MORPHOLOGICAL DOMAINS AND IDIOSYNCRASIES IN A'INGAE STRESS

PROPOSAL. In this paper, I demonstrate that verbal stress assignment in A'ingae (or Cofán, an understudied Amazonian isolate, ISO 639-3: con) targets the right edge of the verbal inflectional domain, showing sensitivity to morphological domains, and that particular morphemes delete preceding stress, showing morpheme-specific dominance effects. I argue that A'ingae stress is best captured in Cophonologies by Phase (Sande et al., 2020), a novel framework of the phonology-syntax interface. All the data were collected by the author.

(1) *panza* -*ye* **-jí** -*'fa* -*ya* -*mbi*
hunt -PASS -PRCM -PL -IRR -NEG
"They_PL will_IRR not_NEG be about_PRCM to be_PASS hunted."

VERB STRUCTURE. In A'ingae, the exponents of voice and aspect can appear only on morphological verbs, forming the *verbal inflectional domain* (VID). Other exponents (e. g. of plurality, reality, polarity) can appear on predicates of any lexical class, forming the *predicate domain* (1). Those predicate-level morphemes are underlined.

STRESS WITHIN VID. There are two classes of verbal stems: stressed on the initial syllable (2) and stressless. Default penultimate stress is supplied to stressless stems (3) and stressless forms with VID morphology (4). Stress is marked with an accent and **boldface**.

(2) a. /**á**fa/ → [**á**fa] 'speak'
b. /**kú**ndase/ → [**kú**ndase] 'tell'

(3) a. /panza/ → [**pán**za] 'hunt'
b. /atapa/ → [a**tá**pa] 'breed'

(4) a. /panza-ji/ → [pan**zá**ji] 'hunt-PRCM'
b. /atapa-ji/ → [ata**pá**ji] 'breed-PRCM'

STRESS OUTSIDE VID. When predicate-level morphology is present, stress is assigned to the last syllable of VID (5). Barring dominance effects discussed below, lexical stress is unaffected (6).

(5) /panza-ji-ya-mbi/ → [panza**jí**yambi] 'hunt-PRCM-IRR-NEG'

(6) /**á**fa-ji-'fa-ya/ → [**á**faji'faya] 'speak-PRCM-PL-IRR'

DOMINANCE EFFECTS. Certain morphemes within VID, such as -*ye* 'PASS,' are dominant (represented with ∅), i. e. they delete the stem's lexical stress (Halle et al., 1987). The dominance of a morpheme is not predictable. When a dominant morpheme deletes lexical stress, stress is reassigned as discussed above: If predicate-level morphemes are present, stress falls on the last syllable of VID (7). Otherwise, the penultimate syllable of the word is stressed (8).

(7) /**á**fa-ye_∅-ji-'fa-ya/ → [afaye**jí**'faya] 'speak-PASS-PRCM-PL-IRR'

(8) /**á**fa-ye_∅-ji/ → [afa**yé**ji] 'speak-PASS-PRCM'

ANALYSIS. I analyze A'ingae stress in Cophonologies by Phase (CBP; Sande et al., 2020), a framework which models language-internal phonological variation with *cophonologies*, or partial constraint rerankings. I propose that VID corresponds to a syntactic boundary. In CBP, phonological evaluation (spell-out) takes place at syntactic boundaries, so VID is evaluated before the attachment of predicate-level morphology. Cophonologies can be associated with spell-out domains (e. g. VID, predicate) as well as with particular morphemes (e. g. -*ye* 'PASS'). I propose that the predicate cophonology assigns stress to the last syllable of the previously spelled-out chunk (i. e. VID). This captures the role of morphological domains in A'ingae stress assignment. Stress deletion (dominance) is captured with ANTIMAXSTRESS, which penalizes faithfulness to stress (Alderete, 1999). Thus, CBP's architecture naturally captures the VID-related generalization about stress, while allowing for morphologically-idiosyncratic dominance (7′).

(7′)
[_predicate [_VID **á**fa -*ye*_∅ -*ji*] -*'fa* -*ya*]
[_predicate   afayeji   -*'fa* -*ya*]
        afaye**jí**'faya
speak -PASS -PRCM -PLS -IRR

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alderete, John D. (1999). "Morphologically governed accent in Optimality Theory." PhD thesis. University of Massachusetts Amherst. DOI: 10.4324/9781315054834.

Alderete, John D. (2001). "Dominance effects as Transderivational Anti-Faithfulness." In: *Phonology* 18.2, pp. 201–253. DOI: 10.1017/S0952675701004067.

Halle, Morris and Jean-Roger Vergnaud (1987). *An essay on stress*. Current Studies in Linguistics 15. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

McCarthy, John J. and Alan Prince (1993). "Generalized alignment." In: *Yearbook of Morphology*. 12. Springer. URL: https://scholarworks.umass.edu/linguist_faculty_pubs/12.

Prince, Alan and Paul Smolensky (1993). "Optimality Theory: Constraint interaction in Generative Grammar." In: *Rutgers Optimality Archive*. ROA-101. URL: http://roa.rutgers.edu/.

Sande, Hannah, Peter Jenks, and Sharon Inkelas (2020). "Cophonologies by Ph(r)ase." In: *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, pp. 1–51.