

TWO GRAMMARS OF A'INGAE GLOTTALIZATION: A CASE FOR COPHONOLOGIES BY PHASE

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ABSTRACT This paper describes and analyzes phonological processes pertinent to the glottal stop in A'ingae (or Cofán, ISO 639-3: con). The operations which the glottal stops undergo and trigger reveal an interaction of two morphophonological parameters: stratum and stress dominance. First, verbal suffixes are organized in two morphophonological domains, or strata. Within the inner domain, glottal stops affect stress placement, which I analyze as an interaction with foot structure. In the outer domain, glottal stops do not have any effects on stress. Second, some verbal suffixes delete stress (i. e. they are dominant). Dominance is unpredictable and independent of the suffix's morphophonological domain, but dominance and the phonological domain interact in a non-trivial way: Only inner dominant suffixes delete glottalization. To account for the A'ingae data, I adopt Cophonologies by Phase (Sande, Jenks, and Inkelas, 2020), which (i) models phonological stratification while (ii) allowing for morpheme-specific phonological idiosyncrasies which (iii) interact with the phonological grammar of their stratum. Stress deletion triggered by the dominant suffixes is modeled with ANTI-FAITHFULNESS (Alderete, 1999, 2001). Antifaithfulness to a metrical foot entails antifaithfulness to its features (glottalization). This captures the fact that only the inner dominant suffixes delete glottal stops.

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1 INTRODUCTION

This paper presents and analyzes data from A'ingae (or Cofán, an Amazonian isolate, ISO 639-3: con), whose phonological grammar shows effects specific to (i) morphological domains as well as (ii) idiosyncratic morphemes, which (iii) interact with each other. The organization of the A'ingae morphology-phonology interface considerably restricts the space of viable formalisms. I show that Cophonologies by Phase (e.g. Sande, Jenks, and Inkelas, 2020) has the requisite architectural properties to model the A'ingae patterns.

To support my claim, I focus on the grammar of the A'ingae glottal stop. The glottal stop most often appears in syllabic rimes; onset glottal stops are rare. The presence of the glottal stop is contrastive in roots (1a-b) as well as functional morphemes (1c-d).¹ The position of glottalization is contrastive in morphologically complex forms (1e-f). Stress is marked with the acute accent (´) and **boldface**.

(1) GLOTTAL STOP AS A CONTRASTIVE SEGMENT

a. <i>chá̃ndi</i>	b. <i>chá̃ʔndi</i>	c. <i>tsá =ma</i>	d. <i>tsá -ʔma</i>	e. <i>séʔje -pa</i>	f. <i>séje -ʔpa</i>
be clear	be cold	ANA =ACC	ANA -FRST	cure -SS	cure -N

More narrowly, I focus on the phonological processes pertinent to the glottal stop in A'ingae morphologically complex verbs. In addition to the presence or absence of preglottalization (1c-d), A'ingae suffixes vary along two dimensions. First, there are two morphophonological domains, or strata, which I refer to as *inner* (closer to the root) and *outer* (farther away from the root). Glottal stops in roots and suffixes of the inner domain are associated with stress which falls on the syllable which contains the second mora to the left of the glottal stop. Glottal stops introduced in the outer domain do not have any effect on stress.

Second, A'ingae suffixes can be categorized as *recessive*, which preserve underlying stress, or *dominant*, which delete input stress (Dąbkowski, 2021b). Whether a suffix is recessive (i.e. stress-preserving) or dominant (i.e. stress-deleting) is unpredictable and independent of the morphophonological domain. As a consequence, there are *inner recessive*, *outer recessive*, *inner dominant*, and *outer dominant* suffixes. Notably, the parameter of dominance interacts with the morphological domain in a non-trivial way: If there is an underlying glottal stop, the inner dominant suffixes delete the glottal stop along with stress (2a-b), but the outer dominant suffixes leave the glottal stop intact (2c-d).

(2) GLOTTALIZED ROOT WITH INNER DOMINANT,

AND OUTER DOMINANT SUFFIXES

a. / <i>séʔje -ye</i> /	b. / <i>séʔje -khu</i> /	c. / <i>séʔje -kha</i> /	d. / <i>séʔje -jama</i> /
[<i>sejé -ye</i>]	[<i>sejé -khu</i>]	[<i>seʔjé -kha</i>]	[<i>seʔjé -jama</i>]
cure -PASS	cure -RCPR	cure -IMP2	cure -PRHB

The main theoretical import of this study resides in the architecture of the A'ingae morphophonological grammar as revealed by the phonological processes related to glottalization: Different phonological grammars within one language may correspond to ordered morphological domains or strata (as is the case with the effect A'ingae glottalization has on stress) but may also be unpredictably associated with individual morphemes (as is the case with A'ingae dominance effects), which further interact with the grammar of their stratum. Thus, a phonological formalism that does justice to the A'ingae data pattern must be able to fulfill the triple desideratum of (i) modeling phonological stratification while (ii) allowing for morpheme-specific phonological idiosyncrasies which (iii) interact with the phonological grammar of their stratum.

¹ The following glossing abbreviations are used: 1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person, ACC = accusative, ACC2 = accusative 2, ANA = anaphoric, APPR = apprehensional, CAUS = causative, DAT = dative, DIST = distal, DLM = delimited, DS = different subject, FRST = frustrative, IF = conditional, IF2 = conditional 2, IMP = imperative, IMP2 = imperative 2, IMP3 = imperative 3, INF = infinitive, IPFV = imperfective, IRR = irrealis, MANN = manner, N = nominalizer, NEG = negative, NHPC = negative habitual non-subject participle, PASS = passive, PAUC = verbal paucal, PL = plural, PLA = pluractional, PLS = plural subject, PRCL = preculminative, PRHB = prohibitive, PROX = proximal, RCPR = reciprocal, RPRT = reportative, SBRD = subordinator, SFX = suffix, SG = singular, SMFC = semelfactive, SS = same subject, VER = veridical, WH = content interrogative, YNQ = polar interrogative.

To model the A'ingae data, I adopt Cophonologies by Phase (henceforth CbP; Sande, 2017, 2019; Sande and Jenks, 2018; Sande, Jenks, and Inkelas, 2020). CbP allows for associating *cophonologies*, or morphologically-specific phonological grammars, with phase heads as well as individual morphosyntactic features. In my proposal, lower phase heads are associated with a cophonology where glottalization triggers stress assignment and higher phase heads with a cophonology where the glottalization has no effect on stress (i). Morphosyntactic features which are spelled out by dominant suffixes are associated with a cophonology that requires stress deletion (ii). Lastly, the cophonologies of all the features within a phase jointly determine the phonological ranking at each spell-out, so phase head and morpheme-specific cophonologies may interact (iii). Thus, Cophonologies by Phase fulfills the above triple desideratum.

Alternative theories fail to fulfill some or all of the parts of the desideratum. For example, Stratal Optimality Theory (Bermúdez-Otero, 1999, 2012; Jaker and Kiparsky, 2020; Kiparsky, 2000, 2008; others) accommodates phonological distinctions between the suffixes closer to and further away from the root, but does not permit suffix-specific processes.² Thus, Stratal OT meets part (i), but falls short of modeling part (ii). Classic Cophonology Theory (Anttila, 1997; Inkelas, 1998; Inkelas, Orgun, and Zoll, 1997; Orgun, 1996; others) and Indexed Constraint Theory (Benua, 1997; Ito and Mester, 1999; Pater, 2009; others) capture morphologically-idiosyncratic phonological effects, but do not recognize phonological patterns systematically associated with morphosyntactic domains. Thus, those theories meet part (ii), but miss the generalization expressed in part (i). Representational solutions (e.g. Jaker and Kiparsky, 2020; Kushnir, 2019; Rosen, 2016; Smolensky and Goldrick, 2016; Trommer and Zimmermann, 2014; Zimmermann, 2018a,b) struggle with modeling A'ingae stress deletion (Dąbkowski, 2021b).

Secondary theoretical implications of the study pertain to formal tools for modeling stress deletion and their relation to prosodic features. To capture the behavior of stress-deleting suffixes, I adopt Alderete's (1999, 2001) ANTI-FAITHFULNESS, whereby stress-deleting suffixes penalize the retention of input stress. To capture the relationship between glottalization and stress, I propose that glottalization is an optional feature of the metrical foot in the inner, but not the outer, domain. Finally, I propose that antifaithfulness to metrical structure entails antifaithfulness to all of its features. This captures the fact that dominant suffixes delete glottalization only within the inner domain. Thus, the study contributes a new argument in favor of the controversial family of ANTI-FAITHFULNESS constraints and fleshes out its interaction with features dependent on the deleted node.

By providing a novel case study from A'ingae, the paper contributes to growing research on lexically idiosyncratic dominance effects. Other studies which apply diverse frameworks to complex morphologically-conditioned accentual systems include Vaux's (2008) analysis of Abkhaz (North-West Caucasian) stress, Kushnir's (2019) treatment of Lithuanian pitch accent, Czaykowska-Higgins's (1993) account of Moses-Columbia Salish (Nxa'amxcin) stress, Kawahara's (2015) work on Japanese pitch accent, and analyses of Baltic, Sanskrit, Slavic, and Greek (Kiparsky, 2010).

The rest of the paper is structured as follows. Section 2 gives background on the A'ingae language and its speakers. Section 3 describes the distribution of the A'ingae glottal stop and the morphophonological

² Some practitioners of Stratal OT allow for morpheme-specific phonological effects. Kiparsky (2015), for example, notes that "genuine exceptions and morphologized processes [...] require arbitrary lexical and morphological restrictions on the applicability of constraints. [...] All current proposals amount to indexing morphemes or lexemes for a constraint or a constraint ranking" (pp. 18-19).

An argument against adopting indexed constraints is given in Section 5.2. If, on the other hand, Stratal OT were supplemented with morpheme-specific constraint rerankings (i.e. cophonologies), the resulting formalism would approximate the CbP analysis advanced in this paper. This being said, some points of divergence between Cophonologies by Phase and Stratal-OT-cum-cophonologies would still remain.

Section 4.2 elaborates on the assumption of phase-based spell-out, unique to CbP. With phase-based spell-out, CbP naturally captures the second empirical generalization formulated in Section 3.4, as well as the patterns of glottal alternation in roots and forms with multiple inner preglottalized suffixes discussed in Section 5.4. To account for the same data, additional stipulations would have to be made in Stratal-OT-cum-cophonologies.

Additionally, CbP predicts that morphophonological domains correspond to syntactic domains. Stratal OT does not relate strata to syntax, resulting in a less predictive theory. By demonstrating that in A'ingae phonology closely parallels syntax (Section 4.2), the present study provides evidence in favor of the CbP view and encourages further exploration of parallelisms between word-internal phonological and syntactic structure in other languages.

processes relevant to it. [Section 4](#) presents a formal analysis of the data couched in Cophonologies by Phase (Sande, 2019; Sande, Jenks, and Inkela, 2020; others). [Section 5](#) considers and rejects alternative analyses. [Section 6](#) concludes.

2 LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

A'ingae (or Cofán, iso 639-3: con) is an Amazonian language isolate spoken by ca. 1,500 Cofán people in the province of Sucumbíos (northeast Ecuador) and the department of Putumayo (southern Colombia). The language is endangered and highly underdocumented. In Ecuador, A'ingae is spoken robustly and transmitted to children. Bilingualism with Spanish is prevalent, especially among younger generations. Despite economic, ecological, and political pressures experienced by the Cofán, their language attitudes towards A'ingae are uniformly positive (Dąbkowski, 2021a).

Previous work on the phonetics and phonology of A'ingae includes Borman's (1962) phonological sketch, Fischer and Hengeveld's (2023) grammatical sketch, Repetti-Ludlow et al.'s (2019) phonetic study, Sanker and AnderBois's (t.a.) reconstruction of nasality, and Dąbkowski's (2021b) argument against a representational treatment of stress dominance.

A'ingae syllable structure is (C)V(V)(?). This is to say, there are no codas, possibly other than the glottal stop. This paper adopts the language's practical orthography with one exception: the glottal stop is represented as in the IPA (?), and not with an apostrophe. For the complete set of grapheme-phoneme correspondences, see Fischer and Hengeveld (2023). Here, only a few issues will be flagged. First, *û* represents the high central vowel /i/; the circumflex is not a tonal diacritic. Second, the orthographic *n* and *m* after a vowel are not codas. Rather, they represent vowel nasality and/or prenasalization on the following stop. For example, the sequence *and* represents [ãⁿd].³ When it comes to its morphological profile, A'ingae is exclusively suffixing. The language has robust progressive nasalization, which gives rise to extensive nasal allomorphy among its numerous suffixes (see Sanker and AnderBois, t.a.).

All the data were collected remotely by the author between 2021 and 2022 and reflect the judgments reported by two native speaker consultants (both male, 24 and 36 years old) from the community of Dureno, Sucumbíos, Ecuador.

3 DESCRIPTION

This section describes the interaction of stress, glottalization, and stress deletion. A'ingae is a heavily agglutinating language, with many inflectional categories expounded with suffixes and enclitics on the verbal head. Within a complex verb, two morphophonological domains, or strata, can be distinguished (3): The inner domain includes the root and the exponents of voice, aspect, and associated motion. The inner suffixes may attach only to verbal predicates. The outer domain includes exponents of subject plurality, reality, polarity, subject person, and others. Many of the outer suffixes may attach to verbal as well as nominal predicates. The inner domain is delimited with square brackets [].

- (3) STRATAL ORGANIZATION OF THE A'INGAE VERB
 [*kufi* -*án* -*ʔjen* -*ngi*] -*ʔfa* -*ya* -*mbi* -*tsû*
 play -CAUS -IPFV -PROX -PLS -IRR -NEG =3
 “they_{3,PLS} will_{IRR} not_{NEG} come_{PROX} to be_{IPFV} making_{CAUS} play”

³ Word initial prenasalization has a shorter duration and lower intensity (Repetti-Ludlow et al., 2019). This is reflected orthographically with word-initial *b* [ᵐb], *d* [ᵐd], *z* [ᵐɖ], *dy* [ᵐɖʝ], and *g* [ᵐg].

3.1 Verbal roots

The inner morphophonological domain consists of the verbal root and, optionally, suffixes expounding voice, aspect, and associated motion. In this section, I will focus on verbal roots, which fall in one of three categories: stressless (4-5), stressed (6-7), and glottalized (8-13).

Underlyingly stressless roots can be monosyllabic (4a-b), disyllabic (4c-d), or trisyllabic (4e-f). On the surface, penultimate stress is assigned to disyllabic and trisyllabic roots. This is the default stress assigned to underlyingly stressless forms, as evidenced by stress shift in the presence of inflectional morphology (5).

(4) STRESSLESS ROOTS

a. / <i>phi</i> / [<i>phí</i>] sit	b. / <i>tsun</i> / [<i>tsún</i>] do	c. / <i>panza</i> / [<i>pánza</i>] hunt	d. / <i>afe</i> / [<i>áfe</i>] give	e. / <i>atapa</i> / [<i>atápa</i>] breed	f. / <i>utishi</i> / [<i>utíshi</i>] wash
--	---	---	---	--	---

(5) STRESSLESS ROOTS WITH SUFFIXES

a. / <i>phi</i> -ji -mbi / [<i>phí</i> -jǐ -mbi] sit -PRCL -NEG	b. / <i>tsun</i> -ji -mbi / [<i>tsún</i> -jín -mbi] do -PRCL -NEG	c. / <i>panza</i> -ji / [<i>panzá</i> -ji] hunt -PRCL	d. / <i>afe</i> -ji / [<i>áfě</i> -ji] give -PRCL	e. / <i>atapa</i> -ji / [<i>atapá</i> -ji] breed -PRCL	f. / <i>utishi</i> -ji / [<i>utishí</i> -ji] wash -PRCL
---	---	---	---	--	---

Underlyingly stressed roots are mostly disyllabic (6a-d); a few are trisyllabic (6e-f). All underlyingly stressed roots have word-initial stress.⁴ This lexically-specified first-syllable stress does not shift when most inflectional suffixes are added (7).

(6) STRESSED ROOTS

a. / <i>áfa</i> / [<i>áfa</i>] speak	b. / <i>ána</i> / [<i>ána</i>] sleep	c. / <i>káti</i> / [<i>káti</i>] cast	d. / <i>fúndu</i> / [<i>fúndu</i>] shout	e. / <i>áfase</i> / [<i>áfase</i>] offend	f. / <i>kúndase</i> / [<i>kúndase</i>] tell
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(7) STRESSED ROOTS WITH SUFFIXES

a. / <i>áfa</i> -ji / [<i>áfa</i> -ji] speak -PRCL	b. / <i>ána</i> -ji / [<i>ána</i> -jin] sleep -PRCL	c. / <i>káti</i> -ji / [<i>káti</i> -ji] cast -PRCL	d. / <i>fúndu</i> -ji / [<i>fúndu</i> -ji] shout -PRCL	e. / <i>áfase</i> -ji / [<i>áfase</i> -ji] offend -PRCL	f. / <i>kúndase</i> -ji / [<i>kúndase</i> -ji] tell -PRCL
--	---	---	--	---	---

Finally, some roots have an underlying glottal stop. All underlyingly glottalized roots have word-initial stress. (In the analysis advanced in Section 4.3, I will propose that only the glottalization is underlying present; stress is predictably assigned in the inner domain and persists upon the addition of most suffixes.) In disyllabic glottalized roots, the glottal stop surfaces in the rime of the first syllable (8a-c). (I remain agnostic about whether the glottal stop is part of the nucleus or a coda.) In trisyllabic glottalized roots, the glottal stop surfaces in the rime of the second syllable (8d-f). This is to say, across di- and trisyllables, the glottal stop shows up in the rime of the penult. Thus, within a glottalized root, the position of the glottal stop, the presence of stress, and the position of stress are entirely predictable. Glottalized roots do not undergo stress shift when most inflectional suffixes are added (9).⁵

⁴ In A'ingae, final stress is strongly avoided. Thus, all disyllabic stressed verbs have word-initial stress. The stress of glottalized verbs results from independently attested interactions of stress and glottalization explored further in Section 3.2. There are only two non-glottalized trisyllabic verbs with underlying stress: *áfase* 'offend' and *kúndase* 'tell.' Both are diachronically related to stressed disyllables *áfa* 'speak' and *kúnda* 'let know.' Thus, their initial stress receives a historical explanation.

⁵ There is a paucity of trisyllabic glottalized verbs, with *ákhe?pa* 'forget,' *ánsa?nge* 'be shy,' and *ákhu?sha* 'chop' possibly being the only three attested morphologically simple examples. Further evidence supporting the generalization about the glottal stop position comes from nouns, e.g. *úma?ndu* 'macaw,' and pluractional formation. Pluractionality is productively expressed by inserting a glottal stop into the verb root. The pluractional glottal stop shows up in the rime of the penult, in disyllables (ia-c) as well as trisyllables (id-f). A full discussion of the A'ingae pluractional formation is outside of the scope of this paper.

