus stems often create surface $i/\bar{i}$, which otherwise shorten or lower to $\bar{e}/\bar{o}$ across Yokuts (Kuroda 1967). We provide an analysis using DirectOT (Golston 1996), where morphemes are represented only by the constraints they violate at the surfac level, as follows:

	* $\sigma_{\mu\mu\mu}$	STEM $\sigma\sigma$	*COD	ALL(ω, φ)	CON-TIG	DEP	MAX
Weak							mid
Broken					D	?	
? Weak			D			?	mid
Zero		D					mid
Strong				D			
Strong Zero		D	D				
a-induc					D	a	
?a-induc			D		D	?, a	mid
$\bar{e}$ -induc	D			D		e	
i-induc					D	i	
Weak ?			D		D	?	
Weak ? Caus			D	D	D	?	mid
Strong ? Caus			D	D	D	?	
Long Caus				D		i	mid

References: • Archangeli (1983). The root CV-template as a property of the affix: evidence from Yawelmani, *NLLT*. • Archangeli (1991). Syllabification and prosodic templates in Yawelmani, *NLLT*. • Golston (1996). Direct OT: representation as pure markedness, *Language*. • Guekguezian (2017). Templates as the interaction of recursive word structure and prosodic well-formedness, *Phonology*. • Kuroda (1967). Yawelmani phonology. • McCarthy & Prince (1994). The emergence of the unmarked, *NELS*. • Newman (1944). *The Yokuts language of California*.