

**Tel-Aviv University
The School of Philosophy, Linguistics and Science Studies
Department of Linguistics**

THURSDAY INTERDISCIPLINARY COLLOQUIUM

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Joint work with Bruna Franchetto (Federal University of Rio de Janeiro & CNPq), Arawa Didi Kuikuro, Yanapa Mehinaku Kuikuro (University of Campinas) and Andrija Petrovic (Stony Brook University)

“The incoherent stress system of Kuikuro”

Do pitch accents necessarily mark a metrically strong syllable? Vaysman (2009) and Gordon (2016) say yes, and propose that requirements on pitch accent location can cause adjustments in the metrical foot structure, to preserve the coherence of the pitch accent with the stressed syllable. In this paper, we challenge this notion with data from Kuikuro (Cariban).

Kuikuro vowel length is organized by an iambic left-to-right stress system, as in several other languages in the family, e.g., Hixkaryana (Derbyshire 1995). Kuikuro pitch accents dock on a metrically strong syllable, but if there is room, they shift rightward to a metrically weak position. On the surface, there are two prominent syllables: one defined metrically by length-based footing, and one defined by a pitch accent. In our analysis, tones are organized by tone domains (Cassimjee & Kisseberth 1989, McCarthy 2004) that begin with a strong position and extend rightward maximally.

We connect the analysis of Kuikuro to other languages in which tones stray away from the stressed syllable, such as Zigula (Kenstowicz & Kisseberth 1990) and Hebrew (Becker 2003). In the analysis of these languages, there are two types of *hidden structure*: metrical structure (syllables, feet, prosodic words) and tone domains. Using a hidden structure learner (Staubs 2011, Pater et al. 2012), we show that both types of hidden structure are learnable from the surface-apparent vowel length and tone.

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