

Handout #11

Karok (cf. Handout #7)

Karok (California)

(Kenstowicz and Kisseberth 1979: 73)

<i>Imperative</i>	<i>1st sing.</i>	<i>3rd sing.</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
pasip	nipasip	ʔupasip	<i>shoot</i>
si:tva	niʃi:tva	ʔusi:tva	<i>steal</i>
kifnuk	nikifnuk	ʔukifnuk	<i>stoop</i>
suprih	niʃuprih	ʔusuprih	<i>measure</i>
ʔifik	niʔifik	ʔuʔifik	<i>pick up</i>
ʔaktuv	niʔaktuv	ʔuʔaktuv	<i>pluck at</i>

Karok (California)

<i>Imperative</i>	<i>1st sing.</i>	<i>3rd sing.</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
ʔaxjar	nixjar	ʔuxjar	<i>fill</i>
ʔiskak	niskak	ʔuskak	<i>jump</i>
ʔikʃah	nikʃah	ʔuksah	<i>laugh</i>
ʔisriv	nisriv	ʔusriv	<i>shoot at target</i>
ʔuksup	niksup	ʔuksup	<i>point</i>

Karok: Nonalternating morphemes

- ni- “1st singular”.
- ʔu- “2nd singular”
- pasip “shoot”
- kifnuk “stoop”
- ʔaktuv “pluck at”
- ʔifik “pick up”

Karok: Alternating morphemes

- si:tva ~ ʃi:tva “steal”
- suprih ~ ʃuprih “measure”
- ʔaxjar ~ xjar “fill”
- ʔiʃkak ~ ʃkak ~ skak “jump”
- ʔikʃah ~ kʃah ~ ksah “laugh”
- ʔiʃriv ~ ʃriv ~ sriv “shoot at target”
- ʔuksup ~ kʃup ~ ksup “point”

Karok: Alternating sounds

- $s \sim \int$
- $i \sim \emptyset$
- $u \sim \emptyset$
- $a \sim \emptyset$
- $\text{ʔ} \sim \emptyset$

Karok: Distribution of alternating sounds

- $s \sim \int$ (Handout #7)
 - $[\int]$ occurs only after V C_0 .
[-back]
 - $[s]$ occurs only elsewhere.

Karok: Distribution of alternating sounds

- ʔ ~ ∅
 - The alternants with the glottal stop, e.g. ʔaxjar, occur at the beginning of the word.
 - The alternants without glottal stop, e.g. xjar, occur after a vowel.
 - Forms like niʔifik and ʔuʔaktuv indicate that glottal stop can occur after **i** or **u**.
 - The restriction must be on the alternant without the glottal stop - it can't occur word-initially.
 - **Statement of distribution: *#V**

Karok: Distribution of alternating sounds

- i, a, u ~ ∅
 - The alternants with the vowel, e.g. **ʔaxjar**, occur at the beginning of the word.
 - The alternants without the vowel, e.g. **xjar**, occur after a vowel.
 - It differs from item to item what the alternating vowel is.
 - **Statement of distribution:** * V V

Underlying representations of alternating morphemes

- /si:tva, suprih, axjar, iskak, iksah, isriv, uksup/
- Comments
 - s and ʃ are in complementary distribution, with s in the default elsewhere distribution.
 - Therefore /s/ is the phoneme, and all underlying representations have /s/ in place of [ʃ].
 - Examples: /si:tva, suprih, iskak, iksah, isriv, uksup/

Underlying representations of alternating morphemes

- $V \sim \emptyset$
 - The restriction is on the presence of the vowel in a position next to a vowel.
 - The underlying representations of the alternating morphemes therefore have the alternating vowel.
 - Examples: /axjar, iskak, iksah, ifriv, uksup/

Underlying representations of alternating morphemes

- ʔ ~ ∅
 - The restriction is on the form without the glottal stop, with a vowel at the beginning of a word.
 - The underlying representations of the alternating morphemes therefore have the restricted form - without glottal stop.
 - Examples: /axjar, iskak, iksah, isriv, uksup/

Rule ordering

- Vowel Deletion and Palatalization interact, because the former gets rid of vowels, and the latter is conditioned by vowels.
- In a case like [ʔusriv], the underlying representation is /ʔu - isriv/.
- Palatalization would apply to the underlying representation, but not to the output of Vowel Deletion: /ʔu - sriv/.
- In this case, Vowel Deletion **bleeds** Palatalization, i.e. it eliminates some opportunities for the latter to apply.

Rule ordering

- In [niksup], the underlying representation is /ni - uk^{sup}/.
- Palatalization does not apply to this representation, but it does apply to the output of Vowel Deletion: /ni - k^{sup}/.
- In this case, Vowel Deletion creates an opportunity for Palatalization to apply, i.e. Vowel Deletion **feeds** Palatalization.
- Therefore Vowel Deletion must be applied before Palatalization.

Derivations: Correct order

Underlying representation	/ʔu - isrɪv/	/ni - ukʃup/
Vowel Deletion	/ʔu - srɪv/	/ni - kʃup/
Palatalization	_____	/ni - kʃup/
Surface representation	[ʔusrɪv/	[nikʃup]

Derivations: Incorrect order

Underlying representation	/ʔu - isriv/	/ni - uksup/
Palatalization	/ʔu - iʃriv/	_____
Vowel Deletion	/ʔu - ʃriv/	/ni - ksup/
Surface representation	*[ʔuʃriv/	*[niksup]

Rule ordering

- Vowel Deletion must be applied before Palatalization.
- Glottal Stop Insertion does not interact with the other two rules, so any ordering of that rule with the other two works.

Reference

- Kenstowicz, Michael and Charles Kisseberth (1979). *Generative Phonology: Description and Theory*. Academic Press, San Diego.