A Scales-and-Parameters account of morphologically conditioned accentual exceptions

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Introduction

I propose here a novel approach to **morpheme-specific exceptions** in **lexical and mixed accent systems**.
I introduce the Scales-and-Parameters (S&P) theory of word accent and show that it provides a uniform account for both regular and exceptional accent location *within and across* lexical accent systems with dominant accented morphemes and phonological weight-sensitive systems with exceptional morphemes (**mixed systems**).

Standard Uzbek (Eastern Turkic, Uzbekistan) has many minimal pairs for accent, *e.g.,* (1)-(2) → *Lexical accent system*

(1) a. eˈtik boot (2) a. joz-ˈma written (by hand)
b. ˈetik ethics b. ˈjoz-ma write-NEG

The accent rule: *Accent falls on the rightmost lexically accented morpheme in the word; otherwise, accent is final.*

(3) *Default final accent in Uzbek*

kiʃˈlok	village
kiʃloklariˈmiz	our villages
kiʃloklarimizdagiˈlar	those in our villages

(4) boʃ-la-ˈmoq begin-VERBALIZ-INF
/boʃ/, /-moq/ *lex. accented*; /-la/ *lex. unaccented*

Pre-accenting morphemes

(5) a. ˈkel-di come-PAST b. kel-ˈdi-da come-PAST-INTENS
(5a): /-di/ lex. unaccented; (5b): /-di/ gets word accent
→ /-da/ is *preaccenting*

Exceptional patterns: Accentual Dominance

(6) a. ˈqaer-da what-LOCATIVE
b. ˈalla-qaer-da some-what-LOCATIVE (*alla-ˈqaer-da)

(6a): The root [qaer] has the word accent - either (i) because it has a lex. accent in the UR, or (ii) because it receives a lex. accent from the preaccenting /-da/.

(6b): Accent is predicted to fall on the root [qaer] (rightmost lexically accented), but actually falls on the prefix [alla-].

→ [alla-] is an **accented dominant** prefix → ACCOUNT?

The research goal

Propose a ***single*** accentual grammar that ***uniformly*** accounts for the accent rule and the accentual exceptions within a given accent system (here, Uzbek).

Diacritic weight

1. Morphemes can attract/repel word accent (like syllables)

→ **"diacritic weight"** (instead of lexical accents).
Accent-attracting: ***diacritically heavy*** (hd).
Accent-repelling: ***diacritically light*** (ld).

2. *Phonological & diacritic* weight are two types of weight:
- Both syllables and morphemes attract/repel word accent.
- In some systems, accent is assigned with ref. to both (Mari).

3. Weight is an ***ordinal*** variable. → Weight scales (cf. phono weight scales)

Diacritic weight scale: ***A language-specific scale that orders (classes of) morphemes according to their respective diacritic weight.***
Prediction: *There exists a lgge with a diacritic weight scale.*

The diacritic weight scale of Uzbek

3 classes of morphemes:
(i) Dominant accented; (ii) Attracting; (iii) Repelling

To show that these form a scale:
(i) The binary relation HEAVIER-THAN holds among these classes;

(ii) The HEAVIER-THAN relation is *irreflexive, transitive and antisymmetric*.

(7) a. ˈkel-di come-PASS; b. ˈqaer-da what-LOC
→ The class (ii) is *heavier than* (iii).

(8) ˈ**alla-qaer-da** some-what-LOCATIVE (*alla-ˈqaer-da)
→ The class (i) is *heavier than* (ii) and (iii).
→ The HEAVIER-THAN relation is **transitive**. (Also, irreflexive and antisymmetric.) → This relation a ***scale***.

