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

Introduction. In this talk, I propose a novel approach to morphologically conditioned exceptions in lexical accent systems, as supported by the following account of accentual dominance in Standard Uzbek (Eastern Turkic).

Patterns. The default accent is word-final in Uzbek. However, we also find many exceptions with non-final accent (1-3).¹

(1) a. 'kel-sin-lar come-3Prs-Pl	c. 'kel-di come-PAST
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- b. 'bo∫-la-ma head-VERBALIZ-NEG
- (2) a. kel-'di-da come-PAST-INTENS
- (3) 'alla-gaer-da some-what-LOCATIVE (*alla-'gaer-da)

Since most such exceptions result from productive morphological processes (suffixation, cliticization), they cannot be stored in memory "as is" and, therefore, require a systematic formal account. **Problem.** The question arises, then, how to capture the accent rule and the exceptional accent patterns uniformly, *i.e.* in the same way, with the same accentual grammar?

b. 'gaer-da what-LOCATIVE²

Account. To that end, I introduce here the *Scales-and-Parameters theory*, a parametric, non-metrical theory which segregates accent from rhythm, assigning these on separate planes (following van der Hulst 1996). In this talk, I will focus on accent. To begin with, note that morphemes are akin to syllables in that both units can attract or repel accent. This ability may be treated as "diacritic weight" (van der Hulst 1999). Since weight is an *ordinal* variable, it allows for weight *scales* (while lexical accent, which is categorical, does not). I identify here the "diacritic weight scale", a new type of weight scale that orders (sets of) morphemes according to their relative diacritic weight. As I will show, the lexical accent system of Uzbek involves, in fact, the "diacritic weight scale" in (4).

(4) diacritically superheavy > diacritically heavy > diacritically light

In the proposed theory, the weight degrees defined by a weight scale are formally encoded on a "Weight Grid" (WG) in terms of relative height of gridmark columns. Universally, *only the heaviest* morpheme(s) in the form are projected from the WG onto the "Accent Grid" (AG) where the *Select* parameter assigns accent to one of these. In Uzbek, Select is set to "Right", hence the rightmost heaviest unit in the accent domain receives the accent, as exemplified in (5) for [boʃ-la-'moq] ("begin-VERBALIZ-INF").

(5) /boj/: diacritically heavy $\sqrt{};$ /-la/: diacritically light suf; /moq/: diacritically heavy suf

			*	Select (Right)
AG	*		*	Weight Projection
				e y
WG	*	*	*	
	*		*	
	bo∫	-la-ı	noq	

¹ All data here are drawn from Sjoberg (1962, 1963) and Bodrogligeti (2003).

 $^{^{2}}$ The two /-da/ suffixes are homophonous and listed in separate entries in the Lexicon.

Diacritic weight scales are constructed through pairwise comparisons between morphemes which show that the weight relation HEAVIER-THAN is reflexive, transitive and antisymmetric, *i.e.* it is effectively a *scale*. For example, the prefix /alla-/ in Uzbek is shown to be diacritically *superheavy* as follows. From (2a), we conclude that the suffix /-da/ is preaccenting and, therefore, it makes the root /qaer/ in (2b) heavy. Assuming that /alla-/ is diacritically heavy, accent is predicted to fall on [qaer] because Select (Right) assigns accent to the rightmost heaviest unit. However, since accent is, in fact, initial in (3), we must posit that /alla-/ is heavier than the diacritically heavy /qaer/, *i.e.* /alla-/ is (diacritically) *superheavy*. The derivation (6) illustrates how accent is assigned to (3) with reference to (4). (Note that the preaccenting /-da/ inserts a gridmark under /qaer/ on the WG in (6), thus making it heavy).

(6) /alla-/: diacritically superheavy pref, /qaer/: diacritically light $\sqrt{}$, /-da/: preaccenting suf



Conclusion

Summarizing, the Scales-and-Parameters approach to accentual dominance accounts for the accent rule and the dominant exceptions uniformly, *i.e.* using the *same* parameter settings for both. This is strikingly different from Accent Deletion approaches, which, as I will argue, are idiosyncratic and non-local. Moreover, the proposed approach allows us to account not only for dominant affixes in other lexical accent systems as well (*e.g.*, Selkup, Vedic), but also for morpheme-specific exceptions in phonological weight-sensitive systems (*e.g.*, Eastern Literary Mari), by ordering phonological and diacritic weight on a single ("hybrid") weight scale.

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