The following are some examples of regular stress patterns in some of the world’s languages.

(1) **Maranungku**: primary stress falls on initial syllables, secondary stress falls on every other syllable thereafter.
   a. tí.ralk ‘saliva’
   b. mé.re.pèt ‘beard’
   c. yá.ngar.mà.ta ‘the Pleiades’
   d. lán.g.ká.rà.te.tì ‘prawn’
   e. wé.le.pè.ne.mà.nà.ta ‘kind of duck’

(2) **Warao**: Main stress normally falls on the penult, secondary stresses fall on alternating syllables before the main stress.
   a. yà.pu.rù.ki.ta.ne.há.se ‘verily to climb’
   b. nà.ho.rò.a.hà.ku.tá.i ‘the one who ate’
   c. yi.wà.ra.nà.e ‘he finished it’
   d. e.nà.ho.rò.a.hà.ku.tá.i ‘the one who caused him to eat’

(3) **Southern Paiute**: Main stress falls on the second vowel, secondary stresses fall on alternating vowels thereafter, but never any stress on a final syllable.
   a. ma.ró.O.qwà.y’iq.wà ‘(I) stretch it’
   b. man.tcá.A.qà.A ‘to hold out one’s hands’

(4) **Weri**: Main stress falls on the final syllable, secondary stresses are alternatingly assigned to preceding syllables.
   a. ngí.típ ‘bee’
   b. kù.li.pú ‘to hold out one’s hands’

(5) **Eastern Cheremis**: Stress falls on the last full vowel of a word, and on the initial vowel if the word contains only reduced vowels (here, e).
   a. si:n cán:m ‘I sit’
   b. sla.:pá:.zem ‘his hat (acc.)’
   c. pú:.gel.me ‘cone’
   d. té.le.zen ‘moon’s’

(6) **Komi**: Stress falls on the first “heavy” vowel, otherwise on the final vowel.
(7) **Khalkha Mongolian:** Stress falls on the leftmost heavy syllable, otherwise on the initial syllable.
   
a.  *bos.gú:l*  ‘fugitive’
b.  *ga.rá:.sa:*  ‘from one’s own hand’
c.  *á.li*  ‘which’
d.  *xó.te.be.re*  ‘leadership’

(8) **Aguatec Mayan:** Stress falls on the rightmost syllable with a long vowel, otherwise on the final syllable.

(9) **Goroa:** Stress falls on the first long vowel or diphthong, lacking these on a final closed syllable, lacking all these on the penult.

(10) **Tahitian:** Stress falls on the first long vowel or vowel cluster, lacking any such, on the penult.

(11) **Piro:** Primary stress falls on the penultimate syllable; nonprimary stress falls on the initial syllable and on every other syllable thereafter, except that in phrases with an odd number of syllables the syllable preceding the one with primary stress is stressless, and there is never any stress on the final syllable.

(12) **Pintupi:**
   
a.  *pá.Na*  ‘earth’
b.  *tyí.Ta.ya*  ‘many’
c.  *má.La.wà.na*  ‘through (from) behind’
d.  *pú.ling.kà.la.tju*  ‘we (sat) on the hill’
e.  *Tí.Li.ri.ngu.làm.pa.tju*  ‘the fire for our benefit flared up’
f.  *Tí.Li.ri.ngu.làm.pa.tjìng.ku*  (gloss?)

(13) **Waalubal:**
   
c.  *ngá.mà:.lu*  ‘tree goanna (erg.)’
d.  *wúr.gu.lù:m*  ‘magpie’
e.  *bán.da.nì.bè:*  ‘only covered’

- **Culminativity**: “Every (content) word has at least one stressed syllable.” (p. 367)
  - \( L_X \approx P_R \): A lexical (content) word corresponds to a prosodic word.

- **Prosodic Hierarchy**: Words are headed by feet (which are headed by syllables …).
  
  \[
  \text{PrWd} \quad \text{HEADEDNESS(PrWd): Every prosodic word is headed by a foot.}
  \]
  
  \[
  \quad \mid \quad \text{PARSE-Ft: Feet are parsed into (= dominated by) prosodic words.}
  \]
  
  \[
  \text{Ft} \quad \text{HEADEDNESS(Ft): Every foot is headed by a syllable.}
  \]
  
  \[
  \quad \mid \quad \text{PARSE-\( \sigma \): Syllables are parsed into feet.}
  \]
  
  \[
  \quad \mid \quad \text{HEADEDNESS(\( \sigma \)): Every syllable is headed by a mora.}
  \]
  
  \[
  \quad \mid \quad \text{PARSE-\( \mu \): Moras are parsed into syllables.}
  \]
  
  \[
  \quad \mid \quad \text{HEADEDNESS(\( \mu \)): Every mora is headed by a segment.}
  \]

- **Boundedness**: Feet are (maximally) binary / unbounded.
  - \( \text{FtBIN: Feet are binary under syllabic or moraic analysis.} \)

- **Foot headedness**: Feet are right-headed (**iambic**) / left-headed (**trochaic**).
  - \( \text{FtHD-L/R: ALIGN(Ft,FtHd,L/R).} \)

- **Directionality**: Feet are constructed from left-to-right / right-to-left.
  - \( \text{ALLFT-L/R: ALIGN(Ft,Wd,L/R).} \)

- **Iterativity**: Feet are constructed iteratively / noniteratively.
  - \( \text{PARSE-\( \sigma \): Every syllable is parsed by a foot.} \)

- **Prosodic word headedness**: Prosodic words are right-headed / left-headed.
  - \( \text{WdHD-L/R: ALIGN(Wd,WdHd,L/R).} \)

The following principles/constraints are relevant to quantity-sensitive stress systems.