(i) ROOTS WITH PLURACTIONAL GLOTTAL STOP

a. / <i>chava</i> -ʔ / [<i>cháʔva</i>] buy.PLA	b. / <i>panza</i> -ʔ / [<i>páʔnza</i>] hunt.PLA	c. / <i>fetha</i> -ʔ / [<i>fěʔtha</i>] open.PLA	d. / <i>atapa</i> -ʔ / [<i>átaʔpa</i>] breed.PLA	e. / <i>uphathú</i> -ʔ / [<i>úpaʔthú</i>] pick.PLA	f. / <i>undikhú</i> -ʔ / [<i>úndiʔkhú</i>] don.PLA
--	---	---	--	--	--

(8) GLOTTALIZED ROOTS

- | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| a. / séʔje / | b. / iʔna / | c. / fiʔthi / | d. / ákheʔpa / | e. / ánsaʔnge / | f. / ákhuʔsha / |
| [séʔje] | [iʔna] | [fiʔthi] | [ákheʔpa] | [ánsaʔnge] | [ákhuʔsha] |
| cure | cry | kill | forget | be shy | chop |

(9) GLOTTALIZED ROOTS WITH SUFFIXES

- | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| a. / séʔje -ji / | b. / iʔna -ji / | c. / fiʔthi -ji / | d. / ákheʔpa -ji / | e. / ánsaʔnge -ji / | f. / ákhuʔsha -ji / |
| [séʔje -ji] | [iʔna -jin] | [fiʔthi -ji] | [ákheʔpa -ji] | [ánsaʔnge -ji] | [ákhuʔsha -ji] |
| cure -PRCL | cry -PRCL | kill -PRCL | forget -PRCL | be shy -PRCL | chop -PRCL |

A few glottalized roots alternate between disyllabic (C)V.ʔV and monosyllabic (C)V.Vʔ, depending on the morphological context. The dot (.) represents syllable breaks. The disyllabic (C)V.ʔV forms of the alternating glottalized roots are the only cases of onset glottal stops in A'ingae. In most contexts, including uninflected forms (10) and forms with an inflectional suffix (11), these roots surface as disyllabic (C)V.ʔV.⁶ When followed by a derivational suffix (12) or the inner causative -ñā CAUS (13), they surface as monosyllabic (C)V.Vʔ.

(10) ALTERNATING GLOTTALIZED ROOTS

- | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|---------|----------|----------|
| a. kú.ʔi | b. tsá.ʔu | c. á.ʔi | d. tú.ʔi | e. já.ʔi |
| drink | house | person | tomorrow | later |

(11) ALTERNATING GLOTTALIZED ROOTS WITH AN INFLECTIONAL SUFFIX

- | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| a. kú.ʔi -ji | b. tsá.ʔu -mbi | c. á.ʔi -mbi | d. tú.ʔi -mbi | e. já.ʔi -mbi |
| drink -PRCL | house -NEG | person -NEG | tomorrow -NEG | later -NEG |

(12) ALTERNATING GLOTTALIZED ROOTS WITH A DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX

- | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------|---------------|-------------------------|-----------------|
| a. kú.ʔi. -khu | b. tsá.ʔu. -ʔpa | c. á.ʔi. -ʔvu | d. tú.ʔi. -ve | e. já.ʔi. -ngae |
| drink -DLM | house -N | person -? | tomorrow -ACC2 | later -MANN |
| “plantain
pudding” | “nest” | “body” | “day after
tomorrow” | “eventually” |

(13) ALTERNATING GLOTTALIZED ROOTS WITH THE INNER -ñā CAUS

- | | |
|---------------|-----------------|
| a. kú.ʔi. -ñā | b. tsá.ʔi. -ñā |
| drink -CAUS | house -CAUS |
| “make drink” | “build a house” |

In Section 4.3.4, the above alternation will be analyzed in terms of phonological cyclicity. Derivational suffixes (12) and the causative -ñā CAUS (13) attach before any phonological evaluation takes place. Inflectional suffixes (11) attach after the phonological evaluation of vP, during which glottal non-finality is enforced (also seen in bare roots, 10).

3.2 Inner suffixes

The inner suffixes expone the categories of voice, aspect, and associated motion. There are three voice suffixes: the causative -ñā/-an/-en CAUS, the reciprocal -khu[∅] RCPR, and the passive -ye[∅] PASS.

3.2.1 The causative -ñā CAUS

The suffix which attaches the closest to the root is the causative. The causative has three phonologically-conditioned allomorphs: -ñā CAUS attaches to monosyllabic roots (14a); -an CAUS attaches to polysyllabic roots which end in *e*, *i*, or *u* (14b-d); -en CAUS attaches to polysyllabic roots which end in *a* or *u* (14e-f). The allomorph -ñā CAUS constitutes a separate syllable; the allomorphs -an and -en CAUS form a diphthong with the root-final vowel. Root vowel alternations seen in the surface forms of (14b,d) are due to a regular phonological process averting illicit diphthongs. For more on A'ingae diphthongs, see Dąbkowski (ms.).

⁶ The disyllabic status of (C)V.ʔV can be diagnosed by the fact that in related forms, the second vowel may carry primary stress, e. g. *a.ʔi-ndekhu* ‘person=PL.’

(14) ALLOMORPHS OF $\tilde{N}A$ / $-AN$ / $-EN$ CAUS

a. <i>phí.ña</i>	b. <i>á.thian</i>	c. <i>ká.tian</i>	d. <i>áʔ.jian</i>	e. <i>pá.nzaen</i>	f. <i>bú.thuen</i>
<i>phí. -ña</i>	<i>á.the -an</i>	<i>ká.ti -an</i>	<i>áʔ.jú -an</i>	<i>pá.nza -en</i>	<i>bú.thu -en</i>
sit -CAUS	see -CAUS	cast -CAUS	vomit -CAUS	hunt -CAUS	run -CAUS

The causative suffix is recessive; it does not have any effect on stress (regardless of which allomorph is chosen): If the causative attaches to a stressless root, stress is assigned to the penultimate syllable by default (15). Lexically-listed stress and glottalization are preserved if present (16).

(15) STRESSLESS ROOTS WITH $\tilde{N}A$ / $-AN$ / $-EN$ CAUS

a. / <i>phi. -ña</i> /	b. / <i>pa.nza -en</i> /	c. / <i>a.ta.pa -en</i> /	d. / <i>u.ti.shi -an</i> /
[<i>phí. -ña</i>]	[<i>pá.nza -en</i>]	[<i>a.tá.pa -en</i>]	[<i>u.tí.shi -an</i>]
sit -CAUS	hunt -CAUS	breed -CAUS	wash -CAUS

(16) STRESSED AND GLOTTALIZED ROOTS WITH $\tilde{N}A$ / $-AN$ / $-EN$ CAUS

a. / <i>á.fa -en</i> /	b. / <i>kú.nda.se -an</i> /	c. / <i>séʔ.je -an</i> /	d. / <i>á.kheʔ.pa -en</i> /
[<i>á.fa -en</i>]	[<i>kú.nda.si -an</i>]	[<i>séʔ.ji -an</i>]	[<i>á.kheʔ.pa -en</i>]
speak -CAUS	tell -CAUS	cure -CAUS	forget -CAUS

3.2.2 Other voice suffixes

The causative is followed by the reciprocal $-khu^{\emptyset}$ RCPR and the passive $-ye^{\emptyset}$ PASS. The causative $-ña$ CAUS is assumed to be in vP (the first spelled-out projection). This is primarily on the basis of the (C)V.ʔV~(C)VVʔ glottalized root alternation discussed at the end of Section 3.1. All the other inner suffixes, including $-khu^{\emptyset}$ RCPR and $-ye^{\emptyset}$ PASS, are spelled out in AspP, the next phasal projection.

The reciprocal $-khu^{\emptyset}$ RCPR and the passive $-ye^{\emptyset}$ PASS. are dominant, which means that they delete input stress. Dominance is notated with the superscripted empty set ($^{\emptyset}$). When a dominant suffix attaches to a stressless root, stress deletion triggered by a dominant suffix is vacuous; the output surfaces with the expected default penultimate stress (17-18a). When $-khu^{\emptyset}$ RCPR or $-ye^{\emptyset}$ PASS attaches to a stressed root, the underlying stress is deleted, feeding penultimate stress assignment (17-18b). Finally, when $-khu^{\emptyset}$ RCPR or $-ye^{\emptyset}$ PASS attaches to a glottalized root, both stress and glottalization are deleted, again feeding penultimate stress assignment (17-18c-d). The same pattern of deletion of stress and glottalization followed by penultimate stress assignment is seen across the causative $-an$ CAUS (19a-b) and with multiple dominant suffixes (19c-d).

(17) VARIOUS ROOTS WITH $-khu^{\emptyset}$ RCPR

a. / <i>atapa -khu^{\emptyset}</i> /	b. / <i>áfase -khu^{\emptyset}</i> /	c. / <i>iʔna -khu^{\emptyset}</i> /	d. / <i>ákheʔpa -khu^{\emptyset}</i> /
[<i>atapá -khu</i>]	[<i>afasé -khu</i>]	[<i>iná -khu</i>]	[<i>akhepá -khu</i>]
breed -RCPR	offend -RCPR	cry -RCPR	forget -RCPR

(18) VARIOUS ROOTS WITH $-ye^{\emptyset}$ PASS

a. / <i>upathú -ye^{\emptyset}</i> /	b. / <i>áfase -ye^{\emptyset}</i> /	c. / <i>séʔje -ye^{\emptyset}</i> /	d. / <i>ákheʔpa -ye^{\emptyset}</i> /
[<i>upathú -ye</i>]	[<i>afasé -ye</i>]	[<i>sejé -ye</i>]	[<i>akhepá -ye</i>]
cut -PASS	offend -PASS	cure -PASS	forget -PASS

(19) STRESSED AND GLOTTALIZED ROOTS WITH COMBINATIONS OF $-AN$ / $-EN$ CAUS, $-khu^{\emptyset}$ RCPR, AND $-ye^{\emptyset}$ PASS

a. / <i>áfase -an -ye^{\emptyset}</i> /	b. / <i>séʔje -an -ye^{\emptyset}</i> /	c. / <i>áfa -khu^{\emptyset} -ye^{\emptyset}</i> /	d. / <i>ákheʔpa -en -khu^{\emptyset} -ye^{\emptyset}</i> /
[<i>afasi -án -ñe</i>]	[<i>seji -án -ñe</i>]	[<i>afa -khú -ye</i>]	[<i>akhepa -en -khú -ye</i>]
offend -CAUS -PASS	cure -CAUS -PASS	speak -RCPR -PASS	forget -CAUS -RCPR -PASS

3.2.3 Aspectual suffixes

The voice suffixes are followed by aspectual suffixes. There are four aspectual suffixes: the preculminative $-ji$ PRCL, the paucal $-kha^{\emptyset}$ PAUC, the imperfective $-ʔje^{\emptyset}$ IPFV, and the semelfactive $-ʔñakha^{\emptyset}$ SMFC. When the

preculminative *-ji* PRCL attaches to a stressless base, default penultimate stress is assigned. (Here, *base* refers to the root plus all the suffixes that precede the suffix under discussion.) Note that a base may be stressless because there is no stress (or glottalization) in the input (20a-c) or because input stress (and glottalization) have been deleted by a preceding dominant suffix (20d-e). If the underlying stress (and glottalization) have not been previously deleted, forms with *-ji* PRCL retain them in the output (21). Thus, the preculminative *-ji* PRCL is a recessive suffix.

(20) STRESSLESS BASES WITH *-ji* PRCL

- a. / *panza* -ji / b. / *atapa* -ji / c. / *phi* -ñá -ji / d. / *káti* -ye⁰ -ji / e. / *séʔje* -ye⁰ -ji /
 [*panzá* -ji] [*atapá* -ji] [*phi* -ñá -jin] [*kati* -yé -ji] [*seje* -yé -ji]
 hunt -PRCL breed -PRCL sit -CAUS -PRCL cast -PASS -PRCL cure -PASS -PRCL

(21) STRESSED AND GLOTTALIZED BASES WITH *-ji* PRCL

- a. / *káti* -ji / b. / *áfase* -ji / c. / *séʔje* -ji / d. / *ákheʔpa* -ji / e. / *ákheʔpa* -en -ji /
 [*káti* -ji] [*áfase* -ji] [*séʔje* -ji] [*ákheʔpa* -ji] [*ákheʔpa* -en -jin]
 cast -PRCL offend -PRCL cure -PRCL forget -PRCL forget -CAUS -PRCL

The paucal *-kha*⁰ PAUC is dominant, so it deletes stress and glottalization from the base. The output surfaces with the default penultimate stress, regardless of whether the base is a stressless root (22a), a stressed root (22b), a glottalized root (22c-d), contains a recessive suffix (22e), or another dominant suffix (22f).

(22) VARIOUS BASES WITH *-kha*⁰ PAUC

- a. / *atapa* -kha⁰ / b. / *áfase* -kha⁰ / c. / *séʔje* -kha⁰ /
 [*atapá* -kha] [*afasé* -kha] [*sejé* -kha]
 breed -PAUC offend -PAUC cure -PAUC
- d. / *ákheʔpa* -kha⁰ / e. / *ákheʔpa* -en -kha⁰ / f. / *ákheʔpa* -ye⁰ -kha⁰ /
 [*akhepá* -kha] [*akhepá* -en -kha] [*akhepa* -yé -kha]
 forget -PAUC forget -CAUS -PAUC forget -PASS -PAUC

3.2.4 Associated motion suffixes

The aspectual suffixes are followed by associated motion suffixes: the proximal *-ʔngi*⁰ PROX and the distal *-ʔnga*⁰ DIST. The aspectual suffixes *-ʔje*⁰ IPFV and *-ʔñakha*⁰ SMFC and the associated motion suffixes *-ʔngi*⁰ PROX and *-ʔnga*⁰ DIST begin with glottal stops (i.e. they are preglottalized). The preglottalized suffixes trigger special stress assignment: If the base to which they attach ends with a light syllable (a monophthong), stress falls two syllables to the left of the preglottalized suffix (23-26a-b). If the base ends with a heavy syllable (a diphthong), stress falls on the syllable which immediately precedes the preglottalized suffix (23-26c). This shows that in the presence of glottalization, stress assignment is weight-sensitive. Specifically, stress falls on the syllable which contains the second mora to the left of the glottal stop.⁷

WEIGHT-SENSITIVE STRESS ASSIGNMENT WITH PREGLOTTALIZED SUFFIXES

- | | | <i>féthá</i> 'open' | <i>fúite</i> 'help' | <i>fündúi</i> 'sweep' |
|------|----------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| (23) | <i>-ʔje</i> ⁰ IPFV | a. <i>féthá-ʔje</i> | b. <i>fúite-ʔje</i> | c. <i>fündúi-ʔje</i> |
| (24) | <i>-ʔñakha</i> ⁰ SMFC | a. <i>féthá-ʔñakha</i> | b. <i>fúite-ʔñakha</i> | c. <i>fündúi-ʔñakha</i> |
| (25) | <i>-ʔngi</i> ⁰ PROX | a. <i>féthá-ʔngi</i> | b. <i>fúite-ʔngi</i> | c. <i>fündúi-ʔngi</i> |
| (26) | <i>-ʔnga</i> ⁰ DIST | a. <i>féthá-ʔnga</i> | b. <i>fúite-ʔnga</i> | c. <i>fündúi-ʔnga</i> |

7 When a preglottalized suffix attaches to a monosyllabic verb root, stress falls on the root syllable (ii).

(ii) MONOSYLLABIC ROOTS WITH PREGLOTTALIZED SUFFIXES

- a. *kúi* -ʔje⁰ drink -IPFV
 b. *túi* -ʔñakha⁰ rain -SMFC
 c. *án* -ʔngi⁰ eat -PROX
 d. *pá* -ʔnga⁰ die -DIST

In [Section 4.3.3](#), I will propose that the glottal stop is a prosodic feature, which preferentially surfaces as right-aligned with a trochaic foot ([23-26a-b](#)). The construction of a misaligned foot ([23-26c](#)) results from a ban on heavy syllables (diphthongs) in weak foot branches, explored in [Section 4.4.1](#).

The preglottalized suffixes are dominant, which means that they delete input stress and glottalization. In the output, only the glottal stop introduced by the preglottalized suffix is retained. Stress is assigned to the syllable which contains the second mora to the left of that glottal stop, regardless of whether the base is a stressless root ([27a](#)), a stressed root ([27b](#)), a glottalized root ([27c-d](#)), contains a recessive suffix ([27e](#)), or another dominant suffix ([27f](#)).

- (27) VARIOUS BASES WITH $-ʔje^{\emptyset}$ IPFV, $-ʔñakha^{\emptyset}$ SMFC, $-ʔngi^{\emptyset}$ PROX, OR $-ʔnga^{\emptyset}$ DIST
- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| a. / <i>atapa</i> -ʔje [∅] /
[<i>atápa</i> -ʔje]
breed -IPFV | b. / <i>áfase</i> -ʔñakha [∅] /
[<i>afáse</i> -ʔñakha]
offend -SMFC | c. / <i>séʔje</i> -ʔngi [∅] /
[<i>séje</i> -ʔngi]
cure -PROX |
| d. / <i>ákheʔpa</i> -ʔnga [∅] /
[<i>akhépa</i> -ʔnga]
forget -DIST | e. / <i>ákheʔpa</i> -en -ʔje [∅] /
[<i>akhépá</i> -en -ʔjen]
forget -CAUS -IPFV | f. / <i>ákheʔpa</i> -ye [∅] -ʔñakha [∅] /
[<i>akhépá</i> -ye -ʔñakha]
forget -PASS -SMFC |

The imperfective suffix $-ʔje^{\emptyset}$ IPFV may be followed by an associated motion suffix $-ʔngi^{\emptyset}$ PROX or $-ʔnga^{\emptyset}$ DIST. Notably, in this configuration, the associated motion suffix

loses its preglottalization and stress falls on the syllable which contains the second mora before the imperfective $-ʔje^{\emptyset}$ IPFV ([28](#)).

- (28) VARIOUS ROOTS WITH $-ʔje^{\emptyset}$ IPFV AND $-ʔngi^{\emptyset}$ PROX OR $-ʔnga^{\emptyset}$ DIST
- | | | | |
|---|--|---|---|
| a. / <i>atapa</i> -ʔje [∅] -ʔngi [∅] /
[<i>atápa</i> -ʔje -ngi]
breed -IPFV -PROX | b. / <i>áfase</i> -ʔje [∅] -ʔnga [∅] /
[<i>afáse</i> -ʔje -nga]
offend -IPFV -DIST | c. / <i>séʔje</i> -ʔje [∅] -ʔngi [∅] /
[<i>séje</i> -ʔje -ngi]
cure -IPFV -PROX | d. / <i>ákheʔpa</i> -ʔje [∅] -ʔnga [∅] /
[<i>akhépa</i> -ʔje -nga]
forget -IPFV -DIST |
|---|--|---|---|

In strictly cyclic theories of the phonology-morphology interface (Alderete, 1999; Inkelas and Zoll, 2007; Rolle, 2018), each affix triggers a separate phonological cycle.⁸ If the attached affix is dominant, it will exert its associated phonological process on its entire base, which consists of the root and all the earlier affixes. Thus, strictly cyclic theories predict that the last (structurally highest) affix should always override any previous phonological specification.

In the suffix combinations above ([28](#)), an earlier suffix ($-ʔje^{\emptyset}$ IPFV) takes precedence over a later one ($-ʔngi^{\emptyset}$ PROX or $-ʔnga^{\emptyset}$ DIST) with respect to stress assignment. This contradicts strictly cyclic theories of dominance. The CbP analysis advanced in [Section 4.4.1](#) proposes that aspectual and associated motion suffixes are spelled out together in AspP, naturally accommodating A'ingae's deviation from outermost stress dominance. This argument is further elaborated in [Section 5.4](#). A morphological template of the A'ingae verb listing all of the suffixes, their domain, and their dominance status is given in [Table 2](#) ([Section 4.2](#)).

