Accentual defaults in Karuk: Evidence for stratal phonology
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The Karuk language

- Hokan isolate, Northern California
- Polysynthetic (100+ verbal affixes, ~14 positions)
- Syllables: CV, CVC, CVV, CVVC
- Accentuation = tone (á, åá, åå) + stress
  (1 per word, coincides w/ TBU)

Objectives

- Much complexity and apparent unpredictability in morphologically conditioned accent phenomena
- How much can be reduced to metrical default(s)?
- What are the defaults and how many are needed?

Core concepts & constraints

Stem-level vs. word-level

Stem-level default

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$\sigma_{stem}$ - stem-level suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ H \leftarrow \text{align } H, \text{ resyllify} ]</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Word-level default

\[ (cVc,cVv(c)) \leftrightarrow \text{default foot} \]

Constraint rankings and effects:

- $cVc \gg \text{DEP-v} / \text{SWP}$
- \text{FtForm} = $\langle \sigma, \sigma_v \rangle \gg \text{FtForm} = \langle \sigma_v, \sigma \rangle$
- Geminate to give CV σ a coda
- Can’t lengthen V to get ideal foot

Stem-level data & analysis

H tone right-aligned to stem:

1. \text{skrivrůh} ‘to roll off’ → \text{ikriv(ri)bůh} ‘to roll downhill from here’
2. \text{skrivrůh} ‘to roll’ → \text{ikriv(ri)bůh} ‘to roll away’
3. \text{ikriv(ri)vůh} ‘to roll over’
4. \text{ikriv(ri)vůh} ‘to roll down’

Word-level data & analysis

Stress/H to σ left of rightmost long vowel:

1. \text{ukrdrůvůh}sůr ‘she rolled away’
2. \text{upip(tákkůh)th} ‘he mended [them]’
3. \text{ukriv(růúh)ůh}sůr ‘down’
4. \text{ukrdrůvůh}sůr ‘off’

Core concepts & constraints

Stem-level morphology: Verbal derivational affixes (e.g., direction, valence-changing suffixes)

Word-level morphology: Verbal inflectional affixes (e.g., person prefixes); nominal compounding

Cophonology Theory

- Many possible, e.g., Anttila (2002); Inkelas and Zoll (2007)
- \text{pu’tíkkah(ráphät)}
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Findings

When morphology erases input accentuation, two different default accentuation patterns are found, one assigned at the stem level and one at the word level – supports a stratal analysis

Stem-level data & analysis

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Word-level data & analysis

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