A’ingae Syllabic Weight

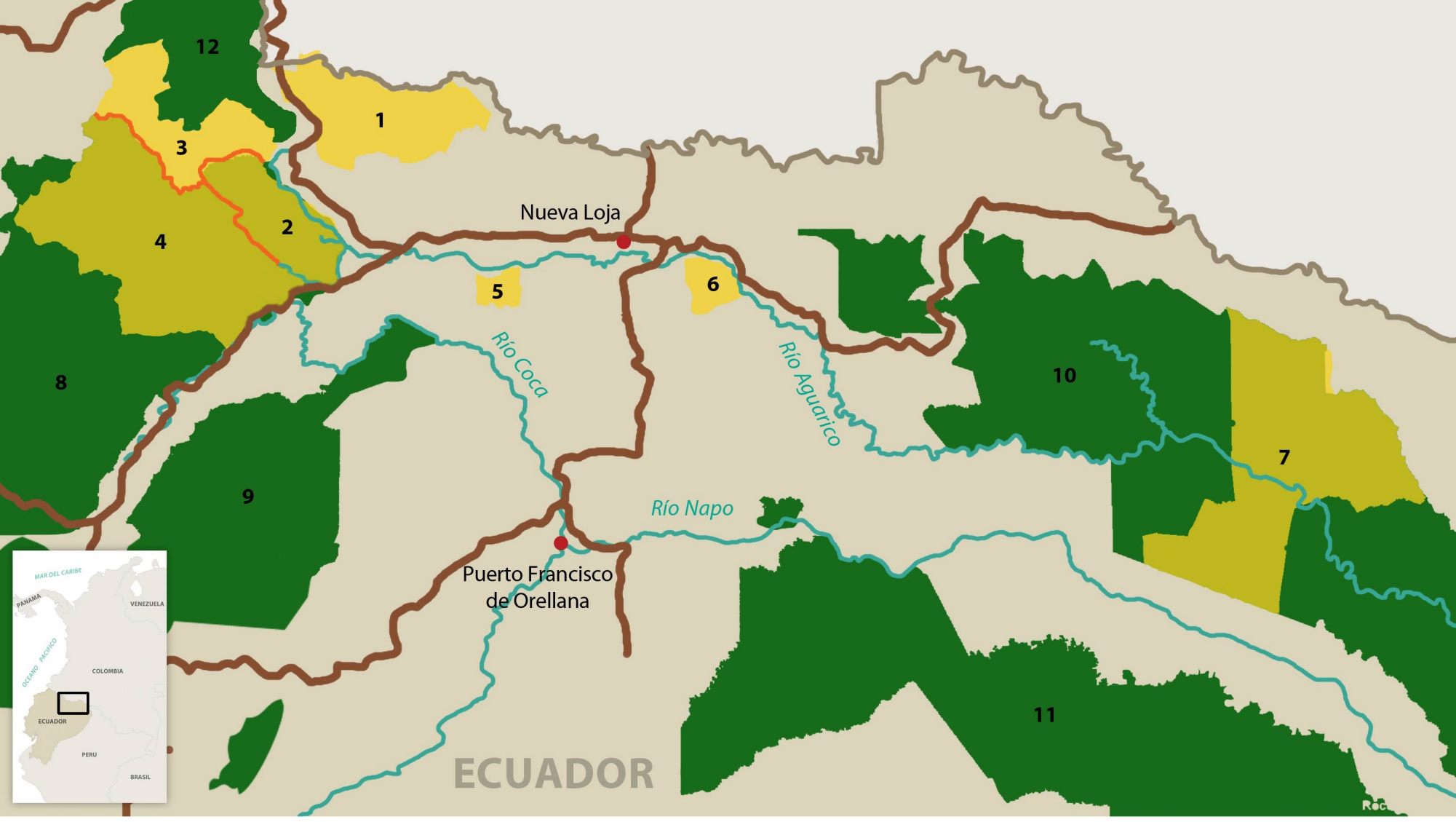
and its two dimensions in lexical stress assignment

Maksymilian Dąbkowski

advised by Scott AnderBois

April 18, 2019

Brown University



PROTECTED AREAS

1. Cofán Bermejo Ecological Reserve
8. Cayambe Coca Ecological Reserve
9. Sumaco Napo Galeras National Park
10. Cuyabeno Wildlife Reserve
11. Yasuní National Park
12. La Bonita Municipal Reserve