3.3 Outer suffixes

The outer suffixes (and clitics) expone proposition- (TP) and clause-level (CP) categories. Proposition-level categories include subject number ($-ʔfa$ PLS), reality status ($-ya$ IRR), polarity ($-mbi$ NEG), and finiteness ($-ye$ INF). Clause-level categories include clause type (subordinate: $-ʔta$ IF.SS, $-ʔja$ IF2.SS, $-ʔni$ IF.DS, $-ʔma$ FRST, $-saʔne$ APPR; cosubordinate: $-pa$ SS, $-si$ DS; and matrix: $-ja$ IMP, $-kha^{\emptyset}$ IMP2, $-ʔse$ IMP3, $-jama^{\emptyset}$ PRHB, $-ʔya$ VER), evidentiality ($-te$ RPRT),⁹ polar questions ($-ti$ YNQ), and subject person agreement ($-ngi$ 1, $-ki$ 2, $-tsû$ 3).

⁸ In the case of fully parallel implementations, such as Alderete (1999) output-output correspondence, the phonological cycle is replaced by faithfulness to the base, with no change to the theory's predictions.

⁹ The morphemes introduced with the equals sign (=) are matrix-clausal second-position clitics (Dąbkowski, t.a.). As such, they can attach to constituents of any category. However, when encliticized to verbs, their phonological behavior is like that of regular outer suffixes. Thus, I group and discuss outer suffixes and second-position clitics together.

3.3.1 Outer recessive suffixes

If stress has not been fixed within the inner domain (either as lexical or glottal-assigned stress), and there is at least one outer recessive suffix, stress is assigned to the last syllable of the inner domain. The inner domain is delimited with square brackets [] in the underlying form. (The surface form is enclosed by another set of square brackets.) This stress might be confused for the default penultimate stress if there is only one monosyllabic outer suffix (29-30), but it is not penultimate if the outer suffix is polysyllabic (31a) or if there are multiple outer suffixes (31b-f). Crucially, unlike the stress assignment in the inner domain, this stress assignment is completely insensitive to the presence or absence of preglottalization on the outer suffix.

(29) STRESSLESS BASES WITH PLAIN OUTER SUFFIXES

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| a. / [atapa] -ja /
[atapá -ja]
breed -IMP | b. / [phi -ña] -si /
[phi -ñá -si]
sit -CAUS -DS | c. / [afe -ji] =ngi /
[afe -jí =ngi]
give -PRCL =1 |
|---|--|--|

(30) STRESSLESS BASES WITH PREGLOTTALIZED OUTER SUFFIXES

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| a. / [atapa] -ʔfa /
[atapá -ʔfa]
breed -PLS | b. / [phi -ña] -ʔse /
[phi -ñá -ʔse]
sit -CAUS -IMP3 | c. / [afe -ji] -ʔya /
[afe -jí -ʔya]
give -PRCL -VER |
|---|--|--|

(31) STRESSLESS BASES WITH PLAIN AND PREGLOTTALIZED OUTER SUFFIXES

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| a. / [atapa] -saʔne /
[atapá -saʔne]
breed -APPR | b. / [phi -ña] -ya -tsû /
[phi -ñá -ña -tsû]
sit -CAUS -IRR =3 | c. / [afe -ji] -mbi -ʔma /
[afe -jí -mbi -ʔma]
give -PRCL -NEG -FRST |
| d. / [atapa] -ʔni -te /
[atapá -ʔni -nde]
breed -IF.DS -RPRT | e. / [phi -ña] -ʔfa -ʔta /
[phi -ñá -ʔfa -ʔta]
sit -CAUS -PLS -IF.SS | f. / [afe -ji] -ʔfa -ya -mbi /
[afe -jí -ʔfa -ya -mbi]
give -PRCL -PLS -IRR -NEG |

Stress is assigned to the last syllable of the inner domain when the outer suffixes immediately follow the root (29-31a) as well as when inner suffixes intervene between the root and the outer suffixes (29-31b-c). Crucially, stress is assigned to the last syllable of the inner domain when the outer suffix is plain (i. e. non-preglottalized) (29), preglottalized (30), internally glottalized (31a), and with any combination of plain and (pre)glottalized suffixes (31b-f). To recapitulate, stress assignment in the outer domain is insensitive to glottalization.

Preexisting inner domain stress is retained. This is to say, if the verbal root has lexically specified glottalization and/or stress (32), or if stress has been assigned due to the presence of a preglottalized suffix within the inner domain (33), that stress (and glottalization) are preserved; stress is not reassigned to the last syllable of the inner domain.

(32) STRESSED ROOTS WITH OUTER SUFFIXES

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| a. / [káti] -ʔya /
[káti -ʔya]
cast -VER | b. / [séʔje -an] -mbi /
[séʔji -an -mbi]
cure -CAUS -NEG | c. / [ákheʔpa -ji] -ye /
[ákheʔpa -ji -ye]
forget -PRCL -INF |
| d. / [káti] -ya -mbi /
[káti -ya -mbi]
cast -IRR -NEG | e. / [séʔje -ji] -ʔfa -ye /
[séʔje -ji -ʔfa -ye]
cure -PRCL -PLS -INF | f. / [ákheʔpa -en] -ya -ʔya /
[ákheʔpa -en -ña -ʔña]
forget -CAUS -IRR -VER |

(33) INNER PREGLOTTALIZED SUFFIXES WITH OUTER SUFFIXES

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| a. / [atapa -ʔngi ⁰] -ʔya /
[atápa -ʔngi -ʔya]
breed -PROX -VER | b. / [séʔje -ʔñakha ⁰] -mbi /
[séje -ʔñakha -mbi]
cure -SMFC -NEG | c. / [ákheʔpa -ʔnga ⁰] -ye /
[akhépa -ʔnga -ye]
forget -DIST -INF |
| d. / [áfase -ʔje ⁰] -ya -mbi /
[afáse -ʔje -ya -mbi]
offend -IPFV -IRR -NEG | e. / [séʔje -khu ⁰ -ʔje ⁰] -ʔfa /
[sejé -khu -ʔje -ʔfa]
cast -RCPR -IPFV -PLS | f. / [ákheʔpa -en -ʔje ⁰] =tsû /
[akhepá -en -ʔjen -tsû]
forget -CAUS -IPFV =3 |

However, if stress (and glottalization) were deleted by a plain (i. e. non-preglottalized) dominant suffix within the inner domain, stress is assigned to the last syllable of the inner domain (34).

(34) INNER PLAIN DOMINANT SUFFIXES WITH OUTER SUFFIXES

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| a. / [ána -kha ⁰] -mbi /
[ana - khá -mbi]
sleep -PAUC -NEG | b. / [séʔje -khu ⁰ -ji] -ʔfa /
[seje -khu - jí -ʔfa]
cure -RCPR -PRCL -PLS | c. / [ákheʔpa -ye ⁰] -ye /
[akhepa - yé -ye]
forget -PASS -INF |
| d. / [káti -khu ⁰] -pa =ti /
[kati - khú -pa =ti]
cast -RCPR -SS =YNQ | e. / [séʔje -khu ⁰] -ʔfa -ya /
[seje - khú -ʔfa -ya]
cure -RCPR -PLS -IRR | f. / [ákheʔpa -ye ⁰ -ji] -ʔfa -saʔne /
[akhepa -ye - jí -ʔfa -saʔne]
forget -PASS -PRCL -PLS -APPR |

3.3.2 Outer dominant suffixes

Lastly, there are two dominant clause-level suffixes in the outer domain: the prohibitive -jama⁰ PRHB and the imperative 2 -kha⁰ IMP2. The outer dominant suffixes delete preexisting stress (if any) and reassign it to the syllable which immediately precedes them (35). Crucially, the stress deletion triggered by these two suffixes does not affect glottalization. Thus, despite the stress shift, glottal stops introduced by glottalized roots (36, 38), inner preglottalized suffixes (37, 39), and outer preglottalized suffixes (38-39) are retained. Observe that stress is reassigned to the syllable which immediately precedes the suffix and need not fall within the inner domain (38-39). In Section 4.5, this fact will be a key piece of phonological evidence for distinguishing TP and CP phases in the outer domain. A morphological template of the A'ingae verb listing all of the suffixes, their domain, and their dominance status is given in Table 2 (Section 4.2).

(35) STRESSLESS AND STRESSED BASES WITH -JAMA⁰ PRHB OR -KHA⁰ IMP2

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| a. / [atapa] -jama ⁰ /
[atapá -jama]
breed -PRHB | b. / [áfase] -kha ⁰ /
[afasé -kha]
offend -IMP2 | c. / [áfase -an] -jama ⁰ /
[afasi -án -jama]
offend -CAUS -PRHB |
|---|--|--|

(36) GLOTTALIZED ROOTS WITH -JAMA⁰ PRHB OR -KHA⁰ IMP2

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| a. / [séʔje] -kha ⁰ /
[seʔjé -kha]
cure -IMP2 | b. / [ákheʔpa] -jama ⁰ /
[akheʔpá -jama]
forget -PRHB | c. / [ákheʔpa -en] -kha ⁰ /
[akheʔpá -en -kha]
forget -CAUS -IMP2 |
|--|--|--|

(37) INNER PREGLOTTALIZED SUFFIXES WITH -JAMA⁰ PRHB OR -KHA⁰ IMP2

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| a. / [áfase -ʔje ⁰] -jama ⁰ /
[afase -ʔjé -jama]
offend -IPFV -PRHB | b. / [séʔje -ʔje ⁰] -kha ⁰ /
[seje -ʔjé -kha]
cure -IPFV -IMP2 | c. / [ákheʔpa -ʔje ⁰] -jama ⁰ /
[akhepa -ʔjé -jama]
forget -IPFV -PRHB |
|---|--|--|

(38) (GLOTTALIZED ROOTS AND) OUTER PREGLOTTALIZED SUFFIXES WITH -JAMA⁰ PRHB OR -KHA⁰ IMP2

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| a. / [áfase] -ʔfa -kha ⁰ /
[afase -ʔfá -kha]
offend -PLS -IMP2 | b. / [séʔje] -ʔfa -jama ⁰ /
[seʔje -ʔfá -jama]
cure -PLS -PRHB | c. / [ákheʔpa] -ʔfa -kha ⁰ /
[akheʔpa -ʔfá -kha]
forget -PLS -IMP2 |
|---|---|---|

(39) INNER AND OUTER PREGLOTTALIZED SUFFIXES WITH -JAMA⁰ PRHB OR -KHA⁰ IMP2

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| a. / [áfase -ʔje ⁰] -ʔfa -jama ⁰ /
[afase -ʔje -ʔfá -jama]
offend -IPFV -PLS -PRHB | b. / [séʔje -ʔje ⁰] -ʔfa -kha ⁰ /
[seje -ʔje -ʔfá -kha]
cure -IPFV -PLS -IMP2 | c. / [ákheʔpa -ʔje ⁰] -ʔfa -jama ⁰ /
[akhepa -ʔje -ʔfá -jama]
forget -IPFV -PLS -PRHB |
|--|---|---|

As a final comment, secondary stress in A'ingae falls on every other syllable counting from the primary stress (40a). Secondary stress is marked with the grave accent (`) and **boldface**. If there is an odd number of posttonic syllables, stress clash is avoided in favor of a disyllabic immediately posttonic lapse (40b). If primary stress is later in the word, there is alternating secondary stress to the left as well (40c).

(40) SECONDARY STRESS

- a. (*áfa*) (-*yà-mbi*) (=tì=ki) b. (*áfa-ʔ*)*fa* (-*yà-mbi*) c. (*àkhe*) (*pà-ʔje*) (-*ʔfá-ja*)*ma*
 speak -IRR-NEG =YNQ=2 speak-PLS -IRR-NEG forget -IPFV -PLS-PRHB

I assume that secondary stress is assigned at the very end of the derivation of morphologically complex verbs.¹⁰ Since secondary stress is entirely predictable and does not interact with the factors responsible for primary stress assignment, the distribution of glottal stops, or anything else discussed in this paper, it will not be transcribed in the following examples.

3.4 Central generalizations

From the data presented above emerge two central generalizations which need to be captured by any successful account of A'ingae glottalization. In the following section, I argue that the architecture of Cophonologies by Phase (Sande, Jenks, and Inkelas, 2020) rises to the task. A summary table of all the A'ingae suffixes, their morphophonological domain, and their dominance status is given in Table 2 (Section 4.2).

First, whether glottalization triggers stress assignment correlates with whether stress-deleting suffixes also delete glottalization. Within the inner domain, glottalization has an effect on stress, i. e. stress is assigned to the syllable containing the second mora to the left of the glottal stop (8-9d-f, 23-28, 41a-b), and stress-deleting suffixes introduced within the inner domain also delete glottalization (17-19, 22, 41c-d). In the outer domain, glottalization has no effect on stress (29-34, 42a-b)—and neither does stress deletion have any effect on glottalization (35-39, 42c-d).¹¹ This generalization is restated in (43).

(41) INTERACTION BETWEEN STRESS (DELETION) AND GLOTTALIZATION IN THE INNER DOMAIN

- a. / *áfase* -*ʔñakha*⁰ / b. / *fùndûi* -*ʔje*⁰ / c. / *séʔje* -*ye*⁰ / d. / *séʔje* -*kha*⁰ /
 [*afase* -*ʔñakha*] [*fùndûi* -*ʔje*] [*sejé* -*ye*] [*sejé* -*kha*]
 offend -SMFC sweep -IPFV cure -PASS cure -PAUC

(42) NO INTERACTION BETWEEN STRESS (DELETION) AND GLOTTALIZATION IN THE OUTER DOMAIN

- a. / [*atapa*] -*ja* / b. / [*atapa*] -*ʔfa* / c. / [*ákheʔpa*] -*jama*⁰ / d. / [*séʔje*] -*kha*⁰ /
 [*atapá* -*ja*] [*atapá* -*ʔfa*] [*akheʔpá* -*jama*] [*seʔjé* -*kha*]
 breed -IMP breed -PLS forget -PRHB cure -IMP2

(43) STRESS ASSIGNMENT/DELETION × GLOTTALIZATION INTERACTION

For a given morphophonological domain, glottalization introduced in that domain interacts with stress (i. e. assigns stress to the syllable which contains the second mora to the left of the glottal stop) if and only if stress deletion also causes the deletion of glottalization.

Thus, we see that glottalization depends on stress within the inner domain (it requires metrical structure and is deleted whenever metrical structure is deleted), but not in the outer domain. Since primary stress is *culminative*, i. e. there can be only one primary stress, and glottalization depends on primary stress within the inner domain, glottalization within the inner domain is also *culminative* (i. e. there can be at most one glottal stop in the inner domain) (44a-b). In the outer domain, glottalization is not *culminative* because at that stage of the derivation, it is no longer dependent on main stress (44c-d).

(44) GLOTTALIZATION CULMINATIVE IN THE INNER, BUT NOT THE OUTER DOMAIN

- a. / *ákheʔpa* -*ʔnga*⁰ / b. / *séʔje* -*ʔje*⁰ -*ʔngi*⁰ / c. / [*atapa* -*ʔngi*⁰] -*ʔya* / d. / [*séʔje*] -*ʔfa* -*jama*⁰ /
 [*akhépa* -*ʔnga*] [*séje* -*ʔje* -*ngi*] [*atápa* -*ʔngi* -*ʔya*] [*seʔje* -*ʔfá* -*jama*]
 forget -DIST cure -IPFV -PROX breed -PROX -VER cure -PLS -PRHB

¹⁰ The data is consistent with a number of analyses. Secondary stress could be assigned (i) in the last spelled-out phase (TP or CP), (ii) postlexically, or (iii) at each spell-out with a low ranking of secondary stress faithfulness resulting in cyclic secondary stress overriding. Since secondary stress is immaterial to the morphophonological facts at hand, this question will not be further pursued.

¹¹ Note that (41d) and (42d) form a minimal pair, differing only in whether a dominant suffix deletes or retains glottalization.

Second, upon controlling for preglottalization and the morphophonological domain, the variation among the phonological processes triggered by particular suffixes reduces to the parameter of dominance (i. e. whether a suffix is stress-preserving or stress-deleting). This is to say, despite the fact that the inner plain dominant suffixes, the inner preglottalized dominant suffixes, and the outer dominant suffixes all have different effects on stress and glottalization, only one property is needed to fully characterize their behavior: they delete stress. The deletion of stress may be accompanied by the deletion of glottalization and stress reassignment to the syllable which contains the second mora to the left of the suffix (if the stress-deleting suffix is inner and preglottalized), by stress reassignment to the syllable immediately preceding the suffix (if the stress-deleting suffix is outer), or by the deletion of glottalization and no stress reassignment (if the stress-deleting suffix is inner and plain, i. e. not preglottalized). However, the differences in the impact a suffix has on glottalization and stress assignment (or lack thereof) follow from independent factors (i. e. preglottalization and their morphophonological domain). This generalization is restated in (45).

(45) DOMINANCE AS THE ONLY LEXICAL PARAMETER

Upon controlling for preglottalization and the morphophonological domain, dominance is the only parameter needed to account for differences in the phonological processes triggered by particular suffixes.

If stress (and glottalization) are deleted by a plain dominant suffix introduced in the inner domain, the output form is stressless. Later, stress is assigned in accordance with a generalization independently attested in that domain, i. e. to the right edge of the inner domain if there are outer suffixes (34, 46a), or to the penultimate syllable of the word if there are no outer suffixes (17-19, 22, 46b). (In other words, stress is rightmost within the inner domain, but not final in the word.)

(46) STRESS (AND GLOTTALIZATION) DELETED BY AN INNER DOMINANT SUFFIX

- | | |
|--|--|
| a. / [ákheʔpa -ye ⁰ -ji] -ʔfa -saʔne /
[akhepa -ye -jǐ -ʔfa -saʔne]
forget -PASS -PRCL -PLS -APPR | b. / ákheʔpa -en -khu ⁰ -ye ⁰ /
[akhepa -en -khú -ye]
forget -CAUS -RCPR -PASS |
|--|--|

If stress (and glottalization) are deleted by a preglottalized dominant suffix introduced in the inner domain, stress is reassigned in accordance with a generalization independently attested in that domain, i. e. to the syllable which contains the second mora to the left of the glottal stop (in this case, of the preglottalized dominant suffix) (27-28, 47).

(47) STRESS (AND GLOTTALIZATION) DELETED BY AN INNER PREGLOTTALIZED DOMINANT SUFFIX

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| a. / séʔje -ʔngi ⁰ /
[séje -ʔngi]
cure -PROX | b. / áfase -ʔñakha ⁰ /
[afáse -ʔñakha]
offend -SMFC | c. / ákheʔpa -en -ʔje ⁰ /
[akhepá -en -ʔjen]
forget -CAUS -IPFV |
|---|--|--|

If stress is deleted by a dominant suffix introduced in the outer domain, stress is reassigned in accordance with a generalization independently attested in that domain, i. e. to the immediate left of the outer domain suffix (35-39, 48).

(48) STRESS DELETED BY AN OUTER DOMINANT SUFFIX

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| a. / [séʔje] -kha ⁰ /
[seʔjé -kha]
cure -IMP2 | b. / [ákheʔpa -ʔje ⁰] -jama ⁰ /
[akhepa -ʔjé -jama]
forget -IPFV -PRHB | c. / [áfase] -ʔfa -kha ⁰ /
[afase -ʔfá -kha]
offend -PLS -IMP2 |
|--|--|---|

Thus, the only morpheme-specific property of dominant suffixes is that they delete stress. Whether glottalization also undergoes deletion and whether and where stress is reassigned after it is deleted depends on the phonological grammar of their domain and the presence or absence of preglottalization.

