

# Metrical stress and glottal stops in A'ingae:

## A study of cyclicity and dominance at the interface of phonology and morphology

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# introduction

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# research overview

my research interests:

- how does the (morpho)syntax → phonology transfer work?
- what entities does phonology work with?
- how modular are the components?

my dissertation:

- domain- and suffix-dependent stress/? in A'ingae, or Cofán (an Amazonian isolate, ISO 639-3: con)

# topic of my dissertation

contrastive **stress** and **glottal stops** in A'ingae

- phonological conditioning
- morphological conditioning

## (1) PREVIEW OF MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL PHENOMENA

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| a. / sé?he -je /<br>[ sé?heje ]<br>cure -INF<br>“to cure”     | b. / sé?he -kʰa /<br>[ se?hékʰa ]<br>cure -IMP<br>“cure!”  |
| c. / sé?he -?he /<br>[ séhe?he ]<br>cure -IPFV<br>“be curing” | d. / sé?he -je /<br>[ sehéje ]<br>cure -PASS<br>“be cured” |

design properties of the **phonological** grammar

- and its interactions with **morphology**

## main questions and takeaways

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# question 1: where do phonological domains come from?

option 1: word-internal phonological domains are arbitrary

[ [ [ ... root ] ... stem ] ... word ]

(Lexical Phonology: Booij 1984; Kiparsky 1982;  
Stratal OT: Bermúdez-Otero 2012; Kiparsky  
2000)

option 2: phonological domains are based in morphosyntactic structure

[ [ [ ... vP ] ... AspP ] ... TP ]

(Distributed Morphology: Embick and Noyer  
2007; Cophonologies by Phase: Sande, Jenks,  
and Inkelas 2020)



takeaway 1: morphophonological domains mirror morphosyntax

## question 2: what is the nature of exponence?

option 1: morphemes are concatenated like beads on a string

/ tōne -al / → [ tōnal ]

(Item-and-Arrangement: Halle and Marantz 1993; Gradient Symbolic Representations: Smolensky and Goldrick 2016)

option 2: morphemes also realized as/associated with processes

/ tōne -ic  / → [ tōnic ]  
*(and also shorten the preceding vowel)*

(Item-and-Process: Anderson 1992; Cophonology Theory: Orgun 1996; Cophonologies by Phrase: Sande, Jenks, and Inkelas 2020)



in A'ingae, certain suffixes delete metrical structure

takeaway 2: some exponents are phonological processes (or rules)

# question 3: how does phonological evaluation proceed?

option 1: phonological evaluation  
is fully parallel

/ sé?he -je -hi -<sup>m</sup>bī -?mā /  
[ sehejehi<sup>m</sup>bī?mā ]  
cure -PASS -INGR -NEG -FRST

(Optimality Theory: McCarthy and Prince 1993;  
Pater 2009; Prince and Smolensky 1993)

option 2: phonological evaluation  
is cyclic

/ sé?he -je /  
/ [ seheje ] -hi /  
/ [ sehejehi ] -<sup>m</sup>bi /  
/ [ sehejehi<sup>m</sup>bi ] -?mā /  
[ sehejehi<sup>m</sup>bī?mā ]  
cure -PASS -INGR -NEG -FRST

(Lexical Morphology and Phonology: Kiparsky 1982;  
Distributed Morphology: Embick 2010;  
Cophonology Theory: Orgun 1996;  
Cophonologies by Phrase: Sande, Jenks, and  
Inkelas 2020)



takeaway 3: phonological evaluation proceed cyclically

## three questions again

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**question 1:** where do phonological domains come from?

