

*A Subcategorization Approach to Opacity and Non-suppletive Allomorphy in the Cupeño
Habilitative Mood*

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The Cupeño habilitative mood presents non-suppletive allomorphs that have long challenged theories of phonologically conditioned morphology, as well as opaque morphophonemic phenomena which have been ignored in previous analyses (McCarthy & Prince 1990; Crowhurst 1994; McCarthy 2000). In this paper, I will demonstrate that these issues cannot be addressed using a two-level Optimality Theory approach. However, treating the morpheme as an infix within a Subcategorization Framework which logically precedes phonological processes successfully addresses both matters. This analysis provides support for two predictions made by Phonological Subcategorization. The first is that the conditioning environment for some allomorphs will be rendered opaque by successive phonological processes (Paster 2006). The second is that infixes are sensitive to phonological constituents, including final consonants (Yu, to appear). I will show that both predictions are simultaneously borne out in Cupeño.

The habilitative morpheme takes whatever shape will result in two post-tonic syllables in consonant final words (e.g. tewáʃ ‘lose’ > tewáʃaʔaʃ; jújmuk ‘be cold’ > jújmuʔuk; see example 1). In vowel final words, the morpheme doesn’t appear at all (e.g. jewájwe ‘talk’ > jewájwe; see example 2). However, there are words that present exceptions to these generalizations. As exemplified in 3, words ending in an epenthesized /ʔ/ exhibit no morpheme, patterning with vowel-final words rather than consonant-final words (e.g. k^wáʔ ‘eat’ > k^wáʔ). In example 4, words that lose final /x/ by regular phonological rules nonetheless pattern with consonant final words in the habilitative (e.g. páʃmax ‘wash clothes’ > páʃmaʔa).

The attested outputs cannot be obtained using the two-level Optimality Theory (OT) approach (e.g. McCarthy & Prince 1993b). The following tableaux demonstrate that we predict the incorrect output no matter how epenthesis/syncope constraints (*v̆]/ *x]) are ranked in relation to a constraint prohibiting phonetic realization of the habilitative in vowel-final words (simplified here as *HAB + V]).

k^wá + HAB	*v̆]	*HAB + V]	REALIZE HAB
● i.k ^w áʔaʔaʔ			
☞ ii.k ^w áʔ			*

jáʔjax + HAB	*x]	*HAB + V]	REALIZE HAB
● i. jáʔja			*
☞ ii. jáʔjaʔa		*	

In this paper, I propose a new analysis using subcategorization frames. The Cupeño habilitative is an infix which must follow a foot and precede a final consonant. The infixation requirements are met in frames that occur logically prior to phonological processes, including epenthesis and deletion. If there is no final consonant at the level of the subcategorization frames (i.e. preceding epenthesis), the infix cannot appear. The size of the infix emerges at the level of the phonology (presented here in OT).

This sequential analysis accounts for the opacity problem posed above. It also accounts for the post-tonic bisyllabic materialization of the morpheme, and its absence in vowel-final words, which has heretofore remained unexplained in OT analyses of Cupeño (McCarthy 2000). Finally, it supports previous claims (Yu, to appear; Paster 2006) that subcategorization frames are superior to a purely two-level Optimality approach in which phonological constraints are ranked before morphological constraints (cf. McCarthy & Prince 1993a, 1993b). Opacity and non-suppletive allomorphy in the realization of the habilitative morpheme require a sequential analysis of the kind presented here.

Data (habilitative morpheme double underlined)

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|----|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| 1. | <u>root</u> | <u>gloss</u> | <u>Hab</u> | |
| | a) tewáʃ | lose | tewáʃ <u>ʔaʔaʃ</u> | |
| | b) jújmuk | be cold | jújmu <u>ʔuk</u> | (Hill 2005:59) |
| 2. | <u>root</u> | <u>gloss</u> | <u>Hab</u> | |
| | a) séjki | gather sejiʔ | séjki | |
| | b) jewájwe | talk | jewájwe | (Hill 2005:58) |
| 3. | <u>root</u> | <u>gloss</u> | <u>Hab</u> | |
| | a) k ^w áʔ | eat | k ^w áʔ | (Hill 2005:117) |
| | b) tsíʔ | gather | tsíʔ | (Hill 1970:534) |
| 4. | <u>root</u> | <u>gloss</u> | <u>Hab</u> | |
| | a) jáʔja (<jáʔyax) | run (intransitive) | jáʔja <u>ʔa</u> | |
| | b) páʃma (<páʃmax) | wash clothes | páʃma <u>ʔa</u> | (Hill 2005:58) |

Sources

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