Table 1 summarizes the outputs for each combination of a major root and suffix type.¹² The bracketed schemata are outputs of a given suffix’s cycle, not surface forms. As such, some of them remain stressless. Metrical feet are shown only when they are constructed due to the presence of a glottal stop.

SUFFIX \ ROOT	STRESSLESS	STRESSED	GLOTTALIZED
N / A	/σσσ/ → [σσσ]	/σ̣σσ/ → [σ̣σσ]	/(σ̣σʔ)σ/ → [(σ̣σʔ)σ]
INNER RECESSIVE	/σσσ-σ/ → [σσσσ]	/σ̣σσ-σ/ → [σ̣σσσ]	/(σ̣σʔ)σ-σ/ → [(σ̣σʔ)σσ]
INNER DOMINANT	/σσσ-σ ⁰ / → [σσσσ]	/σ̣σσ-σ ⁰ / → [σσσσ]	/(σ̣σʔ)σ-σ ⁰ / → [σσσσ]
PREʔ INNER DOM	/σσσ-ʔσ ⁰ / → [σ(σ̣σʔ)σ]	/σ̣σσ-ʔσ ⁰ / → [σ(σ̣σʔ)σ]	/(σ̣σʔ)σ-ʔσ ⁰ / → [σ(σ̣σʔ)σ]
OUTER RECESSIVE	/σσσ-σ/ → [σσσ̣σ]	/σ̣σσ-σ/ → [σ̣σσσ]	/(σ̣σʔ)σ-σ/ → [(σ̣σʔ)σσ]
PREʔ OUTER REC	/σσσ-ʔσ/ → [σσσ̣ʔσ]	/σ̣σσ-ʔσ/ → [σ̣σσʔσ]	/(σ̣σʔ)σ-ʔσ/ → [(σ̣σʔ)σʔσ]
OUTER DOMINANT	/σσσ-σ ⁰ / → [σσσ̣σ]	/σ̣σσ-σ ⁰ / → [σσσ̣σ]	/(σ̣σʔ)σ-σ ⁰ / → [σσʔ̣σ̣σ]

Table 1: Summary table of root-suffix interaction.

4 ANALYSIS

In this section, I analyze the A’ingae data in *Cophonologies by Phase* (henceforth CbP; Sande, 2017, 2019; Sande and Jenks, 2018; Sande, Jenks, and Inkelas, 2020), a generative model of the phonology-syntax interface. Section 4.1 introduces the framework. Section 4.2 lays out the morphophonological structure of the A’ingae verb. Section 4.3 presents an analysis of the *inner* cophonology, which captures the phonological grammar of the A’ingae verbal roots and recessive suffixes in the inner morphological domain. Section 4.4 presents an analysis of the *dominant* cophonology and its interactions with the *inner* cophonology, which captures the phonological operations triggered by inner dominant suffixes, including the preglottalized ones. Section 4.5 presents an analysis of the *outer* cophonology and its interactions with the *dominant* cophonology, which captures the phonological grammar of the outer suffixes, both recessive and dominant.

4.1 *Cophonologies by Phase*

Cophonologies by Phase (Sande, 2017, 2019; Sande and Jenks, 2018; Sande, Jenks, and Inkelas, 2020) is a model of the phonology-syntax interface which combines *cophonologies*, or morpheme-specific phonological grammars (Anttila, 1997, 2002, 2009; Inkelas, 1998; Inkelas, Orgun, and Zoll, 1997; Orgun, 1996), with cyclic syntactic architecture (Abels, 2012; Bošković, 2014; Chomsky, 2001).

Following Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz, 1994), *Cophonologies by Phase* assumes that *vocabulary items* are mappings between morphosyntactic features and phonological features. Furthermore, CbP proposes an enriched representation of the phonological component: In addition to segmental content and prosodic subcategorization frame, vocabulary items may specify a subranking of constraints which partially overrides the language’s default phonological grammar (Sande, Jenks, and Inkelas, 2020).¹³

Cophonologies by Phase proposes that phonological evaluation applies to phases. Thus, CbP departs from the assumptions of classic Cophonology Theory (Anttila, 1997; Inkelas, 1998; Inkelas, Orgun, and Zoll, 1997; Orgun, 1996; others), where every affix triggers a phonological cycle. The cophonologies of all the

¹² Note that Table 1 is not a complete summary of all the interactions discussed in this section. For example, it does not show schemata for monosyllabic, disyllabic, diphthong-final, or glottal alternating roots, or for forms with more than one suffix.

¹³ In a ranked-constraint grammar, there may be more than one way to resolve two partial constraint rerankings. For example, given a *master* ranking A » B » C, the rerankings B » A and C » A could yield either B » C » A or C » B » A. Moreover, constraint rankings can lead to paradoxes or unresolvable conflicts if different morphosyntactic features specify different cophonologies. For these reasons, Sande, Jenks, and Inkelas (2020) adopt a weighted constraint grammar, with morpheme-specific weight adjustments instead of rankings. Since partial ranking indeterminacy and ranking paradoxes do not affect the analysis proposed in this paper, I adopt ranked constraints for simplicity. If desired, the analysis could be straightforwardly recast with weighted constraints.

morphosyntactic features within a phase are compiled (including phase head and vocabulary item features) and added to the default phonology of the language (the *master* ranking; Anttila, 2002; Inkelas and Zoll, 2005, 2007), forming a cumulative ranking specific to that phase. Upon merging a phase head, spell-out is triggered and the phase is phonologically evaluated against that cumulative ranking. After spell-out, the phonology resets to the default (*master*) ranking. Thus, phonological rankings associated with morphosyntactic features scope at most over the phase in which they are introduced (Sande, Jenks, and Inkelas, 2020).

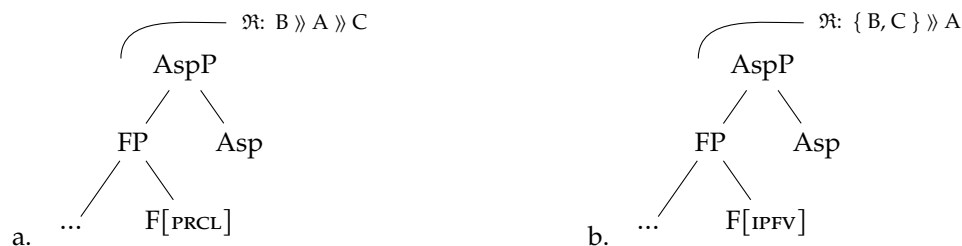
For example, the default (*master*) phonology of a toy language ranks the constraint A above B and B above C (49a). Phonological rankings are introduced with a fraktur font \mathfrak{R} . Asp, the head of the functional Aspectual Projection (AspP), ranks B above A (49b). The imperfective morphosyntactic feature IPFV ranks C above A (49c). The preculminative feature PRCL does not call for a deviation from the *master* ranking (49d).

(49) PHONOLOGICAL RANKINGS IN A TOY LANGUAGE

- a. *master* $\longleftrightarrow \{ \mathfrak{R}: A \gg B \gg C \}$
- b. Asp $\longleftrightarrow \{ \mathfrak{R}: B \gg A \}$
- c. IPFV $\longleftrightarrow \{ \mathfrak{R}: C \gg A \}$
- d. PRCL $\longleftrightarrow \{ \mathfrak{R}: n/a \}$

Following Bošković (2016), I assume that phase heads are spelled out together with their complements. In the toy language, Asp is a phase head. Thus, it triggers the spell-out and phonological evaluation of AspP (50). F stands for a generic Feature head and FP for a Feature Projection. Domains of phonological evaluation are represented with arcs.

(50) CUMULATIVE RANKINGS WITH PHASE-BASED SPELL-OUT



The constraint ranking during the phonological evaluation of a phase depends on the features present in that phase. I assume that when the default *master* ranking and a feature-specific ranking are in conflict, the latter overrides the former. Thus, in (50a), the phase head Asp reranks B above A. The preculminative feature PRCL does not alter the phonological ranking in any way. Thus, the phonological ranking at the spell-out of (50a) is $B \gg A \gg C$. In (50b), the phase head Asp ranks B above A and the imperfective feature IPFV reranks C above A. Thus, the phonological ranking at the spell-out of (50b) is $\{ B, C \} \gg A$.

4.2 The structure of a verb

Cophonologies by Phase allows for the association of different phonological rankings to phase heads as well as individual morphosyntactic features. As such, CbP naturally captures the stratal organization of A'ingae morphophonological domains, while allowing for morpheme-specific dominance effects. I propose that the phonological grammar of the inner morphophonological domain is modeled by associating lower phase heads with an *inner* cophonology. The phonological grammar of the outer morphophonological domain is modeled by associating higher phase heads with an *outer* cophonology. Finally, the deletion of stress (and glottalization) triggered by dominant suffixes is modeled by associating individual dominant suffixes with a *dominant* cophonology.

Specifically, I propose that there are four phase heads along the verbal spine which may be spelled out during the derivation. The projections of those heads do not correlate in any obvious way to prosodic categories,

such as a word or a phrase. The first two heads are the verbal categorizing head *v* and the aspectual head Asp. (Note that AspP hosts verbal deixis in addition to aspectual features.) The heads *v* and Asp are associated with the *inner* cophology. The *v*P projection (the first phase) contains only the verbal root and the causative suffix *-ña/-an/-en* CAUS, if present (for analyses of *v* as a phase head, see Chomsky, 2001; Embick, 2010). I treat the causative *-ña/-an/-en* CAUS as a verbalizing head because it is the only suffix capable of deriving verbs from nouns (and precategorial roots) (51).

(51) VERBS DERIVED WITH *-ña/-an/-en* CAUS

a. <i>tsáu?ña</i> <i>tsáu?</i> -ña house -CAUS “build a house”	b. <i>síña</i> <i>sín</i> -ña black -CAUS “blacken”	c. <i>sápián</i> <i>sápe</i> -an flat -CAUS “smash”	d. <i>tsáu?paen</i> <i>tsáu?pa</i> -en nest -CAUS “nestle”
---	--	--	---

The phonological motivation for singling out the causative *-ña* CAUS as the only suffix attaching before the spell-out of the verb root comes from glottal alternation (10-13). The alternating roots surface as (C)VV? when *-ña* CAUS (or another derivational suffix) is present (52a-b) and as (C)V.?V otherwise (52c-d). The first spell-out domain is delimited with square brackets [].

(52) GLOTTALIZED ROOT ALTERNATION BETWEEN (C)VV? AND (C)V.?V

a. [<i>kúí?</i> -ña] drink -CAUS	b. [<i>kúí?</i> -khú] drink -DLM	c. [<i>kú.ʔi</i>] -ji drink -PRCL	d. [<i>kú.ʔi</i>] drink
---------------------------------------	---------------------------------------	--	------------------------------

The AspP projection constitutes the second phase—it contains the other two voice suffixes as well as the verbal inflectional associated motion and aspectual suffixes. The treatment of the aspectual projection as a phase is non-standard. However, aspect has been proposed to be a phase head in, for example, Nez Perce (Deal and Wolf, 2017) and Muskogee (Guekguezian, 2021).¹⁴ Furthermore, there is clear evidence for AspP as a morphosyntactic constituent in the grammar of A'ingae: The suffixes within the AspP can attach only to morphological verbs (53a-b), while suffixes outside of the AspP (e. g. in TP) can also attach to nominal predicates (53c-d).

(53) ASPP SUFFIXES LICIT ON VERBS, NOT NOUNS

a. <i>panzá</i> -ji hunt -PRCL “about to hunt”	b. * <i>tsándie</i> -ji man -PRCL intended: “about to be a man”
--	--

TP SUFFIXES LICIT ON BOTH

c. <i>panzá</i> -ʔfa hunt -PLS “(they) hunted”	d. <i>tsándie</i> -ʔfa man -PLS “(they) are men”
--	--

The phonological reason for positing a boundary between the TP and CP layers comes from two CP-internal suffixes (the prohibitive *-jama*⁰ PRHB and the second imperative *-kha*⁰ IMP2) which assign stress to the last syllable of the TP phase (54). The TP phase is delimited with square brackets [].

(54) TP-FINAL STRESS ASSIGNED BY DOMINANT CP SUFFIXES

a. / [<i>áfase</i> -ʔje ⁰] -jama ⁰ / [<i>afase</i> -ʔjé -jama] offend -IPFV -PRHB	b. / [<i>séʔje</i> -ʔje ⁰ -ʔfa] -kha ⁰ / [<i>seje</i> -ʔje -ʔfá -kha] cure -IPFV -PLS -IMP2	c. / [<i>ákheʔpa</i> -ʔje ⁰ -ʔfa] -jama ⁰ / [<i>akhepa</i> -ʔje -ʔfá -jama] forget -IPFV -PLS -PRHB
---	---	---

Syntactic diagnostics for distinguishing the TP-internal morphemes from CP-internal morphemes include infinitival matrix clauses and nominalizations formed with the subordinating nominalizer *-ʔchu* SBRD. First, A'ingae matrix clauses may be either TP or CP projections (Dąbkowski, t.a.). The second-position clitics (xi-xii in Table 2) may appear in finite (55a), but not infinitival matrix clauses (55b). Assuming that finite matrix clauses may project CP, but infinitival matrix clauses lack the CP layer, this shows that A'ingae second-position clitics are licensed only in matrix CPs.

¹⁴ One may speculate that the rarity of evidence for certain projections as phase heads could in part be due to the relative paucity of phase-oriented research on morphologically complex languages.

- (55) CP CLITICS LICIT IN FINITE MATRIX CLAUSES CP CLITICS ILLICIT IN INFINITE MATRIX CLAUSES
- a. *ñá(=ngi) panzá-ya*
1SG=1 hunt-IRR
“I will hunt.” (distant/uncertain future)
- b. *ñá(*=ngi) panzá-ye*
1SG=1 hunt-INF
“I will hunt.” (proximate/certain future)
literally: “I am to hunt.”

Second, the subordinating nominalizer *-ʔchu* SBRD takes TPs as its complements. Thus, it may co-occur with TP-internal (56a-b), but not CP-internal (56c-d), morphology.

- (56) TP SUFFIXES LICIT IN *ʔCHU*-NOMINALIZATIONS CP SUFFIXES ILLICIT IN *ʔCHU*-NOMINALIZATIONS
- a. *panzá-ya -ʔchu* b. *panzá -ʔfa -ʔchu* c. **panzá -ʔta -ʔchu* d. **panzá -jama -ʔchu*
hunt -IRR -SBRD hunt -PLS -SBRD hunt -IF.SS -SBRD hunt -PRHB -SBRD

The heads T and C are associated with the *outer* cophonology. The TP projection constitutes the third phase—it contains morphology typically associated with the inflected predicate, including subject plurality, reality status, polarity, and finiteness. The treatment of T as a phase head is non-standard. However, it has been argued for—again—in, e. g., Nez Perce (Deal, 2016). Moreover, A'ingae shows obligatory WH-movement. The WH-containing constituent must appear in the position which immediately precedes the second-position clitic (Dąbkowski, 2022). If embedded in a nonfinite TP, the WH-word may be extracted (57a) but it may also pied-pipe the entire TP (57b). Second-position clitics are circled (○). Thus, assuming that only phases can undergo pied-piping (Abels, 2012, p. 73), A'ingae TPs are demonstrably phasal.

- (57) OPTIONAL PIED-PIPING OF TP (Dąbkowski, 2022, p. 5)
- a. *junguésû=ma (z̄ki) ñá ké=nga afé-ye inʔjan?* b. *junguésû=ma ñá ké=nga afé-ye (z̄ki) inʔjan?*
what=ACC =2 1SG 2SG-DAT give-INF want what=ACC 1SG 2SG-DAT give-INF =2 want
“What do you want me to give you?” “What do you want me to give you?”

Finally, The CP projection (the last phase) contains morphology typically associated with full clauses, including clause type, evidentiality, interrogative force, mood, etc.

Across the four phases (*vP*, AspP, TP, CP), certain suffixes are stress-deleting—these are associated with the *dominant* cophonology. Although there are no dominant suffixes in *vP* and TP, there is no predictor for which of the AspP and CP suffixes are dominant. The mappings between phase heads and morphosyntactic features on one hand, and cophonologies on the other, are summarized in (58).¹⁵ The complete morphological template of the A'ingae verb is given in Table 2. The verbal root is at the bottom; the closer a suffix is to the root, the lower it is in the template, mimicking the orientation of a syntactic tree.

- (58) FEATURE-COPHONOLOGY MAPPINGS IN A'INGAE
- a. *v*, Asp \longleftrightarrow { *ʔ*: *inner* }
- b. T, C \longleftrightarrow { *ʔ*: *outer* }
- c. RCPR, IPFV, PRHB, ... \longleftrightarrow { *ʔ*: *dominant* }

I assume that AspP and CP layers do not undergo spell-out if they do not introduce any new phonologically overt suffixes. (For arguments in favor of not spelling out phonologically empty heads, see Creemers, Don, and Fenger, 2018.) The TP layer does not undergo spell-out if it does not introduce any new phonologically

¹⁵ While the T and C heads associated with the *outer* cophonology are higher than the *v* and Asp heads associated with the *inner* cophonology, CbP's architecture does not prevent there from being a language with *inner* and *outer* cophonologies in alternate phases (e. g. *inner, outer, inner, outer*). Moreover, CbP's formalism does not restrict the number of phonologies that may exist in one language. For an argument again imposing such restrictions as part of a phonological formalism, see Inkelas and Zoll (2007).

(CP \leftrightarrow { \mathfrak{R} : outer })	
(xii)	SUBJECT PERSON: $=ngi$ 1, $=ki$ 2, $=ts\hat{u}$ 3
(xi)	SENTENCE-LEVEL: $=te$ RPRT, $=ti$ YNQ
(x)	CLAUSE TYPE
	SUBORDINATE: $-?ta$ IF.SS, $-?ja$ IF2.SS, $-?ni$ IF.DS, $-?ma$ FRST,
	$-sa?ne$ APPR
	COSUBORDINATE: $-pa$ SS, $-si$ DS
	MATRIX: $-ja$ IMP, $(-kha^{\emptyset})$ IMP2, $-?se$ IMP3, $(-jama^{\emptyset})$ PRHB, $-?ya$ VER
(TP \leftrightarrow { \mathfrak{R} : outer })	
(ix)	FINITENESS: $-ye$ INF
(viii)	POLARITY: $-mbi$ NEG
(vii)	REALITY: $-ya$ IRR
(vi)	SUBJECT NUMBER: $-?fa$ PLS
(AspP \leftrightarrow { \mathfrak{R} : inner })	
(v)	ASSOCIATED MOTION: $(-?ngi^{\emptyset})$ PROX, $(-?nga^{\emptyset})$ DIST
(iv)	ASPECT: $(-?je^{\emptyset})$ IPFV, $-ji$ PRCL, $(-kha^{\emptyset})$ PAUC, $(-?ñakha^{\emptyset})$ SMFC
(iii)	PASSIVE: $(-ye^{\emptyset})$ PASS
(ii)	RECIPROCAL: $(-khu^{\emptyset})$ RCPR
$vP \leftrightarrow$ { \mathfrak{R} : inner }	
(i)	CAUSATIVE: $-ñā/-an/-en$ CAUS
(o)	VERBAL ROOT: \checkmark

LEGEND

$\emptyset \leftrightarrow$ { \mathfrak{R} : dominant }

$(\text{plain inner dominant})$

$(\text{preglottalized inner dominant})$

(outer dominant)

Table 2: Morphophonological template of the A'ingae verb (building on Dąbkowski, 2021b).

overt suffixes, unless it is the last phasal projection (i. e. unless the CP layer is absent).¹⁶ In Table 2, this is represented by parenthesizing the AspP, TP, and CP phases. Thus, at maximum, one verb may undergo up to four phonological evaluations. This happens when each of the four phases introduces new segmental material (59). At a minimum, each verb undergoes two phonological evaluations.¹⁷ This happens even if the verb consists only of a bare root (60). In (60a), stress is assigned to the syllable which contains the second mora to the left of the glottal stop at vP spell-out. The stress assigned in vP is preserved at TP spell-out. In (60b), the output of vP spell-out is stressless. Penultimate stress is assigned at the spell-out of TP.