**question 2:** what is the nature of exponentence?

**question 3:** how does phonological evaluation proceed?

## empirical focus and main findings

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A'ingae (a. k. a. Cofán):

- rich morphology
- phonological alternations

overall picture:

[+cyclicity] [syntax → phonology] [+process morphology]

## language background

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# geography

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Amazonian isolate, ISO 639-3: **con**

spoken by ca. 1,500 Cofán people in

- Sucumbíos, northeast Ecuador
- Putumayo, southern Colombia

# map



indigenous languages of  
southern Colombia and  
northern Ecuador  
(Curnow and Liddicoat,  
1998)

Cofán < Río Cofánes

*aʔi=ŋgae*

(Cofán) person=MANN  
“like (Cofán) people”



























AERO  
Posture



# consultants



Jorge Mendúa  
(Dureno)



Shen Aguinda  
(Dureno)



Marcelo Lucitante  
(Sinangoé)

highly agglutinating, suffixing, relatively free word-order

mixture of typical Andean and Amazonian features (AnderBois et al., 2019)

- **Andean:** switch-reference, lack of tone, contrastive aspiration, palatal sonorants, extensive case system
- **Amazonian:** frustrative marker, vowel glottalization, noun classifiers, contrastive vowel nasality, and nasal spreading

# phoneme inventory

<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ts</i>	<i>tʃ</i>	<i>k</i>	(?)	<i>i, ī</i>	<i>t, ū</i>	<i>o, ō</i>
<i>p<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>t<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>ts<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>tʃ<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup></i>		<i>e, ē</i>	<i>a, ā</i>	
<i>m̥b</i>	<i>n̥d</i>	<i>n̥dz</i>	<i>n̥dʒ</i>	<i>n̥g</i>				
<i>f</i>		<i>s</i>	<i>ʃ</i>		<i>h</i>	<i>ie, īē</i>	<i>ü, ū</i>	<i>io, ūō</i>
<i>v</i>	<i>r</i>		<i>j</i>	<i>w</i>		<i>ei, ēī</i>	<i>oe, ūē</i>	<i>oi, ūī</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>n̥</i>			<i>ia, īā</i>		<i>oa, ūā</i>
						<i>ai, īī</i>	<i>ae, āē</i>	<i>ao, ūō</i>

syllable structure: (C)V(V)(?), e.g. kōē?.tʃo “adult”

? interacts with stress

# stress, glottalization, and their interactions

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# stress: the basics

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stress correlates with:

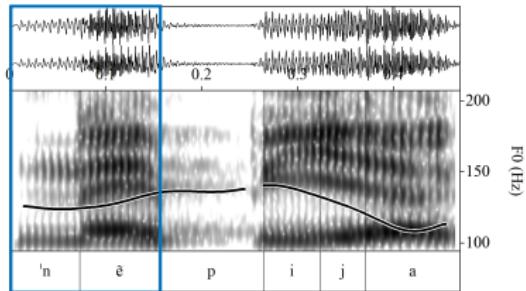
(Repetti-Ludlow et al., 2019)

- longer duration,
- often with a higher F0

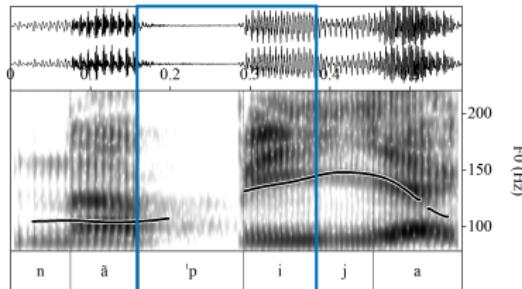
each word has **one primary stress peak**

# contrastive stress

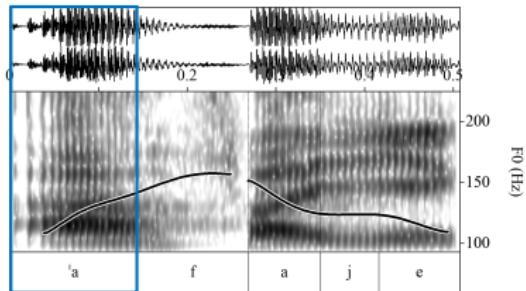
- (2) a. *n̊epi -ja*  
disappear -IRR



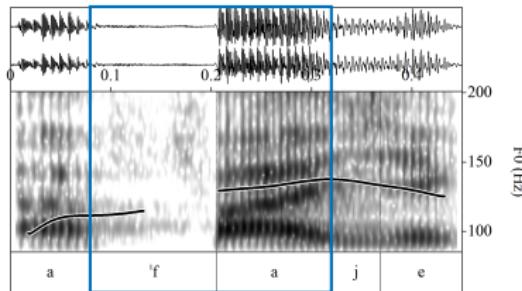
- b. *n̊apí -ja*  
arrive -IRR



- c. *áfa -je*  
speak -INF



- d. *aſá -je*  
speak -PASS



# glottal stop: the basics

glottalization can be realized as:

