RHYTHMIC REPAIR OF MORPHOLOGICAL ACCENT ASSIGNED OUTSIDE OF A METRICAL WINDOW
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2016 Annual Meeting on Phonology

Issue: Interaction of Morphological Accent with a Metrical Window

1) Phonological accent can be assigned lexically/morphologically (Reivithiadou 1998, Alderete 2001, a.o. theoretical treatments)
2) Metrical window: primary stress restricted to a specific number of syllables/moras at a domain edge, e.g. final 3o window in Latin
3) Default ‘repair’: when accent is assigned outside of metrical window, results in default stress (Caballero 2011, Kager 2012)

Proposal: Rhythmic Repair
Position of primary stress dependent on window-external accent, e.g. uniformly two syllables away

Rhythmic Effects in the L3o Window
1) Bare nouns have default accent on penult (some exceptions)
2) If morphological accent would appear outside of the Left-Edge 3o Window, primary stress surfaces on a rhythmically dependent position

Nominal Rhythmic Effects
Accent on Penult Ultima of root Suffix
1) ke = keho ke-md
2) dw = dwa (~dwa-bye)
3) bawicho = bawicho-apa bawicho-ma * bawicho-ma
4) iñawewa = iñawewa-nixie iñawewa-ma * iñawewa-ma

Rhythmic Effects with Verbal Accent
1) Verbs inflected for tense/mood and 3rd person agreement -ka
2) Suffixes form 4 distinct Suffixal Accent Groups (SAGs)

Verbal Accent Paradigm

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<th>Morph. Accent</th>
<th>Rhythmic Iteration</th>
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<tr>
<td>SAG 1</td>
<td>Dominant</td>
<td>Ult: [-1]sfx</td>
<td>Pen: [-1]sfx</td>
<td>[o]-me</td>
<td>[o]-me</td>
<td>[o]-me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAG 2</td>
<td>Recessive</td>
<td>Ult: [-1]sfx</td>
<td>Pen: [-1]sfx</td>
<td>[o]-me</td>
<td>[o]-me</td>
<td>[o]-me</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAG 3</td>
<td>Recessive</td>
<td>Ult: [-1]sfx</td>
<td>Pen: [-1]sfx</td>
<td>[o]-me</td>
<td>[o]-me</td>
<td>[o]-me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAG 4</td>
<td>Rightmost</td>
<td>Ult: [-1]sfx</td>
<td>Pen: [-1]sfx</td>
<td>[o]-me</td>
<td>[o]-me</td>
<td>[o]-me</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Lexical/Morphological Accent Located Outside of a Window

Grammar 1 Output

Grammar 2 Output

Grammar 3 Output

Primary stress position

Mandatory

Dependent on input

No

Yes

Main Findings

1) ‘Ese’eja is an example of this novel type of ‘repair’
2) ‘Ese’eja metrical window as epiphenomenal (following Kager 2012) - decomposable to common constraints
3) Rhythmic effects play a role in mapping the position of surface primary stress and morphological accent

Background on Ese’eja (Takanan: Bolivia)

1) Polysynthetic language with 13+ morphological verbal slots
3) Phonological word-level Left-Edge 3o Stress Window (L3o)

- b) Alignment can be with bare /σσσ/ or /σσ/ (following Kager 2012) – Dual Rhythm

Rhythmic Repair of Morphological Accent Assigned Outside of a Metrical Window

Verbal Rhythmic Effects

SAG / Trans. Input Morph. Accent Rhythmic Iteration Leftmost constraint Foot Type
1 / T / o-o / [o]-me [o]-me [o]-me lamb
2 / T / o/o + ka / [o]-k-me [o]-k-me [o]-k-me lamb
2 / o/o / [o]-na.he [o]-na.he [o]-na.he Troc.
2 / o/o / [o]-na.he [o]-na.he [o]-na.he Troc.

Discussion – Alignment of Accent and Stress

1) Phonological accent and primary stress not necessarily aligned
2) We can decompose the ‘Ese’eja Metrical Window as:
   a) Constraint aligning phonological accent with word stress
   b) Alignment can be with primary or secondary stress
   c) Additionally: Rhythm=I/T, PARSE-SYL, LEFTMOST
4) Reject ‘Default’ analysis – This would require 3 distinct defaults

Implications – Ese’eja as a Count System

1) ‘Ese’eja as a Count System (van der Hulst 1997, 2012)
2) Rhythmic iteration precedes primary stress designation
3) Van der Hulst (2012): Count System = Rhythm + Phrase Edge Prominence - i.e. no primary word stress
4) Cannot account for ‘Ese’eja, as it does demonstrate word-level stress

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