

Conflicting Directionality in Eastern Mari

Jochen Trommer

`jtrommer@uni-leipzig.de`

Department of Linguistics
University of Leipzig

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Conflicting Directionality (Zoll 1997)

- ▶ Stress the **right**most full-vowel syllable
- ▶ **Otherwise:** Stress the **left**most syllable

Rightmost Stress with Consistent Full-Vowel Roots

(43)

/koŋga/	koŋgá	‘oven’
/šerge/	šergé	‘comb’
/šudo/	šudó	‘hay’
/kəʎa/	kəʎá	‘mouse’
/čijä/	čijã	‘paint’
/čödrä/	čödrã	‘forest’
/šüzär/	šüzâr	‘sister’
/aβam/	awám	‘mother’
/murɲa/	murɲá	‘tube, pipe’
/paša/	pašá	‘work’
/kuβa/	kuβá	‘old woman’
/olma/	olmá	‘apple’
/muča/	mučá	‘end’

Leftmost Stress with Consistent ə-Roots

(46)

/βəɲər/	βəɲər	‘canvas’
/jəšəɲ/	jəšəɲ	‘joint’
/əškəl/	əškəl	‘step’
/čərkə/	čərkə	‘church’
/rəβəž/	rəβəž	‘fox’
/təlzə/	təlze	‘moon, month’
/kəlmə/	kəlmə	‘cold’
/jəlmə/	jəlmə	‘tongue; language’
/kəzət/	kəzət	‘now’
/ləβə/	ləβə	‘butterfly’
/pərəs/	pərəs	‘cat’
/čəβə/	čəβə	‘chicken, hen’

Cyclic Stress Preservation with Full-Vowel Roots

(49)

a.	pašá ‘work’	pašá-lan ‘work (Dat.)’	* pašá-lán
	olmá ‘apple’	olmá -lan ‘apple (Dat.)’	* olma-lán
	kornó ‘road’	kornó-lan ‘road (Dat.)’	*korno-lán
	kawún ‘pumpkin’	kawún-lan ‘pumpkin (Dat.)’	* kawun-lán
	keņéž ‘summer’	keņéž-län ‘summer (Dat.)’	* keņež-lán
	meráŋ ‘hare’	meráŋ-län ‘hare (Dat.)’	* meraŋ-lán

b.	pašá ‘work’	pašá-ge ‘work (Com.)’	* pašá-gé
	olmá ‘apple’	olmá-ge ‘apple (Com.)’	* olma-gé
	kornó ‘road’	kornó-ge ‘road (Com.)’	*korno-gé
	kawún ‘pumpkin’	kawún-ge ‘pumpkin (Com.)’	* kawun-gé
	keņéž ‘summer’	keņéž-ge ‘summer (Com.)’	* keņež-gé
	meráŋ ‘hare’	meráŋ-ge ‘hare (Com.)’	* meraŋ-gé

Stress Reassignment with ə-Roots

(51)

a.

rəwəʒ	‘fox’	rəwəʒ-lán	‘fox (Dat.)’
təlze	‘moon, month’	təlze-lán	‘moon (Dat.)’
jəlme	‘tongue; language’	jəlmə-lán	‘tongue (Dat.)’
láβe	‘butterfly’	ləβə-lán	‘butterfly (Dat.)’
pərəs	‘cat’	pərəs-lán	‘cat (Dat.)’
čəβe	‘chicken, hen’	čəβə-lán	‘hen (Dat.)’

b.

rəwəʒ	‘fox’	rəwəʒ-gé	‘fox (Com.)’
təlze	‘moon, month’	təlze-gé	‘moon (Com.)’
jəlme	‘tongue; language’	jəlmə-gé	‘tongue (Com.)’
láβe	‘butterfly’	ləβə-gé	‘butterfly (Com.)’
pərəs	‘cat’	pərəs-gé	‘cat (Com.)’
čəβe	‘chicken, hen’	čəβə-gé	‘hen (Com.)’

Mixed Roots

(52)

- | | | | | |
|----|--------|----------|------------|-----------------|
| a. | ímpe | ‘horse’ | impə-lân | ‘horse (Dat.)’ |
| | múno | ‘egg’ | munə-lân | ‘egg (Dat.)’ |
| | wáštər | ‘maple’ | waštər-lân | ‘maple (Dat.)’ |
| | sérəš | ‘letter’ | serəš-lân | ‘letter (Dat.)’ |
| | jũksö | ‘swan’ | jũksə-lân | ‘swan (Dat.)’ |
| | küzö | ‘knife’ | küzə-lân | ‘knife (Dat.)’ |
| | | | | |
| b. | ímpe | ‘horse’ | impə-ge | ‘horse (Com.)’ |
| | múno | ‘egg’ | múnə-ge | ‘egg (Com.)’ |
| | wáštər | ‘maple’ | wáštər-ge | ‘maple (Com.)’ |
| | sérəš | ‘letter’ | sérəš-ge | ‘letter (Com.)’ |
| | jũksö | ‘swan’ | jũksə-ge | ‘swan (Com.)’ |
| | küzö | ‘knife’ | küzə-ge | ‘knife (Com.)’ |