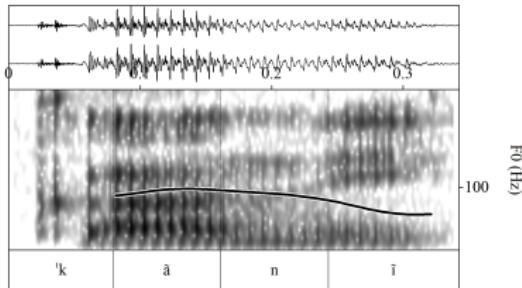
(Repetti-Ludlow et al., 2019)

- a stop,
- creakiness

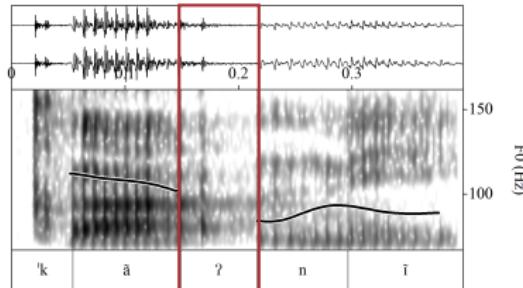
? most often appears **in syllabic rimes**

# constrastive?

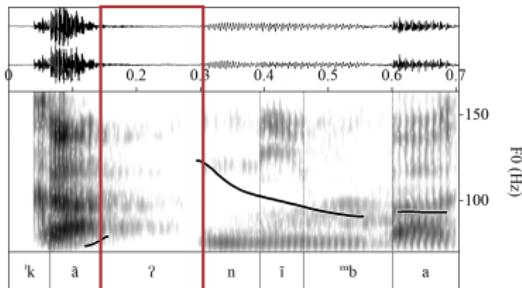
- (3) a. *kānī*  
yesterday



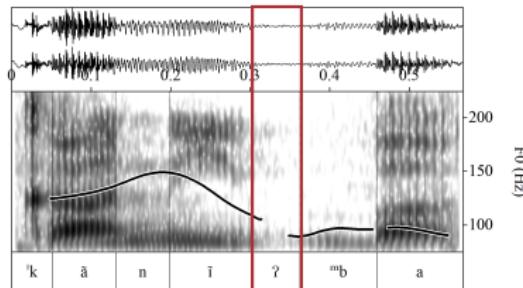
- b. *kā?nī*  
enter



- c. *kā?nī -m̥ba*  
enter -ss



- d. *kānī -?m̥ba*  
enter -N



# two morphosyntactic/phonological domains

heavily agglutinating, **suffixing** language

## (4) STRATAL ORGANIZATION OF THE A'INGAE VERB

[ *kofé -kʰo -ʔhē -ŋgi* ] -*ʔfa -jā -mbi =tsi*  
play -RCPR -IPFV -VEN -PL -IRR -NEG =3



"they<sub>3,PL</sub> will<sub>IRR</sub> not<sub>NEG</sub> come<sub>VEN</sub> to be<sub>IPFV</sub> playing with each other<sub>RCPR</sub>"

two morphophonological **domains, or strata**

- **inner** domain: root, voice, aspect, associated motion
- **outer** domain: number, reality, polarity, subordination, mood, etc.

evidence: **morphosyntactic** and **phonological**

# morphosyntactic evidence

(5) INNER SUFFIXES LICIT ON VERBS, NOT NOUNS

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| a. <i>pā<sup>n</sup>dzá -hi</i><br>hunt -INGR<br>“about to hunt” | b. * <i>tsā<sup>n</sup>die -hi</i><br>man -INGR<br>intd.: “about to be a man” |
| c. <i>pā<sup>ń</sup>dzā -?ŋgi</i><br>hunt -VEN<br>“came to hunt” | d. * <i>tsā<sup>n</sup>dīē -?ŋgi</i><br>man -VEN<br>intd.: “came to be a man” |