(59) AT MOST FOUR PHONOLOGICAL EVALUATIONS PER VERB

[[[[*indi* *-án*] _{vP} *-khu* *-?je* *-ngi*]_{AspP} *-?fa* *-ya*]_{TP} *-?ni* *-nde*]_{CP}

be fermented -CAUS -RCPR -IPFV -PROX -PLS -IRR -IF.DS =RPRT

“allegedly_{RPRT} if_{IF} (they_{PLS}) will_{IRR} come_{PROX} to be_{IPFV} fermenting_{CAUS} among themselves_{RCPR} (someone else_{DS}) ...”

¹⁶ The last provision can be seen as a kind of final spell-out which applies to all phonological material not spelled out in previous phases. A final spell-out of this sort must be implicitly assumed by all phase-based phonological frameworks. For example, it is universally assumed that specifiers are outside the domain of spell-out triggered by the head of their phrase. As a consequence, Spec,CP is never spelled out with C. Yet, Spec,CP is phonologically integrated with the rest of the full clause. Therefore, it follows that there must be some final phonological evaluation of all the material which had not undergone spell-out in any previous phase.

¹⁷ This is parallel to the assumption of Stratal OT that words must pass through all lexical strata before arriving at the surface form, regardless of whether affixation occurs at each stratum.

(60) AT LEAST TWO PHONOLOGICAL EVALUATIONS PER VERB

a. [[*ákheʔpa*]_{vP}]_{TP}
 forget
 “forgot”

b. [[*atápa*]_{vP}]_{TP}
 breed
 “bred”

I assume that morphologically complex verbs are created via head movement and that syntax and phonology proceed cyclically. This is to say, the verbal head of each phase undergoes phonological evaluation before further movement up the verbal spine. This marks a departure from the assumptions of Sande, Jenks, and Inkelas (2020), where head movement precedes phonological evaluation. (If Sande, Jenks, and Inkelas’s assumptions were adopted, only one spell-out per a morphologically complex verb would be possible.)

4.3 The inner cophonology

In this section, I analyze the *inner* cophonology, which captures the phonological grammar of the A’ingae verbal roots and recessive suffixes in the inner morphological domain. The *inner* cophonology is active at the spell-out of *vP*, which contains the root and the causative suffix, as well as *AspP*, which contains other voice, aspectual, and associated motion morphology.

4.3.1 Stressless roots

Recall from Section 3.1 that A’ingae verb roots can be divided into three broad classes: stressless, stressed, and glottalized. First, I will consider the stressless roots. Stressless roots do not have underlying stress or glottalization. I propose that stress is not assigned to stressless roots within the inner morphophonological domain (63). Thus, stressless roots remain stressless even after spell-out. This is modeled with *DEPENDENCE(FOOT)* (61), which prevents the construction of new metrical structure. *DEPENDENCE(FOOT)* outranks all constraints favoring candidates which innovate stress, including *PARSESYLLABLES* (62).

(61) *DEPENDENCE(FOOT)*, or: *DEP_f*
 For every metrical foot in the output, there is a corresponding metrical foot in the input.

(62) *PARSESYLLABLES*, or: *PR_Sσ*
 Assign a violation mark for each unfooted syllable in the output.

Metrical feet are delimited with parentheses (). In the tableaux, the first row states which phase is being spelled out and lists the cophonologies present during its phonological evaluation. Roots are first subject to spell-out in the *vP* phase associated with the *inner* cophonology, hence *vP: inner*. Finally, I assume that A’ingae footing is trochaic. Hence, the tableaux do not explicitly consider candidates with iambic feet. This assumption will be vindicated in Section 4.3.3, where I lay out the analysis of stress in glottalized roots.

<i>vP: inner</i>				<i>vP: inner</i>			
(63)	a.	<i>afe</i>	<i>DEP_f</i> » <i>PR_Sσ</i>	b.	<i>atapa</i>	<i>DEP_f</i> » <i>PR_Sσ</i>	
	☞ i.	<i>afe</i>	**	☞ i.	<i>atapa</i>	***	
	ii.	(<i>áfe</i>)	*!	ii.	(<i>áta</i>) <i>pa</i>	*!	*
	give			breed			

Observe that the outputs of (63) differ from the surface forms given in Section 3, which showed that stressless bases have stress assigned to the right edge of the inner domain if there are outer suffixes, or to the penultimate syllable of the word if there are no outer suffixes. I propose that this stress assignment takes place in the inner domain, targeting the stressless outputs of the inner domain.

4.3.2 Stressed roots

Now I will consider the stressed roots. I propose that the underlying form of stressed roots contains metrical structure. (For other accounts which postulate underlying metrical structure, see Alderete, 1999; Caballero, 2011; Rolle, t.a.). Faithfulness to input metrical structure is modeled with MAXIMALITY(FOOT) (64).

- (64) MAXIMALITY(FOOT), or: MAXf
For every metrical foot in the input, there is a corresponding metrical foot in the output.

MAXIMALITY(FOOT) ensures that underlying metrical structure is retained in the output (65). MAXIMALITY(FOOT) outranks all constraints which favor candidates deviating from input stress (e.g. PHASEANTIMAXIMALITY(FOOT{})) (82) to be introduced in Section 4.4). In the tableaux below, these constraints are shown schematically with ellipsis (...).

<i>vP: inner</i>				<i>vP: inner</i>			
(65)	a.	(káti)	MAXf » ...	b.	(áfá)se	MAXf » ...	
	i.	kati	*!	i.	afase	*!	
	ii.	(káti)	*	ii.	(áfá)se	*	
	iii.	ka(tí)	*!	iii.	a(fáse)	*!	
	cast			offend			

4.3.3 Glottalized roots

Finally, I consider the glottalized roots. In glottalized roots, the position of glottalization is predictable; it surfaces in the rime of the penultimate syllable. Moreover, all glottalized roots have word-initial stress.

Within the A'ingae inner domain, (i) glottalization is always foot-internal, (ii) there is never more than one glottal stop per foot, and (iii) the positioning of the glottal stop within the foot is fully predictable. To model the A'ingae glottal patterns, I propose that within the inner morphological domain, the glottal stop ʔ is an optional feature of the metrical foot (66). As such, it exists on the metrical tier and requires a metrical foot to surface. For similar analyses of glottalization as a prosodic feature, see Bradley (1970), Firth (1948), Penner (2019), and Pike and Small (1974).

- (66) GLOTTAL STOP AS A FEATURE OF THE METRICAL FOOT IN THE INNER DOMAIN
- | | | |
|----------------|------------------|----------------|
| a. (× . ʔ) . | b. . (× . ʔ) . | c. . (× ʔ .) |
| á khe pa | a tá pa je | fû ndúí ngi |
| forget | breed IPFV | sweep PROX |

The constraint which captures this relationship between metrical structure and glottalization is Foot{ʔ} (67). Since the glottal stop is a feature of metrical foot, it needs to a metrical foot to surface, but its exact position with the foot is determined through a ranking of different constraints.

- (67) FOOT{ʔ}, or: f{ʔ}
The glottal stop is an optional feature of the metrical foot. Assign a violation mark for every stray glottal stop outside of a metrical foot.

Assuming that stress is an obligatory correlate of metrical structure in A'ingae, then if glottalization is a feature of metrical structure, it will always coocur with stress. Thus, Foot{ʔ} captures the fact that all glottalized roots are stressed. Since stress and the position of glottalization are fully predictable in roots, I propose that

neither need be underlyingly specified. As such, the underlying forms of glottalized roots will be represented simply as /root,ʔ/. (For a similar treatment of glottalization in Mixtec, see Macaulay and Salmons, 1995).

The position of glottalization and stress in glottalized roots is derived through the interaction of several constraints: MAXIMALITY(?) (68) ranks above DEPENDENCE(FOOT), which ensures that in order to comply with FOOT{?}, supplying feet in the output is preferred to deleting the glottal stop. ALIGN(?-R, FOOT-R) (69) favors the right-alignment of metrical feet with glottal stops. However, ALIGN(?-R, FOOT-R) is outranked by NONFINALITY(?) (70), which ensures that glottal stops never appear word-finally.

- (68) MAXIMALITY(?), or: MAX?
For every glottal stop in the input, there is a corresponding glottal stop in the output.
- (69) ALIGN(?-R, FOOT-R), or: AL?
Every glottal stop is right-aligned with a metrical foot.
- (70) NONFINALITY(?), or: NF?
A glottal stop is not final in a prosodic word.

This ranking correctly derives the position of stress and glottalization in disyllabic (71) and trisyllabic (72) glottalized roots. When glottalization is a metrical feature, this is represented with an underbrace which spans the foot and encloses the glottal stop. Thus, when glottalization is an optional feature of a metrical foot, the underbrace spans the entire foot which contains glottalization.

<i>vP: inner</i>						
(71)	<i>seje,ʔ</i>	f{ʔ},	MAX?	NF? »	DEP _f ,	AL?
i.	<i>seje</i>		*!			
ii.	<i>seje,ʔ</i>	*!				*
iii.	(<u>séʔje</u>)				*	*
iv.	(<u>séjeʔ</u>)			*!	*	
cure						

<i>vP: inner</i>						
(72)	<i>akhepa,ʔ</i>	f{ʔ},	MAX?	NF? »	DEP _f ,	AL?
i.	<i>akhepa</i>		*!			
ii.	<i>akhepa,ʔ</i>	*!				*
iii.	(<u>áʔkhe</u>)pa				*	*!
iv.	(<u>ákheʔ</u>)pa				*	
v.	a(<u>khéʔpa</u>)				*	*!
vi.	a(<u>khépaʔ</u>)			*!	*	
forget						

4.3.4 Alternating glottalized roots

The position of glottalization in the glottalized roots which alternate between the monosyllabic (C)VV? and the disyllabic (C)V.ʔV is a matter of cyclic phonological evaluation: If a suffix is present within the *vP* cycle, the root is realized as (C)VV?, and as (C)V.ʔV otherwise. These are the phonological patterns that motivate the division between *vP* and *AspP* within the inner domain.

When an alternating root is uninflected, it undergoes phonological evaluation by itself. The output is a disyllabic (C)V.ʔV, which avoids violating the high-ranking NONFINALITY(ʔ) (73).¹⁸ The following tableaux are abbreviated, showing only the constraints and candidates relevant to the discussion at hand.

<i>vP: inner</i>				
(73)	<i>kûi,ʔ</i>	f{ʔ},	NFʔ »	ALʔ
i.	<i>kûi,ʔ</i>	*!		*
ii.	(<i>kûiʔ</i>)		*!	
iii.	(<i>kû.ʔi</i>)			*
iv.	(<i>kû.iʔ</i>)		*!	
drink				

The root and the causative *-ña/-an/-en* CAUS are spelled out within the same cycle. This is to say, the root does not undergo phonological evaluation before the attachment of *-ña/-an/-en* CAUS. As such, the glottal stop in the input has not been linearized. PARSESYLLABLES outranks ALIGN(ʔ-R, FOOT-R), favoring candidates with fewer unparsed syllables. With the attachment of *-ña/-an/-en* CAUS, the root now precedes a CV sequence, so there is no risk of violating NONFINALITY(ʔ). Thus, the form of the root in the output, where the glottal stop is linearized, is the monosyllabic (C)VVʔ (74).

<i>vP: inner</i>				
(74)	<i>kûi,ʔ-ña</i>	f{ʔ},	NFʔ, PRSσ »	ALʔ
i.	<i>kûi.ña,ʔ</i>	*!	*!*	
ii.	(<i>kû.ʔi</i>)ña		*!	*
iii.	(<i>kû.iʔ</i>)ña		*!	
iv.	(<i>kûiʔ.ña</i>)			*
v.	(<i>kûi.ñaʔ</i>)		*!	
drink-CAUS				

Other morphemes attach after the root's phonological evaluation at *vP* spell-out. Thus, their base contains glottalization which has previously been linearized. Previously spelled-out material in the input is represented with square brackets []. LINEARITY(ʔ) (75) outranks PARSESYLLABLES, preventing glottal metathesis.¹⁹ Thus, alternating roots suffixed with *vP*-external morphology surface as disyllabic (C)V.ʔV (76). The derivations of (74) and (76) are represented as trees in (77a) and (77b), respectively.²⁰

(75) LINEARITY(ʔ), or: LINʔ

For every precedence relationship of a glottal stop in the input, the same precedence relationship persists in the output.

¹⁸ This analysis builds on Repetti-Ludlow et al.'s (2019), who propose that glottalization is underlyingly word-final and undergoes metathesis to avoid non-finality, e. g. /tsauʔ/ → [tsaʔu] 'house.'

¹⁹ I assume that non-linearized glottal stops do not have precedence relationships. Thus, the winning candidate in (74) does not incur any violations of LINEARITY(ʔ).

²⁰ An explicit analysis of deverbal derivatives (12) is outside the scope of this paper. I assume that they pattern with the causative *-ña* CAUS (13) because they are formed with low-attaching categorizing heads (*n, adv*), structurally analogous to *v*.

AspP: <i>inner</i>					
(76)	$[(kú.ʔi)]-ji$	$f\{ʔ\}$	$LINʔ \gg$	$PRSO \gg$	$ALʔ$
i.	$kúi.ji,ʔ$	*!	*	**	*
☞ ii.	$(kú.ʔi)ji$			*	*
iii.	$(kú.iʔ)ji$		*!	*	
iv.	$(kúiʔ.ji)$		*!		*

drink-PRCL

(77) GLOTTAL ALTERNATION IN ROOTS AS SPELL-OUT CYCLICITY



4.3.5 Inner recessive suffixes

Recessive suffixes introduced in the inner morphological domain are subject to the same phonological grammar as roots, including a high ranking of MAXIMALITY(FOOT), MAXIMALITY(?) \gg DEPENDENCE(FOOT). As such, when a stressless root is spelled out with a recessive suffix, the output is stressless (78-79a). When a stressed (or glottalized) root is spelled out with a recessive suffix, the output is stressed (and glottalized) (78-79b). This generalization holds true of suffixes introduced in *vP* (78) as well as AspP (79).

<i>vP: inner</i>			
(78) a.	$afe-an$	$MAXf, MAXʔ \gg$	DEP_f
☞ i.	$afian$		
ii.	$(áfian)$		*!

give-CAUS

<i>vP: inner</i>			
b.	$seje,ʔ-an$	$MAXf, MAXʔ \gg$	DEP_f
i.	$sejian$	*!	
☞ ii.	$(séʔjian)$		*

cure-CAUS

AspP: <i>inner</i>			
(79) a.	$[atapa]-ji$	$MAXf, MAXʔ \gg$	DEP_f
☞ i.	$atapaji$		
ii.	$(áta)paji$		*!

breed^(63b)-PRCL

AspP: <i>inner</i>			
b.	$[(áfa)se]-ji$	$MAXf, MAXʔ \gg$	DEP_f
i.	$afaseji$	*!	
☞ ii.	$(áfa)seji$		*

offend^(65b)-PRCL

The constraint ranking seen in this section has been labeled *inner*. More precisely, it is a compilation of two rankings: *master* and *inner*. Unless there is positive evidence that the activity of a constraint is morphologically-restricted, I assume that it is part of the overarching (*master*) phonology of the language. Thus, the faithfulness constraints (MAXIMALITY, DEPENDENCE, LINEARITY) as well as the markedness constraints NONFINALITY(?) and

PARSESYLLABLES belong in the *master* ranking.²¹ The metrical glottalization constraint FOOT{?} and the alignment constraint ALIGN(?-R, FOOT-R) are active only in the inner morphophonological domain. As such, they belong in the *inner* cophonology. The phonological rankings motivated so far are given in (80).

- (80) PHONOLOGICAL RANKINGS IN A'INGAE, FIRST ITERATION
- a. *master*: { MAXf, MAX?, LIN? } » DEFf » PRSσ, NF?
 - b. *inner*: f{?}, { NF?, PRSσ } » AL?

The compilation of the *master* ranking and the *inner* ranking is given in (81). Ranking compilations are represented with the join symbol (\oplus), as in Sande, Jenks, and Inkelas (2020). Since the *master* ranking is a component of every phonological ranking in the language, *master* \oplus *inner* is abbreviated as *inner* in the preceding tableaux. In the tableaux to follow, “*master* \oplus ” will also be omitted from the ranking label.

- (81) MASTER RANKING COMPILED WITH INNER RANKING
- master* \oplus *inner*: f{?}, { MAXf, MAX?, LIN? } » DEFf » { NF?, PRSσ } » AL?

4.4 The dominant cophonology

In this section, I analyze the *dominant* cophonology, which captures the phonological grammar of the A'ingae dominant suffixes, including preglottalized dominant suffixes. Here, I focus on the dominant suffixes introduced in the inner morphological domain, i. e. on the interaction of the *inner* and *dominant* cophonologies. The analysis of the outer dominant suffixes is postponed until Section 4.5.

Dominant suffixes delete stress and—if introduced in the inner morphophonological domain—also glottalization. I model dominance with an ANTI FAITHFULNESS constraint (Alderete, 1999, 2001). ANTI FAITHFULNESS constraints require that the input and the output differ along a certain dimension. For A'ingae dominant suffixes, this dimension is the metrical structure, as modeled with PHASE ANTI MAXIMALITY(FOOT{ }) (82), which ranks in the *dominant* cophonology above MAXIMALITY(FOOT), MAXIMALITY(?), and LINEARITY(?).

- (82) PHASE ANTI MAXIMALITY(FOOT{ }), or: \neg MAX[f{ }]
- For no metrical foot or its feature in the previously spelled-out phase, is there a corresponding metrical foot or a corresponding metrical feature in the output. I. e., assign a violation for each metrical foot and each glottal stop in the previously spelled-out phase that is also present (and also a feature of the metrical foot) in the output.*

The basic function of PHASE ANTI MAXIMALITY(FOOT{ }) is to delete metrical structure. To this extent, its mechanics are similar to those of the ANTI FAITHFULNESS constraints proposed by Alderete (1999, 2001). However, PHASE ANTI MAXIMALITY(FOOT{ }) differs from Alderete's ANTI FAITHFULNESS in three ways.

First, I assume that the deletion of a metrical foot entails the deletion of all of the features of that foot.²² This assumption is uncontroversial insofar as this is the default outcome of segmental deletion as well. Correspondingly, PHASE ANTI MAXIMALITY(FOOT{ }) is formulated as requiring the deletion of all metrical structure features. Thus, metrical glottalization in the inner domain gets deleted by dominant suffixes along with stress. The use of curly brackets ({ }) in the name of the constraint highlights the fact that the deletion of metrical structure also targets all the features dependent on it (i. e. glottalization).

