

# Slovenian inflectional stress without accented inflectional suffixes

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## Summary

- ▶ Previous work: underlyingly unaccented Slovenian nouns have *stem-final* stress
- ▶ Common analysis cross-linguistically: underlyingly unaccented nouns have *mobile* stress (alternating between stem and suffix)
- ▶ Proposal: Slovenian mobile stress nouns have an underlying *floating accent* interacting with underlying *suffix length*

## Stem-final = default

- ▶ Simonović (2020, 2022): stress in Slovenian derived words follows syntax (cf. Marvin 2002)
- (1) [nó:vɔst] ‘newness’ (2) [nɔvó:st] ‘novelty’
- nP*

√P *n*

√ aP √

√ a OST ‘-ness’

NOV ‘new’

*nP*

√P *n*

√ √

NOV OST ‘-ness’

‘new’
- ▶ The complex root causes any lexical accent to be erased
  - ▶ Thus, default stress pattern is *stem-final*, cf. GEN.SG [nɔvó:sti]

## Mobile = default

- ▶ Inflectional stress patterns in e.g. Russian are typically analyzed as a three-way contrast in underlying stem accent (e.g. Halle 1973, Melvold 1989, Revithiadou 1999, see also Jurgec 2019):
  - ▶ accent on syllable → stem stress
  - ▶ floating accent → suffix stress
  - ▶ no accent → mobile stress (accented suffixes are stressed, unaccented ones yield stem stress)
- ▶ But this would give unaccented [nɔvó:st] ‘newness’ mobile stress like [dlá:n] ‘palm’!
  - ▶ DAT.SG /nɔ:v-ɔ:st-i:/ → [nɔvó:sti]
  - ▶ GEN.SG /nɔ:v-ɔ:st-í:/ → \*[nɔvɔstí:]

## Phonological notes

- ▶ Unstressed vowels are always short, as is stressed [ə]
- ▶ Stressed vowels contrast for length in word-final syllables, otherwise long
- ▶ Mid vowels contrast for tenseness when long, otherwise lax
- ▶ Some [i] vowels in suffixes alternate with [e:] when long (cf. NOM.DU [gɔré:], [stəzí])

## Mobile stress paradigms

	‘palm’ (feminine)					
	NOM	ACC	GEN	LOC	DAT	INS
SG	dlá:n	dlá:n	dlaní:	dlá:ni	dlá:ni	dlanjó:
DU	dlaní:	dlaní:	dlaní:	dlané:x	dlané:ma	dlané:ma
PL	dlaní:	dlaní:	dlaní:	dlané:x	dlané:m	dlanmí:

▶ Stressed suffixes have long vowels or a coda

	‘mountain’ (feminine)					
	NOM	ACC	GEN	LOC	DAT	INS
SG	gó:ra	gɔrɔ:	gɔré:	gó:ri	gó:ri	gɔrɔ:
DU	gɔré:	gɔré:	gɔrá:	gɔráx	gɔrá:ma	gɔrá:ma
PL	gɔré:	gɔré:	gɔrá:	gɔráx	gɔrá:m	gɔrá:mi

▶ Stressed augment in the dual and plural for these masculines

	‘material’ (neuter)					
	NOM	ACC	GEN	LOC	DAT	INS
SG	blagɔ:	blagɔ:	blagá:	blá:gu	blá:gu	blá:gɔm
DU	blá:gi	blá:gi	blá:g	blá:gix	blá:gɔma	blá:gɔma
PL	blá:ga	blá:ga	blá:g	blá:gix	blá:gɔm	blá:gi

‘world’ (masculine)

	NOM	ACC	GEN	LOC	DAT	INS
	svét	svét	svetá:	svét:tu	svét:tu	svét:tɔm
SG	svetá:	svetá:	svetá:	svetá:ix	svetá:ɔma	svetá:ɔma
DU	svetá:	svetá:	svetá:	svetá:ix	svetá:ɔm	svetá:ɔi
PL	svetá:	svetá:	svetá:	svetá:ix	svetá:ɔm	svetá:ɔi