COFAN TERRITORIES

1. Cofán Bermejo Ecological Reserve
2. Sinagoe
3. Río Cofanes
4. Cofán co-managed area
5. Duvuno
6. Dureno
7. Zábalo

PRELIMINARIES I

- stress $\stackrel{def}{=}$ relative emphasis given to a syllable

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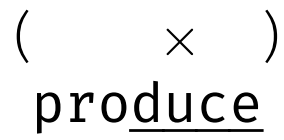

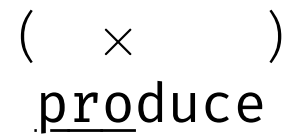

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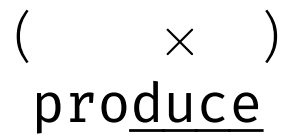

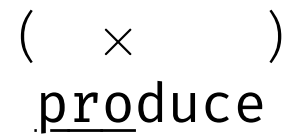

sçerarçizovaniɨ
hierarchical$_{\text{POLISH}}$

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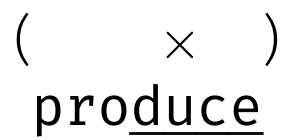

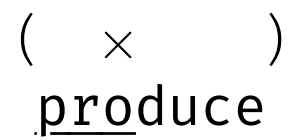

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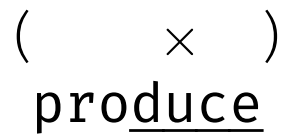

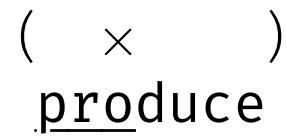

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- my theoretical commitment $\in$ Hayes (1995)

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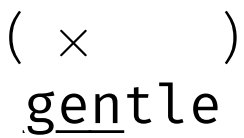

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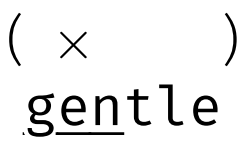

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(×) (×)

gentle genteel

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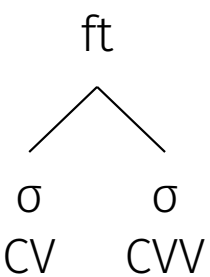
  - weight-insensitive



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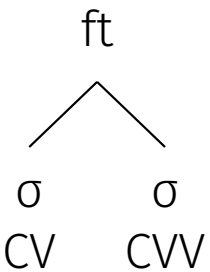

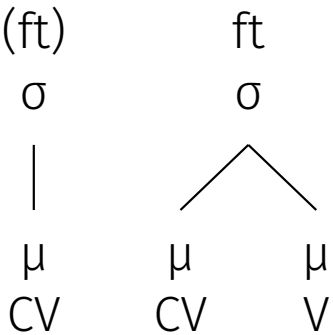

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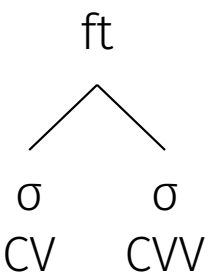

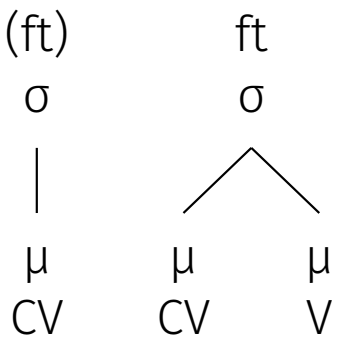

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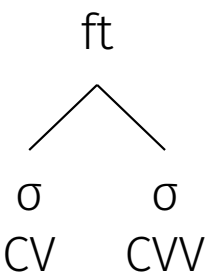

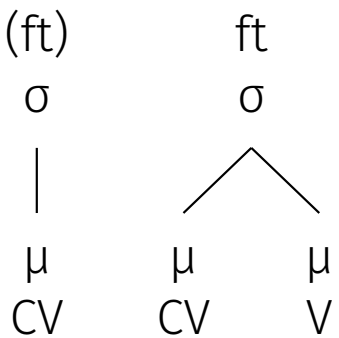

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uni**ver**sytet
university$_{\text{POLISH}}$

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uni<u>ver</u>si⟨tet⟩
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$$\begin{array}{c} (\times \quad .) \\ \texttt{uni\underline{ver}si}\langle\texttt{tet}\rangle \\ \text{university}_{\text{POLISH}} \end{array}$$