Second, PHASE ANTI MAXIMALITY(FOOT{ }) is sensitive only to the metrical structure (and glottalization) in the previously spelled-out phase. Thus, the glottalization of preglottalized dominant suffixes is exempt

²¹ Technically, all constraints are part of every cophonology. What differs among the cophonologies is the relative ranking of those constraints. Thus, the listing of various partial rankings should be understood as a convenient notation adopted for ease of exposition: When a constraint shows no activity, I do not explicitly represent it in a ranking. Formally, the constraint can still be thought of as present but ranked too low to influence the output.

²² Firth (1948) reasons similarly about the Danish stød: “The Danish glottal stop [...] occurs [...] only in stressed syllables. If the word in question loses its stress for rhythmical or other reasons, it also loses the glottal stop. It is therefore best considered prosodically as a feature of syllabic structure and word formation” (p. 144).

from $\text{PHASEANTI MAXIMALITY}(\text{FOOT}\{\})$ in the phase in which those suffixes are introduced. The role of the *previous phase* in CbP is analogous with the *base of affixation* in frameworks which rely on output-output correspondence (e. g. Alderete, 1999) and accomplishes much of the same work.

Third, $\text{PHASEANTI MAXIMALITY}(\text{FOOT}\{\})$ involves universal, not existential, quantification. Thus, when both stress and glottalization are present in the previously spelled-out phase, it does not suffice to delete either to avoid a violation of $\text{PHASEANTI MAXIMALITY}(\text{FOOT}\{\})$. Rather, both stress and glottalization must be deleted.

In short, $\text{PHASEANTI MAXIMALITY}(\text{FOOT}\{\})$ requires erasing metrical structure and all the features that depend on it, i. e. glottal stops within the inner domain. Since $\text{PHASEANTI MAXIMALITY}(\text{FOOT}\{\})$ involves universal quantification, it incurs one violation if the output is faithful to the metrical foot or glottalization, and two violations if the output is faithful to both.

Parenthetically, note that the statement of the $\text{PHASEANTI MAXIMALITY}(\text{FOOT}\{\})$ constraint presupposes that the (edges of the) spelled-out phase can be identified in the following cycle.²³ As referred to in the constraint's definition, *phase* is not a syntactic object, but a phonological diacritic that identifies the previously phonologized part of the string. Importantly, the identity of particular morphemes or even general morphological categories such as a *root* or *suffix* are not accessed by phonology. As such, the grammatical modularity (Scheer, 2012) assumed in CbP is not violated. Since only the boundaries of the immediately preceding phase are accessible (the internal structure of that phase is not), this naturally implements *bracket erasure* assumed by Kiparsky (1982). For similar mechanisms in classic Cophonology Theory, where only the identity of the morphological base is known, but its morphological composition is not, see Caballero (2011) and Orgun and Inkelas (2002). For arguments in favor of PHASEFAITHFULNESS , the positive counterpart of $\text{PHASEANTI FAITHFULNESS}$, see McPherson and Heath (2016).

4.4.1 Inner dominant suffixes

Dominant suffixes are associated with the *dominant* cophonology. Although all *vP* and *TP* suffixes are recessive, there is no predictor for which of the *AspP* and *CP* suffixes are dominant. When introduced in the inner morphophonological domain (i. e. in *AspP*), the phonological grammar at their spell-out combines the *inner* cophonology and the *dominant cophonology*. The output of the phonological evaluation is therefore determined by both.

When a dominant suffix attaches to a stressless base, stress deletion is vacuous. When a dominant suffix attaches to a stressed base, input stress is deleted (83). The output form depends on the properties of the *dominant* and *inner* cophonologies. The fact the stress is deleted is due to the *dominant* cophonology. The fact that no new stress is assigned is due to the *inner* cophonology. (In a later outer-domain cycle, stress is assigned to the right edge of the inner domain if there are outer suffixes, or to the penultimate syllable of the word if there are no outer suffixes.)

		AspP: <i>inner</i> \oplus <i>dominant</i>		
(83)	$[(\acute{a}fa)se]-ye$	$\neg \text{MAX}[f\{\}] \gg$	$\text{MAX}f,$	$\text{DEP}f$
i. <i>afaseye</i>			*	
ii. <i>(\acute{a}fa)seye</i>		*!		
iii. <i>afa(séye)</i>			*	*!
offend ^(65b) -PASS				

²³ Other constraints in the analysis which access this information include $\text{MAXIMALITY}(\text{I}?)$ (discussed shortly) and $\text{ALIGN}(\text{STRESS-R}, \text{PHASE-R})$ (discussed in Section 4.5).

Within the inner morphophonological domain, glottalization is a feature of the metrical foot. Thus, it is targeted for deletion by $\text{PHASEANTI-MAXIMALITY}(\text{FOOT}\{\})$ along with stress. As before, the output is stressless due to $\text{DEPENDENCE}(\text{FOOT})$ in the *inner* cophonology (84).

AspP: <i>inner</i> \oplus <i>dominant</i>						
(84)	$[(\acute{a}khe?)pa]-khu$	$f\{?\}$,	$\neg\text{MAX}[f\{\}] \gg$	$\text{MAX}f$,	$\text{MAX?} \gg$	$\text{DEP}f$
i.	<i>akhepakhu</i>			*	*	
ii.	<i>akhe?pakhu</i>	*!	*	*		
iii.	<i>(\acute{a}khe)pakhu</i>		*!		*	
iv.	<i>(\acute{a}khe?)pakhu</i>		*!*			
v.	<i>akhe(pákhū)</i>			*	*	*!
forget ⁽⁷²⁾ -RCPR						

In the inner domain, the glottal stop is a feature of the metrical foot. Thus, when a preglottalized suffix is attached, a metrical foot is constructed in order to avoid a stray glottal feature. If the last syllable of the base to which a preglottalized dominant suffix attaches is light (monophthongal), $\text{ALIGN}(?R, \text{FOOT}R)$ yields stress two syllables to the left of the preglottalized suffix (85).

AspP: <i>inner</i> \oplus <i>dominant</i>						
(85)	$[atapa]-?je$	$f\{?\}$,	$\neg\text{MAX}[f\{\}] \gg$	$\text{MAX}f$,	$\text{MAX?} \gg$	$\text{DEP}f$, AL?
i.	<i>atapaje</i>			*!		
ii.	<i>atapa?je</i>	*!				*
iii.	<i>a(tápa?)je</i>					*
iv.	<i>ata(pá?je)</i>					*!
breed ^(63b) -IPFV						

If the last syllable of the base to which a preglottalized dominant suffix attaches is heavy (diphthongal), the higher-ranking $\text{FOOTSHAPE} = (\times\mu)$ (86) yields stress on the last syllable of the base (87). I assume that $\text{FOOTSHAPE} = (\times\mu)$ is not limited to a morphological context, and therefore belongs in the *master* ranking.^{24, 25}

(86) $\text{FOOTSHAPE} = (\times\mu)$, or: $(\times\mu)$

The left branch of a foot is strong (i. e. feet are trochaic) and the right branch is a single mora (i. e. light; not a diphthong).

²⁴ $\text{FOOTSHAPE} = (\times\mu)$ subsumes three more atomic constraints: FOOTBINARITY (FTBIN), $\text{RHYTHMICTYPE} = \text{TROCHAIC}$ (TROCHEE), and $\text{WEIGHT} \rightarrow \text{STRESSPRINCIPLE}$ (WSP). FOOTBINARITY ensures that feet comprise two units, be they syllabic or moraic (McCarthy and Prince, 1986; Prince, 1980; Prince and Smolensky, 1993). $\text{RHYTHMICTYPE} = \text{TROCHAIC}$ favors the left-prominent trochee over the right-prominent iamb (Hayes, 1985, 1995). WSP assigns violations for heavy syllables in unstressed positions (Prince, 1990).

FTBIN eliminates all feet other than the mora-level binary $(-)$, and the syllable-level binary $(\sim\sim)$, $(\sim-)$, $(- \sim)$, and $(--)$. TROCHEE ensures left-prominence of feet and WSP eliminates those whose right branches are heavy. This leaves us with a set of three shapes: $(-)$, $(\sim\sim)$, and $(- \sim)$, which define the language's proper foot. Since the relative ranking of FTBIN , TROCHEE , and WSP is not crucial to the analysis, I subsume the three constraints under $\text{FOOTSHAPE} = (\times\mu)$, which is violated whenever one of FTBIN , TROCHEE , or WSP is.

²⁵ For the sake of concreteness, I assume that a glottalized heavy syllable is parsed as a head of a syllabic heavy-light trochee, i. e. $f\acute{u}(\acute{n}\acute{d}\acute{u}\acute{i}\acute{?})je$ 'sweep-IPFV'. Alternatively, the heavy syllable could be parsed as a moraic trochee, i. e. $f\acute{u}(\acute{n}\acute{d}\acute{u}\acute{i}\acute{?})je$. Both analyses are consistent with the primary stress data. If more than one syllable follows the stressed syllable, there is no secondary stress on the immediately posttonic syllable. This suggests that either (i) the posttonic syllable is indeed footed with the stressed syllable, i. e. $f\acute{u}(\acute{n}\acute{d}\acute{u}\acute{i}\acute{?})je$ 'sweep-IPFV-IRR,' or (ii) the non-head foot is deleted to avoid a clash, i. e. $f\acute{u}(\acute{n}\acute{d}\acute{u}\acute{i}\acute{?})(j\acute{e}ya) \rightarrow f\acute{u}(\acute{n}\acute{d}\acute{u}\acute{i}\acute{?})j\acute{e}ya$.

AspP: <i>inner</i> \oplus <i>dominant</i>					
(87)	$[f\acute{u}nd\acute{u}i]-?je$	$f\{?\}, \neg MAX[f\{\}] \gg$	$MAX?, (\times\mu) \gg$	$DEP_f, AL?$	
i.	$f\acute{u}nd\acute{u}ije$		*!		
ii.	$f\acute{u}nd\acute{u}i?je$	*!			*
iii.	$(f\acute{u}nd\acute{u}i?)je$		*!	*	
iv.	$f\acute{u}(nd\acute{u}i?)je$			*	*
sweep-IPFV					

All preglottalized suffixes introduced in the inner domain are dominant.²⁶ Thus, they delete stress and glottalization from the base to which they attach. The preglottalization of the suffix itself is not a target of PHASEANTI MAXIMALITY(FOOT{ }) because the suffix is external to the previously spelled-out phase. However, a metrical foot is constructed to avoid a stray glottal stop feature violating PHASEANTI MAXIMALITY(FOOT{ }) in the output (88). I assume that metrical glottalization can be realized only once per foot. Thus, the candidate (88v) which has two glottal stops incurs one violation of FOOT{ }.

AspP: <i>inner</i> \oplus <i>dominant</i>					
(88)	$[(\acute{a}khe?)pa]-?je$	$f\{?\}, \neg MAX[f\{\}] \gg$	$MAX_f, MAX? \gg$	$DEP_f, AL?$	
i.	$akhepaje$		* **!		
ii.	$akhepa?je$	*!	* *		*
iii.	$(\acute{a}khe?)paje$	*!*	*		
iv.	$a(kh\acute{e}pa?)je$		* *	*	
v.	$a(kh\acute{e}pa?)je$	*! *	* **	*	*
vi.	$akhe(p\acute{a}?)je$		* *	*	*!
forget ⁽⁷²⁾ -IPFV					

Observe that input stress may happen to fall on the same syllable as the stress assigned due to the presence of glottalization after input stress deletion (89). The metrical foot of the winning candidate does not incur a violation of PHASEANTI MAXIMALITY(FOOT{ }) because it is a “different” foot from the input foot. More precisely, the output foot does not stand in a *correspondence relation* with the input foot (McCarthy and Prince, 1995). Correspondences (or lack thereof) between the input and the output are indicated with subscripts (x, y).

²⁶ Nothing in the formalism links the (pre)glottalization of inner domain suffixes to dominance. This is to say, the analysis predicts that inner (pre)glottalized recessive suffixes could be attested. This prediction is borne out by the negative habitual non-subject participle suffix *-ma?sia* NHPC, which retains preexisting stress (iiic-e) and glottalization (iiid-e) if present, but assigns stress to the syllable which contains the second mora to the left of its glottal stop otherwise (iiia-b).

(iii) VARIOUS ROOTS WITH THE INNER GLOTTALIZED RECESSIVE SUFFIX *-ma?sia* NHPC

a. / <i>athe</i> - <i>ma?sia</i> / [<i>athé</i> - <i>ma?sia</i>] see -NHPC	b. / <i>uphathú</i> - <i>ma?sia</i> / [<i>uphathú</i> - <i>ma?sia</i>] pick -NHPC	c. / <i>áfase</i> - <i>ma?sia</i> / [<i>áfase</i> - <i>ma?sia</i>] offend -NHPC	d. / <i>kú?fe</i> - <i>ma?sia</i> / [<i>kú?fe</i> - <i>ma?sia</i>] play -NHPC	e. / <i>ákhe?pa</i> - <i>ma?sia</i> / [<i>ákhe?pa</i> - <i>ma?sia</i>] forget -NHPC
--	---	---	---	---

While a detailed exploration of A'ingae's rich participial and—more broadly—deverbal morphology is outside the scope of this paper, the patterns attested with *-ma?sia* NHPC are noted here as a confirmation of the suffix taxonomy predicted by the analysis.

AspP: $inner \oplus dominant$					
(89)	$[(\underline{káti})_x]-?je$	$f\{?\}, \neg MAX[f\{?\}] \gg MAXf \gg DEPf, AL?$			
i.	<i>kati?je</i>	*!	*		
ii.	<i>(káti?)_xje</i>	*!			
iii.	<i>(káti?)_yje</i>		*	*	
iv.	<i>ka(tí?je)_y</i>		*	*	*!
cast ^(65a) -IPFV					

When two preglottalized dominant suffixes attach within one phase, stress is assigned to the syllable which contains the second mora to the left of the first suffix (91). The preglottalization of the second suffix is deleted. This data is the primary phonological motivation for spelling the aspectual and the associated motion suffixes out in the same phase (AspP). I model this with the positional faithfulness constraint MAXIMALITY(]? (90),²⁷ which favors the preservation of phase boundary-adjacent glottal stops. I assume that the effect of two dominant suffixes on the phonological ranking of the phase in which they are evaluated is the same as the effect of one dominant suffix.

(90) MAXIMALITY(]?), or: MAX]?

For every glottal stop adjacent to a phase boundary in the input, there is a corresponding glottal stop in the output.

AspP: $inner \oplus dominant$					
(91)	$[atapa]-?je-?ngi$	$f\{?\}, MAX]? , MAX? \gg DEPf, AL?$			
i.	<i>atapajengi</i>	*	*!*		
ii.	<i>atapa?jengi</i>	*	*!		*
iii.	<i>a(tápa?)jengi</i>		*	*	
iv.	<i>a(tápa?)je?ngi</i>	*		*	*!
v.	<i>ata(pá?je)ngi</i>		*	*	*!
vi.	<i>ata(páje?)ngi</i>	*	*!	*	
vii.	<i>ata(pá?je?)ngi</i>	*		*	*!
viii.	<i>atapa(jé?ngi)</i>	*	*!	*	*
breed ^(63b) -IPFV-PROX					

In interim summary, by proposing that the deletion of a prosodic node (the metrical foot) entails the deletion of all of its features (glottalization), the account captures the fact that in A'ingae, the deletion of stress triggered within the inner domain also deletes glottalization. The *dominant* cophonology and the revised *master* and *inner* rankings are given in (92).

²⁷ The constraint MAXIMALITY(]? is used to capture the fact that retaining only the glottal stop of the first suffix (-?je IPFV) is preferred to retaining only the glottal stop of the second suffix (-?ngi PROX or -?nga DIST). This is because MAXIMALITY(]? is sensitive to the fact that only the first glottal stop is adjacent to a phase boundary in the input.

Alternatively, the pattern could be captured with the more familiar alignment constraint ALIGN(PHASE-R, ?-L). This constraint would incur a violation when the right edge of the previous phase is not aligned with a glottal stop. In doing so, ALIGN(PHASE-R, ?-L) would give preference to phase boundary-adjacent glottal stops, recreating the effect of MAXIMALITY(]?). To prevent word-final glottal stops as well as glottal epenthesis and metathesis, ALIGN(PHASE-R, ?-L) would have to be outranked by NONFINALITY(?), DEPENDENCE(?), and LINEARITY(?). With this ranking, ALIGN(PHASE-R, ?-L) would not insert new glottal stops or change the underlyingly specified position of the preexisting ones, but it would favor the leftmost of two suffixal glottal stops.

- (92) PHONOLOGICAL RANKINGS IN A'INGAE, SECOND ITERATION
- a. *master*: { MAXf, MAX]?, MAX?, LIN?, (xμ) } » DEFf » PRSσ, NF?
 - b. *inner*: f{?}, { NF?, PRSσ } » AL?
 - c. *dominant*: ¬MAX[f{ }] » { MAXf, MAX?, LIN? }

4.5 The outer cophonology

In this section, I analyze the *outer* cophonology, which characterizes the outer morphological domain. The *outer* cophonology is active at the spell-out of TP, which contains morphology typically associated with the inflected predicate, as well as CP, which contains morphology associated with full clauses. First, I focus on the outer recessive suffixes, which are not associated with a suffix-specific cophonology. I conclude the analysis with outer dominant suffixes, which involve the interaction of the *outer* and *dominant* cophonologies.

4.5.1 Outer recessive suffixes

When TP suffixes attach to a stressless base, stress is assigned to the last syllable of the inner domain (95). The base may be stressless because it originated as such or because its stress was deleted by a dominant suffix. The assignment of stress to the last syllable of the inner domain is modeled with LEXICALWORD≈PROSODICWORD (93), which requires stress on every word, and ALIGN(STRESS-R, PHASE-R) (94), which favors alignment of that stress with the right edge of the previously spelled-out phase. In the *outer* cophonology, LEXICALWORD≈PROSODICWORD ranks above ALIGN(STRESS-R, PHASE-R), and ALIGN(STRESS-R, PHASE-R) ranks above DEPENDENCE(FOOT). I assume that ALIGN(STRESS-R, PHASE-R) is evaluated gradiently, incurring one violation for each syllable separating stress from the right edge of the previously spelled-out phase.

- (93) LEXICALWORD≈PROSODICWORD, or: Lx≈ω
Every lexical word corresponds to a prosodic word.
- (94) ALIGN(STRESS-R, PHASE-R), or: ALσ]
Primary stress is right-aligned with the right edge of the previously spelled-out phase.

TP: <i>outer</i>				
(95)	[afaseye]-ya	Lx≈ω »	ALσ] »	DEFf
i.	afaseyeya	*!		
ii.	(áfa)seyeya		*!*	*
iii.	a(fáse)yeya		*!*	*
iv.	afa(séye)ya		*!	*
v.	afase(yéya)			*
vi.	afaseye(yá)		*!	*
offend-PASS ⁽⁸³⁾ -IRR				

I propose that the phonological character of the glottal stop in A'ingae differs between the two morphophonological domains. In the inner domain, the glottal stop is an optional feature of the metrical foot (66). In the outer domain, the glottal stop is regular segmental consonant (96). The constraint which captures the segmental glottalization in the *outer* cophonology is CONSONANT{?} (97). Observe that even the glottalization which was introduced as metrical in the inner domain (96a-c) is moved to the segmental tier once it undergoes an *outer* cophonology spell-out.

(96) GLOTTAL STOP AS A REGULAR CONSONANTAL SEGMENT IN THE OUTER DOMAIN

a. (× .) .	b. . (× .) .	c. . (× .)	d. . . (× .)
á khe? pa	a tá pa ?je	fû ndúí ?ngi	a ta pá ?fa
forget	breed IPFV	sweep PROX	breed PLS

(97) CONSONANT{?}, or: C{?}

Glottal stops are regular consonantal segments. Assign a violation mark for every glottal stop which is a feature of the metrical foot.