## One suffix stress paradigm

	‘path’ (feminine)					
	NOM	ACC	GEN	LOC	DAT	INS
SG	stəzá:	stəzɔ:	stəzé:	stəzí:	stəzí:	stəzɔ:
DU	stəzí:	stəzí:	stéz	stəzáx	stəzá:ma	stəzá:ma
PL	stəzé:	stəzé:	stéz	stəzáx	stəzá:m	stəzá:mi

▶ Monosyllabic stressed suffixes have short vowels

▶ Stem has [ə]

## Sociolinguistic notes

- ▶ Standard Slovenian has two variants, tonal and non-tonal, with identical stress and vowel length (Toporišič 2004)
- ▶ The length distinction is largely lost on the surface in non-tonal varieties (Srebot-Rejec 1988, Šuštaršič, Komar & Petek 1995, Toporišič 2004), but has reflexes in vowel quality differences (see Mirtič & Snoj 2021)
- ▶ Descriptions of tonal varieties from the Carniola region (e.g. Škofic 2019), on which standard prosody is based, largely conform to the description and predictions of this account

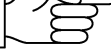
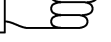


## Analysis

- ▶ Mobile-stress paradigms have an underlying *floating accent*
- ▶ Suffixes contrast underlyingly for *length*
  - ▶ Stressed suffixes are underlyingly long
  - ▶ Unstressed suffixes are underlyingly short
- ▶ Unaccented stems get *stem-final* stress
- ▶ Vowelless stems surface with [ə] and get *suffix* stress
  - ▶ These suffix vowels are always short because they give a mora to the stem

## Constraint definitions

- ▶ DEP-, \*FLOP-, MAX-μ: Don’t add, reassociate, or delete moras
- ▶ S(TRESS-TO-)W(EIGHT) P(RINCIPLE): Stressed syllables are heavy
- ▶ \*DOM(AIN) (Revithiadou 1999): Lexical accents are not linked to the morpheme that introduces them
- ▶ STEMSTR(ESS): Stress is on the stem

## Tableaux

mobile stress			DEP-μ	*FLOP-μ	MAX-μ	SWP	*DOM	*ə	STEMSTR
	/gɔːr'-e:/	gɔːre			*		*!		
	GEN.SG	 gɔré:			*				*
	/gɔːr'-i/	 gɔːri					*		
	DAT.SG	gɔrí			*!	*!			*
		gɔré:		*!					*
suffix stress	/stz-e:/	stáze		*		*		*!	
	GEN.SG	 stəzé		*		*			*
		stəzé:	*!						*
	/stz-i/	stázi	*			*		*!	
	DAT.SG	 stəzí	*			*			*
		stəzé:	**!						*

## Discussion

- ▶ Slovenian is different from Russian: suffix stress is extremely limited
- ▶ Takes Simonović (2020) further: only *lexical roots* can bear underlying accent
- ▶ Short suffixes in neuter and masculine dual and plural lead to *alternate strategies* of \*DOMAIN violation avoidance for mobile nouns with floating accent
  - ▶ neuter: most such nouns are *mass* and thus SG only (e.g. [məsɔ:] ‘meat’, [zlató:] ‘gold’)
  - ▶ masculine: all such nouns have the stress-bearing augment in PL and (usually) DU (Mirtič 2016)

## Remaining issues

- ▶ A few (rare/antiquated) suffix stress nouns have a stem vowel other than [ə]
- ▶ Nouns with *no* stem vowel have short suffix vowels (e.g. [pás] ‘dog’, GEN.SG [ps-á])
  - ▶ We predict long vowels ([ps-á:]), unless the stem vowel is present phonologically and deleted late
- ▶ The coda in the LOC.DU/PL and DAT.PL of [gó:ra] shouldn’t be enough to satisfy SWP
- ▶ Representation of short stem vowels (e.g. [nít] ‘thread’, GEN.SG [nít-i]) unclear

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## References

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