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According to the type of accent languages are usually divided into two categories: those possessing free accent and those possessing fixed accent. In languages of the latter category the position of accent is conditioned by the phonetic structure of the word.

The accent is being fixed in various manners, most of which, however, are variations of one and the same basic principle - syllable counting. In the simplest case stress falls on a certain syllable counted from the word's beginning or end. All other ways of fixing the accent are apparently being derived from the basic principle by means of introducing into the fixation rule of some additional factor - structure, quantity of the syllable (by quality we mean both the segmental and the suprasegmental syllable quality - i. e. tone).

Thus, if we take into account the manner of accent fixation and rules determining the position of accent in accent-fixed languages, then following subdivisions may be distinguished:

1) Languages where the position of accent is determined by counting the number of syllables (syllable-counting languages), e. g. Polish, with its stress on the penultimate syllable, or Czech, with stress falling on the word's first syllable.

2) Languages where the position of accent is determined both by the syllable number and the syllable quantity (short vowel = 1 mora, long vowel = 2 morae) (mora-counting languages), e. g. Latin with its stress on the penultimate syllable if it contains 2 morae, but on the pre-penultimate if the penultimate contains 1 mora.

3) Languages where syllable structure is significant as well, e. g. having stress on the ultimate syllable if it is closed, but on the penultimate if it is open - the suggested (Chr. Sarauw) proto-Semitic system reflected (although with some deviations) in the old Arabic grammar by Pedro de Alcalá; this basic rule (with some minor complications) is apparently preserved in Maghrib dialects of

Arabic.

4) Languages where the position of accent is also determined by vowel quality, e. g. Moksha; similar systems probably underlie the Mari and Permic morphonemicized accent.

5) Languages where the position of accent is determined both by syllable number and the prosodic syllable features: East Saharan - Tubu, Kanuri (at least its Badavi dialect), Kanembu (stress falls on the first high-tonic syllable; the same rule functions in Hausa, Yoruba and Bambara); on the East Saharan accent and tonal systems see V.A. Dybo, The prosodic system of Tubu (Teda-Kanuri group) - a beginning of changing the tonal system to a system of paradigmatic accent? - in: Afrikanische historische Linguistik, Moscow, 1987; on stress in Yoruba and Bambara see I. Herms, Ton und Intensität im Yoruba - Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung, Bd. 35, Hf. 2, 150-156 (1982); S. Brauner, Zur grammatischen Funktion prosodischer Merkmale im Bambara - ibd., 144-149. A more complicated rule is noted in Usarufa (New Guinea): accent is placed in the word's end if the word contains only low-tonic syllables, but in the beginning of a high-tonic syllable sequence (accordingly, on a single high-tonic syllable) if the word contains only (or at least some) high-tonic syllables; however, if a word beginning with a sequence of high-tonic syllables has a low-tonic end, then accent is placed on the last high-tonic syllable (see "Studies in New Guinea linguistics", Sidney, 1962, p. 114, see also the list of data on p. 115-127).

All cases when we know the prehistory of a given free accent system or of a morphonemicized accent system, or when sufficiently persuasive comparative evidence is available, reveal that systems of that kind develop from systems with fixed accent added by a factor deforming the fixation rule (i. e. from types 2, 3, 4, 5). It happens after the loss of the phonemic contrast, on which the specific manner of accent fixation is based, this contrast being replaced by a contrast of accent po-

sitions - i. e. under conditions of neutralising phonemic oppositions which had earlier constituted the factor deforming the basic rule (in other words, the distinctive role played earlier by segmental or suprasegmental components of a syllable, is being transferred to the accent contour of the whole word). Thus, free-local accent in some Romance languages is a result of quantity merger and therefore, of cancelling the contour rule based on mora counting. The surviving accent distinctions are losing their mora motivation and become phonemic. A similar free-local accent in the Yazva dialect of Komi has resulted from phonemicizing of accent contours which were previously motivated by vowel quality distinctions (see the works of V.I. Lytkin).

Free accent in Balto-Slavic and Abkhazo-Ubykh must be explained by phonemicizing the accent contours after the loss of tones which had earlier motivated those contours (I have given detailed arguments in favour of this proposal in a series of papers under a common title "The Balto-Slavic accent system from a typological point of view and the problem of reconstructing Indo-European accent" - in: "Balto-slavyanskiye etnoyazykovyye kontakty", Moscow, 1980 (publication incomplete); for a short account see V.A. Dybo, "The Balto-Slavic accent system from a typological point of view and the problem of reconstructing the Indo-European accent", in "Kuznetsovskiy chteniya 1973", Moscow, 1973, pp. 8-10; V.A. Dybo, The West Caucasian accent system and the problem of its origin. - "Konferentsiya "Nostraticheskoye yazyki i nostraticheskoye yazykoznanie. Tezisy dokladov", Moscow, 1977, pp. 41-45; V.A. Dybo, "The tonological hypothesis on the origin of Indo-European accent systems" - in "Konferentsiya "Problemy rekonstruktsii", 23-25 October 1978, pp. 56-61; V. Dybo, S. Nikolayev, S. Starostin, A tonological hypothesis on the origin of paradigmatic accent systems, - in: Estonian papers in phonetics, Tallinn, 1978, pp. 16-20; see also S.L. Nikolayev, The Balto-Slavic accent system and its Indo-European sources, Moscow, 1986.