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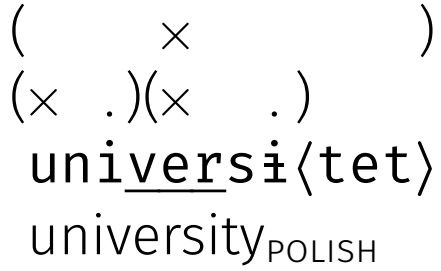

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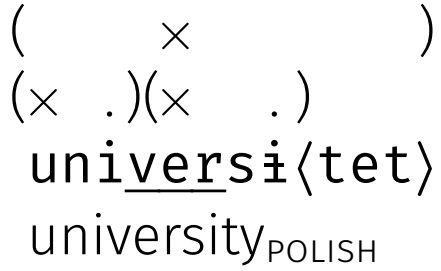

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(×)
(× .)(× .)
universi⟨tet⟩
university$_{\text{POLISH}}$

PRELIMINARIES III

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  - applicable to peripheral constituents
  - right edge unmarked
  - does not chain

(×)
(× .)(× .)
universi⟨tet⟩
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float=NEG
not float

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( ×  .)( ×    .)
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  - inflectional morphology does not affect stress
  - derivational morphology affects stress

THESIS

diphthongs and glottal stops contribute to weight

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diphthongs and glottal stops contribute to weight

in two different ways

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diphthongs and glottal stops contribute to weight

in two different ways

based on elicitations with Hugo Lucitante ’19

BASELINE

L L
pãⁿdza
hunt

BASELINE

L L
pãⁿdza
hunt

L L L
atapa
breed

BASELINE

L L
pãⁿdza
hunt

L L L
atapa
breed

H L
fɨite
help

BASELINE

L L
pãⁿdza
hunt

L L L
atapa
breed

H L
fɨite
help

L H
fɨ̃ⁿdɨi
sweep

L L H
atapõẽ
breed-CAUS
make breed

H H
fɨitĩã
help-CAUS
make help

BASELINE

L L
pãⁿdza
hunt

L L L
atapa
breed

H L
ɨite
help

L L L
pãⁿdza+je
hunt=INF
to hunt

L L L L
atapa+je
breed=INF
to breed

H L L
ɨite+je
help=INF
to help

L H
fɨ̃ⁿdɨi
sweep

L L H
atapõẽ
breed-CAUS
make breed

H H
ɨitĩã
help-CAUS
make help

syllabic trochee	(× .) σ σ
foot layer	× . . . ⟵
word layer	(×) . . . ×)

BASELINE

pãⁿdza
hunt

atapa
breed

fɨite
help

pãⁿdza+je
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to hunt

atapa+je
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fɨ̃ⁿdɨi
sweep

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breed-CAUS
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fɨitĩã
help-CAUS
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(× .)
pãⁿdza
hunt

