

Serial Directional Evaluation of Generalized Trochee in Wergaia

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Wergaia Stress Wergaia exemplifies a generalized trochee language where heavy syllables generally do not bear stress, except when in final position in an odd-parity word to preserve a regular rhythmic alternation (1).

(1) Wergaia stress (Hyde 2007)

a. Words with an even number of syllables:

'gaba 'to chase' ('LL) 'baɟig 'stone tomahawk' ('LH) 'wiɾim, bulij 'spider' ('LH)(,LH)
'winag, ɟera 'to leave one another' ('LH)(,LL)

b. Odd-parity words with a final light syllable:

'dagunɟa 'to punch someone' ('LH)L 'delguna 'to cure' ('HL)L

c. Odd-parity words with a final heavy syllable:

'buna, ɟug 'broad-leaved mallee' ('LL)(,H) 'geɟau, wil 'he let me in' ('LH)(,H)

Serial Directional Evaluation w/o FTBIN/ALIGN Following previous studies (Lin & Wang 2024; Ho & Lin to appear; Lin to appear), we propose that with TROCHEE (2) and IAMB (3), a serial directional evaluation (4) (Lamont 2022) without relying on FTBIN/ALIGN is viable. At each of the first two steps in (5a-c), the generalized trochee pattern is enforced because IAMB[⇒] is ranked lower. Without resorting to FTBIN (Prince & Smolensky 1993/2004) and the ALIGN family (McCarthy & Prince 1993), the analysis is more parsimonious than a serial evaluation of the same phenomenon that employs the traditional constraints (Pruitt 2010).¹

(2) TROCHEE (cf. Lamont 2022): Assign one violation for a monomoraic syllable that is i) a foot-initial non-head, i.e., *(L'H), *(L'L), *(L), or ii) a foot-final head, i.e., *(L'L), *(L), *(H'L).

(3) IAMB (cf. Lamont 2022): Assign one violation for a monomoraic syllable that is i) a foot-final non-head, i.e., *(HL), *(LL), *(L), or ii) a foot-initial head, i.e., *(LL), *(L), *(LH).

(4) Directional evaluation of PARSE(σ) (Lamont 2022), for example:

a. Violation vectors and harmonic ordering by PARSE(σ)[⇒]:

1111 > 1110 > 1101 > 1100 > 1011 > 1001 > 0111 > 0011

σσσσ < σσσ(σ) < σσ(σ)σ < σσ(σσ) < σ(σ)σσ < σ(σσ)σ < (σ)σσσ < (σσ)σσ

b. Violation vectors and harmonic ordering by PARSE(σ)[⇐]:

1111 > 0111 > 1011 > 0011 > 1101 > 1001 > 1110 > 1100

σσσσ < (σ)σσσ < σ(σ)σσ < (σσ)σσ < σσ(σ)σ < σ(σσ)σ < σσσ(σ) < σσ(σσ)

(5) Generalized trochee in Wergaia: TROCHEE[⇒] >> PARSE(σ)[⇒] >> IAMB[⇒], *CLASH[⇒], PARSE(σ)[⇐]

a. /LLH/ → [(LL)(H)] cf. (1c)

	TROCHEE [⇒]	PARSE(σ) [⇒]	IAMB [⇒]	*CLASH [⇒]	PARSE(σ) [⇐]
☞ a. ('LL)H		001	110		001
b. (L'L)H	W 110	001	L		001
c. L(LH)		W 100	L 010		L 100
d. ('LL)H		W 001	110		W 001
☞ e. ('LL)(,H)			110		

¹ In the analysis below, the directionalities of the constraints do not affect the outcome and are assumed to be rightward by default, except for PARSE(σ), whose directionalities determine where feet surface, rightward or leftward.

