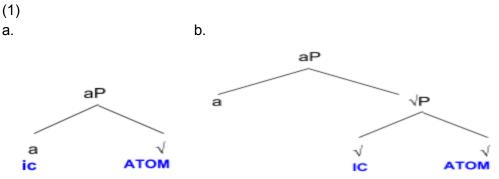
Derivational affixes as roots in a lexical stress system

Marko Simonović, University of Nova Gorica In a recent elaboration of Distributed Morphology, the separation between roots and categorial heads has been extended to derivational suffixes (Lowenstamm 2015, Creemers et al. 2018). These authors then propose replacing the 'traditional' DM representation of the adjective such as *atomic* in 1a with the representation in 1b.



The arguments for the move from 1a to 1b come from the selectional requirements, the syntactic behaviour and the stress assignment triggered by derivational suffixes. Suffixes such as *-ic-* have been argued to select roots, derive either nouns or adjectives (cf. *tunic*, *magic* and *comic*) and affect stress of the root they select (*atómic* vs *átom*).

To our knowledge, this approach has only been applied to languages in which prosodic contrast is the result of the cyclic application of the same stress rule rather than of lexical prosody. It is therefore that the discussion of prosodic alternations remained limited to the issue of cyclicity. In this paper, we consider the consequences of derivational affixes as roots in Slovenian, a lexical prosody system. In Slovenian complex words, lexical accent information of different roots combines to produce the stress pattern of the entire word.

Simonović (2018) analyses Slovenian verb prosody as guided by the presence or absence of a floating lexical prosody in combination with markedness constraints which align stress with the right edge of the stress-assignment domain and militate against stressing agreement morphemes. As a result, in accented roots the stress is stem-final, and in unaccented roots the stress ends up on the theme vowel. Surprisingly, the secondary imperfectivisation suffixes which override the prosody of the verbalised root, display the same contrast. Under this analysis, the difference between a free accented root such as  $\sqrt{GLED}$  and a bound accented root such as  $\sqrt{AV}$  is only in their selectional properties (the latter requiring a vP complement).

Accented roots	Accentless roots	
a. gléd-a-ti 'to watch' b. polír-a-ti 'to polish'	a. kop-á-ti 'to dig' b. goljuf-á-ti 'to trick'	
<ul> <li>c. pre-gled-áv-a-ti 'to check<sub>SecImp</sub>'</li> <li>d. pre-kop-áv-a-ti 'to dig<sub>SecImp</sub>'</li> </ul>	c. pre-gled-ov-á-ti 'to check <sub>Secimp</sub> ' d. pri-skrb-ov-á-ti 'to procure <sub>Secimp</sub> '	

As argued by Creemers et al. (2017), the root analysis is especially desirable for those derivational affixes which display categorial flexibility, as English *-ic* quoted above. It is not uncontroversial, however, that e.g. *tunic* and *atomic* contain the same suffix or even that the

former contains a suffix to begin with. This is another area in which a lexical stress system constitutes an optimal case study because the underlying prosody of the root can survive across categorical embeddings, which constitutes additional evidence for a unified analysis. It is such evidence that we find for the two derivational suffixes identified by Simonović (2018):  $\sqrt{AV}$  tends to be stressed,  $\sqrt{OV}$  tends to be unstressed.

	nouns		adjectives	
Vav	pis-áv-a write-av-N	'writing'	zved-áv-a learn-av-A	'curious'
	pušč-áv-a desolate-av-N'	'dessert'	bah-áv-a boast-av-A	'boastful'
Vov	hríb-ov mountain-ov	'mountain.GenPl'	limón-ov-a lemon-ov	ʻlemon.A'
	paradížnik-ov tomato-ov	'tomato.GenPl'	paradížnik-ov-a tomato-ov	'tomato.A'

The nominalised *-ov-* does present some challenges. The analysis of the genitive plural affix as the same root may appear problematic and the arguments for an accidental-homonymy analysis should be considered seriously. An additional issue is the existence in the stressed *-ov-* in two contexts.

DU and PL augment (lexically restricted to dozens of nouns)		Augment in derivations √+ov+√+ <sub>CAT</sub>	
sin-óv-a son-ov-NomDu	'son.NomDu'	podatk-óv-n-a data-ov-n-A	'data.A'
sin-óv-om son-ov-DatPl	'son.DatPl'	grm-óv-j-e bush-ov-j-N	'bushes'

An analysis of the distribution of *-ov-* will be presented in which the stressed *-ov-* is actually a consequence of its ending up in a structural position in which any root would be stressed. Finally, the pros and cons of the root analysis of the two affixes will be pitted against each other and the theoretical importance of investigations into other Slavic lexical systems will be elaborated.

## References

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