Class 27
Weight-Sensitive Stress continued

4/25/2022

1 Recap: Mongolian

⋆ Last time, we worked through the analysis of the stress pattern in the Khalka dialect of Mongolian.

(1) Khalka Mongolian (Mongolia)

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

● We made the following generalizations:

(2) a. The initial σ is always stressed (regardless of weight).
     b. Each heavy σ is stressed, even if it creates a clash. Long vowels and diphthongs both count as heavy.
     c. Non-initial light σ's are never stressed, even if it creates a lapse.
     d. Primary stress can never be on the final syllable.
     e. Primary stress falls on the rightmost, non-final σ that would be stressed according to (2a) or (2b).

● Here's some tableaux and ranking arguments summarizing the analysis.

∗ Here's the ranking arguments that would come from a [LHLL] word. We don't have one of those in the data set, but we can confidently extrapolate that the output would be [L̀ÝLL] by combining the observations from other forms.

(3) Khalka LHLL words

/LHLL/		WSP	StressL	*Clash	NonFin	*Lapse
	a. LHLL	*!	*!			***
	b. ÝHLL	*!				**
	c. LH́LL		*!			**
☞	d. L̀ÝLL			*		*
	e. L̀ÝLL̀			*	*!	
	f. L̀H̀ÝLL			**!		

(4)   Ranking arguments ("≻" = 'is better than'):
       a. WSP ≫ *Clash because (3d) ≻ (3b)
       b. StressL ≫ *Clash because (3d) ≻ (3c)
       c. *Clash ≫ *Lapse because (3d) ≻ (3f)   [an extra violation of *Clash is worse than a violation of *Lapse]
       d. NonFin ≫ *Lapse because (3d) ≻ (3e)

(5)   Hasse diagram of these rankings (preliminary) [N.B.: exactly the same as Koya from the previous class]
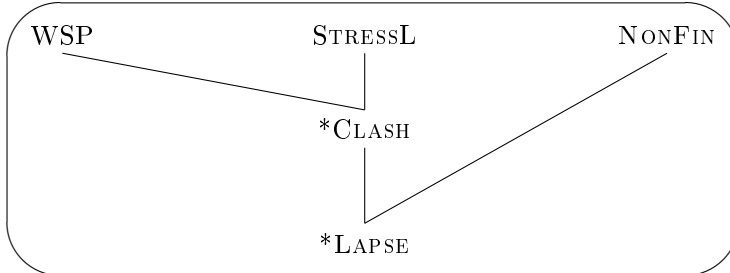
- In Koya, one of the unanswerable questions was what happens if you have a heavy σ in final position —
  there was just no data that could tell us. So we couldn't tell the relative ranking of WSP and NonFinality.
    → In Khalka, we have that evidence: Khalka stresses a final heavy.

(6)   Khalka LHLH words: e.g. [dò.ló:.du.gà:r]

	/LHLH/	WSP	NonFin	*Lapse
	a. L̀H́LH	*!		*
☞	b. L̀H́LH̀		*	

(7)   Ranking argument:
       WSP ≫ NonFin because (6b) ≻ (6a)

- However, it refuses to put *primary* stress on a final syllable. To explain the generalizations in (2d) and
  (2e), we posited the following two constraints:

(8)   **NonFinality(PrimaryStress):** Assign a violation if the final syllable bears primary stress.

(9)   **Align-PrimaryStress-Right:** Assign one violation for each (stressed?) syllable between the
   primary stress and the right edge of the word.

* In class, I said we needed this constraint to count only stressed syllables, not just any syllables. This will
  do the job, but it might not be necessary. (We'll probe this more later.) As long as *Clash outranks it,
  we will avoid placing primary stress on an otherwise unstressed penult (second-to-last syllable) because it
  would create extra clashes.

(10)   Khalka LHLH words: e.g. [dò.ló:.du.gà:r]

	/LHLH/	NonFin(PS)	*Clash	Align-PS-R
	a. L̀H̀LH́	*!	*	
	b. L̀H̀L̂H̀		**!*	*
☞	c. L̀H́LH̀		*	**
	d. H́H̀LH̀		*	***!

(11)   Ranking arguments:
       a. NonFin(PS) ≫ Align-PS-R because (10c) ≻ (10a)
       b. *Clash ≫ Align-PS-R because (10c) ≻ (10b)

(12)   Hasse diagram of all the rankings
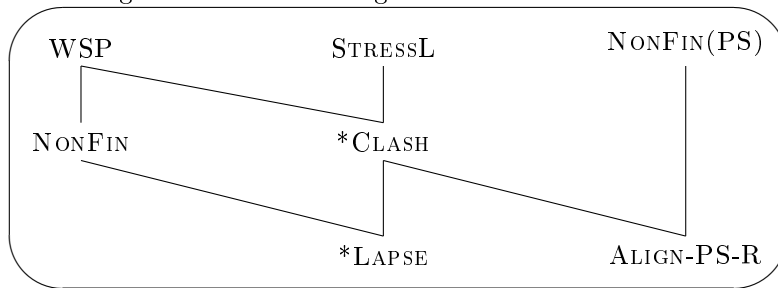
2   More quantity-sensitive stress systems

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

(13)   Selkup (Finno-Ugric, Russia)

a.	uː.có:.mɨt	[010]	[HĤL]	'we work'
b.	qu.moː.qlɪ.líː	[0001]	[LHLĤ]	'your two friends'
c.	py.na.kɨ.sʃː	[0001]	[LLLĤ]	'giant!'
d.	qólʲ.cɨm.pa.tɨ	[1000]	[ĤLLL]	'found'

★ 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.maː	[10]	[ĤH]	'sand'
b.	kó:r.nə	[10]	[ĤL]	'road'
c.	kó:r.nəʃ.tə	[100]	[ĤLL]	'road' (inessive)
d.	βá:ʃ.tə.laːm	[100]	[ĤLH]	'I laugh'
e.	o:ʃ.má:ʃ.tə	[010]	[HĤL]	'sand' (inessive)
f.	pə́.rə	[10]	[ĹL]	'go in!'
g.	pə́.raː	[10]	[ĹH]	'go in' (pres. 3. sg.)
h.	pə.rə́ʃ.əm	[010]	[LĹL]	'I went in'
i.	ə.mə́l.teːm	[010]	[LĹH]	'I throw my shade on'