

Sources of strength in lexical accent systems

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The main objective of this paper is to explore the source of accentual dominance in a group of stress and pitch accent systems (collectively called *lexical accent systems*) in relation to, first, the architectural properties of the Grammar and, second, the idiosyncratic, accentual properties of the exponents of morphosyntactic constituents (Revithiadou and Spyropoulos 2016). More specifically, we show that accentual dominance has a structural motivation but at the same time its effects are immensely assisted by the type of *lexical accent* the exponents of morphosyntactic constituents are endowed with.

We follow Embick's (2010, 2014) approach to the morphosyntax – phonology interface who draws a line between phase cyclicity and phonological cyclicity so that PF can enjoy more freedom in the phonological manipulation of the input material. In this model, exponents of both phase and non-phase heads are allowed to equally be accentually dominant (=stress/pitch accent affecting) or not. However, the empirical facts from various lexical accent/stress systems (e.g., Greek, Sanskrit, Yakima Sahaptin) lead us to a more conservative route, one that takes into serious consideration the architectural design of the grammar. More specifically, we propose that accentuation proceeds in a step-wise fashion that follows closely critical end points in the morphosyntactic derivation as these are determined by phase heads. As shown in (1), the domains within which accentuation is computed are defined via derivation by phases, Spell-Out at the end of phases, and linearization of intermediate strings. In these domains accentuation crucially refers/is sensitive to morphosyntactic information (e.g., categorial information such as phase headhood). We argue that PF exploits the exponents of phase heads and, in particular, the ones that are associated with an accent, in order to demarcate important stages in the assembling of constituent structure. (Accentless exponents of phase heads are accentually neutral.) When the derivation is complete and the whole structure is integrated, PF promotes in an edgemoat fashion one of the existing phase head accents as the dominant one in the whole construction.

The study of these three systems reveals a set of significant, so far unnoticed, generalizations between phasehood and phonological dominance. More specifically, none of the three systems examined here allowed exclusively or primarily exponents of non-phase heads (e.g., InflSfx) to be accentually dominant, a generalization that extends to other similar systems (see also, for instance, Moses-Columbia Salish, Czaykowska-Higgins 1990, 1993; Squamish, Dyck 2004; Russian, Halle 1973; Melvold 1989; Idsardi 1992, among others; Modern Hebrew, Bat-El 1989, 1993; Graf and Ussishkin 2003). At the same time, our investigation unveiled that the presence of accent is highly exploited for the purposes of dominance in the systems at hand. No language in our study exhibits accented exponents of phase heads that fail to claim accentual prominence from some other exponent in the word. These findings suggests that lexical accents have a functional motivation; they need to be pronounced and the best way to achieve this is by clinging to exponents of phase heads.

Given the pivotal role of the notion accent, the second goal of the paper is to examine and compare the various instantiations/forms of lexical accents attested in certain stress (Greek, Russian) and pitch-accent systems (Japanese, Sanskrit) (e.g., local (2a), migrating (2b), etc.) in an attempt to acquire a better understanding of their behaviour (see also Hagberg 1993, 2006, van der Hulst 2011, Dubina 2012, a.o.). Building on Spahr (2016), we propose a uniform representation of lexical accent in the form of an autosegmental entity, π , which nevertheless has different feature specifications depending on whether it is realized as pitch (Japanese, Sanskrit) (3a) or as stress prominence (Greek, Russian) (3b). We show that the proposed representation not only can capture all attested patterns of accents but, more

importantly, it can straightforwardly account for the problematic case of *semi-dominant accent depending affixation* attested in pitch accent systems like Japanese (but, crucially, not in lexical stress systems). As shown in (4), the deverbal affix *-i(')* demonstrates its dominance only when combined with accented roots. With accentless ones, its inherent accent is silenced. We will show that this is because dependent accents are defective and need to borrow features from neighboring, $[\pm H]$ -specified accents in order to be phonetically realized. In conclusion, an exponent of a phase head can best reveal the effects of its structural dominance only when it carries a strong enough accent; it becomes much less effective when equipped with a defective or no accent at all.

Examples

(1) $[\sqrt{\text{APAT}}-[\text{eón}]_{n1}]-[\text{ísk}]_{n2}-\text{o-s}$ [apateónískos] ‘petty criminal’

$\sqrt{\text{APAT}}-[\text{eón}]_{n1}$	Merge $\sqrt{\text{APAT}}$ and phasal head n ; Completion of phase
/apat-eón/	Vocabulary Insertion Computation of stress: DerSfx <i>-ón</i> is accented
$[\sqrt{\text{APAT}}-[\text{eón}]_{n1}]-[\text{ísk}]_{n2}-\text{o-s}$	Completion of M-word Spell-Out of the domain centered on n_2 triggered by the M-word boundary
/apat-eón-ísk-o-s/	Vocabulary Insertion Computation of stress: DerSfx <i>-ón</i> is still visible; DerSfx <i>-ísk</i> is accented
/apateónískos/	Linearized string at M-word level Rightmost phase head accent wins

(2) a. Accented

<i>Tokyo Japanese</i>	<i>Greek</i>
/adá- ppói / adappói ‘coquettish’	/dáun- jár -ið-s/ daunáris ‘s.o. who always feels down’

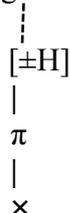
(Kawahara 2015: 921; Revithiadou & Spyropoulos 2016)

b. Pre-/post-accenting(/stressing)

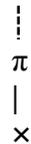
<i>Tokyo Japanese</i>	<i>Greek</i>
/ono- 'ke / onóke ‘family of Ono’	/anθrop- 'u / anθrópu ‘man-GEN.SG’
/ 'o -huró/ ohúro ‘bath’ (o- ‘HON’)	/embor- ik '-o-s/ emborikós ‘commercial’

(Poser 1984, Haragushi 1977, 1999, Kawahara 2015: 924; Revithiadou & Spyropoulos 2016)

(3) a. {high/low pitch}



b. {pitch, duration, intensity}



where \times a tier of segmental root nodes

(4) *Semi-dominant dependent accent affixation: Japanese deverbal nouns in -i(')*

a.	kariru	‘borrow’	kari	‘borrowing’
b.	hajíru	‘be ashamed’	hají	‘shame’

(Kawakami 1973, Poser 1979: 83)