24.961 stress-4

We have seen that stress is sensitive to the weight of syllables, distinguishing two, three, and sometimes even more (Piraha) degrees of stressability. Here we look at various cases where stressability depends on the phonemes comprising the syllable.

1. some minor precedents:

avoid stressing schwa: recall the rhythm rule and maróon swe"ater. In Polish main stress is penultimate; there are some 14 lexical items with antepenultimate stress: uniwersytet, repúblik, repúblik-a; most have penult [i]

2. Kenstowicz '97:

• Kobon: i i u u e ə o a

stress in disyllabic window at right edge; seeks out stronger vowel on the following prominence scale:

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a,e,o,i,u > \mathfrak{d}, \dot{\mathfrak{d}} (peripheral vs. central)
a > e,o > i,u > \dot{\mathfrak{d}} > \dot{\mathfrak{d}} (height, sonority)
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• Chukchi: stress in disyllabic window at right edge of base;

qorá -ŋə qóra- t reindeer ricit ricit -ti belt melotá- lgən milúte- t rabbit

Align-Base-R >> Nonfinality >> Head-R wéni-wen bell

kéli-kel paper nuté-nut land piŋé-piŋ snowfall

*P/i,u >> Head-R

schwa: retract stress from final schwa unless penult is schwa, in which case do not retract

pátgərg-ən hole tátləŋ-ək to answer pipiqəlg-ən mouse məcəkw-ən shirt

rəkgət-ək to get stuck rəmət-ək to wash up

*P/ə >> *P/i,u

Nonfinality

ətlá	mother
ləlé-t	eyes
pənún	middle
ótləq	tundra
óttəm	bone
kátpət	sable

analysis : *P/ ϑ >> Nonfin >> *P/i,u

/ətla /	<u>*P/ə</u>	Nonfin
'ss	*!	
s's		*
/ ətləq/		
'ss	*	
s's	*	*!
/nute-t/		
'ss		
s's		*!

Homework: Nanti is a Kampa language of Peru related to Asheninca (Crowhurst 2002). Provide an OT analysis of its stress contours. The data are slightly simplified in that we do not consider words with long vowels.

Rank the foot parsing constraints to generate the alternating stress contours in (1).

(1)

pógi 'you do'
námi 'I give'
yári 'he flies'
ogótero 'she will know it'

nonéhero 'I will see it'
ipìriníti 'he sits'
irìpirínite 'he will sit'
okòwogótero 'she harvests it'
nosáksero 'I poured it'

agàbejáksena 'it overwhelmed me' oJàpitáksero 'it stopped it up' isèkatákaro 'he ate it'

nokàtsigáksero "I bent it"

Suggest how the data in (2) can be accounted for.

(2)

nàpesigòpiréjakse 'I rested' nòkogákotaro 'I request it' ságute 'splash it' jánuti 'he walked' àtsitokáksero 'it crushed it'

nàbigitáksero 'I pick it out of bag'

nògibotáksero 'I placed it (vessel) mouth down'

nòsipokáksero 'I doused it (a fire)' nòginòrijáksero 'I laid it down'

The data in (3) require another constraint.

(3)

nòbetáksero 'I held on to it' òrebók∫itiro 'it is wetted by rain' nòtujáksero 'I knocked it over'

nòtugeakeri 'I blew tobacco powder into his nose'

notújero 'I will knock it over'