This paper addresses the proper treatment of post-peninitial primary stress in Kashaya (Oswalt 1961, 1988). In the default Kashaya pattern, primary stress appears on the third syllable, and secondary stress appears on alternating subsequent syllables, except the final syllable. (Evidence for the locations of stress comes primarily from lengthening.)}

While previous analyses employ initial extrametricality to produce the post-peninitial stress—designating the initial syllable as extrametrical and then constructing iambics from left to right—we argue that the evidence favors an approach based on a trisyllabic stress window: primary stress is oriented toward the word’s right edge but cannot move further to the right than the third syllable.

Our account adopts the general approach to stress windows provided by Relation Specific Alignment (RSA) constraints, which prohibit a ‘separator’ category from intervening between the relevant edges of the aligned categories, when they occur in a particular configuration. The key constraint is INITIAL WINDOW, which prohibits a syllable from intervening between the right edge of a foot and the left edge of a primary stress that follows. ($x_\omega =$ prosodic word-level gridmark or primary stress.)

**INITIAL WINDOW**: *$\langle F, x_\omega, \sigma \rangle / F...\sigma...x.$* ‘Assess a violation mark for every $\langle F, x_\omega, \sigma \rangle$ such that $F$ precedes $x_\omega$ with $\sigma$ intervening.’

INITIAL WINDOW is satisfied when the primary stress occupies one of the two syllables within the initial foot or the syllable adjacent to the initial foot, effectively restricting stress to a three-syllable window.

To correctly position primary stress in Kashaya, INITIAL WINDOW must rank above the constraint that aligns primary stress with the right edge of the prosodic word. ALIGN-RIGHT draws the primary stress to the right, but INITIAL WINDOW prevents it from occurring any further to the right than the syllable adjacent to the initial foot. (The initial foot emerges without stress). The result is post-peninitial primary stress. For clarity, only the initial foot and primary stress are shown in (3).

Previous analyses of the Kashaya pattern rely on an initial extrametrical syllable followed by an iambic foot to produce the post-peninitial primary stress (Buckley 1994, 2009). There are significant problems with the initial extrametricality approach. While stress windows are known to occur at both the right and left edges, the same is not true of extrametricality effects. It has long been recognized that extrametricality/non-finality effects occur predominantly, perhaps exclusively, at the right edge of prosodic domains (Hayes 1981, Prince & Smolensky 1993). In most of the few cases where initial
extrametricality has been proposed, as in cases of onset-sensitive stress (Halle & Vergnaud 1987), non-extrametricality alternatives are readily available (Smith 2005, Topintzi 2010).

More importantly, as Altschuler (2009) and others demonstrate, including initial extrametricality in an OT constraint set leads to significant, even pathological, overgeneration in predicted stress typologies. For example, the patterns in (4b) are both attested. They emerge when final extrametricality or non-finality prevents a final syllable from being stressed in an iambic system. In the even-parity form in (4bi), an expected final stress shifts leftward in an ‘iambic reversal’. In (4bii), an expected final stress is absent altogether. In contrast, the mirror image patterns in (4a), which would be produced by initial extrametricality or non-initiality in trochaic systems, are unattested. In (4ai), an expected initial stress shifts rightward in a ‘trochaic reversal’. In (4a(ii), an expected initial stress is absent altogether.

(4)  
a. Trochaic + initial extrametricality  
i. σσσσσ
   σσσσσ
   Unattested
ii. σσσσσ
   σσσσσ
   Unattested

b. Iambic + final extrametricality  
i. σσσσσ
   σσσσσ
   Aguaruna (Hung 1994)
ii. σσσσσ
   σσσσσ
   Choctaw (Nicklas 1972, 1975)

We demonstrate that the RSA stress window approach produces the Kashaya pattern without also producing the types of unattested patterns that result from initial extrametricality or non-initiality.

Word count: 689

References