

Stress and the cycle, in English and elsewhere  
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In the first part of the talk we document generalizations about English stress that amend the standard view of the phonological cycle. We show that in most Level 1 derivatives the cyclic computation of stress follows two alternative strategies: the familiar one, which is to preserve on cycle  $n$ , with limited modification, the stress inherited from the previous cycle  $n-1$ ; and a second, less familiar option, which is to preserve on cycle  $n$ , again with minimal modification, the stress of a lexically related form representing a more deeply embedded constituent than the  $n-1$  cycle, or else the stem of an independent co-derivative of the target form. Such alternative strategies are attested only when the result offers better satisfaction of the markedness constraints.

Illustrations of the two derivational strategies appear in (1). We refer to the output of the outer cycle  $n$  as the *Derivative*, or *D*. The output of the cycle  $n-1$  is the Derivative's *Local Base*,  $B_L$ , the exponent of an immediate lexical (as opposed to affixal) subconstituent of *D*. All forms more distantly but still related lexically to *D* are its potential *Remote Bases*,  $B_R$ . The table in (1) presents some *D*s whose stress is based on their  $B_L$ , compared to minimally different others, whose stress matches a  $B_R$ .

1. Bases and Derivatives in English stress (data from the OED)

	D	D stress < $B_L$	$B_L$ stress	D stress < $B_R$	$B_R$ stress
a.	pacífic-atòry 2	*pácífic-atòry	pàcífic-átion	pacífic-atòry	pacífic
b.	clássific-atòry 4	clássific-atòry	clássific-átion	-	-
c.	sýntact-íc-ian 3	*syntàct-íc-ian	syntáct-ic	sýntact-íc-ian	sýntàx
d.	semànt-íc-ian 2	semànt-íc-ian	semánt-ic	-	-

This data is grouped in two pairs of morphologically parallel forms. Each pair poses the same accentual problem. This problem arises because a markedness constraint is violated when a derivative adopts unchanged the stress pattern of its  $B_L$ . This is shown by the starred forms in the column labeled 'D stress <  $B_L$ '. Although the problem is the same, the solutions to it differ in each pair, as seen in the 'D' column. They differ, we argue, because only one member in each pair has an accessible lexically related form, a  $B_R$ , whose stress differs from the  $B_L$ 's. When such a  $B_R$  is available, in (1.a, c), the accentual problem is solved by letting *D*'s stem adopt the stress of this  $B_R$ . The 'D stress <  $B_R$ ' column shows this. If no optimizing  $B_R$  is available, as in (1.b, d), the phonotactic is violated.

We show that the patterns illustrated in (1) hold generally among Level 1 derivatives in English. We propose a modified version of the Output-to-Output theory of cyclic effects (Benua 1997) in which correspondence to the  $B_L$  is demanded by a violable constraint, which can be outranked by markedness. This explains why a form related to *D* that is not its  $B_L$  may serve as its Base, whenever some M constraint is better satisfied.

In the second part of the talk we outline patterns that are in some respects comparable to (1) outside English – in Romanian, A. Greek, Ukrainian, and Indonesian – and sketch an appropriately general version of the theory.