(× .)
atapa
breed

(× .)
fɨite
help

(× .)
pãⁿdza+je
hunt=INF
to hunt

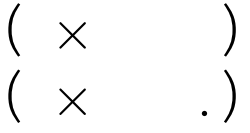
(× .)(× .)
atapa+je
breed=INF
to breed

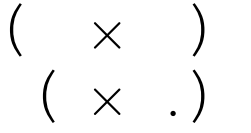
(× .)
fɨite+je
help=INF
to help

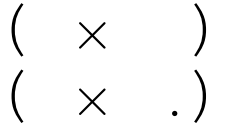
(× .)
fɨ̃ⁿdɨi
sweep

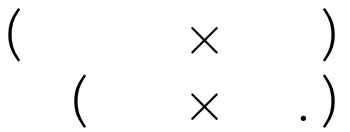
(× .)
atapõẽ
breed-CAUS
make breed

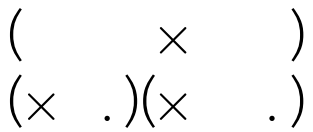
(× .)
fɨitĩã
help-CAUS
make help

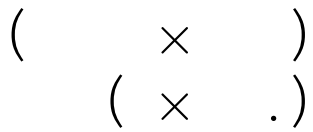

pãⁿdza
hunt

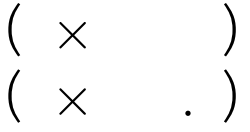

atapa
breed

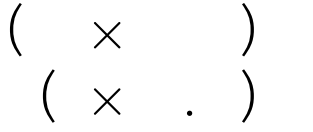

fɨite
help

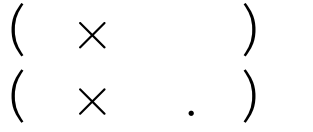

pãⁿdza+je
hunt=INF
to hunt


atapa+je
breed=INF
to breed


fɨite+je
help=INF
to help


fɨ̃ⁿdɨi
sweep


atapõẽ
breed-CAUS
make breed


fɨitĩã
help-CAUS
make help

FIRST COMPLICATION

pãⁿdza+'he
hunt-IMPF
be hunting

fɨ̃ⁿdɨ̀i+'he
sweep-IMPF
be sweeping

pãⁿdzã+ᵑgi
hunt-VEN
come to hunt

fɨ̃ⁿdɨ̃ĩ+ᵑgi
sweep-VEN
come to sweep

*(×)
(× .)
pãⁿdza+'he
hunt-IMPF
be hunting

*(×)
(× .)
pãⁿdzã+ᵑgi
hunt-VEN
come to hunt

(×)
(× .)
fɨ̃ⁿdɨ̰i+'he
sweep-IMPF
be sweeping

(×)
(× .)
fɨ̃ⁿdɨ̃ĩ+ᵑgi
sweep-VEN
come to sweep

syllabic trochee	(× .) σ σ
foot layer	× . . . ⟵
word layer	(×) . . . ×)

first refinement

moraic trochee	(× .) or (×) ˘ ˘ -
foot layer	× . . . ⟵
word layer	(×) . . . ×)

