Exceptionality and Faithfulness in Polish Stress: Comparing mono- and multistratal OT analyses

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A multistratal analysis of Polish stress placement better accounts for exceptionality, faithfulness, & their interactions with morphosyntax

### Basic stress template

- Primary stress on penult, non-primary stress alternating from left (1).
  1. \( (\sigma) (\sigma) (\sigma) (\sigma) \) (rubach and Booij 1985)

- Compound components each independently follow the template (2).
  2. (a)\( \sigma \) (b)\( \sigma \) (c)\( \sigma \) (d)\( \sigma \)

- A single proclitic gets initial 2º stress but doesn’t otherwise interfere (3).
  3. \( (\sigma \alpha) (\sigma) (\sigma) (\sigma) \)

- Encitics and sequences of proclitics do not interfere with host stress.

### Treatments of exceptionality

- Exceptions: antepenultimate 1º stress under monosyllabic inflection (4a), regular penultimate 1º stress under derivation (4b).
  4. a. \( \sigma (\sigma \sigma) \) →
  b. \( (\sigma \alpha) (\sigma) \) →

- Mono: inflection and derivation both yield a PWord.
  - cannot predict the difference.

- Multi: assume that exceptions have lexically-marked head feet;
  - protected under inflection by Max(HoF) → Foot-R at Stratum 2;
  - erased under derivation by *HoF → Obl.HoF, Max(HoF) at Stratum 1.

- Conclusion: the multistratal analysis gives better treatment of exceptions.

### Existing monostatal analysis

- (Based on Kraska-Szlenk 2003, *The Phonology of Stress in Polish, LINCOM*)

- Nested prosodic domains correspond to morphophonological units:
  - PWord: root + affixes
  - MWord: complete word
  - PUnit: clitic group

- Core constraints for (binary, trochaic) foot placement in each domain:
  1. HoF-R(MWord) → the rightmost foot in the MWord is head (1º stress)
  2. Foot-R(MWord) → have a foot at the right edge of the MWord
  3. Foot-L(PUnit) → have a foot at the left edge of the PWord
  4. Foot-L(PUnit) or IDENT(MWord) → clitic-host MWord is O-O faithful to standalone MWord
  5. Foot-L(PUnit) → don’t leave unfooted (right) foot at the right edge of the PUnit

### Empirical coverage of faithfulness

- Mono: faithfulness only holds between cliticized and non-cliticized forms;
  → all non-final feet in non-cliticized forms should be left-aligned.

- Multi: faithfulness also between inflected and uninflected complex forms;
  → penultimate foot in 2º-inflected complex forms should be right-aligned.

### Extension to multiple strata

- Step 1: extend domain parameterization from Foot-R to Foot-L and Feet-L.
- Step 2: swap domains with morphological strata, O-O faithfulness with i-O.
- Stratum 1: triggered by derivation, compound head, compound formation;
- Stratum 2: triggered by inflection, compound non-head;
- Stratum 3: triggered by cliticization.

- At all strata (foot-template): FBN \( \Rightarrow \) Foot-R \( \Rightarrow \) Foot-L \( \Rightarrow \) Max(Ft) \( \Rightarrow \) Feet-L

- Step 3: add head-foot constraints, dominating foot-template constraints:
  1. Stratum 1: erase existing head foot
  2. Stratum 2: require a head foot
  3. Stratum 3: make rightmost foot head

- Step 2: swap domains with morphological strata, O-O faithfulness with i-O.

### Effects of morphosyntax

- Exceptional stress in compounds: regularized in head (2nd) component (8); retained in non-head (1st) component (9).
  8. a. \( \sigma \) (president)
  b. \( \sigma \) (pseudo-cpd + president)

- Multi: marked foot is erased in cpd head at S1; protected in non-head at S2.

### Conclusion

- the multistratal analysis allows effects of morphosyntax.

### KEY
- \( \sigma \) exceptionally-stressed syllable
- BOUNDARIES: \( \Rightarrow \) derivation, \( \Rightarrow \) inflection, \( \Rightarrow \) compound, \( \Rightarrow \) clitic

### Questions / comments
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### Details