- **Syllable weight**: Syllables are classified as light or heavy.
  - **Rhyme-branching**: CV (light) vs. CVC and CVV (heavy).
  - **Nucleus-branching**: CV and CVC (light) vs. CVV (heavy).

- **Quantity sensitivity**: Heavy syllables must be / need not be foot heads.
  - \( \text{WSP (Weight-to-Stress Principle): If heavy, then stressed.} \)
  - **Obligatory branching**: Foot heads must be / need not be heavy syllables.
    - \( \text{SWP (Stress-to-Weight Principle): If stressed, then heavy.} \)
  - **LBOB**: Foot headedness can / cannot be reversed by heavy syllables.
    - Depends on the interaction between WSP and FtHD-L/R.
Foot form constraint — assume undominated status for now

- **Foot binarity (FtBIN):** “Feet are binary under syllabic or moraic analysis.”
  - * every foot with more than two syllables or less than two moras.

Foot parsing and iterativity/directionality constraints

- **Parse-σ (PARSE-σ):** “Syllables are parsed into feet.” (No stray syllables.)
  - * every syllable not parsed into a foot.

- **AllFeet-L (ALLFT-L):** “Every foot is at the left word edge.” (ALIGN(Ft,Wd,L).)
  - * every syllable between the left edge of a foot and the left edge of a word.

- **AllFeet-R (ALLFT-R):** “Every foot is at the right word edge.” (ALIGN(Ft,Wd,R).)
  - * every syllable between the right edge of a foot and the right edge of a word.

1. \[[\text{ALLFT-L} \Rightarrow \{\text{PARSE-σ}, \text{ALLFT-R}\}]: \text{left-to-right, noniterative}\]
   \[[(\sigma \sigma) \sigma \sigma \sigma \sigma] > [(\sigma \sigma) (\sigma \sigma) (\sigma \sigma)], [\sigma \sigma \sigma (\sigma \sigma)]\]

2. \[[\text{ALLFT-R} \Rightarrow \{\text{PARSE-σ}, \text{ALLFT-L}\}]: \text{right-to-left, noniterative}\]
   \[[(\sigma \sigma) (\sigma \sigma) (\sigma \sigma)] > [(\sigma \sigma) (\sigma \sigma) (\sigma \sigma)], [(\sigma \sigma) (\sigma \sigma) (\sigma \sigma)]\]

3. \[[\text{PARSE-σ} \Rightarrow \{\text{ALLFT-L}, \text{ALLFT-R}\}]: \text{iterative}\]
   \[[(\sigma \sigma) (\sigma \sigma) (\sigma \sigma)] > [(\sigma \sigma) (\sigma \sigma) (\sigma \sigma)], [(\sigma \sigma) (\sigma \sigma) (\sigma \sigma)]\]
   a. \[[\text{PARSE-σ} \Rightarrow \text{ALLFT-L} \Rightarrow \text{ALLFT-R}]: \text{left-to-right directionality}\]
   \[[(\sigma \sigma) (\sigma \sigma) (\sigma \sigma)] > [(\sigma \sigma) (\sigma \sigma) (\sigma \sigma)]\]
   b. \[[\text{PARSE-σ} \Rightarrow \text{ALLFT-R} \Rightarrow \text{ALLFT-L}]: \text{right-to-left directionality}\]
   \[[(\sigma \sigma) (\sigma \sigma) (\sigma \sigma)] > [(\sigma \sigma) (\sigma \sigma) (\sigma \sigma)]\]

Foot dominance constraints

- **Foot Headed-L (FtHD-L):** “Feet are left-headed (trochees).” (ALIGN(Ft,FtHD,L).)
  - * every syllable between the head of a foot and the left edge of the foot.

- **Foot Headed-R (FtHD-R):** “Feet are right-headed (iambic).” (ALIGN(Ft,FtHD,R).)
  - * every syllable between the head of a foot and the right edge of the foot.

Word dominance constraints

- **Word Headed-L (WdHD-L):** “Main stress is word-initial.” (ALIGN(Wd,WdHD,L).)
  - * every foot between the head of a word and the left edge of the word.

- **Word Headed-R (WdHD-R):** “Main stress is word-final.” (ALIGN(Wd,WdHD,R).)
  - * every foot between the head of a word and the right edge of the word.

Quantity sensitivity constraint

- **Weight Sensitivity (WSP):** “If heavy, then stressed.” (WEIGHT-TO-STRESS PRINCIPLE.)
  - * every heavy syllable that is not the head of a foot.