

MORPHOLOGICALLY GOVERNED ACCENT IN OPTIMALITY THEORY

A Dissertation Presented

by

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NEAR KLAMATH

We stand around the burning oil drum
and we warm ourselves, our hands
and faces, in its pure lapping heat.

We raise steaming cups of coffee
to our lips and we drink it
with both hands. But we are salmon

fisherman. And now we stamp our feet
on the snow and rocks and move upstream,
slowly, full of love, toward the still pools.

-Raymond Carver, *Fires*

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ABSTRACT

Morphologically Governed Accent in Optimality Theory

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This dissertation examines the influence of morphological factors on stress and pitch accent. Two basic types are recognized. In root-controlled accent, inherent accent in a root overrides inherent affix accent; as a result, affixal accent is only realized in words with unaccented roots. In affix-controlled accent, the presence of a particular affix triggers one of several accentual mutations in the stem: deletion of accent (or a “dominance effect”), insertion of an accent (often known as pre- or post-accentuation), and accent shift or “flop”.

I argue that these two types of accentual behavior, despite important differences, are united under the rubric of faithfulness constraints in Optimality Theory. Root-controlled accent is a consequence of the privileged faithfulness status of roots over affixes, as has been shown in other empirical domains such as vowel harmony. Affix-controlled accent is due to a novel type of constraint, anti-faithfulness, which evaluates a pair of morphologically related words and requires an alternation in the shared stem.

The principal case of root-controlled accent studied in this dissertation is the Uto-Aztecan language Cupeño. In addition, I show how the accentual systems of Japanese and Russian fall within the scope of root faithfulness constraints. The study of these cases leads to a substantive restriction on the range of edge effects in accent systems, and clarifies a role for root accentedness in blocking morpho-accentual processes.

A number of properties of affix-controlled accentual processes are identified and shown to follow from the anti-faithfulness thesis. Affix-controlled accent is (I) morphologically triggered, (II) stem-mutating, and (III) grammar dependent. (I-II) follow from the assumption that anti-faithfulness operates on related words: forcing an alternation in a pair of words ensures that affix-controlled accent is morphological because it contrasts two word classes. Furthermore, as a relation between words, anti-faithfulness only affects the interval of a word which occurs throughout a paradigm, namely the stem (II). Finally, anti-faithfulness does not fully specify how a pair of words should differ accentually; its specific effects therefore depend on the larger grammar in which it is embedded (III).

Affix-controlled accent in Russian, Japanese, Cupeño, Limburg Dutch, and Aguaruna (Jivaroan) is investigated in a series of case studies. I argue that anti-faithfulness constitutes an integrated theory of the diverse morpho-accentual phenomena found in these languages, explains the important differences between the accentual properties of roots and affixes, and establishes parallels with non-accentual affix-controlled phenomena.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Morphologically Governed Accent in Optimality Theory	1
1.1.1 Goals.....	1
1.1.2 Synopsis of Theoretical Arguments	4
1.1.3 Overview of the Dissertation	11
1.2 Lexical Accent and Prosodic Faithfulness	12
1.2.1 Remarks on the Notion ‘Accent’	12
1.2.1.1 Observations	12
1.2.1.2 The Representation Question	15
1.2.2 A Theory of Prosodic Faithfulness	17
1.2.2.1 The Constraints	17
1.2.2.2 Application of the Constraints	19
1.2.2.3 Consequences for Culminative Accent	22
2. ROOT-CONTROLLED ACCENT IN CUPEÑ O	28
2.1 Introduction	28
2.2 Theoretical Background: Root and Affix Faithfulness	30
2.3 Root Stress Inventory	33
2.3.1 The Data	34
2.3.2 The Analysis	35
2.4 Overriding Root Stress	38
2.4.1 Data and Observations	38
2.4.2 The Analysis	42
2.4.3 Extending the Analysis	47
2.5 Discussion of Alternatives	54
2.5.1 A Level-Ordering Account	54
2.5.2 A Cyclic Analysis	56
2.6 Summary and Implications	58

3. RESTRICTED EDGE EFFECTS IN ROOT-CONTROLLED ACCENT SYSTEMS	60
3.1 Restricted Edge Orientation	60
3.1.1 Factorial Typology	60
3.1.2 Empirical Issues	64
3.2 Extended Case Study: Modern Russian	66
3.2.1 Preliminaries	67
3.2.2 Noun Stress: The Basic Patterns	68
3.2.3 Extending the Analysis: Verb Stress and Prefixed Words	74
3.3 Extended Case Study: Tokyo Japanese	80
3.3.1 Background	80
3.3.2 Analysis of Japanese Word Accent	83
3.3.3 Analysis of Noun-Noun Compounds	85
3.3.4 Influences of Prefixation on Word Accent	96
3.4 Summary and Conclusion	109
4. TRANSDERIVATIONAL FAITHFULNESS AND ANTI-FAITHFULNESS	112
4.1 Morphemic Sources of Accentual Regularity	113
4.2 Transderivational Correspondence Theory	116
4.2.1 Introductory Remarks	116
4.2.2 Transderivational Faithfulness in Stress Neutral Affixation	119
4.2.2.1 Theoretical Assumptions	119
4.2.2.2 Application to Stress Neutral Affixation	121
4.3 Transderivational Anti-Faithfulness	128
4.3.1 Introduction	128
4.3.2 Transderivational Anti-Faithfulness	131
4.3.2.1 Theoretical Assumptions	131
4.3.2.2 Application to Exchange Processes	135
4.3.3 Implications of Transderivational Anti-Faithfulness	141
5. THE ROLE OF TRANSDERIVATIONAL ANTI-FAITHFULNESS IN MORPHO-ACCENTUAL PHENOMENA	147
5.1 Towards an Integrated Theory of Affix-Controlled Accent	147
5.1.1 Properties of Affix-Controlled Accent	147
5.1.2 Affix-Controlled Accent as Prosodic Anti-Faithfulness	150

	153
5.2 Dominance Effects as Transderivational Anti-Faithfulness	153
5.2.1 The Problem	153
5.2.2 The Proposal: Dominance Effects as the Negation of MAX-PROM ...	156
5.2.3 Case Study: Dominance Effects in Russian	163
5.2.4 Implications	173
5.2.5 Discussion of Alternatives	182
5.3 Pre/Post-Accentuation as Transderivational Anti-Faithfulness	190
5.3.1 The Problem	190
5.3.2 The Proposal: Pre- and Post-Accentuation as Negation of DEP-PROM	193
5.3.3 Implications	200
5.3.3.1 Strict Base Mutation in Pre- and Post-Accentuation	200
5.3.3.2 Dominant/Recessive Pre-Accentuation in Tokyo Japanese	204
5.3.3.3 Factorial Typology	207
5.3.4 Discussion of Alternatives	210
5.4 Accent Shifts as Transderivational Anti-Faithfulness	216
5.4.1 The Problem	216
5.4.2 Dragging Tone Mutation in Limburg Dutch: Evidence for ¬NO-FLOP	218
5.4.2.1 Data and Observations	218
5.4.2.2 Tone in Monomorphemic Words	220
5.4.2.3 Tonal Mutation in Derived Words as ¬NO-FLOP-TONE	223
5.4.3 Case Study: Accent Shift in Tokyo Japanese	227
5.4.4 Extended Case Study: Accent in Aguaruna	234
5.4.4.1 Distribution of Accent in Underived Words	235
5.4.4.2 Vowel Deletion and Accent Shift	237
5.4.4.3 Accent Shift in Derived Words	245
BIBLIOGRAPHY	251