Recessive accent in Ancient Greek revisited
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Recessive accent is the default accent in Ancient Greek. It is mandatory for finite verbs and applies also to most types of neuter nouns. The accent falls on the penult if the final syllable is heavy (i.e. has a -VV(C) or -VCC rhyme), otherwise on the antepenult. Final syllables with a -V or –V(C) rhyme are light in this respect (word-final consonants are extrametrical). If the accented syllable has a long vowel or a diphthong, the nucleus can either have an acute (VV́) or a circumflex accent (V́V). It is acute in the antepenult, and also in the penult if the final syllable is bimoraic (= has two vowels). Steriade (1988) stated that the position of recessive accent within the word depends on *syllable weight* (i.e. on whether the rhyme of the final syllable branches or not), whereas the assignment of acute vs. circumflex accent depends on the count of *nuclear morae*.

There is general agreement over the descriptive facts of recessive accent in Ancient Greek. However, researchers disagree on the phonological analysis. Steriade (1988) assigns syllabic trochees built at the right edge of the word (word-final consonants are extrametrical, as are word-final light syllables). Recessive accent falls on the head of the foot so constructed. For the melody of accented long vowels, Steriade proposes that a word-final monomoraic syllable is extrametrical, and that a bimoraic accented syllable is right-headed (acute) if it is followed by at least one (non-extrametrical) mora. Otherwise it is left-headed (circumflex).

Sauzet (1989) and Golston (1989) propose moraic trochees that are built at the right edge, and that the accent falls to the left of the last foot (or to the left syllable in the foot, if there is no syllable preceding the foot). We regard this analysis as completely misguided. The analyses of Steriade, Sauzet and Golston all have a problem with circumflexed words such as *katéelips*, because their analyses would incorrectly predict acute *ka(teé.lips) and *ka.teé(lip)s (S & G), respectively. Kiparsky (2003) offers a solution by including a constraint *μμ́.μ in his OT analysis, which precludes acute accent if the final syllable is monomoraic.

Our proposal for recessive accent in Ancient Greek includes footing with syllabic trochees, in line with Steriade, but assigns the melody of long vowels with a "*tritonal window*". Accent assignment goes as follows: a syllabic trochee is built at the right edge of the word, whereby final coda consonants are extrametrical, as are (resultant) final light syllables (as shown in (1); parentheses indicate foot bracketing, angled brackets indicate extrametrical codas, and bold print indicates accented syllable).

To assign acute or circumflex accent to a long vowel, a HL melody is assigned to the right edge of the foot. However, the final mora of the foot is regarded as being extra*tonal* (as shown in (2) and (3); square brackets indicate the extratonal moraic element, and capital letters indicate the H tone within the accented syllable).

The assignment of a tritonal window is analogous to the assignment of a trisyllabic window, in that it results from the interaction of several different constraints. In this way, critical words like *katéelips* ka-(**tEe**-l[i]p)<s> can easily be accounted for, and ad hoc constraints such as *μμ́.μ do not have to be assumed.

The final assignment of tones in recessive accent words is achieved by the correct ranking of two constraints – MELODICCONTIGUITY, which restricts the tonal melody (HL) of the recessive accent to successive TBU's; and ALIGN-L,R,FT,R, which prevents absolute initiality of the melody in disyllabic feet with two nuclear morae in the first syllable.

This solution demonstrates a striking contrast between accent assignment which depends on syllable weight, however measured, and tone melody assignment which crucially depends on vocalic/nuclear morae.

<u>Examples</u>

(1) Recessive accent assignment

        (**ti**)   (**sal**-pink) \<s\>

        (**puur**)   li-(**po**+thrik) \<s\>

        (**lo-**go) \<s\>   e-(**pi**+throo) \<n\>

        (**doo**-ro) \<n\>

        (**an**-throo) \<po\> \<s\>   po-(**lii**-tee) \<s\>

        (**ep**+o)-\<kho\> \<s\>   as-tu+(**a**-nak) \<s\>

        (**tha**-na) \<to\> \<s\>   khre-oo+(**phu**-lak) \<s\>

(2) Acute accent

        (**pU[u]r**)

        (**dOo**-r[o]) \<n\>

(3) Circumflex accent

        po-(**liI**-te[e]) \<s\>

        (**doO**-ro[o]) \<n\>

        (**peE**-le[e]k) \<s\>

<u>References</u>

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