Since glottalization is a regular consonant, it does not have any effect on stress. Stress is assigned in a regular fashion, i. e. to the last syllable of the previously spelled out domain (98). When glottal stops are regular consonants, there is no underbrace. Candidates (98i-ii) and (98iii-iv) have the same phonetic realization, but contrast in what tier the glottal stop lives on. In (98i,iii), the glottal stop is a feature of the metrical foot (represented with the underbrace). In (98ii,iv), it is a regular consonantal segment. Thus, candidates (98i,iii) violate CONSONANT{?}.

TP: outer				
(98)	[atapa]-?fa-ya	C{?},	AL ^σ] »	DEP _f
i.	a(<u>tápa?</u>)faya	*!	*	*
ii.	a(tápa?)faya		*!	*
iii.	ata(<u>pá?fa</u>)ya	*!		*
iv.	ata(pá?fa)ya			*
v.	atapa?(fáya)		*!	*

breed^(63b)-PLS-IRR

MAXIMALITY(FOOT) ranks above ALIGN(STRESS-R, PHASE-R). Thus, stress from the previously spelled-out phase is retained. If glottalization is present, it is retained, but it is moved from the metrical tier to the segmental tier and it is no longer a feature of the metrical foot (99).²⁸

TP: outer					
(99)	[a(tápa?)je]-ya-mbi	C{?},	MAX _f ,	MAX? »	AL ^σ]
i.	a(tápa?)jeyambi			*!	**
ii.	a(<u>tápa?</u>)jeyambi	*!			**
iii.	a(tápa?)jeyambi				**
iv.	atapa(jéya)mbi		*!	*	
v.	atapa?(jéya)mbi		*!		

breed-IPFV⁽⁸⁵⁾-IRR-NEG

If there are no TP suffixes but there are CP suffixes, TP does not undergo phonological evaluation. If the previously spelled-out phase does not have stress, stress is assigned at CP spell-out to the last syllable of the previously spelled-out phase (i. e. AspP or vP if no suffixes were introduced in AspP) (100).

²⁸ In the outer domain, all winning candidates incur a violation of the low-ranking FOOT{?} (not shown in the *outer* tableaux). In addition, I assume that changing the tier of the glottal stop between the inner and outer domain incurs a violation of a FAITHFULNESS constraint which prevents relinking features. Since the violations of that FAITHFULNESS constraint do not contribute to determining the output beyond what is already modeled with FOOT{?} and CONSONANT{?}, I do not show it in the tableaux.

CP: outer				
(100)	[atapa]-saʔne	C{ʔ},	MAxf,	MAxʔ » ALʔ]
i.	a(tápa)saʔne			*!
ii.	ata(pásaʔ)ne			
iii.	atapa(saʔne)			*!
breed ^(63b) -APPR				

If there are both TP and CP suffixes and the inner domain does not have stress, stress is assigned to the last syllable of the previously spelled-out phase at TP spell-out (101a) and preserved at CP spell-out (101b).

TP: outer				CP: outer			
(101)	a.	[atapa]-ʔfa	C{ʔ}, MAxf » ALʔ]	b.	[ata(páʔfa)]-ja	C{ʔ}, MAxf » ALʔ]	
i.	a(tápaʔ)fa		*!	i.	ata(páʔfa)ja		*
ii.	ata(páʔfa)			ii.	atapaʔ(fája)	*!	
iii.	atapaʔ(fá)		*!	iii.	atapaʔfa(já)	*!	*
breed ^(63b) -PLS				breed-PLS ^(101a) -IMP			

This derives the generalization that if the outer domain (TP and/or CP) suffixes are present and the inner domain was stressless, stress is assigned to the right edge of the inner domain.

If neither TP nor CP suffixes are present, only TP undergoes spell-out. If the inner domain was stressless, stress is assigned to the penultimate syllable. Observe that stress in A'ingae is never final. To capture this fact, I propose that NONFINALITY(STRESS) (102) is ranked above ALIGN(STRESS-R, PHASE-R). Recall that ALIGN(STRESS-R, PHASE-R) is evaluated gradiently, incurring one violation for each syllable separating stress from the right edge of previously spelled-out phase. This derives the “default” penultimate stress assignment (103).

- (102) NONFINALITY(STRESS), or: NFʔ
Primary stress is not final in a prosodic word.

TP: outer					
(103)	[akhepayeji]	C{ʔ},	MAxf,	NFʔ,	Lx≈ω » ALʔ]
i.	akhepayeji			*!	
ii.	akhe(páye)ji				**!
iii.	akhepa(yéji)				*
iv.	akhepaye(jí)			*!	
forget-PASS-PRCL ²⁹					

4.5.2 Outer dominant suffixes

Finally, there are two dominant CP suffixes: -jama⁰ PRHB and -kha⁰ IMP2. The outer dominant suffixes assign stress to the immediately preceding syllable regardless of preexisting stress but they keep preexisting glottal

²⁹ The spelled-out phase in the input of (103) consists of the stressed and glottalized root (ákheʔ)pa ‘forget’ and two suffixes -ye⁰ PASS and -ji PRCL. In the AspP cycle, the inner dominant -ye⁰ PASS deleted the stress and glottalization of (ákheʔ)pa ‘forget,’ and the inner recessive -ji PRCL did not assign any. Thus, the input to the late CP spell-out is the stressless akhepayeji ‘forget-PASS-PRCL.’

stops intact. These properties emerge from the interaction of the *outer* and *dominant* cophologies. The *dominant* cophology ranks $\text{PHASEANTI-MAXIMALITY}(\text{FOOT}\{\})$ high, which results in the erasure of preexisting stress and allows $\text{ALIGN}(\text{STRESS-R}, \text{PHASE-R})$ of the *outer* cophology to assign stress to the right edge of the previous phase (i. e. immediately before the outer dominant suffix). Even though $\text{PHASEANTI-MAXIMALITY}(\text{FOOT}\{\})$ is ranked high by the *dominant* cophology, in the *outer* cophology the glottal stop is a consonant, not a metrical feature ($\text{CONSONANT}\{\}$), so $\text{PHASEANTI-MAXIMALITY}(\text{FOOT}\{\})$ is not violated by the glottalization retained in the output. The glottal stop is a regular consonant in the outer domain, whether it was introduced as a consonant (105) or a metrical feature, for example by an inner preglottalized suffix (104). Thus, regardless of the glottal stop's original character, it is preserved in the output.

		CP: <i>outer</i> \oplus <i>dominant</i>				
(104)	$[a(\underline{t\acute{a}pa?})je]\text{-jama}$	$C\{?\}, \neg\text{MAX}[f\{\}] \gg$	$\text{MAX}f,$	$\text{MAX?} \gg$	$\text{AL}\sigma$	
i.	$a(\underline{t\acute{a}pa?})jejama$	*!	**		**	
ii.	$a(\underline{t\acute{a}pa?})jejama$	*!			**	
iii.	$atapa(j\acute{e}ja)ma$		*	*!		
👉 iv.	$atapa?(j\acute{e}ja)ma$		*			
v.	$atapa?je(j\acute{a}ma)$		*		*!	
breed-IPFV ⁽⁸⁵⁾ -PRHB						

		CP: <i>outer</i> \oplus <i>dominant</i>			
(105)	<i>[ata(páʔfa)]-jama</i>	C{ʔ}, \neg MAX[f{ʔ}] \gg	MAXf,	MAXʔ \gg	ALσ
i.	<i>ata(páʔfa)jama</i>	*!			**
ii.	<i>atapa(fája)ma</i>		*	*!	
iii.	<i>atapaʔ(fája)ma</i>		*		
iv.	<i>atapaʔfa(jáma)</i>		*		*!
breed-PLS ^(101a) -PRHB					

In summary, by proposing that the phonological character of the A'ingae glottalization differs between the inner and the outer domain (metrical feature in the former, but not the latter), the account captures the fact that stress deletion in the inner domain also deletes glottal stops, but stress deletion in the outer domain does not. The final *master* ranking as well as the *inner*, *outer*, and *dominant* cophologies are given in (106).

- (106) PHONOLOGICAL RANKINGS IN A'INGAE, FINAL ITERATION
- master*: $\{ \text{MAX}f, \text{MAX?}, \text{MAX?}, \text{LIN?}, (\times\mu) \} \gg \text{DEP}f \gg \text{PR}\sigma, \text{NF}\sigma, \text{NF?}$
 - inner*: $f\{\}, \{ \text{NF?}, \text{PR}\sigma \} \gg \text{AL?}$
 - outer*: $C\{?\}, \{ \text{MAX}f, \text{NF}\sigma, \text{Lx}\approx\omega \} \gg \text{AL}\sigma \gg \text{DEP}f$
 - dominant*: $\neg\text{MAX}[f\{\}] \gg \{ \text{MAX}f, \text{MAX?}, \text{LIN?} \}$

The interactions among the three cophologies *inner*, *outer*, and *dominant* capture the characteristics of the phonological processes triggered by A'ingae verbal suffixes. They are summarized in Table 3. Observe that the deletion of glottalization never occurs independently of stress deletion. Thus, there is a missing cell in the space of logically possible combinations of stress and glottalization deletion. This is a consequence of the fact that stress deletion only triggers the deletion of glottalization within the *inner* domain, where glottalization is an optional property of the metrical foot (43), and stress deletion is the only lexical parameter needed to account for the differences between individual morphemes (45).

	<i>inner</i>	<i>inner</i> \oplus <i>dominant</i>	<i>outer</i>	<i>outer</i> \oplus <i>dominant</i>
STRESS	preserved	deleted	preserved	deleted
GLOTTALIZATION	preserved	deleted	preserved	preserved
IF ABSENT OR DELETED, STRESS (RE)ASSIGNED	only due to glottalization: ($\times\mu?$)		to the R-edge of spelled-out phrase	

Table 3: Interactions of the *inner*, *outer*, and *dominant* cophonologies.

5 REJECTED ALTERNATIVES

The CbP account of A'ingae glottalization is couched in a relatively powerful framework and uses a variety of formal devices. Specifically, the analysis posits (i) different phonological grammars associated with different morphological strata (*inner* vs. *outer*), (ii) different phonological grammars associated with individual morphosyntactic features (*dominant*), (iii) different phonological tiers for the glottal stop between the inner and the outer domain, and (iv) ANTI-FAITHFULNESS as the mechanism for stress deletion. As such, one may reasonably wonder whether there is a less formally elaborate, but equally insightful, analysis available.

In this section, I examine three alternatives to parts of the CbP account that do away with (i), (iii), and (iv). In Section 5.1, I consider a purely representational analysis where the preglottalized inner and outer suffixes have different underlying forms (i) and briefly comment on representational accounts of dominance. For an extended discussion of the representational accounts (ii), see Dąbkowski (2021b). In Section 5.2, I outline an analysis that retains cophonological rankings, but eschews analyzing glottalization as a metrical feature within the inner domain and models glottalization's effect on stress entirely as a matter of ALIGNMENT (iii). In Section 5.3, I sketch an analysis which dispenses with the PHASE-ANTI-MAXIMALITY(FOOT{}), a member of the controversial family of ANTI-FAITHFULNESS constraints, in favor of *STRUCTURE (iv). I conclude that the alternative analyses make incorrect predictions or fall short of capturing the central generalizations about the A'ingae morphophonology stated in Section 3.4. Lastly, in Section 5.4, I bring explicit attention to two recalcitrant corners of the data (the alternating glottalized roots and forms with multiple inner preglottalized suffixes) which naturally fall out of CbP's architectural assumption of phase-based spell-out but are problematic for fully parallel and fully cyclic frameworks.

5.1 Representational analyses

In representational accounts, the phonological grammar of a language is taken to be fully uniform, and the differences in the phonological processes triggered by different morphemes are attributed to their different underlying forms. In this section, I consider a representational analysis of the difference between the inner and the outer suffixes. This constitutes an alternative to associating different phonological grammars with different morphological strata. For a discussion of representational analyses of the A'ingae stress deletion, which are an alternative to associating stress-deleting suffixes with the *dominant* cophonology, see Dąbkowski (2021b).

Preglottalized suffixes introduced in the inner domain assign stress to the syllable which contains the second mora to the left of the glottal stop, while preglottalized suffixes of the outer domain have no such effect. To capture this pattern, the CbP analysis presented in Section 4 posits two different phonological grammars for the inner and outer domains. A plausible representational proposal might model the difference between the inner and outer suffixes with partial metrical structure. Under this analysis, the glottal stop of the preglottalized inner suffixes is immediately followed by the right edge of a metrical foot (107a). (For more on simplified bracketed grid theory, see Halle and Idsardi, 1995.) The outer suffixes do not have underlying metrical structure (107b).

(107) REPRESENTATIONAL ANALYSIS

- a. *inner*: -ʔ)je IPFV, -ʔ)ngi PROX, -ʔ)nga DIST, ...
 b. *outer*: -ʔfa PLS, -ya IRR, -ʔta IF.SS, -ja IMP, ...

When a suffix comes with a partial metrical foot, the rest of the foot is supplied in the output (108a-b). When a suffix has no underlying metrical structure, regular stress assignment takes place (108c-d). This captures the basic difference with respect to stress assignment between the preglottalized inner and outer suffixes.

(108) PREGLOTTALIZED INNER OR OUTER SUFFIXES, REPRESENTATIONAL ANALYSIS

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. / atapa -ʔ)je /
[a(tápa -ʔ)je]
breed -IPFV | b. / atapa -ʔ)ngi /
[a(tápa -ʔ)ngi]
breed -PROX | c. / atapa -ʔfa /
[ata(pá -ʔfa)]
breed -PLS | d. / atapa -ya /
[ata(pá -ya)]
breed -IRR |
|---|---|---|---|

Nevertheless, the representational analysis is not adopted for three reasons. First, the representational analysis has no way of capturing the generalization that morphological slots are uniform with respect to their phonological properties. This is to say, preglottalized suffixes found in a given slot either (i) all assign stress to the syllable containing the second mora to the left of the glottal stop, or (ii) all have no effect on stress. Yet, under the representational analysis, nothing prevents the existence of aspectual suffixes as *-ʔñakha PRCL, which coexist with aspectual suffixes such as -ʔ)je IPFV, or clausal suffixes such as *-ʔ)ta IF.SS which coexist with clausal suffixes such as -ʔma FRST. Under the CbP analysis, such variation internal to a morphological slot is ruled out by the phonological grammars of the suffixes' respective domains.

Second, the glottalization/stress generalization which holds of the inner suffixes, whereby stress is assigned to the syllable which contains the second mora to the left of the glottal stop (23-27), also holds in roots (8). The CbP analysis reflects this by subjecting both roots and inner suffixes to the same *inner* cophonology. The representational analysis offers no insight into this patterning. For example, it provides no reason as to why glottalized but stressless roots such as *akheʔpa 'forget' do not exist in A'ingae.

Lastly, the inner dominant suffixes delete stress and glottalization but the outer dominant suffixes delete only stress. So far, stress deletion has been left out of the discussion since deletion is not straightforwardly implemented using representational means (cf. Köhnlein, 2016; Trommer and Zimmermann, 2014; Zimmermann, 2017). However, regardless of which account of deletion one might eventually adopt, the purely representational analysis does not capture the stratal (*inner* vs. *outer*) organization of the A'ingae grammar (the first and second argument) and does not posit a formal link between glottalization and metrical structure (unlike CbP, where the glottal stop depends on a prosodic node in the inner domain). Thus, it is difficult to imagine a non-stipulative representational account of why the inner, but not the outer, dominant suffixes delete glottalization. In brief, the representational analysis fails to capture the first central generalization about the A'ingae morphophonology (43).

Alternatively, one could flesh out a representational analysis of the A'ingae dominance while permitting different phonological rankings for the two different morphological domains. This would bring the A'ingae system into the fold of Stratal Optimality Theory (Bermúdez-Otero, 1999, 2012; Jaker and Kiparsky, 2020; Kiparsky, 2000, 2008; others), where the inner and outer domain may be modeled essentially as in CbP (i. e. with different phonological rankings for the *inner* and *outer* strata), but the unpredictable suffix-specific dominance effects are attributed to the underlying representations of the dominant morphemes. For a discussion and arguments against such analyses couched in Stratal OT and Gradient Symbolic Representations (Rosen, 2016; Smolensky and Goldrick, 2016; Zimmermann, 2018a,b),³⁰ as well as a floating metrical structure (cf. floating negative tone in Kushnir, 2019) and empty prosodic nodes analyses (Trommer and Zimmermann, 2014; Zimmermann, 2017), see Dąbkowski (2021b).

³⁰ Rosen (2023) constructs a gradient symbolic analysis of A'ingae dominance by adopting a set of complex representational assumptions. Rosen's (2023) proposal does not account for the interactions between A'ingae stress and glottalization and does not capture either of the two central generalizations (43, 45).

5.2 ALIGNMENT-only analysis

In the analysis laid out in [Section 4](#), two *inner* cophology constraints relate metrical structure and glottalization: FOOT{?}, which penalizes stray glottal stops without a metrical foot, and ALIGN(?-R, FOOT-R), which favors right-alignment of the metrical foot with the glottal stop. The functions of the two constraints are partially overlapping: Assuming that MAXIMALITY(?) and ALIGN(?-R, FOOT-R) rank above DEPENDENCE(FOOT), these two constraints are by themselves sufficient to trigger the construction of a metrical foot given an input glottal stop, making recourse to FOOT{?} ostensibly unnecessary ([109](#)).

		AspP: <i>inner</i>		
(109)	[atapa]-ʔje	MAXʔ, ALʔ) »	DEPf	
i.	atapaʔje	*!		
ii.	atapaʔje		*!	
iii.	a(tápaʔ)je			*
iv.	ata(páʔje)		*!	*
breed-IPFV				

The above observation might lead one to propose an ALIGNMENT-only analysis, where the inner and the outer morphological domains differ in the ranking of ALIGN(?-R, FOOT-R), but the different phonological character of the glottal stop between the two domains (a prosodic feature in the inner and a regular segment in the outer) is never invoked ([110](#)). This analysis would constitute an alternative to positing different phonological tiers for the glottal stop between the inner and the outer domain advocated in [Section 4](#).

- (110) ALIGNMENT-ONLY ANALYSIS, FIRST ITERATION
- a. *master*: NFσ, NFʔ, (×μ), MAXf, MAXʔ » DEPf
 - b. *inner*: { NFʔ, MAX]ʔ, MAXʔ, ALʔ } » { DEPf, (×μ) }
 - c. *outer*: { MAXf, NFσ, Lx≈ω } » ALσ] » { DEPf, ALʔ }
 - d. *dominant*: ¬MAX[f] » { MAXf, MAXʔ }

The ALIGNMENT-only analysis is not adopted because it struggles with capturing the fact that the inner dominant suffixes also delete glottalization in addition to stress. In this analysis, inner glottalization is not a property of the metrical foot, so the PHASEANTI-MAXIMALITY(FOOT) is not able to delete glottalization ([111](#)).

- (111) PHASEANTI-MAXIMALITY(FOOT), or: ¬MAX[f]
For no metrical foot in the previously spelled-out phase is there a corresponding metrical foot in the output. I.e., assign a violation for each metrical foot in the previously spelled-out phase that is also present in the output.