lexicon

⟨+'he⟩
-IMPF

⟨+ŋgi⟩
-VEN

FIRST COMPLICATION

pãⁿdza+'he
hunt-IMPF
be hunting

fɨ̃ⁿdɨ̀i+'he
sweep-IMPF
be sweeping

pãⁿdzã+ᵑgi
hunt-VEN
come to hunt

fɨ̃ⁿdɨ̃ĩ+ᵑgi
sweep-VEN
come to sweep

pãⁿdza⟨+'he⟩
hunt-IMPF
be hunting

fɨ̃ⁿdɨ̇i⟨+'he⟩
sweep-IMPF
be sweeping

pãⁿdzã⟨+ᵑgi⟩
hunt-VEN
come to hunt

fɨ̃ⁿdɨ̃ĩ⟨+ᵑgi⟩
sweep-VEN
come to sweep

(×)
(× .)
pãⁿdza⟨+'he⟩
hunt-IMPF
be hunting

(×)
(× .)
pãⁿdzã⟨+ᵑgi⟩
hunt-VEN
come to hunt

(×)
(×)
fɨ̃ⁿdɨ̰i⟨+'he⟩
sweep-IMPF
be sweeping

(×)
(×)
fɨ̃ⁿdɨ̰ĩ⟨+ᵑgi⟩
sweep-VEN
come to sweep

BASELINE

pãⁿdza
hunt

atapa
breed

fɨite
help

pãⁿdza+je
hunt=INF
to hunt

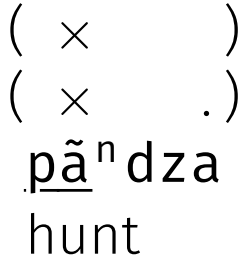
atapa+je
breed=INF
to breed

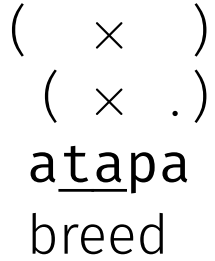
fɨite+je
help=INF
to help

fɨ̃ⁿdɨi
sweep

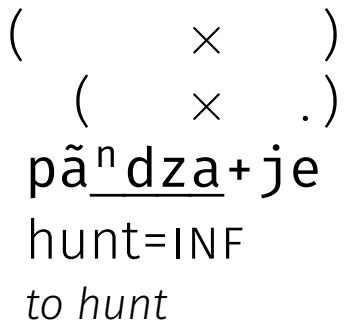
atapõẽ
breed-CAUS
make breed

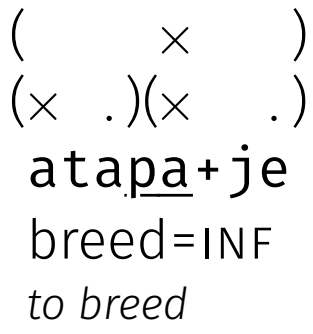
fɨitĩã
help-CAUS
make help


pãⁿdza
hunt


atapa
breed

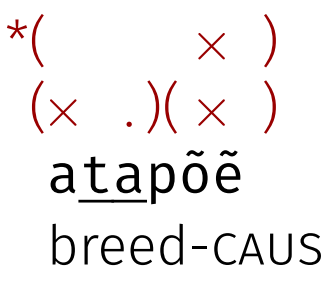

fɨite
help


pãⁿdza+je
hunt=INF
to hunt


atapa+je
breed=INF
to breed


fɨite+je
help=INF
to help


fɨ̃ⁿdɨi
sweep


atapõẽ
breed-CAUS
make breed


fɨitĩã
help-CAUS
make help

first refinement

moraic trochee

(× .) or (×)
ˇ ˇ or –

foot layer

× . . .
⟵

word layer

(×)
. . . ×)

lexicon

⟨+'he⟩
-IMPF

⟨+ᵑgi⟩
-VEN

mora extrametricality

$\mu \longrightarrow \langle \mu \rangle / \ . \ \mu \ \_$

moraic trochee

$(\ \breve{\times}\ \breve{.}\ )$ or $(\ \bar{\times}\ )$

foot layer

$\times \ldots$
$\longleftarrow$

word layer

$(\quad \times\ )$
$\ldots\ \times\ )$

lexicon

⟨+'he⟩
-IMPF

⟨+ŋgi⟩
-VEN

BASELINE

pãⁿdza
hunt

atapa
breed

fɨite
help

pãⁿdza+je
hunt=INF
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fɨ̃ⁿdɨi
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atapõẽ
breed-CAUS
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help-CAUS
make help

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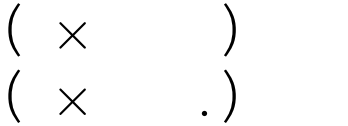
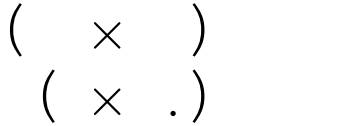
help=INF
to help

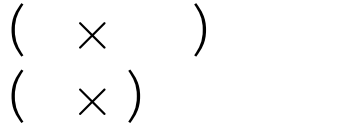
fɨ̃ⁿdɨ⟨i⟩
sweep

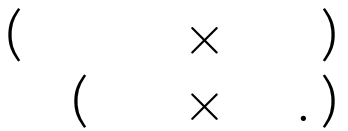
atapõ⟨ẽ⟩
breed-CAUS
make breed

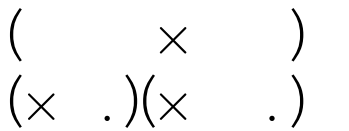
fɨitĩ⟨ã⟩
help-CAUS
make help

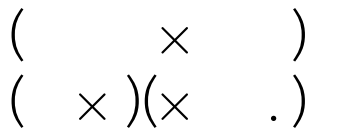

pãⁿdza
hunt

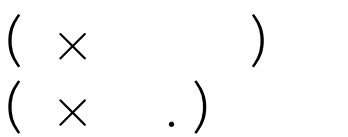

atapa
breed

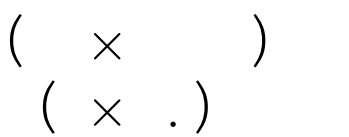

fɨite
help

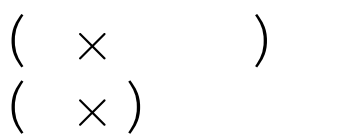

pãⁿdza+je
hunt=INF
to hunt


atapa+je
breed=INF
to breed


fɨite+je
help=INF
to help


fɨ̃ⁿdɨ⟨i⟩
sweep


atapõ⟨ẽ⟩
breed-CAUS
make breed


fɨitĩ⟨ã⟩
help-CAUS
make help

TAKING STOCK

- stress is sensitive to syllabic weight

TAKING STOCK

- stress is sensitive to syllabic weight
- diphthongs count as heavy

TAKING STOCK

- stress is sensitive to syllabic weight
- diphthongs count as heavy
- difficult to spot due to:

