Class 26
Weight-Sensitive Stress

4/20/2022

1 Recap: New patterns and constraints from last time

1.1 Warao

(1) Warao (Venezuela/Suriname/Guyana)

a.	1σ	yá	[1]	'sun'
b.	2σ	tí.ra	[10]	'woman'
c.	3σ	ko.rá.nu	[010]	'drink it!'
d.	4σ	rù.hu.ná.e	[2010]	'he sat down'
e.	5σ	yi.wà.ra.ná.e	[02010]	'he finished it'

- The Warao stress system works as follows:

(2) a. Stress (primary) always falls on the penult (second syllable from the right), if there is one
b. Stress (secondary) appears on alternating syllables to the left of the penult (if there are any)
c. If the word is monosyllabic, that one syllable gets primary stress, even though it's the final syllable

(3) Weri 2σ words: NonFin ≫ StressR

/σσ/		NonFin	StressR	*Lapse
a.	σσ		*	*!
b.	σσ́	*!		
☞ c.	σ́σ		*	
d.	σ́σ́	*!		

(4) Weri 3σ words: NonFin, *Clash, and *Lapse ≫ StressL

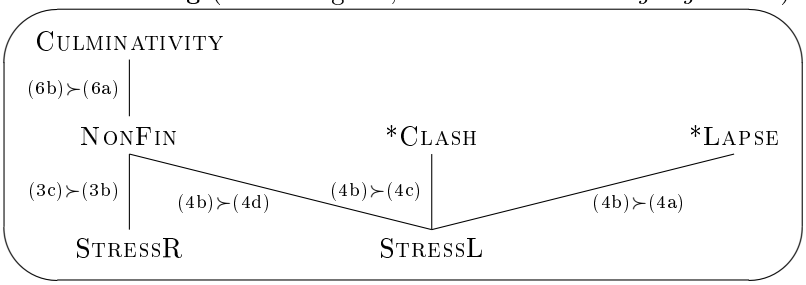
/σσσ/		NonFin	*Clash	*Lapse	StressL	StressR
a.	σ́σσ			*!		*
☞ b.	σσ́σ				*	*
c.	σ́σ́σ		*!			*
d.	σ́σσ́	*!				
e.	σσσ́	*!		*!	*	
f.	σσ́σ́	*!	*!		*	

(5) **Culminativity:** Assign a violation to a candidate that has no stresses at all. (Each word must have at least one stress.)

(6) Weri 1σ words: CULMINATIVITY $\gg$ NONFIN

/$\sigma\sigma$/		CULM	NONFIN
	a. σ	*!	
☞	b. $\acute{\sigma}$		*

(7) **Warao ranking** (Hasse diagram, notated with *ranking arguments*)



1.2 Gonmu Koya

- The Gonmu dialect of Koya is the first language we've seen where we can't just rely on the positions of syllables and word boundaries to determine the position of stress.

(8) Gonmu Koya (Dravidian, India)

a.	gínne	[10]	'cup'
b.	béske	[10]	'when'
c.	ńdòːɾu	[120]	'everyone'
d.	áːki	[10]	'leaf'
e.	táːto	[10]	'mother's father'
f.	káːpuɾam	[100]	'residence'
g.	kóːɖavàːli	[1020]	'sickle'
h.	púːŋgàːɾi	[120]	'flower'

⋆ We determined that we need to add in **weight-sensitivity**: all heavy syllables must be stressed, even if it creates a clash. This is implemented with the constraint WSP:

(9) **WEIGHT-TO-STRESS PRINCIPLE (WSP):** Assign a violation for each **heavy syllable** that is not stressed.

- In Koya, a heavy syllable is a syllable with a *long vowel*. (What counts as heavy can differ by language.)
  - ∘ A non-heavy syllable is called a **light syllable**.
  - ∗ We can short-hand heavy syllables as H, and light syllables as L.

- The other factor that's relevant: all initial syllables must be stressed (undominated STRESSL).

- LHL words demonstrate Koya's weight-sensitivity, because the heavy syllable in second position attracts stress even if it causes a clash.

