Exceptionality in Spanish stress
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Stress in vowel-final non-verbs (henceforth 'words') in Spanish regularly falls on the penultimate syllable, while stress in consonant-final words regularly falls on the final syllable. There are two classes of exceptions to this regularity: (i) stress on the syllable preceding the regular one (antepenultimate stress in vowel-final words, penultimate stress in consonant-final words) and (ii) stress on the syllable following the regular one (final stress in vowel-final words). Harris (1983) ('H83') provides compelling arguments for the claim that class (ii) is morphologically systematic, but falls short of the stronger claim that the pattern exhibited by this class is simply a subcase of the regular stress pattern. I argue that there is much to be gained from this latter claim, including a simple and elegant analysis of class (i).

We start with H83's key observation (p. 91) that vowel-final words with penultimate stress end in a terminal element (TE), generally a vowel *-o*, *a*, or *-e* (but sometimes a *-Vs* sequence) and typically associated with gender marking. The TE is always the last morpheme before the (inflectional) plural suffix, and its quality sometimes varies in different morphological contexts. In the morphological analysis of Harris (1983), a TE is affixed directly to a *(derivational) stem*. In the examples below, square brackets indicate word boundaries (preceded by the TE) and parentheses indicate stem boundaries.

(1) a. [(páp)-a]   'potato'   e. [(pap+ít)-a]   'potato (dim.)'
     b. [(mán)-o]   'hand'   f. [(man+ít)-a]   'hand (dim.)'
     c. [(adelánt)-e] 'ahead'   g. [(adelant+ít)-o] 'ahead (dim.)'
     d. [(léj)-os]   'far'   h. [(lej+án)-o]   'distant'

Stress on consonant-final words is regularly final, as shown in ((2)a-c). H83 (p. 91) argues that these words don't have a TE; under derivational affixation ((2)d-f), a TE is added and stress once again follows the penultimate pattern.

(2) a. [(paréd)]   'wall'   d. [(pared+cít)-a]   'wall (dim.)'
     b. [(salón)]   'lounge'   e. [(salon+cít)-o]   'lounge (dim.)'
     c. [(animál)]   'animal'   f. [(animal+ít)-o]   'animal (dim.)'

H83 (pp. 116-119) further claims that vowel-final words with final stress ((3)a-c) also lack a TE, just like the consonant-final words in ((2)a-c). Support for this view comes from the fact that the final vowel in these words is present and invariable under derivational affixation ((3)d-f), where separate TEs arise — again, just like the consonant-final words in ((2)d-f).

(3) a. [(caf<u>é</u>)]   'coffee'   d. [(cafe+cít)-o]   'coffee (dim.)'
     b. [(domin<u>ó</u>)] 'domino'   e. [(domino+cít)-o] 'domino (dim.)'
     c. [(Per<u>ú</u>)]   'Peru'   f. [(Peru+án)-o]   'Peruvian'

Given the above, the correct generalization about regular main stress in Spanish, in both vowel-final and consonant-final words, can be stated as follows: "stress the final syllable of the derivational stem" (Roca 1988, 2006). This generalization encompasses penultimate stress in TE-final words (1) and final stress in words without a TE, whether consonant-final (2) or vowel-final (3). But H83 (p. 94-95) rejects this generalization due to the consistently penultimate stress of bisyllabic prepositions (4) and productive truncations (5).

(4) a. [pára]   'for'   c. [désde]   'since'
     b. [hásta]   'until'   d. [sóbre]   'over'

(5) a. [(múñe)]   'doll' (< *muñéca*)   c. [(prófe)]   'professor' (< *profesór*)
     b. [(árqui)] 'architect' (< *arquitécto*) d. [(Máuri)] 'Maurice' (< *Maurício*)

This forces H83 to the odd position of having to distinguish between a covert TE in the forms in (2), (3) from the complete absence of a TE in the forms in (4), (5). The covert TE in the former case is necessary to state the rule in (6) responsible for final stress in these forms.

(6)   A rhyme ending in a vocoid (= a [–consonantal] segment) that is final both in the stem and the word must be stressed. (Paraphrased from H83, p. 118.)

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This amounts to stipulating that there is something exceptional about truncations (which are nouns, and are thus expected to have a TE), if not also about prepositions (which, being function words, are usually unstressed in normal discourse in any case). The evidence against the generalization that stress is final in the derivational stem is thus very weak.

Acceptance of the stem-domain analysis of stress leaves the exceptions classified under (i): stress on the syllable preceding the regular one, now understood as stress on the penultimate syllable of the stem. Near-minimal contrasts are given in (7): regularly stressed forms on the left and class (i) exceptionally stressed forms on the right.

(7) a. [(molín)-o] 'windmill' f. [(cómic)-o] 'comic(al)'
     b. [(sabán)-a] 'savannah' g. [(sában)-a] 'sheet'
     c. [(pistól)-a] 'pistol'   h. [(epístol)-a] 'epistle'
     d. [(animál)]   'animal'   i. [(caníbal)]   'cannibal'
     e. [(paréd)]   'wall'   j. [(huésped)]   'guest'

It is uncontroversial that these contrasts are somehow lexically marked; that is, that class (i) stress is in fact an exceptional pattern, unlike class (ii). Specifically, I propose here an analysis of the key distinction between the regular and class (i) exceptional stress patterns in terms of Optimality Theory (OT; Prince & Smolensky 2004) with indexed constraints (Pater 2010). FINALSTRESS ("stress is final in the stem") is the constraint responsible for the regular stress pattern, and it is ranked above NONFINALITY ("stress is not final in the stem") but below NONFINALITY$_{(i)}$, lexically-indexed to class (i) exceptional stems.

(8)   NONFINALITY$_{(i)}$ ≫ FINALSTRESS ≫ NONFINALITY

The ranking in (8) achieves the desired contrasts in (7) in the following way. The regularly stressed words on the left are not subject to NONFINALITY$_{(i)}$, and so FINALSTRESS selects as optimal a candidate with stress on the final syllable of the stem. The exceptionally stressed words on the right, on the other hand, *are* subject to NONFINALITY$_{(i)}$, which prefers candidates without stem-final stress. However, because FINALSTRESS is better-satisfied by stress nearer to the right edge of the stem (Hyde 2012, *pace* McCarthy 2003), stress optimally falls on the syllable immediately preceding the stem-final one.

This analysis of the class (i) exceptional stress pattern crucially depends on the stem-domain analysis of Spanish stress defended further above. FINALSTRESS accounts for the fact that stress regularly falls on the final syllable of the stem, and its interaction with NONFINALITY$_{(i)}$ accounts for the fact that stress exceptionally falls on the immediately adjacent syllable to the left of that stem-final syllable. Because H83's analysis does not take the stem as the domain of stress assignment in Spanish, it cannot so simply and elegantly account for the difference between the regular and class (i) exceptional stress patterns.

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