(6) OUTER SUFFIXES LICIT ON BOTH VERBS AND NOUNS

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| a. <i>pā<sup>n</sup>dzá -?fa</i><br>hunt -PL<br>“(they) hunted”          | b. <i>tsā<sup>n</sup>die -?fa</i><br>man -PL<br>“(they) are men”           |
| c. <i>pā<sup>n</sup>dzā -<sup>m</sup>bi</i><br>hunt -PL<br>“didn’t hunt” | d. <i>tsā<sup>n</sup>dīē -<sup>m</sup>bi</i><br>man -PL<br>“isn’t (a) man” |

# root categories

- (7) STRESSLESS ROOTS (stress **shifts** if a regular suffix is added)
- a. / *atapa* /  
[ *atápa* ]  
breed
- b. / *atapa -hi* /  
[ *atapá -hi* ]  
breed -INGR
- (8) STRESSED ROOTS (stress **does not shift** given a regular suffix)
- a. / *áfase* /  
[ *áfase* ]  
offend
- b. / *áfase -hi* /  
[ *áfase -hi* ]  
offend -INGR
- (9) GLOTTALIZED ROOTS (stress **does not shift** given a regular suffix)
- a. / *ákʰeʔpa* /  
[ *ákʰeʔpa* ]  
forget
- b. / *ákʰeʔpa -hi* /  
[ *ákʰeʔpa -hi* ]  
forget -INGR

# suffix categories

		LEXICAL STRESS		
		NO LEXICAL STRESS	↓	LEXICAL STRESS AND ?
		/atapa/	/áfase/	/ák <sup>h</sup> e?pa/
		breed	offend	forget
INNER REGULAR	-hi INGR	atapahi	áfasehi	ák <sup>h</sup> e?pahi
INNER PREGLOTTALIZED	-?he IPFV	atápa?he	afáse?he	ak <sup>h</sup> épa?he
INNER STRESS-DELETING	-k <sup>h</sup> o RCPR	atapak <sup>h</sup> o	afasek <sup>h</sup> o	ak <sup>h</sup> epak <sup>h</sup> o 
OUTER REGULAR	-ja IRR	atapája	áfaseja	ák <sup>h</sup> e?paja
OUTER PREGLOTTALIZED	-?fa PL	atapá?fa	áfase?fa	ák <sup>h</sup> e?pa?fa
OUTER STRESS-DELETING	-k <sup>h</sup> a IMP	atapák <sup>h</sup> a	afasék <sup>h</sup> a	ak <sup>h</sup> e?pák <sup>h</sup> a 

**blue:** stress

**red:** glottal stop

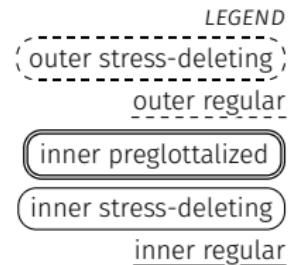
# full morphological template

## OUTER DOMAIN

- (xiii-xiv) SENTENCE-LEVEL: =te RPRT, =ti YNQ, =ŋgi 1, =ki 2, =tsi 3
- (x-xii) INFO STRUC: -(?ji) EXCL, -?k<sup>h</sup>e ADD, -(?ta) NEW, -(?ha) CNTR
- (ix) CLAUSE TYPE  
MATRIX: -ha IMP, (-k<sup>h</sup>a AIMP,) -?se PERM, (-hāmā PROH,) -?ja ASSR  
COSUBORDINATE: -pa SS, -si DS  
SUBORDINATE: -sā?nē APPR, (-k<sup>h</sup>e TENT,) (-?a IF.SS,) -?nī IF.DS, -?mā FRST
- (viii) POLARITY: -<sup>m</sup>bi NEG
- (vii) REALITY/FINITENESS: -ja IRR, -je INF
- (vi) SUBJECT NUMBER: -?fa PL

## INNER DOMAIN

- (v) ASSOC MOTION: -?ŋgi VEN, -?ŋga AND
- (iv) ASPECT: -?he IPFV, -hi INGR, -k<sup>h</sup>a VDM, -?nāk<sup>h</sup>a ITER
- (iii) PASSIVE: -je PASS
- (ii) RECIPROCAL: -k<sup>h</sup>o RCPR
- (i) CAUSATIVE: -nā/-ā/-ē CAUS
- (o) VERBAL ROOT: ✓



