

Proposal. This paper proposes **Transparadigmatic Output-Output Correspondence (TR-OO-CORR)** to account for unexpected similarity in word accent between morphologically related words in the Bolivian language Ese'ejá (EE). Verbal inflection in EE idiosyncratically assigns accent to the initial, penult, or ultima of an unmodified stem. In contrast, when the stem contains derivational morphology the position of accent exceptionally remains faithful to the position in inflected verbs without derivational morphology. I argue for a TR-OO-CORR relation x in $[\text{root}_1\text{-INFL}_1]_x \leftrightarrow [\text{root}_1\text{-DERIV}\text{-INFL}_1]_x$ which mediates identity, and show the inadequacy of standard OO-CORR or strict IO cyclicity (e.g. Stratal OT).

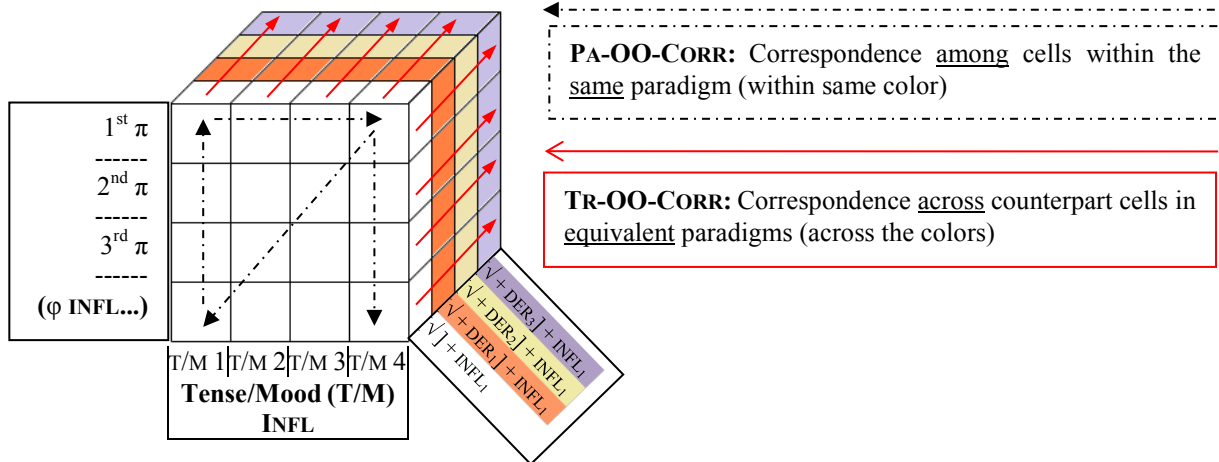
OO theory. It has long been known that some word forms display unexpected phonological similarity to morphologically related forms, e.g. pre-generative works Kuryłowicz (1949) and ‘Sturtevant’s Paradox’ in Sturtevant (1947), and ‘cyclic’/‘leveling’ effects in early generative work. One prominent modern theory capturing such effects is transderivational **OO-CORR**, in which an output form acts as the Base to another output form, enforcing faithfulness along a phonological dimension (classic works Chung 1983, Kenstowicz 1996, Benua 1997, Steriade 2000, Alderete 2001, Downing et al. 2005, McCarthy 2005, a.o.).

OO theory has been used to capture similarity [1] under derivational affixation (e.g. $\text{capi}[\text{r}]_{\text{al}} \leftrightarrow \text{capi}[\text{r}]_{\text{alistic}}$, cf. $\text{mili}[\text{t}^{\text{h}}]_{\text{aristic}}$ - Davis 2005), and [2] within inflectional paradigms (e.g. the Falkenberg German change $\text{[s>/\{p,t\}]}$ is unexpectedly not found in $[\text{ɛs-t}]$ 3SG of $[\text{ɛsən}]$ ‘to be’, cf. $[\text{poft}]$ ‘post mail’ - Hall & Scott 2007). I term this latter type **Paradigmatic OO-CORR (PA-OO-CORR)**. For word forms to enter a correspondence set, they must be similar along some dimension. Basic OO-CORR requires sharing the same root, whereas in PA-OO-CORR the same root is shared and inflectional affixes also share at least one feature [F] and thereby form a paradigm. A schema is in the table below ($\sqrt{\quad}$ = root).

CORR type	CORR set	Example	Similarity
(Basic) OO	$[X]_x \leftrightarrow [X-Y]_x$	$[\sqrt{\quad}]_x \leftrightarrow [\sqrt{\quad}\text{-DERIV}]_x$	Same $\sqrt{\quad}$
PA-OO	$[X-A]_x \leftrightarrow [X-B]_x$	$[\sqrt{\quad}\text{-INFL}_1]_x \leftrightarrow [\sqrt{\quad}\text{-INFL}_2]_x$	Same $\sqrt{\quad}$ INFLs share [F]
	TR-OO	$[X-A]_x \leftrightarrow [X-Y-A]_x$	$[\sqrt{\quad}\text{-INFL}_1]_x \leftrightarrow [\sqrt{\quad}\text{-DERIV}\text{-INFL}_1]_x$

I argue that these properties predict a third type of correspondence **TR-OO-CORR**. In this type, a root with an inflectional affix acts as the Output Base to a root with derivational morphology in the

same inflectional context. Under TR-OO-CORR, the corresponding outputs are similar in having the same inflection, and therefore share a complete set of features $[F_1 \dots F_n]$ and not an incomplete set as in PA-OO-CORR. The differences vs. PA-OO-CORR are schematized above, and in the Rubik’s Cube figure below.



