

# The Scales-and-Parameters approach to accentual dominance: the case of Uzbek

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## Introduction

I propose here a novel approach to **morpheme-specific exceptions** in **lexical accent systems**. I introduce the Scales-and-Parameters (S&P) theory of word accent and show, on the example of Uzbek, how it accounts for accent assignment in lexical accent systems in view of such exceptions.

## Accent patterns

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

- (1) a. e'tik boot (2) a. joz-'ma written (by hand)  
b. 'etik ethics b. 'joz-ma write-NEG

## Accent rule

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

(3) *Default final accent in Uzbek*

kij'lok	village
kij'loklari'miz	our villages
kij'loklarimizdagi'lar	those in our villages

(4) bof-la-'moq begin-VERBALIZ-INF

/bof/, /-moq/ lex. accented; /-la/ lex. unaccented

## Pre-accenting morphemes

- (5) a. 'ke1-di come-PAST b. ke1-'di-da come-PAST-INTENS  
(5a): /-di/ lex. unaccented; (5b): /-di/ gets word accent  
→ /-da/ is preaccenting

## Exceptional patterns: Dominance

- (6) a. 'qaer-da what-LOCATIVE  
b. alla-qaer-da some-what-LOCATIVE (\*alla-'qaer-da)

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

(6b): Accent is predicted to fall on the root [qaer] (rightmost lexically accented). However, it actually falls on the prefix [alla-]. → This is an **accented dominant prefix** → *An exception we need to account for.*

## The research goal

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

## Diacritic weight

- Morphemes can attract/repel word accent (similar to syllables) → "**diacritic weight**" (instead of lexical accents).  
**Attracting: diacritically heavy** (hd). **Repelling: diacritically light** (ld).
- 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 (E. Literary Mari).
- 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 language with a **diacritic weight scale**.

## The diacritic weight scale of Uzbek

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

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. /'ke1-di/ come-PASS; b. /'qaer-da/ what-LOC (*heavier-than*)  
(7): the class of accent-attracting morphemes is heavier than the class of accent-repelling morphemes.

(8) 'alla-qaer-da some-what-LOCATIVE (\*alla-'qaer-da)

(8): the class of dominant accented morphemes is **heavier than** the class of accent-attracting morphemes and that of accent-repelling morphemes.

→ The HEAVIER-THAN relation is **transitive**. (It is also irreflexive and antisymmetric.) → The HEAVIER-THAN relation is a **scale**.

(9) *Diacritic weight scale of Uzbek: sup<sub>d</sub> > h<sub>d</sub> > l<sub>d</sub>*

(10) *The Diacritic Weight Grid of Uzbek*

sup <sub>d</sub>	h <sub>d</sub>	l <sub>d</sub>
*	*	*
*	*	
*		

## Preaccenting as Gridmark Insertion

[bof-'la-mi] beginning-VERBALIZ-INTERR ("did you start?")

h<sub>d</sub> l<sub>d</sub> l<sub>d</sub> preacc

- (11) bof' - la - mi bof' - la - mi  
h<sub>d</sub> l<sub>d</sub> l<sub>d</sub> preacc h<sub>d</sub> h<sub>d</sub> l<sub>d</sub> preacc

line 1	*	*	*	→	*	*	*	Weight Grid
line 2	*				*	*		Gridmark Insertion rule

(In S&P, preaccenting is not an accent; the corresponding morpheme is light.)

## 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.

(12) Parameter settings for Uzbek

{Domain Size (Bounded, **Unbounded**), Nonfinality (Yes, **No**), Weight (**Yes**, No), Project Position (Left, **Right**), Select (Left, **Right**)}

## Derivations

(13) a. *Forms with >1 heavy morpheme*

/bof' / - /moq/ h<sub>d</sub> / - /la/ l<sub>d</sub>

\* \* **Select (Right)**  
Weight Projection

\* \* \*  
\* \* Weight Grid

/bof'-la-moq/ [bof'-la-'moq]

b. *Forms with a diacritically superheavy*

/alla- / sup<sub>d</sub> / - /qaer/ h<sub>d</sub> / - /da/ preacc

\* \* **Select (Right)**  
Weight Projection

\* \* \*  
\* \* Weight Grid

/alla-qaer-da/ ['alla-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.

## Conclusion

- The proposed theory offers a fresh look on accent systems that involve lexical accent and, thus, presents an alternative to lexical accent theories.
- The accentual S&P grammar allows it to **maintain the same parameter settings** both in regular forms and in forms with exceptionally behaving morphemes (as in the case of Uzbek).
- In particular, the treatment of **accentual dominance** in S&P is "part and parcel" of the general accent-assigning mechanism (*contra* Accent Deletion).