# stress × ? generalization

## stress–glottalization generalization:

stress and glottal stops either interact or they don't

inner domain: stress and glottal stops do interact

(i) glottal stops trigger stress assignment

e.g. /áfase -?he/ → afáse?he

(ii) stress deletion deletes glottal stops

e.g. /ák<sup>h</sup>e?pa -k<sup>h</sup>o/ → ak<sup>h</sup>epak<sup>h</sup>o

outer domain: stress and glottal stops do not interact

(i) glottal stops do not affect stress

e.g. /áfase -?fa/ → áfase?fa

(ii) stress deletion ignores glottal stops

e.g. /ák<sup>h</sup>e?pa -k<sup>h</sup>a/ → ak<sup>h</sup>e?pák<sup>h</sup>a

# analysis (informally)

- (10) INNER DOMAIN: ? IS A  
FEATURE OF THE FOOT

. (x . ?).  
a **tá** pa he  
breed IPFV

- (11) OUTER DOMAIN: ? IS A  
REGULAR SEGMENT

. . (x . )  
a ta **pá** ?fa  
breed PL

## stress assignment: inner vs. outer

- (12) INNER DOMAIN: ? AT THE RIGHT EDGE OF THE FOOT (ASSIGNS STRESS)

. . . ? . (x . ?).  
a ta pa he a **tá** pa he  
breed IPFV → breed IPFV

- (13) OUTER DOMAIN: ? AS A REGULAR CONSONANT (NO EFFECT ON STRESS)

. . . . . (x . ).  
a ta pa ja a ta **pá** ja  
breed IRR → breed IRR

. . . . . (x . ).  
a ta pa ?fa a ta **pá** ?fa  
breed PL → breed PL

## stress deletion: inner vs. outer

- (14) INNER DOMAIN: ? AS A FEATURE OF THE FOOT (CONCURRENTLY DELETED)

~~(x . ?)~~ . . . . (x . )  
á  $k^h e$  pa  $k^h o$  a  $k^h e$  **pá**  $k^h o$   
forget RCPR → forget RCPR

- (15) OUTER DOMAIN: ? AS A REGULAR CONSONANT (SAVED FROM DELETION)

~~(x . ?)~~ . . . . (x . )  
á  $k^h e?$  pa  $k^h a$  a  $k^h e?$  **pá**  $k^h a$   
forget IMP → forget IMP

## takeaway 1: phonology matches morphosyntactic structure

inner domain vs. outer domain

- morphosyntactic evidence: only outer suffixes attach to nouns
- phonological evidence: status of ? in inner vs. outer domain

**takeaway 1:** phonological strata match morphosyntactic structure

# question 1: where do phonological domains come from?

option 1: word-internal phonological domains are arbitrary

[ [ [ ... root ] ... stem ] ... word ]

(Lexical Phonology: Booij 1984; Kiparsky 1982;  
Stratal OT: Bermúdez-Otero 2012; Kiparsky  
2000)

option 2: phonological domains are based in morphosyntactic structure

[ [ [ ... vP ] ... AspP ] ... TP ]

(Distributed Morphology: Embick and Noyer  
2007; Cophonologies by Phase: Sande, Jenks,  
and Inkelas 2020)

takeaway 1: morphophonological domains mirror morphosyntax

## takeaway 2: some morphemes are expressed with processes

there are some **idiosyncratic** suffixes **which** delete metrical structure

**takeaway 2:** not all exponence is item-based

**takeaway 2.5:** need to combine phonological effects specific to

- (i) **domains**, as in Stratal OT (e.g. Bermúdez-Otero, 1999)
- (ii) **morphemes**, as in Cophonology Theory (e.g. Orgun, 1996)
  - inner stress-deleting suffixes **also delete** glottalization

(my analysis: in **Cophonologies by Phase**; e.g. Sande, Jenks, and Inkelas 2020)

## question 2: what is the nature of exponence?

option 1: morphemes are concatenated like beads on a string

/ tōne -al / → [ tōnal ]

