

Stress Uniformity in Albanian: Morphological Arguments for Cyclicity

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In Albanian, uninflected words (e.g. nominative indefinite nouns) have final stress if the final syllable is closed (1a), or ends in a non-reduced non-mid vowel (1b,c), while stress falls on the penultimate syllable if the final syllable ends in a mid vowel (1d,e) (Bevington, 1974; Trommer, 2005). In forms with inflectional affixes (e.g. accusative definite nouns), stress is on the same syllable as in corresponding uninflected forms, even when the phonology would trigger a different stress position. Thus for *adetin*, we expect final stress, but stress is on the penultimate syllable:

(1)	a. ‘habit’	b. ‘cherry’	c. ‘doom’	d. ‘swing’	e. ‘midwife;’
Nom indef.	<i>adét</i>	<i>qershí</i>	<i>hatá</i>	<i>hóle,</i>	<i>bábo</i>
Acc def.	<i>adét-in</i>	<i>qersh-ín</i>	<i>hatá-n</i>	<i>hóle-n</i>	<i>bábo-n</i>

In this paper, I argue for a cyclic analysis (Kiparsky, 2000) of the Albanian data, where stress is assigned at the stem level and retained by input-output faithfulness at later levels, and show that morphological details are crucial for the evaluation of alternative analyses.

First, verbs seem to provide evidence for an output-output analysis since according to standard analyses of many verb classes (2a,b) there is no stem which would predict the correct stress position. E.g. interpreting *thelloj* as the stem *thello* and the suffix *-j*, we expect incorrectly penultimate stress since *thello* ends in a mid vowel, while stress assignment based on the full form *thelloj* generates correct final stress which can then be enforced by output-output (OO) constraints (Benua, 1997; McCarthy, 2005) on other forms such as *thelloni*.

(2)	a. ‘deepen’	b. ‘deepen’	c. ‘drink’	d. ‘open’	e. ‘kill’	f. ‘deepen’
1sg	<i>thelló-j</i>	<i>thelló-j</i>	<i>pi-Ø</i>	<i>hap-Ø</i>	<i>vrás-Ø</i>	<i>thellój-Ø</i>
2sg/3sg	<i>thello-n</i>	<i>thelló-n</i>	<i>pi-Ø</i>	<i>hap-Ø</i>	<i>vret-Ø</i>	<i>thellón-Ø</i>
1pl	<i>thelló-jm</i>	<i>thellój-m</i>	<i>pi-m</i>	<i>háp-im</i>	<i>vrás-im</i>	<i>thellój-m</i>
2pl	<i>thelló-ni</i>	<i>thelló-ni</i>	<i>pi-ni</i>	<i>háp-ni</i>	<i>vrít-ni</i>	<i>thellón-ni</i>
3pl	<i>thelló-jn</i>	<i>thellój-n</i>	<i>pi-n</i>	<i>háp-in</i>	<i>vrás-in</i>	<i>thellój-n</i>

However, there are morphological reasons for the alternative segmentation in (2f) where *n* and *j* are part of the stem. This allows to unify the analysis of plural markers in vowel-final stems, the status of *j* and the singular markers which are \emptyset in other vowel-final (2c) and all consonant-final stems (2d,e). Moreover, morphological stem change is a pervasive phenomenon in Albanian verbs (2e). Crucially, under (2f), stress assignment is fully compatible with a cyclic approach, since the stem ends in all cases in a closed syllable motivating stem-final stress. Secondly, I discuss deponent verbs (e.g. *pendó-hem*, ‘I regret’), where morphology doesn’t provide paradigm forms with active inflection motivating the observed stress position. I argue for a cyclic analysis based on deletion of stem-final *j* in the context of *h* (*pendoj-hem* → *pendo-hem*). The third data set crucial to the account of stress uniformity consists in a small set of irregular nouns which form the only exception to the statement that stress is immovable across paradigms:

(3)	a. ‘man’	b. ‘head’	c. ‘snake’	d. ‘sickle’	e. ‘river’
sig	<i>njerí</i>	<i>kallí</i>	<i>gjárpær</i>	<i>drápær</i>	<i>lúm</i>
plu	<i>njérəz</i>	<i>kálləza</i>	<i>gjarpərinj</i>	<i>drapínj</i>	<i>luménj</i>

Under an OO-account, these data are simply exceptions. Under a cyclic approach they follow straightforwardly if we assume that they involve different singular and plural stems. Thus (3b) has the singular stem *kalli* and the plural stem *kalləz*, both receiving regular phonological stress (final schwa syllables are unstressed, cf. (3d)). *-a* is independently attested as a plural affix (e.g. sig *shpi*, plu *shpí-a*, ‘hous(es)’). The plural forms in (3c,d,e) involve stem extensions ending in *n* triggering final stress and the plural suffix *j*, also found without these extensions (e.g. sig *kalamá*, plu *kalamá-j*, ‘child(ren)’).

References

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