Vowel Harmony: Full Vowels

(67)

Nom.sg. non-poss.
no suffix

Nom.sg. 2nd p.pl. possessive
suffix /-ta/

a. ém 'medicine'
tűrö 'edge'
čödrâ 'forest'
čijâ 'paint'

ém-dä³¹ 'your (pl.) medicine'
tűrə-tâ 'your (pl.) edge'
čödrâ-tä 'your (pl.) forest'
čijâ-tä 'your (pl.) paint'

b. ußér 'news'
ólək 'meadow'
aßám 'mother'
kutkó 'ant'

ußér-ta 'your (pl.) news'
ólək-tá 'your (pl.) meadow'
aßám-ta 'your (pl.) mother'
kutkó-ta 'your (pl.) ant'

Anti-Reduction and Harmony for ə

(52)

- | | | | | |
|----|--------|----------|------------|-----------------|
| a. | ímpe | ‘horse’ | impə-lân | ‘horse (Dat.)’ |
| | múno | ‘egg’ | munə-lân | ‘egg (Dat.)’ |
| | wáštər | ‘maple’ | waštər-lân | ‘maple (Dat.)’ |
| | sérəš | ‘letter’ | serəš-lân | ‘letter (Dat.)’ |
| | jũksö | ‘swan’ | jũksə-lân | ‘swan (Dat.)’ |
| | kũzö | ‘knife’ | kũzə-lân | ‘knife (Dat.)’ |
| | | | | |
| b. | ímpe | ‘horse’ | impə-ge | ‘horse (Com.)’ |
| | múno | ‘egg’ | múnə-ge | ‘egg (Com.)’ |
| | wáštər | ‘maple’ | wáštər-ge | ‘maple (Com.)’ |
| | sérəš | ‘letter’ | sérəš-ge | ‘letter (Com.)’ |
| | jũksö | ‘swan’ | jũksə-ge | ‘swan (Com.)’ |
| | kũzö | ‘knife’ | kũzə-ge | ‘knife (Com.)’ |

Stem Level

Stress rightmost full vowel:

Input: = c.	RIGHTMOST	*é	OBLIGATORY	LEFTMOST
 a. ol má				*
b. ó lma	*!			
c. olma			*!	

No stress if rightmost vowel is ə

Input: = c.	RIGHTMOST	*é	OBLIGATORY	LEFTMOST
a. pə rés		*!		*
b. pér əs	*!	*!		
 c. pərəs			*	

Word Level Bare Roots

Keep stress on full vowel:

Input: = a.	OBL	CULM	MAX STR	*ə	LEFTM	RIGHTM
 a. ol má					*	
b. ól ma			*!			*
c. olma	*!		*			

Leftmost stress on ə

Input: = d.	OBL	CULM	MAX STR	*ə	LEFTM	RIGHTM
a. pə rés				*	*!	
 b. pár əs				*		*
c. pərəs	*!					

Word Level of Consistent Roots + -ge

Stress Preservation for Full-Vowel Roots:

Input: = a.	OBL	CULM	MAX STR	*ə	LEFTM	RIGHTM
☞ a. ol má -ge					*	*
b. ól ma-ge			*!			**
c. olma- gé			*!		**	

Stress on Full-Vowel Affix with ə-Roots

Input: = d.	OBL	CULM	MAX STR	*ə	LEFTM	RIGHTM
a. pə rés				*!	*	
b. pér əs-ge				*!		**
☞ c. pərəs- gé					**	
d. pərəs-ge	*!					

Word Level of Consistent Roots + -lán

Stress Preservation for Full-Vowel Roots:

Input: = d.	OBL	CULM	MAX STR	*é	LEFTM	RIGHTM
 a. ol má -lan			*		*	*
b. ó lma-lan			**!			*
c. olma- lán			*		**!	
d. ol má-lán		*!			***	*

Stress on Full-Vowel Affix with ə-Roots

Input: = c.	OBL	CULM	MAX STR	*é	LEFTM	RIGHTM
a. pə rés -lan			*!	*	*	*
b. pér əs-lan			*!			**
 c. pə rəs-lán					**	

Mixed Affixed Roots with -lán

Stem Level:

Input: = c.	RIGHTMOST	*é	OBLIGATORY	LEFTMOST
a. waftér		*!		*
b. wáftər	*!			
☞ c. waftər				

Word Level:

Input: = c.	OBL	CULM	MAX STR	*é	LEFTM	RIGHTM
a. waftér-lan			*!	*	*	*
b. wáftər-lan			*!	*		*
☞ c. waftər-lán					*	

Mixed Affixed Roots with -ge

Stem Level:

Input: = c.	RIGHTMOST	*ǵ	OBLIGATORY	LEFTMOST
a. waftér		*!		*
b. wáftər	*!			
☞ c. waftər				

Word Level:

Input: = c.	OBL	CULM	MAX STR	*ǵ	LEFTM	RIGHTM
a. waftər-ge					*!	
☞ b. wáftər-ge				*		*
c. waftər-ge	*!					

References

Zoll, C. (1997). Conflicting directionality. *Phonology*, 14:263–286.