TAKING STOCK

- stress is sensitive to syllabic weight
- diphthongs count as heavy
- difficult to spot due to:
    - mora extrametricality

TAKING STOCK

- stress is sensitive to syllabic weight
- diphthongs count as heavy
- difficult to spot due to:
  - mora extrametricality
  - rightmost primary stress

TAKING STOCK

- stress is sensitive to syllabic weight
- diphthongs count as heavy
- difficult to spot due to:
  - mora extrametricality
  - rightmost primary stress
  - rarity of diphthongs

SECOND COMPLICATION

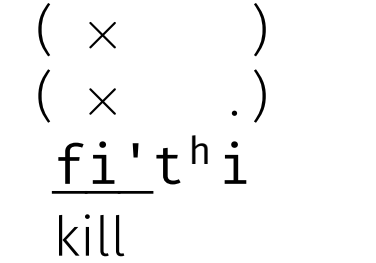
fi'tʰi
kill

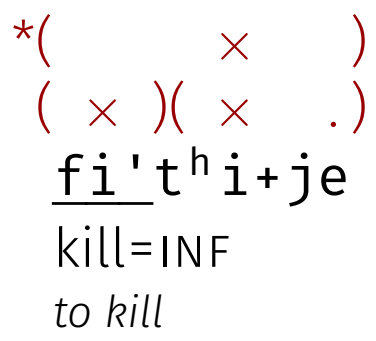
SECOND COMPLICATION

fi'tʰi
kill

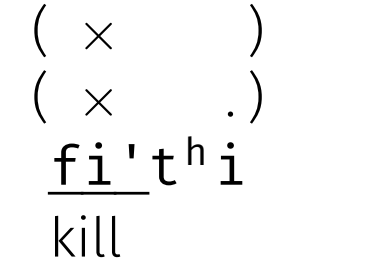
fi'tʰi+je
kill=INF
to kill

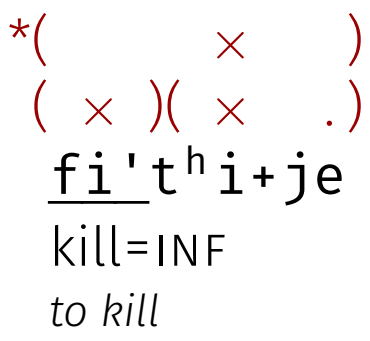
SECOND COMPLICATION

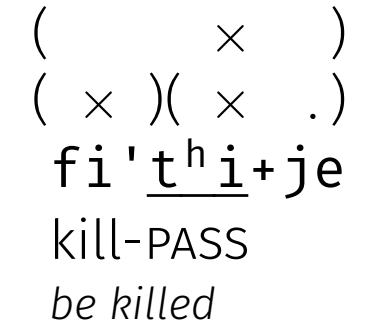




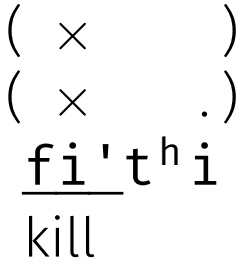
SECOND COMPLICATION

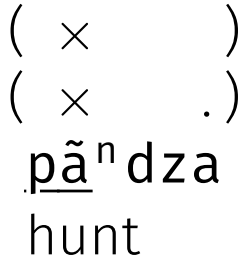


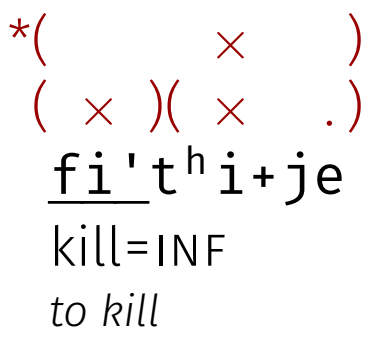


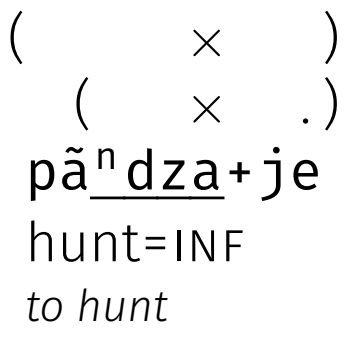


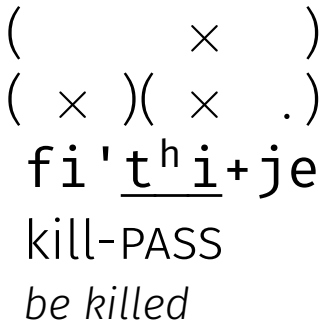
SECOND COMPLICATION

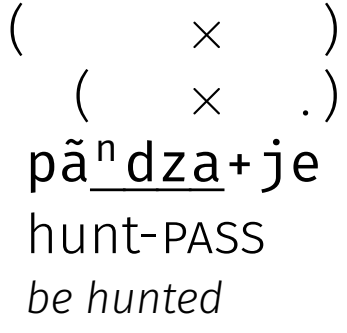












mora extrametricality

$$\mu \longrightarrow \langle \mu \rangle / \ . \ \mu \ \_$$

moraic trochee

$$\underset{\breve{} \ \breve{}}{(\times \ .\ )} \quad \text{or} \quad \underset{-}{(\times)}$$

foot layer

$$\underset{\longleftarrow}{\times \ldots}$$

word layer

$$(\quad \times) \quad \ldots \times)$$

lexicon

⟨+'he⟩
-IMPF

⟨+ŋgi⟩
-VEN

mora extrametricality

$$\mu \longrightarrow \langle \mu \rangle / \ . \ \mu \ \_$$

moraic trochee

$$\begin{array}{cc} (\ \times\ .\ ) & (\ \times\ ) \\ \breve{} \quad \breve{} & \text{or} \quad - \end{array}$$

glottal prominence

$$\sigma' \longrightarrow \overset{\times}{\sigma'}$$

foot layer