(Convergence at 3rd iteration not shown)

b. /LHLH/ → [(‘LH)(LH)] cf. (1a)

1st step: /LHLH/ → [(‘LH)LH]

*[(L‘H)LH]: TROCHEE[⇒] >> IAMB[⇒]

*[LH(‘LH)]: PARSE(σ)[⇒] >> IAMB[⇒], PARSE(σ)[⇐]

2nd step: [(‘LH)LH/ → [(‘LH)(LH)]

*[(‘LH)LH]: PARSE(σ)[⇒] >> IAMB[⇒]

Convergence at 3rd step: [(‘LH)(LH)]

c. /HLL/ → [(‘HL)L] cf. (1b)

1st step: /HLL/ → [(‘HL)L]

*[(H‘L)L]: TROCHEE[⇒] >> IAMB[⇒]

*[H(‘LL)]: PARSE(σ)[⇒] >> PARSE(σ)[⇐]

Convergence at 2nd step: [(‘HL)L]

*[(‘HL)(L)]: TROCHEE[⇒] >> PARSE(σ)[⇒]

Serialism vs. Parallelism Note that when *CLASH (Kager 1994, Prince 1983, Selkirk 1984), which penalizes adjacent pairs of syllables, is lower ranked, directional constraint evaluation cannot prevent a parallel analysis from generating unattested non-local weight sensitivity (cf. Pruitt 2010; Hyde 2007), where initial/medial heavy syllables are parsed into a monosyllabic foot only in odd-parity words to satisfy higher ranked TROCHEE[⇒] and PARSE(σ)[⇒] (6), cf. (7). A serial evaluation, in contrast, will avoid such lookahead effect of parity count, as foot building is serially maximal due to PARSE(σ)[⇒] (8). In this regard, directional evaluation is more restrictive in serialism than in parallelism.

(6) Parallel maximal parsing with initial heavy syllable in odd-parity words

/HLLL/	TROCHEE [⇒]	PARSE(σ) [⇒]	IAMB [⇒]	*CLASH [⇒]	PARSE(σ) [⇐]
☞ a. (‘H)(‘LL)(‘LL)			01111	01000	
b. (‘HL)(‘LL)L		W 00001	01110L	L	W 00001
c. (‘HL)(‘LL)(‘L)	W 00001		01111	L	
/LLHLL/	TROCHEE [⇒]	PARSE(σ) [⇒]	IAMB [⇒]	*CLASH [⇒]	PARSE(σ) [⇐]
☞ d. (‘LL)(‘H)(‘LL)			11011	00010	
e. (‘LL)(‘HL)L		W 00001	L 11010	L	W 00001
f. (‘LL)(‘HL)(‘L)	W 00001		11011	L	

(7) Parallel maximal parsing with initial heavy syllable in even-parity words

/HLLL/	TROCHEE [⇒]	PARSE(σ) [⇒]	IAMB [⇒]	*CLASH [⇒]	PARSE(σ) [⇐]
a. (‘H)(‘LL)L		W 0001	L 0110	W 0100	W 0001
☞ b. (‘HL)(‘LL)			0111		
c. (‘H)(‘LL)(‘L)	W 0001		0111	W 0100	
/LLHL/	TROCHEE [⇒]	PARSE(σ) [⇒]	IAMB [⇒]	*CLASH [⇒]	PARSE(σ) [⇐]
☞ d. (‘LL)(‘HL)			1101		
e. (‘LL)(‘H)L		W 0001	L 1100		W 0001
f. (‘LL)(‘H)(‘L)	W 0001		1101	W 0001	

(8) Serial maximal parsing with initial/medial heavy syllable in odd-parity words

/HLLL/ <i>1st step</i>	TROCHEE [⇒]	PARSE(σ) [⇒]	IAMB [⇒]	*CLASH [⇒]	PARSE(σ) [⇐]
a. (‘H)LLL		W 01111	L		W 01111
☞ b. (‘HL)LLL		00111	01000		00111
[(‘LL)HLL/ <i>2nd step</i>	TROCHEE [⇒]	PARSE(σ) [⇒]	IAMB [⇒]	*CLASH [⇒]	PARSE(σ) [⇐]
☞ c. (‘LL)(‘HL)L		00001	11010		00001
d. (‘LL)(‘H)LL		W 00011	L 11000		W 00011

Selected references: Lamont, A., 2022. A restrictive, parsimonious theory of footing in directional Harmonic Serialism. Lin, K.-C. & S.-F. Wang. 2024. Serial directional evaluation of rhythmic reversal in Axininca. Pruitt, K, 2010. Serialism and locality in constraint-based metrical parsing.