(10) Koya LHL words

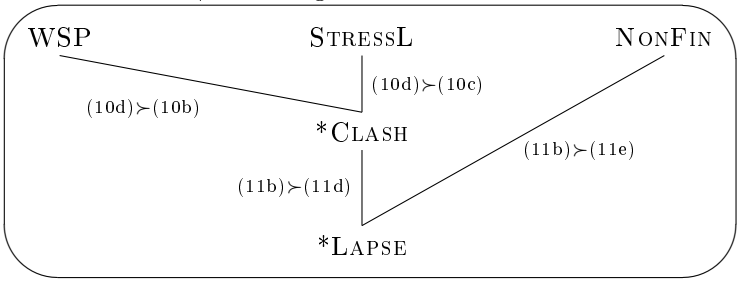
/LHL/		WSP	StressL	*Clash
	a. LHL	*!	*!	
	b. ĹHL	*!		
	c. LH́L		*!	
☞	d. ĹH́L			*

- LLL words confirm this, because the second syllable remains unstressed.
  - They also demonstrate that NonFin and *Clash ≫ *Lapse, because it is preferable to leave the 2nd and 3rd syllables unstressed than stress either of them.
  - Also, StressL ≫ *Lapse, because stressing just the second syllable (11c) would also avoid the lapse. But we already know this because of transitivity through *Clash.

(11) Koya LLL words

/LLL/		WSP	StressL	*Clash	NonFin	*Lapse
	a. LLL		*!			**
☞	b. ĹLL					*
	c. LĹL		*!			
	d. ĹĹL			*!		
	e. ĹLĹ				*!	

(12) **Koya ranking** (Hasse diagram, notated with *ranking arguments*)



⋆ **What does our ranking predict will happen if there is a heavy syllable in final position?**

2 More quantity-sensitive stress systems

⋆ Describe the stress pattern in Khalka and construct a constraint-based analysis. Try to come up with a way to explain the position of primary stress. All vowel sequences are diphthongs; [y] = high front rounded vowel.

(13) Khalka Mongolian (Mongolia)

a.	á:.rù:l	[12]	'dry cheese curds'
b.	úit.gar.tàe	[102]	'sad'
c.	dò.ló:.du.gà:r	[2102]	'seventh'
d.	bàe.gú:.lag.dax	[2100]	'to be organized'
e.	xø̀n.dì:.rý:.len	[2210]	'to separate' (modal)
f.	ù:r.táe.gà:r	[212]	'angrily'
g.	bài.gú:l.la.gà:r	[2102]	'by means of the organization'
h.	ù.là:n.bá:.ta.rà:s	[22102]	'Ulaanbaatar' (ablative)
i.	ù.là:n.bà:.trí:n.xan	[22210]	'the residents of Ulaanbaatar'

⋆ Describe the stress pattern in Western Cheremis and construct a constraint-based analysis. You may or may not need something slightly new at this point

(14) Western Cheremis (Finno-Ugric, Russia)

a.	ó:ʃ.ma:	[10]	'sand'
b.	kó:r.nə	[10]	'road'
c.	kó:r.nəʃ.tə	[100]	'road' (inessive)
d.	βá:ʃ.tə.la:m	[100]	'I laugh'
e.	o:ʃ.má:ʃ.tə	[010]	'sand' (inessive)
f.	pɔ́.rə	[10]	'go in!'
g.	pɔ́.ra:	[10]	'go in' (pres. 3. sg.)
h.	pə.rə́ʃ.əm	[010]	'I went in'
i.	ə.mɔ́l.te:m	[010]	'I throw my shade on'

⋆ Describe the stress pattern in Selkup and construct a constraint-based analysis. You may or may not need something slightly new at this point

(15) Selkup (Finno-Ugric, Russia)

a.	qu.mo:.qlɪ.lí:	[LHLH́]	'your two friends'
b.	u:.có:.mɨt	[HH́L]	'we work'
c.	py.na.kɨ.sɔ́:	[LLLH́]	'giant!'
d.	qólʲ.cɨm.pa.tɨ	[ĹLLL]	'found'