$$\begin{array}{c} \times \ \ldots \\ \longleftarrow \end{array}$$

word layer

$$\begin{array}{c} (\qquad \times\ ) \\ \ldots\ \times\ ) \end{array}$$

lexicon

⟨+'he⟩
-IMPF

⟨+ᵑgi⟩
-VEN

⌫
+je
-PASS

fi'tʰi
kill

pãⁿdza
hunt

fi'tʰi+je
kill=INF
to kill

pãⁿdza+je
hunt=INF
to hunt

fi'tʰi+je
kill-PASS
be killed

pãⁿdza+je
hunt-PASS
be hunted

[× .]
fi'tʰi
kill

pãⁿdza
hunt

[× .]
fi'tʰi+je
kill=INF
to kill

pãⁿdza+je
hunt=INF
to hunt

[× .]
fi'tʰi+je
kill-PASS
be killed

pãⁿdza+je
hunt-PASS
be hunted

[× .]
fi'tʰi
kill

[× .]
fi'tʰi+je
kill=INF
to kill

[× .] ⌫
fi'tʰi+je
kill-PASS
be killed

pãⁿdza
hunt

pãⁿdza+je
hunt=INF
to hunt

⌫
pãⁿdza+je
hunt-PASS
be hunted

[× .]

fi'tʰi

kill

pãⁿdza

hunt

[× .]

fi'tʰi+je

kill=INF

to kill

pãⁿdza+je

hunt=INF

to hunt

fi'tʰi+je

kill-PASS

be killed

pãⁿdza+je

hunt-PASS

be hunted

[× .]
fi'tʰi
kill

(× .)
pãⁿdza
hunt

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(× .)
pãⁿdza+je
hunt=INF
to hunt

(× .)
fi'tʰi+je
kill-PASS
be killed

(× .)
pãⁿdza+je
hunt-PASS
be hunted

(×)
[× .]
fi'tʰi
kill

(×)
(× .)
pãⁿdza
hunt

(×)
[× .]
fi'tʰi+je
kill=INF
to kill

(×)
(× .)
pãⁿdza+je
hunt=INF
to hunt

(×)
(× .)
fi'tʰi+je
kill-PASS
be killed

(×)
(× .)
pãⁿdza+je
hunt-PASS
be hunted

CONCLUSIONS

- two dimensions of syllabic weight

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  - revisions of particular constraints might be warranted

Thank you!

Thank you!

SPECIAL THANKS TO

Hugo Lucitante

Thank you!

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Hugo Lucitante

Scott AnderBois

Thank you!

SPECIAL THANKS TO

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Scott AnderBois
Chelsea Sanker

Thank you!

SPECIAL THANKS TO

Hugo Lucitante

Scott AnderBois
Chelsea Sanker
Uriel Cohen Priva

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