

Study question for Steriade 1999

Steriade, Donca. 1999. Lexical conservatism in French adjectival liaison.. In J. -Marc Authier, Barbara Bullock, & Lisa Reid (eds.), *Formal Perspectives on Romance Linguistics*, 243–270. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Notes

p. 244-245 We haven't talked about level-ordering yet, but the idea is that "early" affixation is subjected to a set of rules/constraint ranking at Level 1 (and then also Level 2), but "late" affixation is subjected only to rules at Level 2.

So if *-ism* is added to *bureaucrat* at Level 1, stress rules will apply to the whole word (*buréaucratism*). But if *invalid* passes through Level 1 on its own and gets stress (*invalid*), that stress won't change if *-ism* is then added at Level 2 (*invalidism*).

Steriade "Level 1" to mean "stress-shifting" and "Level 2" to mean non-stress shifting. And she's arguing that the difference is actually not one of level-ordering, or of affix version, but rather of whether another form of the same word exists with the needed stress pattern.

Question

As last week, this is just an exercise to help you check your comprehension rather than a deep-thinking question.

Steriade talks on pp. 265-267 about what happens at an accentual-phrase boundary, which requires one last set of constraints for French. Check the whole analysis by making tableaux for these two utterances (suppose they're grammatical). Include Steriade's constraints *HIATUS, (12), (17), (18), Lex P- \forall _{loose}, (24), (26) plus a constraint *BREAK ("don't extend a morpheme across an AP boundary").

Note that 'healthy' has citation forms *sain* [sɛ̃] (masc.) and *saine* [sen] (fem.)

J'en ai un sain, éléphant 'I have a healthy one, a male elephant'
J'en ai un s[e \$ e]léphant
J'en ai un s[en \$ e]léphant
J'en ai un s[ẽ \$ e]léphant
J'en ai un s[ẽn \$ e]léphant
J'en ai un s[e \$ ne]léphant
☞ J'en ai un s[ẽ \$ ne]léphant

J'en ai une saine, éléphante 'I have a healthy one, a female elephant'
J'en ai une s[e \$ e]léphante
☞ J'en ai une s[en \$ e]léphante
J'en ai une s[ẽ \$ e]léphante
J'en ai une s[ẽn \$ e]léphante
J'en ai une s[e \$ ne]léphante
J'en ai une s[ẽ \$ ne]léphante