Data. I argue that EE verbal accent provides empirical support for TR-OO-CORR. In EE, verbs are obligatorily inflected for agreement and tense/mood. Inflectional suffixes idiosyncratically assign accent to a position of the verbal stem, for example the suffix -ka 3AGR assigns accent to the initial while -nahe PAST to the penult (Author & Vuillermet in press, Author in press). When morphological accent patterns are in conflict (Revithiadou 1997, Alderete 2001, Hyman 2016), EE exhibits the well-known property that the outermost dominant affix wins (Inkelas 1998). This behavior can be modeled with either standard

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OO-CORR or strict IO-CORR cyclicity. Examples of accent-assigning INFL are in columns 1-2 in the table below. Note that accent falls on the 1st, 2nd, or 3rd syllable on the surface. Author (in press) details the behavior of this left-edge three-syllable metrical window (which are typologically rare – Kager 2012).

In contrast, col. 3 shows cases which cannot be handled by these accounts, where accent appears in an unexpected position. In these cases, the stem appears with a derivational morpheme (underlined), e.g. detransitivizing REDUP, -hya ‘away’, and -‘yo TELIC. For example, /...ó-me/ POT1 ‘may’ (row A) assigns accent to the ultima in col. 4 with the underivated 3σ stem [jeki-ká]-me. However, the equivalent 3σ stem with derivational morphology in col 3 exhibits a different and unexpected accent position. [^x = unattested]

1		2		3		4	
Accent-assigning INFL morpheme		Inflected: [√] + INFL	Derivational: [√] + DERIV + INFL		Cf. [√] + INFL (w/ equal # of σ) - ☹ Expected		
			⊗ Unexpected	⊗ Expected			
A	/...ó-me/ POT1	[√hya]-ká-me	hya- <u>hyá</u> -ka-me	^x hya- <u>hya</u> -ká-me	[√jeki]-ká-me		
		[√jeki]-ká-me	jeki- <u>hyá</u> -ka-me	^x jeki- <u>hya</u> -ka-me	[√ishé’a]-ka-me		
B	/...σσ-nahe/ PAST	[√bésa]-nahe	bésa-‘yo-nahe	^x besá-‘yo-nahe	[√towáa]-nahe		
C	/...ó-kyae/ POT2	[√hyá]-kyae	hyá- <u>hya</u> -kyae	^x hya- <u>hyá</u> -kyae	[√besá]-kyae		
D	/...σσ-ani/ PRES	[√jeki]-ka-ani	jeki- <u>hya</u> -ka-ani	^x jeki- <u>hya</u> -ka-ani	[√íshe’a]-ka-ani		

TR-OO-CORR. I analyze the unexpected patterns as Transparadigmatic Output-Output Faithfulness (TR-OO_F). The unexpected position of accent in col. 3 above always matches the position of accent in col. 2 defined from the left edge, even if it falls on a different morpheme (compare row A to B-D). The tableau below shows that the inflected form (from 2B above) acts as the Base for the inflected + derivated form (3B). A constraint [TR-OO_F(melody)] enforces identical accent melodies between transparadigmatically related forms, i.e. having the exact same root and inflection. Crucially, this constraint does not enforce paradigmatic faithfulness between forms with *different* inflectional affixes (compare outputs 2A & 2D).

Input: /besa-/√ + /-‘yo/deriv + /...óσσ-nahe/inf	TR-OO(mel)	IO(accent)
Base: [bésa-nahe] _x		
a. [bésa-‘yo-nahe] _x		*
b. [besá-‘yo-nahe] _x	*!	

In comparison, an account within a strict IO-CORR cyclicity model such as Stratal OT (Kiparsky 2000, Bermúdez-Otero 2012, forthcoming) is problematic. This model would require that INFL affixes first merge and assign accent to the stem. Following this, derivational morphemes – which may bear accent but do not assign it – are then interfixed between the root and the inflection. This set of operations is both typologically and theoretically suspect, and not adopted here.

Functional motivation. The complexity of accent assignment in Ese’ija verbs puts an exceptional burden on both ‘on-line’ derivation and acquisition (detailed in Author in press). As said above, the location of primary accent must appear on one of the first three syllables at the beginning of word, but the inflectional morphemes conditioning accent occur towards the end of the word. This difficulty is only increased when derivational morphemes appear in between. The language enforcing TR-OO_F(melody) can therefore be understood as a response to this challenging task, resulting in transparadigmatic leveling of forms across counterpart cells. This is advantageous over paradigmatic leveling which would eliminate the suprasegmental cues which secondarily signal important inflectional distinctions.

Discussion. I have introduced a novel type of correspondence TR-OO-CORR, adding to the body of work demonstrating that similarity in one linguistic dimension can induce similarity (or dissimilarity) in another, mediated by a relation CORR (e.g. Paradigm Uniformity/Distinctiveness; Agreement By Correspondence - Rose & Walker 2004; Coordination Reduction - Booij 1985; a.o.). This paper addresses the question of what **threshold of similarity** is required in order for forms to correspond, arguing that similarity can be measured paradigmatically (# of common features in affixes) and transparadigmatically (how similar are the stems in the same inflectional context). This paper concludes by further exploring this notion as applied to certain accent patterns found in EE nouns. I show that a noun form can act as the Base when it is only *phonologically* similar to the input, if a more similar morphological form is absent: Base [Z-A]_x <-> Output [X-Y-A]_x where Z and X have the same number of syllables, and where *[X-A].