Phonologically conditioned affix order in Washo

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Claim: Affix order in Washo is partially phonologically conditioned.
Stratal OT offers a particularly interesting set of options and restrictions in
dealing with phonologically conditioned affix order (PCAO).

Introduction

Overview:

- in Washo, stem-level suffixes are reordered to avoid a stem-final stressed syllable if possible

- at the stem level, the phonological constraint NONFINALITY outranks morphological alignment constraints

- unstressed suffixes are later added at the word level but counterbleed the observed change in affix order

PCAO

- "phonologically conditioned affix order": semantically and/or morphologically unexpected affix order triggered by phonological constraint(s), affixes may be more than one segment long
- Paster (2006a,b 2009) argues that "true" PCAO does not exist, reported cases reduce to either segmental metathesis or infixation
- affix order in Washo is *non-transitive* (c.f. Ryan 2010) and *opaque* (c.f. Stiebels 2003)
- data from Jacobsen (1964, 1973), who also identified the pattern as phonologically conditioned

Non-transitive affix order in Washo

Washo[1]

(1)   léme?huyáša?i
       le-íme?-hu-áša?-i
       1SBJ-drink-PL.INCL-NEAR.FUT-IND
       "We (incl.) are going to drink."

(2)   léma?áša?é:si
       le-íme?-áša?-é:s-i
       1SBJ-drink-NEAR.FUT-NEG-IND
       "I am not going to drink."

- from this data we might infer: PL.INCL-NEG

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[1]Glosses: 1SBJ: first person subject, PL.INCL: plural inclusive, NEAR.FUT: near
future, IND: independent mood, NEG: negation

Non-transitive affix order in Washo

- from this data we might infer: PL.INCL-NEG

- instead, we find NEG-PL.INCL

(3) léme?é:shuyi
     le-íme?-é:s-hu-i
     1SBJ-drink-NEG-PL.INCL-IND
     "We (incl.) are not drinking."

Washo verbs in Stratal OT

Stratum 1: Stem-level suffixes

(4)

/íme?/, /hu/, /é:s/	NonFinality	Neg-R	Incl-R
a. íme?-hu-é:s	*!		*
☞ b. íme?-é:s-hu		*	

- morphologically preferred order (semantically transparent, transitive) encoded in alignment constraints which are violated once for every morpheme intervening between e.g. NEG and the right edge of the stem (c.f. McCarthy & Prince 1993)
- NONFINALITY (here, simply: do not have a stressed last syllable, compare Prince & Smolensky 2004) causes that order to change, yielding non-transitive, potentially opaque order
- on Stratum 2, prefixes and word-level suffixes are added. The word-level suffixes are never stressed, so they never violate NONFINALITY.

Opaque affix order in Washo

Washo[2]

(5) geyúliyé:sha
     ge-yúli-é:s-ha
     IMP-die-NEG-CAUS
     "Don't kill it!"

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[2]Glosses: IMP: imperative, CAUS: causative, NEG: negation

Cyclicity and PCAO

- "Stratal OT is cyclic but not too cyclic"
- process of dislocating an unstressed suffix such as Plural Inclusive *-hu* may apply across intervening affixes:

  (6) lémaʔášaʔéːshuyi
       le-ímeʔ-ášaʔ-éːs-hu-i
       1SBJ-drink-NEAR.FUT-NEG-PL.INCL-IND
       "We (incl.) aren't going to drink"

- assuming Bracket Erasure (Kiparsky 1982, see also Bermúdez-Otero 2011), the morphological makeup of the inner stem becomes invisible, PCAO is thus predicted to be possible only between Bracket Erasures

(7)   a. *[le-[[ímeʔ]-hu-ášaʔ-éːs]$_x$-i] vs.
      b. *[le-[[[[ímeʔ]-hu]-ášaʔ]-éːs]$_x$-i] vs.
      c. *[le-ímeʔ-hu-ášaʔ-éːs$_x$-i]

Conclusion

- PCAO exists
- there may be many more cases of e.g. stem-level PCAO effects which are obscured by later suffixes
- PCAO locality determined by Bracket Erasure and thus the number of cycles

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