Class 25
More Stress

4/18/2022

1   Recap: Analysis of alternating stress patterns

1.1   Stress patterns

(1)   Maranungku (Australian)
a.	2σ	tíralk	[10]	'saliva'
b.	3σ	mérepèt	[102]	'beard'
c.	4σ	yángarmàta	[1020]	'the Pleiades'
d.	5σ	lángkaràtetì	[10202]	'prawn'
e.	6σ	wélepènemànta	[102020]	'kind of duck'

(2)   Pintupi (Australian)
a.	2σ	pá:na	[10]	'earth'
b.	3σ	t^{j}úʈaya	[100]	'many'
c.	4σ	máɭawàna	[1020]	'through from behind'
d.	5σ	púɭiŋkàlat^{j}u	[10200]	'we (sat) on the hill'
e.	6σ	t^{j}ámulìmpat^{j}ùŋku	[102020]	'our relation'
f.	7σ	ʈíḻirìŋulàmpat^{j}u	[1020200]	'the fire for our benefit flared up'
g.	8σ	kúran^{j}ùlulìmpat^{j}ùɻa	[10202020]	'the first one (who is) our relation'
h.	9σ	yúmaɻìŋkamàrat^{j}ùɻaka	[102020200]	'because of mother-in-law'

(3)   Weri (Papuan)
a.	2σ	ŋintíp	[01]	'bee'
b.	3σ	kùlipú	[201]	'hair of arm'
c.	4σ	ulùamít	[0201]	'mist'
d.	5σ	àkunètepál	[20201]	'times'

1.2   Describing the patterns

(1′) Maranungku:
   a. Alternate between stressed and unstressed syllables, starting from the left
   b. Primary stress on the first syllable

(2′) Pintupi:
   a. Alternate between stressed and unstressed syllables, starting from the left, BUT
   b. *The final syllable must be unstressed*
   c. Primary stress on the first syllable

(3′) Weri:
   a. Alternate between stressed and unstressed syllables, *starting from the right*
   b. Primary stress on the *last* syllable

1.3 Stress constraints

- Alternating stress emerges from the combined effect of two constraints:

(4) ***Clash:** Assign a violation for each sequence of two adjacent **stressed** syllables. [*σ́σ́]

(5) ***Lapse:** Assign a violation for each sequence of two adjacent **unstressed** syllables. [*σ̆σ̆]

- The remaining constraints that we need all have to do with edges:

(6) **StressL:** Assign a violation if the leftmost syllable is unstressed. [*#σ̆]

(7) **StressR:** Assign a violation if the leftmost syllable is unstressed. [*σ̆#]

(8) **NonFinality:** Assign a violation if the rightmost syllable is stressed. [*σ́#]

- We haven't seen the need for it yet, but this constraint language predicts the existence of one more constraint:

(9) **NonInitiality:** Assign a violation if the leftmost syllable is stressed. [*#σ́]

1.4 Analyses

(10) **Maranungku ranking:** StressL, *Clash, *Lapse ≫ NonFinality, StressR

(11) Maranungku 3σ words

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

(12) **Pintupi ranking:** StressL, *Clash, NonFinality ≫ *Lapse, StressR

(13) Pintupi 3σ words

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

(14) **Weri ranking:** StressR, *Clash, *Lapse ≫ NonFinality, StressL

(15) Weri 3σ words

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

(16)   Weri 2σ words

/σσσ/			STRESSR	*CLASH	*LAPSE	NONFIN	STRESSL
	a.	σσ	*!		*!		*
	b.	σ́σ	*!				
☞	c.	σσ́				*	*
	d.	σ́σ́		*!		*	

∗ We actually don't need *LAPSE to explain either of these forms, but we do need it once we get to 4+ syllable words:

(17)   a.   σσ́σσ́ ≻ *σ́σσσ́
        b.   σ́σσ́σσ́ ≻ *σ́σσσσ́

2   Another alternating stress language

⋆ Describe the stress pattern in Warao and construct a constraint-based analysis.

(18)   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'

3   A different kind of stress system

⋆ Describe the stress pattern in the Gonmu dialect of Koya and construct a constraint-based analysis. You're going to need at least one new constraint. Don't pay attention to the difference between primary and secondary stress.

(19)   Gonmu Koya (Dravidian, India)
        a.   gínne   [10]   'cup'
        b.   béske   [10]   'when'
        c.   óndòːɾu   [120]   'everyone'
        d.   áːki   [10]   'leaf'
        e.   táːto   [10]   'mother's father'
        f.   káːpuɾam   [100]   'residence'
        g.   kóːɖavàːli   [1020]   'sickle'
        h.   púːŋgàːɾi   [120]   'flower'

⋆ Describe the stress pattern in Khalka and construct a constraint-based analysis. You're going to need the constraint(s) you posited for Koya, and maybe some new ones. Try to come up with a way to explain the position of primary stress. All vowel sequences are diphthongs; [y] = high front rounded vowel.

(20)   Khalka Mongolian (Mongolia)
    a.   áː.rùːl   [12]   'dry cheese curds'
    b.   úit.gar.tàe   [102]   'sad'
    c.   dò.lóː.du.gàːr   [2102]   'seventh'
    d.   bàe.gúː.lag.dax   [2100]   'to be organized'
    e.   xɤ̀n.dìː.rý.len   [2210]   'to separate' (modal)
    f.   ùːr.táe.gàːr   [212]   'angrily'
    g.   bài.gúːl.la.gàːr   [2102]   'by means of the organization'
    h.   ù.làːn.báː.ta.ràːs   [22102]   'Ulaanbaatar' (ablative)
    i.   ù.làːn.bàː.tríːn.xan   [22210]   'the residents of Ulaanbaatar'

⋆ Describe the stress pattern in Western Cheremis and construct a constraint-based analysis. You may or may need something slightly new at this point

(21)   Western Cheremis (Finno-Ugric, Russia)
    a.   óː.ʃmaː   'sand'
    b.   kóːr.nə   'road'
    c.   kóːr.nə.ʃtə   'road' (inessive)
    d.   βáː.ʃtə.lam   'I laugh'
    e.   oː.ʃmáː.ʃtə   'sand' (inessive)
    f.   pə́.rə   'go in!'
    g.   pə́.raː   'go in' (pres. 3. sg.)
    h.   pə.ró.ʃəm   'I went in'
    i.   ə.mə́l.tem   'I throw my shade on'