

Structure versus prominence: stress in Munster Irish

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1 Key points

- Prosodic headship has to do with structure building, not stress assignment
- “Stress” is in principle separate from headship, possibly something like a feature
- Recursion and the X' schema are useful inside the pword
- Prosodic constraints are only sensitive to immediate daughters, not parsing at any level
- Constraints on head vs. dependent complexity (Dresher & van der Hulst, 1998) are useful
- Consider adding maximum depth of embedding as a measure of complexity

2 Munster Irish stress

- Dialect of Corca Dhuibhne (Dingle) (Ó Sé, 2000, 2008)
- Three-syllable window word-initially
- Leftmost within the window with weight-sensitivity

- But #HH...is #HĤ...
- But not non-initial ...HH...

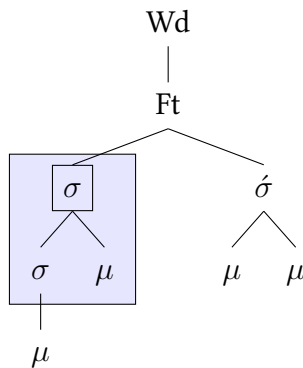
3 Examples

(1)	ĬL	'karig ^j	'stone'
(2)	LĤ	ka'l ^j i:n ^j	'girl'
(3)	ĤL	'a:lm ^j	'nice'
(4)	HĤ	d ^j i:'vi:n ^j	'idle'
(5)	ĬLL	'k ^j lagərnəx	'clattering'
(6)	LĤL	k ^j ɪ'm ^j a:dən	'(s)he observes'
(7)	LĤH	b ^j i'h ^j u:nti:xt	'villainy'
(8)	LLĤ	k ^j anə'h ^j o:r ^j	'buyer'
(9)	ĤLL	'ku:rəməx	'careful'
(10)	HĤL	o:'g ^j a:nəx	'young man'
(11)	HĤH	u:'r ^j a:ni:	'songs'
(12)	ĤLH	'u:dəra:s	'authority'
(13)	ĬLLL	'a ^j rəməkəx	'tender'
(14)	ĬLLH	'im ^j ɪ'l ^j ək ^j a:n	'navel'
(15)	LLĤH	əmə'd ^j a:nti:xt	'foolishness'
(16)	ĤLHH	'oumpəra:ni:xt	'ungainliness'
(17)	ĤLHL	'u:dəra:fəx	'authoritative'

4 Analysis

- Head feet are always at the left edge
- Heads of feet are always at the left edge
- Complexity constraints:

- BRANCHING COMPLEXITY: if a constituent has a head and a dependent, the head has more immediate daughters than the dependent
- EMBEDDING COMPLEXITY: if a constituent has a head and a dependent, the deepest embedded terminal node dominated by the head must be embedded more deeply than the deepest terminal node dominated by the dependent
- In words with initial HH, embedding complexity is satisfied by *weight-sacrificing recursion*



- Since prosody is only sensitive to immediate daughters, the highlighted syllable is *light*
- WSP is defined on heavy syllables
- Prominence generally falls on the leftmost heavy syllable, which here is peninitial and dependent

5 Example analyses

1) Some options for HH...

HH	FtFORM	EMB COMPL/Ft	WSP	BR COMPL/Ft	PK LEFT	*RECURSION
a.	*!	*	*			
b.		*!*	*			*
c.				*	*	*
d.		*!	*			*

2) Weight-sacrificing recursion gives forward stress

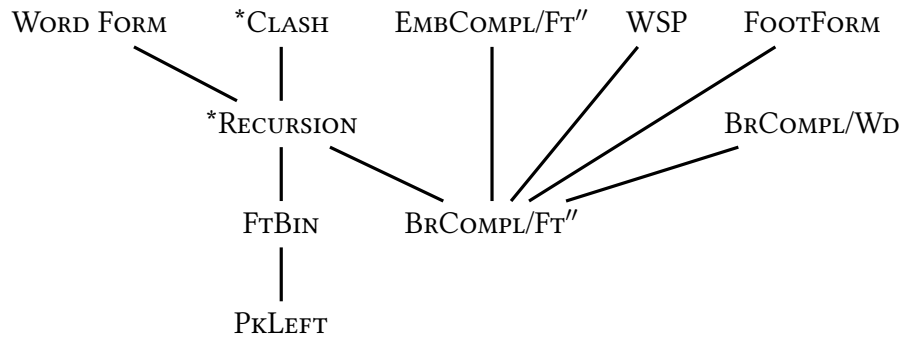
HH	FtFORM	EMB COMPL/Ft	WSP	BR COMPL/Ft	PK LEFT	*RECURSION
a.			*	*	*	
b.	*!	*	*	*	*	
c.		*!	*	*	*	
d.	*!		*	*	*	*

3) HH... build binary feet word-initially

HHL	WdFORM	FtFORM	EMB COMPL/Ft	WSP	BR COMPL/Wd	*RECURSION	BR COMPL/Ft	PK LEFT	FTBIN
a.						*	*	*	*
b.	*!				*		*	*	*
c.	*!							*	*

6 Final ranking

This ranking accounts for all the data, including secondary stress



7 Implications

- For Munster Irish:
 - Everything is left-headed, contra Green (1997)
 - Further work: if headedness is about structure, is this account consistent with vowel reduction data (if they are relevant)?
- More generally:
 - I suggest that divorcing headedness and prominence is fruitful
 - If headedness and prominence are separate, there are no headless feet, just feet with heads not associated with prominence
 - If “stress” does not imply headship, unbounded feet are not needed?
 - Stress feet versus other feet: Downing (2006); Vaysman (2008); Buckley (2009)

8 Ask me about...

- Stress and epenthesis in Munster Irish
- Secondary stress
- The complete paper

References

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