(Item-and-Arrangement: Halle and Marantz 1993; Gradient Symbolic Representations: Smolensky and Goldrick 2016)

option 2: morphemes also realized as/associated with processes

/ tōne -ic  / → [ tōnic ]  
*(and also shorten the preceding vowel)*

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in A'ingae, certain suffixes delete metrical structure

takeaway 2: some exponents are phonological processes (or rules)

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(my analysis: in **Cophonologies by Phase**; e.g. Sande, Jenks, and Inkelas 2020)

# multiple suffixes

morphologically complex forms

- (16) a. [ *sehe -je -hī* ] -*mbī* -*?mā*  
cure -PASS -INGR -NEG -FRST  
“is not<sub>NEG</sub> about<sub>INGR</sub> to be<sub>PASS</sub> cured, but<sub>FRST</sub> ...”
- b. [ *ak<sup>h</sup>epa -?he* ] -*?fá* -*hāmā*  
forget -IPFV -PL -PROH  
“don’t<sub>PROH</sub> y’all<sub>PL</sub> be<sub>IPFV</sub> forgetting”

what happens when **multiple suffixes** attach?

**cyclic** application

“is not about to be cured, but ... ”

/ sé?he -je /

/ [ seheje ] -hi /

/ [ sehejehi ] -<sup>m</sup>bi /

/ [ sehejehí<sup>m</sup>bi ] -?<sup>m</sup>a /  
[ sehejehí<sup>m</sup>bí?<sup>m</sup>a ]

cure -PASS -INGR -NEG -FRST

root is stressed and has a glottal stop

inner stress-deleting -je PASS

inner regular -hi INGR doesn't do anything

outer regular -<sup>m</sup>bi NEG prestresses

outer regular -?<sup>m</sup>a FRST retains ? + stress

“is not<sub>NEG</sub> about<sub>INGR</sub> to be<sub>PASS</sub> cured, but<sub>FRST</sub> ... ”

# “don’t y’all be forgetting”

/ ákʰeʔpa -ʔhe /	root is stressed and has a glottal stop
/ [ a(kʰépa?)he ] -ʔfa /	inner preglottalized -ʔhe IPFV deletes ?
/ [ a(kʰépa?)heʔfa ] -hãmã /	outer regular -ʔfa PL retains ? + stress
[ akʰepaʔheʔfáhãmã ]	outer stress-deleting -hãmã PROH retains ?
forget -IPFV -PL -PROH	

“don’t<sub>PROH</sub> y’all<sub>PL</sub> be<sub>IPFV</sub> forgetting”

## takeaway 3: opacity results from cyclicity

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surface forms reflect the *history of their derivation*

**takeaway 3:** phonological evaluation proceeds *cyclically*

## question 3: how does phonological evaluation proceed?

option 1: phonological evaluation  
is fully parallel

/ sé?he -je -hi -<sup>m</sup>bī -?mā /  
[ sehejehi<sup>m</sup>bī?mā ]  
cure -PASS -INGR -NEG -FRST

(Optimality Theory: McCarthy and Prince 1993;  
Pater 2009; Prince and Smolensky 1993)

option 2: phonological evaluation  
is cyclic

/ sé?he -je /  
/ [ seheje ] -hi /  
/ [ sehejehi ] -<sup>m</sup>bi /  
/ [ sehejehi<sup>m</sup>bi ] -?mā /  
[ sehejehi<sup>m</sup>bī?mā ]  
cure -PASS -INGR -NEG -FRST

(Lexical Morphology and Phonology: Kiparsky 1982; Distributed Morphology: Embick 2010; Cophonology Theory: Orgun 1996; Cophonologies by Phrase: Sande, Jenks, and Inkelas 2020)



takeaway 3: phonological evaluation proceed cyclically

# conclusions

interactions between morphophonological domains and morpheme-specific cophonologies

cyclic spell-out

## broader lesson:

- phonological domains have morphosyntactic grounding
  - ↳ phonology needs to pay close attention to (morpho)syntax

thank you!

# conclusions

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interactions between morphophonological domains and morpheme-specific cophonologies

cyclic spell-out

broader lesson:

- phonological domains have morphosyntactic grounding
  - ↳ phonology needs to pay close attention to (morpho)syntax

## references

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