

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 The theory of Lexical Phonology and Morphology: 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*).

		bureaucrat	invalid
Level 1	add affixes, if any	bureaucratism	--
	apply stress	buréaucratism	ínvalid
Level 2	add affixes, if any	--	--

Steriade takes “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

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.)

<i>J’en ai un sain, éléphant</i>	‘I have a healthy one, a male elephant’
J’en ai un s[ɛ \$ e]léphant	
J’en ai un s[en \$ e]léphant	
J’en ai un s[ɛ̃ \$ e]léphant	
J’en ai un s[ɛ̃n \$ e]léphant	
J’en ai un s[ɛ \$ ne]léphant	
☞ J’en ai un s[ɛ̃ \$ ne]léphant	

(see other side for other tableau)

J'en ai une saine, éléphant 'I have a healthy one, a female elephant'

J'en ai une s[ɛ \$ e]léphant



J'en ai une s[ɛn \$ e]léphant

J'en ai une s[ɛ̃ \$ e]léphant

J'en ai une s[ɛ̃n \$ e]léphant

J'en ai une s[ɛ \$ ne]léphant

J'en ai une s[ɛ̃ \$ ne]léphant