

## A Unified Account for a Morphologically-governed Stress System in Romance

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**Introduction.** We offer a revised analysis of stress assignment in various Romance languages. We argue that stress assignment is governed by the accentual specification of morphemes and a Basic Accentuation Principle (BAP) (e.g., Kiparsky 2010, Yates 2017) and not by weight. While accents specified on morphemes have been proposed to model the verbal system of Italian, Portuguese and Spanish individually (e.g., Brame 1974 for Spanish verbs and adverbs, Krämer 2009 for Italian verbs, Bisol 1992 for Brazilian Portuguese), we contend that they can be fully exploited to model the verbal domain and the nominal domain in a unified fashion, following recent work on lexical accent systems (e.g., Kiparsky 2010, Yates 2017). We first focus on showing how we account for a variety of surface stress patterns observed in Italian (henceforth It.) and Brazilian Portuguese (henceforth BP) verbs, nominals, compounds, and loanwords. Finally, we show how this account can be leveraged to explain the stress patterns of other Romance varieties as well.

**On weight-sensitive analyses.** Previous analyses of stress assignment in Italian (e.g., D’Imperio and Rosenthal 1999, Krämer 2009, Cei and Hayes 2012) and BP rely on: 1) a three syllable window at the right edge of a word (e.g., Bisol 1992 for BP); 2) weight-sensitivity with feet or also gradient weight-sensitivity for BP (e.g., Garcia 2017); 3) exceptional status of final stress in It., or antepenult stress in BP; 4) a split system for nouns and verbs (e.g. Krämer 2009, Wetzels et al. 2012, Garcia 2017). These assumptions, however, are at odds with the data. There are exceptions to the three-syllable window in It. (e.g., [ˈkapitano], “to happen<sub>PRS.3PL.</sub>”) and in BP (e.g., [ˈxiʃ(i)miku], “rhythmic<sub>M</sub>” and [faˈlavamus-te], “to speak<sub>PST.IPFV.1PL.2OBL.</sub>”). These patterns are productive, as our pilot studies have elicited nonce forms such as [ˈpappitano] in It. and [ˈɔʃimiku] in BP. Furthermore, weight-based analyses make incorrect predictions for both It. and BP, consider forms like It. [ˈfinferlo] (type of mushroom), or BP [ˈnivew] (level<sub>SG</sub>), with heavy penult and final, respectively, which would be expected to surface as \*[finˈferlo] or \*[niˈvew]. Finally, stress patterns described as exceptional are systematic, because certain morphemes trigger final stress—like the nominal suffix [-ˈ(V)ta], and the preterit marker [-ˈɔ] in It. and the future marker [-ei] in BP—and also productive, as the antepenult stress in BP nonce words (e.g., [ˈa.ʃi.nu] “nonces<sub>SG</sub>”).

**It., BP., and other Romance Languages are Lexical Accent Systems.** In view of these facts, we point out that both languages share 3 properties with lexical accent systems. 1) Stress is not phonologically predictable, 2) stress is contrastive, see [ˈsabjɐ] vs [sabˈiɐ] vs [sabiˈa] and It. [ˈkapitano] vs [kaˈpitano] vs [kapitaˈnɔ], and crucially, 3) virtually all morphemes induce categorical stress patterns. We further show that stress patterns follow straightforwardly from 3 principles: 1) Stems and affixes are lexically specified for accent (or lack thereof), 2) a Basic Accentuation Principle (BAP): if a word has more than one accented morpheme, the rightmost one surfaces as stress (*cf.* Kiparsky and Halle 1977), and 3) If no underlying accent is present, a stem-final accent is assigned by default (*cf.* the Oxytone Rule, Kiparsky 2010). This account predicts the following fourfold fully attested typology:

/Š/ + /E/	/S/ + /É/	/Š/ + /É/	/S/ + /E/
/ ádzit -/ + /-ano/	/mandʒ-/ + /-jámo/	/ óttim -/ + /-ísta/	/mandʒ-/ + /-o/
It. [ˈadzitano]	It. [manˈdʒamo]	It. [ottiˈmista]	It. [ˈmandʒo]
/ótim/ + /-o/	/kom-/ + /-émos/	/ótim/ + /-ísta/	/kom-/ + /-o/
BP. [ˈɔʃimɔ]	BP [koˈmemɔs]	BP [oʃiˈmistɛ]	BP [ˈkomɔ]
‘optimal <sub>M</sub> ’	‘eat <sub>PRS.1PL.</sub> ’	‘optimist’	‘eat <sub>PRS.1SG.</sub> ’

The two leftmost columns in the table above show that when no accentual conflict arises, the unique underlying accent surfaces as stress. The third column shows the application of the BAP, the rightmost accent surfaces as stress. Finally, the fourth column shows the default stem-final stress when no underlying accent is present. We will also demonstrate that this system correctly derives the surface stress of compounds and derivational words containing several morphemes. Possible exceptions are explained in terms of allomorphy. We also examine data that show that the accentual specification of morphemes is largely shared across Romance varieties and we hypothesize that the system originated in Proto-Romance after the collapsing of Classical Latin's quantity-sensitive (QS) system. Once stress placement was no longer phonologically predictable, speakers associated stress with predictably stressed morphemes. Importantly, we show that the underlying accent can be learned from surface forms, making this a learnable system.

**Further Predictions.** Lastly, we elaborate on our prediction that in verbs morphemes are associated with categorical stress or lack thereof by presenting evidence from an ongoing nonce word paradigm production experiment. We show that such predictions are borne out, and we argue that certain asymmetries we observed between endings and stems arise from the fact that the accentuation of nonce stems requires stochastic modelling that takes into account speaker specific experience as well as low-level phonological details. We offer preliminary thoughts on the matter.

**Conclusions.** This talk sheds a new light on stress assignment in Romance, demonstrating that stress is morphologically governed (as in Garde 1968, Martin 2015 and Bisol 1992, among others). We show that the system is learnable, and we hypothesize a diachronic origin for it. Finally, we offer preliminary thoughts on the idea that phonological knowledge for the purpose of stress assignment may encompass high level categorical principles and low level, word-specific detail.

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