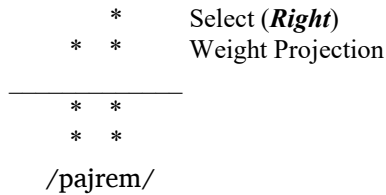
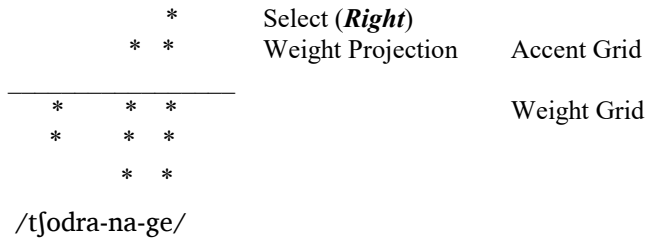


In Eastern Literary Mari, accent falls on the rightmost heavy *syllable* in regular forms. However, certain *morphemes* attract word accent (even though the syllable they contain is light), while certain others repel it (even though their syllable is heavy). The former are reanalyzed in S&P as diacritically heavy, the latter as diacritically light. By making reference to (1b), the S&P grammar uniformly assigns accent both in regular forms, like [paj¹rem] (“holiday”) in (3a), and in exceptions, like [tʃodrana¹ge] (forest-1Pl.POSS-COMIT) in (3b). Crucially, the *same* parameter settings are maintained for both.

(3) a. /paj/, /rem/: heavy syllables



b. /tʃo/, /dra/: heavy syllables; /na/, /ge/: diacritically heavy morphemes



In this language, diacritic and phonological weights can be ordered on a single weight scale (a “hybrid weight scale”) in such a way that, for every occurrence of a given morpheme, either its diacritic weight or the weight of the syllable contained in it is relevant for accent assignment. I.e., in hybrid systems, diacritic weight can override phonological weight, which accounts for morpheme-specific exceptions.

It is also logically possible that the two types of weight combine in a single scale (a “relativized weight scale”) so that both are relevant to accent assignment. This prediction is borne out, as evidenced by the accent system of Tundra Nenets.

Conclusion. Thus, the S&P theory uniformly accounts for both the regular accentual patterns and the morpheme-specific exceptions in lexical accent systems and in hybrid systems, as opposed to Accent Deletion, which is idiosyncratic, non-local and limited to lexical accent systems. This is achieved with the same formal device, *i.e.* a scale, as opposed to lexical accent theories. The proposal above builds on several case studies from under-described and/or severely endangered languages, which makes the study interesting from an empirical point of view.

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