Depending on the relation of factors determining the stabilisation of accent to morphemic word-boundaries, two extreme types of morphonemicized accent systems can be distinguished: 1) if the morphonemicization results in lexical distribution of accent types (in case the accent-stabilising factor had been primarily connected with the root morpheme), there arises the so-called "paradigmatic accent", 2) if the morphonemicization results in a distribution of accent types among morphological forms and categories, one deals with the "categorical accent". The second result is being immediately obtained after morphonemicizing a fixed accent of the Latin kind.

Here the reasons are obvious: the accent contour obtains the distinctive functions inherent in the penultimate vowel of the word (often being the suffix or ending vowel); further phonetic processes can simplify the situation (as in French, where the reduction of non-stressed final vowels had demolished the distinctive nature of the accent) or else make it somewhat more complicated by creating the word-final position for stress, parallel with its positions on the 2d and 3d syllables, etc.

In such cases we usually find a most frequent accent type, which is common for the vast majority of words - it may be labelled as the "unmarked" (trivial) accent type - and several accent types characteristic for certain suffixed structures, certain categories and word-forms. This distribution, of course, can never be strict enough, since the non-derived (synchronically) lexemes include also a number of words having a non-trivial accent. In such cases we usually get following descriptions: one determines the accent types, defines the trivial (unmarked) type and states the connection of non-trivial types with certain categories of words and word-forms; then one gives the list of exceptions. Within the framework of generative morphonemics one usually reconstructs (on the so-called deep-structure level, with certain - simplifying or complicating - approximations) the primary rule of accent stabilisation, introduces certain marks denoting reconstructed positions of the rule's application, and then formulates rules translating the "deep" structures to the surface level (this whole system of rules is a "synchronisation" of diachronical processes which had brought the language's archaic system to its modern state). Whether the language, in its synchronic state, does really possess such a mechanism, is a separate problem which has to be explored, and its solution may vary depending on different kinds of generative models.

More complicated systems arise after morphonemicizing of the 5th type of fixed accent (i. e. the accent connected with prosodic, tonal features, of syllables). The character of such systems is determined to a large extent by the character of the tonal systems which they "reflect". Among tonal systems we find systems with extremely developed so-called grammatical tone (e. g., in Hausa). It is natural to expect that after the morphonemicization of accent such tonal systems change to systems with categorial accent.

When the accent of tonal systems with prevailing "lexical" tone is being morphonemicized, there appear systems with "paradigmatic" accent, often possessing rather complicated accent types (accent paradigms), such as Slavonic (Russian, Serbian, Slovene etc.), Baltic (Lithuanian),

West Caucasian (Abkhaz, Abaza, Ubykh) accent systems. The usual method of their description is determining the number of accent types within every lexico-morphological word class and its particular subclasses, and describing the behaviour of word-accent within each of these accent types ("the accent curve").

When there exists a possibility, the (complementary) distribution of accent curves depending on morphological subdivision is established. In this case several accent curves can be united (on basis of certain characteristic features) within one class of complementary distributed accent curves. Such a class (or a category characterised by this class) is usually called an "accent paradigm". Sometimes the notion of accent paradigm and accent curve are being confused; but we should stress that in different word-categories one and the same accent paradigm can be manifested by different accent curves. Then one determines the content of each accent type, i.e. enumerates all lexemes accentuated according to a given accent pattern, and specifies the accent types of derived structures which may be either connected with the accentuation of underlying non-derived morphemes and with the morphonemic type of the affix, or else may depend only on the character of the affix. One outlines the parts of the system where exceptions from the paradigmatic principle of accent types distribution and a developing categorial accent can be observed. Finally one describes various transformations of accent curves within syntactic units (transfer of accent to enclitics, proclitics etc.)

Recent decades have shown that systems of this kind can be rather efficiently described by means of generative morphonemics, and such descriptions help discovering many obscure (from the "surface" point of view) relations. As an example of this kind of a description, essentially structured along the lines of my internal reconstruction of the Balto-Slavic system of accent valencies, may be quoted the study of the Lithuanian accent system in the new Lithuanian Grammar (Vilnius, 1985; pp. 61-68; section written by A.Girdenis). A sufficiently complete description of the Russian accent system has been achieved by A.A.Zaliznyak ("Russian nominal word-formation", Moscow, 1967; "From the Proto-Slavic accentuation towards the Russian", Moscow, 1985). A "generative" description of the Abkhaz accent system based on the above principles was proposed in my paper "The typology and the reconstruction of paradigmatic accent systems" (in "Aktseologiya i sravnitelno-istoricheskiy metod", in print).

Languages with "paradigmatic accent" in many cases reveal a tendency of shifting towards "categorial accent" by means

of generalisation within certain lexical categories and especially within derivational types of some accent paradigms. Examples of different progressive stages of this tendency are the Russian, the Lithuanian and the Pushtu accent systems.

Results presented in this paper can probably serve as a basis for distinguishing between languages with morphonemized accent systems and languages with tonal word-contours and tonal paradigms (patterns) which are possibly results of immediate development - and not of a "representation" - of systems with "classic" tones.