(9) ***Diacritic weight scale*** *of Uzbek:* $\mathbf{sup_d > h_d > l_d}$

(10) ***The Diacritic Weight Grid*** *of Uzbek*

sup_d h_d l_d
* * *
* *
*

Accent assignment

- ***Accent Grid***: a non-metrical, footless grid upon which the S&P parameter system assigns word accent.
- ***Weight Projection Principle***: *Only the **heaviest** units in a given form are projected onto the Accent Grid.*

The S&P parameters

1. Domain Size (Bounded/Unbounded) 2. Domain Edge (L/R)
3. NF (Y/N) 4. NF Unit (Syll/Seg) 5. Weight (Y/N)
6. Select (L/R) 7. Project Position (L/R)

(11) ***Parameter settings for Uzbek***

Domain Size (*Unbounded*) NF (*No*) Weight (*Yes*)
Select (***Right***) Project Position (*Right*)

Derivations

(12) a. ***Forms with >1 heavy morpheme*** /boʃ/, /moq/ $\mathbf{h_d}$, /-la/ $\mathbf{l_d}$

* Select (*Right*)
* * Weight Projection
* * * Weight Grid
* *
/boʃ-la-moq/ [boʃ-la-ˈmoq]

b. ***Forms with a diacritically superheavy*** /alla-/ $\mathbf{sup_d}$, /qaer/ $\mathbf{h_d}$, /-da/ ***preacc***

* Select (*Right*)
* Weight Projection
* * * Weight Grid
* *
*
/alla-qaer-da/ [ˈalla-qaer-da]

Comparing S&P and Accent Deletion

- **Accent Deletion** is **idiosyncratic**. Limited to exceptional (dominance) effects: it does not derive the regular accent patterns in lexical accent systems. **S&P** accounts **for both *with the same parameter settings*.**
- **Accent Deletion** deletes all lexical accents non-locally. **S&P** does NOT treat the exceptions non-locally, as it uses a ***weight scale***.
- **Accent Deletion** is unable to account for exceptions in phonological WS systems with morpheme-specific exceptions (*e.g.*, E. Literary Mari). **S&P** gives a uniform account of the accent rule and the exceptions in such systems because it treats syllables and exceptional morphemes in terms of the same representational object, *i.e.* Weight.

Eastern Literary Mari (=ELM; Permic)

The accent rule: *Accent falls on the rightmost heavy syllable in the word; otherwise, accent is initial.*

(13) a. olˈma apple b. ˈkid-əʃto hand-INESS

2 types of exceptional suffixes, e.g., (14) vs. (15)
(14) a. joˈtʃa child b. jotʃa-ˈ**ge** child-COM
(15) a. ˈkajək bird b. ˈkajək-**la** bird-COMPAR

(i) Phonological weight and diacritic weight are types of "weight".
(ii) Weight allows for a scale.
Prediction: there is a language with a ***hybrid*** weight scale.

Hybrid weight scale: *A language-specific scale which orders syllables and morphemes according to their relative weight.*

I define "***weight***" as involving two weight types:

(i) Phonological, for all syllables that *meet the accent rule (Class C, Class D)* : $\mathbf{h_p > l_p}$

(ii) Diacritic, for morphemes containing a syllable that does **not respect the phonological accent rule** (*Class A*, *Class B*): $\mathbf{h_d > l_d}$

By pairwise comparison, establish: $\mathbf{h_d > h_p}$, $\mathbf{h_p > l_d}$

(16) ***Hybrid weight scale of ELM***: $\mathbf{h_d > h_p > \{l_d, l_p\}}$

(17) ***Parameter settings for ELM***

Domain Size (*Unbounded*) NF (*No*) Weight (*Yes*)
Select (***Right***) Project Position (*Left*)

Diacr. heavy morphemes + phono heavy syllables
(18)

* Select (*Right*)
* * Weight Projection
h_p h_p h_d h_d Weight Grid
* * * *
* * * *
* *
tʃodra-na-ge
[tʃodra-na-ˈge] forest-1Pl.POSS-COMIT

A phono heavy syllable + a diacr. light morpheme
(19)

* Select (*Right*)
* Weight Projection
h_p l_d Weight Grid
* *
*
pørt-la
[ˈpørtla] house-COMP

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