In the ALIGNMENT-only analysis, PHASEANTI-MAXIMALITY(FOOT) triggers stress deletion, but it does not target glottal stops. Given that MAXIMALITY(?) outranks DEPENDENCE(FOOT) (as was shown in [Section 4.4.1](#)), this analysis predicts that the deleted metrical structure will be recreated in the output ([112](#)), even if PHASEANTI-MAXIMALITY(FOOT) ranks above both MAXIMALITY(FOOT) and MAXIMALITY(?) ([110d](#)). Metrical feet in the input and output are subscripted (_{x,y}) to indicate whether they are in a correspondence relation (McCarthy and Prince, [1995](#)).

		AspP: <i>inner</i> \oplus <i>dominant</i>			
(112)	$[(\acute{a}khe?)_x pa]-khu$	$\neg \text{MAX}[f] \gg$	$\text{MAX}f,$	$\text{MAX?},$	$\text{AL?} \gg \text{DEP}f$
⊕ i.	<i>akhepakhu</i>		*	*!	
ii.	<i>akhe?pakhu</i>		*		*!
iii.	$(\acute{a}khe)_x pakhu$	*!		*	
iv.	$(\acute{a}khe?)_x pakhu$	*!			
⊙ v.	$(\acute{a}khe?)_y pakhu$		*		*
forget-RCPR					

One solution to the above problem would be to say that dominant suffixes reverse the ranking of $\text{MAXIMALITY}(?)$ and $\text{DEPENDENCE}(\text{FOOT})$ (113d). However, this solution has two major downsides. First, it is stipulative. Under this analysis, it just so happens that the suffixes which delete stress also rerank the two faithfulness constraints. This solution fails to capture the intuition that in the inner domain, stress and glottalization have a close relationship, which does not hold in the outer domain. Thus, it misses the first central generalization (43).

(113) ALIGNMENT-ONLY ANALYSIS, SECOND ITERATION

d. *dominant*: $\neg \text{MAX}[f] \gg \{ \text{MAX}f, \text{MAX?} \}, \text{DEP}f \gg \text{MAX?}$

Second, postulating that the dominant suffixes rank $\text{DEPENDENCE}(\text{FOOT})$ above $\text{MAXIMALITY}(?)$ incorrectly predicts the deletion of glottalization from inner preglottalized dominant suffixes (114).

		AspP: <i>inner</i> \oplus <i>dominant</i>			
(114)	$[atapa]-?je$	$\neg \text{MAX}[f] \gg$	$\text{MAX}f,$	$\text{AL?},$	$\text{DEP}f \gg \text{MAX?}$
⊙ i.	<i>atapaje</i>				*
ii.	<i>atapa?je</i>		*!		
⊕ iii.	$a(\acute{t}ápa?)je$			*!	
iv.	$ata(\acute{p}á?je)$		*!	*	
breed-IPFV					

To remedy this, one could posit special faithfulness to the glottal stops introduced by preglottalized suffixes. To formalize this analysis, one would need to formulate a morphologically-indexed $\text{MAXIMALITY}(?_{sfx})$ constraint (115), which is violated specifically by the deletion of suffix glottal stops and which ranks above $\text{DEPENDENCE}(\text{FOOT})$ (116a).

(115) $\text{MAXIMALITY}(?_{sfx})$, or: MAX?_{sfx}

For every glottal stop in an input suffix, there is a corresponding glottal stop in the output.

(116) ALIGNMENT-ONLY ANALYSIS, THIRD ITERATION

a. *master*: $\text{NF}\acute{\sigma}, \text{NF?}, \text{MAX}f, \{ \text{MAX?}, \text{MAX?}_{sfx} \} \gg \text{DEP}f, (\times\mu)$

CbP is a strictly modular model of the grammar where the phonological and morphosyntactic components cannot access each other. The phonological constraints are fully general (not indexed to specific morphemes). Morpheme-specific phonology is captured indirectly, by associating morphosyntactic features with different cophonological rankings. CbP's indirect reference architecture captures a number of robust empirical generalizations, including *stem scope*, which is the observation that a phonological process triggered by a morpheme scopes over the morpheme itself and the stem to which it attaches, and *bracket erasure*, which

says the information about the morphological composition of previous phases is inaccessible to subsequent phases (Inkelas and Zoll, 2007).

Allowing for morphologically-indexed constraints, such as $\text{MAXIMALITY}(\mathcal{I}_{\text{sfx}})$, introduces mechanisms that can violate stem scope and bracket erasure, weakening the theory's predictive power. For example, imagine a hypothetical suffix *-cv* sfx associated with a cophonological ranking of $\text{ANTI-MAXIMALITY}(\mathcal{I})$ (117) below $\text{MAXIMALITY}(\mathcal{I}_{\text{sfx}})$, but above $\text{MAXIMALITY}(\mathcal{I})$.

(117) $\text{ANTI-MAXIMALITY}(\mathcal{I})$, or: $\neg\text{MAX}\mathcal{I}$

For no glottal stop in the input is there a corresponding glottal stop in the output. I.e., assign a violation for each glottal stop in the input that is also present in the output.

The phonological ranking in question would have the effect of deleting root glottal stops but preserving the glottal stops introduced by affixes (118). Yet, cross-linguistically, phonological processes never show this kind of sensitivity to the morphological structure of their input. For other arguments against indexed-constraint approaches, see e.g. Inkelas and Zoll (2007), Orgun (1996), Orgun and Inkelas (2002), and Scheer (2012).

		<i>hypothetical</i>		
(118)	<i>seʔje-ʔje-cv</i>	$\text{MAX}\mathcal{I}_{\text{sfx}}$	$\neg\text{MAX}\mathcal{I}$	$\text{MAX}\mathcal{I}$
i.	<i>sejejecv</i>	*!		**
ii.	<i>sejeʔjecv</i>		*	*
iii.	<i>seʔjejecv</i>	*!	*	*
iv.	<i>seʔjeʔjecv</i>		**!	
heal-IPFV-SFX				

Finally, the $\text{MAXIMALITY}(\mathcal{I}_{\text{sfx}})$ constraint implies that suffixes may be more faithful than roots. This goes against the typological trend for roots to license more contrasts, such as the root-affix faithfulness meta-condition of McCarthy and Prince (1995). Thus, the ALIGNMENT-only analysis is not adopted.

5.3 *STRUCTURE analysis

The second central generalization states that stress deletion is the only unpredictable suffix-triggered phonological process (45). The deletion of stress may be accompanied by stress reassignment to the syllable which contains the second mora to the left of the suffix (if the stress-deleting suffix is inner and preglottalized), to the last syllable of the previously spelled-out domain (if the stress-deleting suffix is outer), or no stress reassignment (if the stress-deleting suffix is inner and plain, i.e. not preglottalized). Importantly, whether and where stress is reassigned is determined by the phonological grammar of the domain in which the stress-deleting suffix is introduced. As such, it need not be stipulated as an idiosyncratic property of the stress-deleting suffix.

The CbP analysis of Section 4 formalizes this insight by associating the stress-deleting suffixes with the *dominant* cophonology. The *dominant* cophonology is characterized by a high ranking of $\text{PHASE-ANTI-MAXIMALITY}(\text{Foot}\{\})$, which ensures that the output will not be faithful to input stress. Stress reassignment (or its lack) follows from the *inner* and *outer* cophonologies which characterize the two respective morphophonological domains of A'ingae.

This section considers an alternative that does not make recourse to $\text{PHASE-ANTI-MAXIMALITY}(\text{Foot}\{\})$ as the mechanism for stress deletion. In abstinence from ANTI-MAXIMALITY , stress deletion must be captured via different means. A natural candidate is the *FOOT constraint (119), a member of the *STRUCTURE family of constraints, which penalizes metrical structure present in the output.

- (119) *Foot, or: *f
Assign a violation mark for each metrical foot in the output.

A high ranking of *Foot ensures that the output will be stressless. Thus, *Foot is unlike PHASEANTI-MAXIMALITY(Foot{}), which demands only that the output stress be different from the input stress, but does not by itself penalize stressed outputs. Since the plain inner dominant suffixes yield stressless outputs, an *inner dominant* cophology which ranks *Foot above both MAXIMALITY(FOOT) and MAXIMALITY(?) correctly models their behavior (120).

		AspP: <i>inner</i> \oplus <i>dominant</i>			
(120)	$[(\acute{a}khe?)pa]-khu$	f{?}, *f \gg	MAXf, MAX?		
i.	akhepakhu		*	*	
ii.	akhe?pakhu	*!	*		
iii.	($\acute{a}khe$)pakhu	*!		*	
iv.	($\acute{a}khe?$)pakhu	*!			

forget-RCPR

However, it does not model the behavior of preglottalized inner dominant or outer dominant suffixes, which reassign stress in the output. To model the preglottalized inner dominant suffixes, MAXIMALITY($?_{sfx}$) must dominate MAXIMALITY(?) in the *master* ranking (121a). The outer dominant suffixes are modeled by ranking LEXICALWORD \approx PROSODICWORD and ALIGN(STRESS-R, PHASE-R) above MAXIMALITY(FOOT) in the *outer* cophology (121e).

- (121) *STRUCTURE ANALYSIS
- a. *master*: $MAX?_{sfx} \gg \{ MAXf, MAX]?, MAX?, (\times\mu) \} \gg DEPf, NF\acute{\sigma}, NF?$
 - b. *inner*: $f\{?, \{ NF?, (\times\mu) \} \gg AL?$
 - c. *inner dominant*: $f\{?, *f \gg \{ MAXf, MAX]?, MAX?, \{ NF?, (\times\mu) \} \gg AL?$
 - d. *outer*: $C\{?, \{ MAXf, NF\acute{\sigma} \} \gg Lx \approx \omega \gg AL\acute{\sigma} \gg DEPf$
 - e. *outer dominant*: $C\{?, Lx \approx \omega \gg AL\acute{\sigma} \gg \{ MAXf, NF\acute{\sigma} \} \gg DEPf$

An analysis along these lines is pursued by Dąbkowski (2021b). However, the *STRUCTURE analysis is not adopted here for two reasons. First, it requires invoking the morphologically-indexed constraint MAXIMALITY($?_{sfx}$). Second, it fails to formally relate the phonological properties of (i) the *inner dominant* suffixes to the *inner* cophology, (ii) the *outer dominant* suffixes to the *outer* cophology, and (iii) the *inner dominant* suffixes to the *outer dominant* suffixes. Instead, it posits four unrelated cophological rankings. Thus, the *STRUCTURE analysis misses the second central generalization about the A'ingae morphophonology (45).

5.4 Phase-based spell-out

Finally, I would like to bring explicit attention to CbP's postulate of phase-based spell-out. Cophonologies by Phase proposes that phonological evaluation is cyclic and proceeds phase-by-phase. However, the morphosyntactic features present within one phase are spelled out all at once and evaluated in parallel. This distinguishes CbP from other frameworks of the phonology-morphosyntax interface, and naturally captures the behavior of alternating glottalized roots and forms with multiple inner preglottalized suffixes, which pose challenges for *fully parallel* models, where the entire morphological word is phonologically evaluated all at once (e. g. McCarthy and Prince, 1993a,b; Pater, 2009; Prince and Smolensky, 1993), as well as *fully cyclic* models, where each morpheme triggers a separate phonological cycle (e. g. Bobaljik, 2000; Caballero, 2011; Inkelas, 2008; Matushansky, 2006).

First, recall that a few glottalized roots alternate between monosyllabic (C)VV? and disyllabic (C)V.ʔV, depending on the morphological context. When followed by the causative *-ña* CAUS (122a) or another derivational suffix (122b), they surface as monosyllabic (C)VV?. When by themselves (122c) or followed by an inflectional suffix such as *-ji* PRCL (122d), they surface as disyllabic (C)V.ʔV.

(122) GLOTTALIZED ROOT ALTERNATION BETWEEN (C)VV? AND (C)V.ʔV

- a. [*kúíʔ* -*ña*] b. [*kúíʔ* -*khú*] c. [*kú.ʔi*] -*ji* d. [*kú.ʔi*]
 drink -CAUS drink -DLM drink -PRCL drink

In the CbP analysis of Section 4, this falls out directly from phase-based spell-out: The first phase to undergo phonological evaluation is *vP*, which includes the root (73) and the causative *-ña* CAUS (74), but excludes all other suffixes (76). This is also the assumption of Distributed Morphology (Embick, 2010), where the root and the categorizing *v* head constitute one spell-out domain, but the pattern of glottal alternation is difficult to capture in a fully parallel framework. Any constraint ranking which correctly predicts (123a) and (123b) will fail to predict (123c), and vice versa.³¹

(123)	a. <i>kúí,ʔ</i>	X »	Y	b. <i>kúí,ʔ-ji</i>	X »	Y	c. <i>kúí,ʔ-ña</i>	X »	Y
	i. (<i>kúíʔ</i>)	*!		i. (<i>kúíʔji</i>)	*!		☹ i. (<i>kúíʔña</i>)	*!	
	☞ ii. (<i>kú.ʔi</i>)		*	☞ ii. (<i>kú.ʔi</i>)ji		*	☞ ii. (<i>kú.ʔi</i>)ña		*
	drink			drink-PRCL			drink-CAUS		

Likewise, the pattern would be difficult to capture in a framework where the root always constitutes a cycle by itself. If the root undergoes spell-out before suffixation, it is not clear why it surfaces either as monosyllabic (C)VV? or as disyllabic (C)V.ʔV, depending on the morphological context. Inkelas (1989) accounts for root cycle variation with morphological boundedness—free roots constitute cyclic domains, but bound roots do not. In A'ingae, the factor which decides on the root cycle is a property of the suffix, not the root.

Second, recall that stress in forms with two inner preglottalized dominant suffixes is assigned to the syllable which contains the second mora to the left of the first of those suffixes (124).

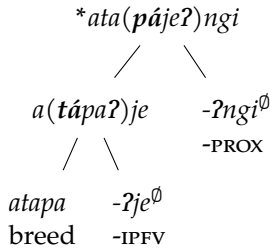
(124) VARIOUS ROOTS WITH -ʔJE⁰ IPFV AND -ʔNGI⁰ PROX OR -ʔNGA⁰ DIST

- a. / *atapa* -ʔje⁰ -ʔngi⁰ / b. / *áfase* -ʔje⁰ -ʔnga⁰ / c. / *séʔje* -ʔje⁰ -ʔngi⁰ / d. / *ákheʔpa* -ʔje⁰ -ʔnga⁰ /
 [*atápa* -ʔje -ngi] [*afáse* -ʔje -nga] [*séje* -ʔje -ngi] [*akhépa* -ʔje -nga]
 breed -IPFV -PROX offend -IPFV -DIST cure -IPFV -PROX forget -IPFV -DIST

If both suffixes are introduced in the same phase, they both contribute the same *dominant* cophonology to the ranking of their phase, which deletes stress from the previous phase. Importantly, there is no step in the derivation where the first suffix has undergone phonological evaluation but the second one has not.

In this way, CbP differs from classic Cophonology Theory, where it is often assumed that each suffix associated with its own cophonological grammar undergoes phonological evaluation immediately upon combining with its base, before any further morphology takes place (Caballero, 2011; Inkelas, 2008; Inkelas and Zoll, 2007), as emphasized by Orgun and Inkelas (2002). This fully cyclic model incorrectly predicts that the stress assigned by the first preglottalized suffixes will be erased by the second preglottalized suffix (125).

³¹ This problem could be remedied by assuming a prosodic boundary between *vP* and *AspP*. However, in the absence of independent evidence for the existence of such a boundary, the solution is purely stipulative.

(125) TWO PREGLOTTALIZED ASP_P SUFFIXES, CYCLIC EVALUATION

The same prediction is made by Alderete's (1999, 2001) fully-parallel theory of Transderivational Anti-Faithfulness, without CbP, where given two dominant suffixes in a structure such as $/root-sfx^\emptyset-sfx^\emptyset/$, the second suffix always wins over the first one (Alderete, 1999, p. 181). Both frameworks predict that dominance effects are strictly cyclic, with the outermost dominant suffix dominating over all previous suffixes. The prediction is falsified by the A'ingae forms with multiple preglottalized inner dominant suffixes.

6 CONCLUSION

I formulated two generalizations about A'ingae glottalization. First, the relationship of glottalization to stress depends on the morphophonological domain. In the inner domain, glottalization triggers stress assignment and undergoes deletion along with stress. In the outer domain, glottalization does not trigger assignment and is not affected by stress deletion. Second, when controlled for the morphophonological domain and segmental content, the variability in the phonological processes triggered by A'ingae suffixes reduces to one parameter: some suffixes preserve metrical structure, while others delete it.

To capture the first generalization, I proposed that glottalization is an optional feature of the metrical foot in the inner domain, and as such, it undergoes deletion whenever the metrical foot undergoes deletion. To capture the second generalization, I proposed that the division between two morphophonological domains crosscuts a distinction between recessive and dominant suffixes. I formalized this proposal by associating the two morphophonological domains with the *inner* and *outer* cophonologies and the dominant suffixes with the *dominant* cophonology.

The organization of the A'ingae phonological grammar shows that (i) stratally organized morphological domains may be characterized by different phonological grammars (*inner* vs. *outer*), but also that (ii) individual affixes might be associated with phonological grammars of their own (*dominant*). Furthermore, (iii) the phonologies of morphological domains and individual affixes interact. This demonstrates the need for a framework capable of capturing stratal morphophonology, morpheme-specific phonological effects, as well as their interactions.

I implemented my analysis in Cophonologies by Phase (Sande, 2019; Sande, Jenks, and Inkelas, 2020; others). CbP captures the organization of the A'ingae grammar, as it allows for associating different phonological rankings to phase heads as well as individual morphosyntactic features. The first property models the stratal organization of the *inner* and *outer* cophonologies (i). The second property models the fact that individual morphemes may be unpredictably associated with the *dominant* cophonology (ii). Thus, Cophonologies by Phase succeeds at fully capturing the generalizations about the phonology of the A'ingae glottal stop.

Significantly, an affix-specific cophonology may interact with the cophonology of its domain in a non-trivial way (iii): A dominant suffix deletes stress and glottalization if it is introduced in the inner domain ($inner \oplus dominant$), but only deletes stress if it is introduced in the outer domain ($outer \oplus dominant$). This is reminiscent of Sande's (2020) *morphologically-conditioned phonology with two triggers*, where a single phonological process is triggered by the presence of two morpheme-specific phonologies in the same phase. In the case of A'ingae, however, the two relevant cophonologies (phase head-specific *inner* or *outer* and morpheme-specific *dominant*) do not gang up to trigger a single process, but rather jointly define the characteristics of a process (deletion of

stress and glottalization vs. deletion of stress alone). Thus, the A'ingae data show a new kind of phonological process with multiple triggers, bearing out yet another prediction of Cophonologies by Phase.

Finally, the typological profile of A'ingae and the phonological phenomena it exhibits are unlike those presented in previous CbP literature. There are very few case studies to date motivating the framework's architectural assumptions. Two of them come from Guébie (Sande, 2019) and Somali (Green and Lampitelli, 2022). Sande (2019) leverages CbP to account for root-controlled ATR harmony, vowel replacement, and scalar tone shift phenomena across Guébie's oft-monomorphemic words. Green and Lampitelli (2022) use CbP to model Somali subject marking, expounded with subtractive tone, segmental content, both, or neither. The present study deals with stress assignment, stress deletion, and prosodic glottalization within subword domains of A'ingae's highly agglutinative verbs. Thus, it contributes a new line of evidence for CbP by demonstrating the insight the framework affords and the utility it has in modeling formally different phenomena in typologically dissimilar languages.

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