

Structure versus prominence: stress in Munster Irish

Pavel Iosad
Universitetet i Tromsø/CASTL
pavel.iosad@uit.no

Old World Conference in Phonology 7
Universitat de Nissa
29 de genièr 2010

1 Key points

- Prosodic headship has to do with structure building, not stress assignment
- “Stress” is in principle separate from headship, possibly something like a feature
- Recursion and the X' schema are useful inside the pword
- Prosodic constraints are only sensitive to immediate daughters, not parsing at any level
- Constraints on head vs. dependent complexity (Dresher & van der Hulst, 1998) are useful
- Consider adding maximum depth of embedding as a measure of complexity

2 Munster Irish stress

- Dialect of Corca Dhuibhne (Dingle) (Ó Sé, 2000, 2008)
- Three-syllable window word-initially
- Leftmost within the window with weight-sensitivity

- But #HH...is #HĤ...
- But not non-initial ...HH...

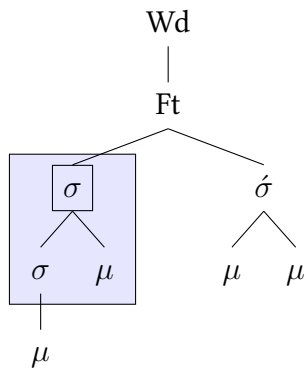
3 Examples

(1)	ĬL	'karig ^j	'stone'
(2)	LĤ	ka'l'i:n ^j	'girl'
(3)	ĤL	'a:lm ^j	'nice'
(4)	HĤ	dʒi:'vi:n ^j	'idle'
(5)	ĬLL	'kɫagərnəx	'clattering'
(6)	LĤL	k'i'm ^j ɑ:dən	'(s)he observes'
(7)	LĤĤ	b'i'hu:nti:xt	'villainy'
(8)	LLĤ	kʲanə'hɔ:r ^j	'buyer'
(9)	ĤLL	'ku:rəməx	'careful'
(10)	HĤL	o:'gɑ:nəx	'young man'
(11)	HĤĤ	u:'rɑ:ni:	'songs'
(12)	ĤLH	'u:dərə:s	'authority'
(13)	ĬLLL	'arəməkəx	'tender'
(14)	ĬLLH	'im ^j l ^j əkɑ:n	'navel'
(15)	LLĤĤ	əmə'dɑ:nti:xt	'foolishness'
(16)	ĤLĤĤ	'oumpərə:ni:xt	'ungainliness'
(17)	ĤLHL	'u:dərə:fəx	'authoritative'

4 Analysis

- Head feet are always at the left edge
- Heads of feet are always at the left edge
- Complexity constraints:

- BRANCHING COMPLEXITY: if a constituent has a head and a dependent, the head has more immediate daughters than the dependent
 - EMBEDDING COMPLEXITY: if a constituent has a head and a dependent, the deepest embedded terminal node dominated by the head must be embedded more deeply than the deepest terminal node dominated by the dependent
- In words with initial HH, embedding complexity is satisfied by *weight-sacrificing recursion*



- Since prosody is only sensitive to immediate daughters, the highlighted syllable is *light*
- WSP is defined on heavy syllables
- Prominence generally falls on the leftmost heavy syllable, which here is peninitial and dependent

5 Example analyses

1) Some options for HH...

HH	FtFORM	EMB COMPL/FT	WSP	BR COMPL/FT	PK LEFT	*RECURSION
a.	*!		*	*		
b.		*!*		*		*
c.				*	*	*
d.		*!		*		*

2) Weight-sacrificing recursion gives forward stress

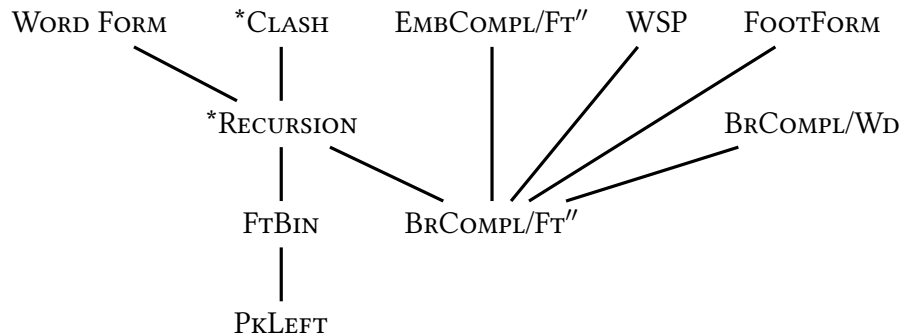
HH	FtFORM	EMB COMPL/FT	WSP	BR COMPL/FT	PK LEFT	*RECURSION
a.				*	*	*
b.	*!	*		*		*
c.		*!		*		*
d.	*!			*	*	*

3) HH... build binary feet word-initially

HHL	WdFORM	FtFORM	EMB COMPL/FT	WSP	BR COMPL/WD	*RECURSION	BR COMPL/FT	PK LEFT	PK BIN
a.						*	*	*	*
b.	*!					*	*	*	*
c.	*!								*

6 Final ranking

This ranking accounts for all the data, including secondary stress



7 Implications

- For Munster Irish:
 - Everything is left-headed, contra Green (1997)
 - Further work: if headedness is about structure, is this account consistent with vowel reduction data (if they are relevant)?
- More generally:
 - I suggest that divorcing headedness and prominence is fruitful
 - If headedness and prominence are separate, there are no headless feet, just feet with heads not associated with prominence
 - If “stress” does not imply headship, unbounded feet are not needed?
 - Stress feet versus other feet: Downing (2006); Vaysman (2008); Buckley (2009)

8 Ask me about...

- Stress and epenthesis in Munster Irish
- Secondary stress
- The complete paper

References

- Buckley, Eugene. 2009. Locality in metrical typology. *Phonology* 26(4). 389–425.
- Downing, Laura J. 2006. *Canonical forms in prosodic morphology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dresher, Elan & Harry van der Hulst. 1998. Head-dependent asymmetries in prosodic phonology: visibility and complexity. *Phonology* 15(3). 317–352.
- Green, Anthony Dubach. 1997. *The prosodic structure of Irish, Scots Gaelic, and Manx*. Ph.D. thesis, Cornell University.
- Ó Sé, Diarmuid. 2000. *Gaeilge Chorca Dhuibhne*. Baile Atha Cliath: Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann.
- Ó Sé, Diarmuid. 2008. Word stress in Munster Irish. *Éigse* 36. 87–112.
- Vaysman, Olga. 2008. *Segmental alternations and metrical theory*. Ph.D. thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA.