

The binary-to-ternary rhythmic continuum in stress typology: layered feet and non-intervention constraints

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Supplementary materials

The expanded factorial typology

The factorial typology in these supplementary materials offers a breakdown of each of the 22 BTU-patterns into individual subpatterns for forms of two to eight syllables in length, not distinguishing syllable weight. The typology takes into account two factors that the condensed typology presented in §3.3 abstracts away from: (i) the type of ILT foot ($((\acute{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)$, $((\sigma\acute{\sigma})\sigma)$, $(\sigma(\acute{\sigma}\sigma))$, $(\sigma(\sigma\acute{\sigma}))$), and (ii) the directionality of parsing (left-to-right, right-to-left). The third factor, the position of the primary stress (i.e. whether it falls on the leftmost or rightmost foot), which is only relevant for multiple foot parsings, is partially expanded, as will be explained below. The material is presented in tables, with the various patterns arranged in columns; information is provided about attestation and, where relevant, pathology.

For patterns involving only non-layered feet, the material is arranged in four columns (differing in directionality and foot type); these columns correspond with left-to-right trochees, left-to-right iambs, right-to-left trochees and right-to-left iambs. For patterns involving ILT feet the four columns correspond with the four ILT foot types: $((\acute{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)$, $((\sigma\acute{\sigma})\sigma)$, $(\sigma(\acute{\sigma}\sigma))$ and $(\sigma(\sigma\acute{\sigma}))$. Left-to-right patterns are shown above right-to-left patterns. The directionality of footing is indicated by left or right alignment of forms within cells. In addition, information is supplied about whether patterns are ‘unidirectional’, ‘bidirectional’ or ‘non-directional’ (see §3.3.4 and §3.3.5 for clarification of these notions). In the case of non-directional patterns, forms are centred in cells.

Primary stress position is expanded only partially, as explained below. The factorial typology contains both systems in which the primary stress falls on the leftmost foot and those in which it falls on the rightmost foot. Primary stress can thus fall either on the leftmost or rightmost foot for two otherwise identical foot bracketings. We represent only one of these possibilities. For any given foot bracketing, the position of primary stress always follows from the directionality of its pattern: left-to-right patterns are shown only with primary stress on the leftmost foot, and right-to-left patterns only with primary stress on the rightmost foot. However, the factorial typology does not expand the patterns with primary stress on the opposite edge from which directional parsing starts. These ‘counting patterns’, as found in languages such as Cairene Arabic, Creek and Wargamay, can be inferred from the patterns given by simply reversing the position of the primary stress. Information about whether such patterns are attested will be indicated.

The rows at the bottom of columns indicate whether a pattern is attested. The first row indicates whether the pattern in the column above is attested; the second row gives the same information for the ‘counting’ version of that same pattern. All attested patterns are exemplified by one language (typically from Gordon’s 2002 typology; see §3.4.1). Note that a language may be attested in multiple patterns if different bracketings produce the same stress sequence. Unattested patterns are marked as ‘unattested’, or if they instantiate a pathology (see Table XIII), as either ‘ $[3\sigma]_{\omega}$ pathology’ or ‘non-directional’.

For each BTU-pattern, the number of subpatterns (4, 8 or 16) is indicated in parentheses. This number is determined by the three factors, as in (44).

- (44) a. *Non-ILT single-foot patterns*
 4 subpatterns: 2 feet \times 2 directionalities (left or right alignment)
- b. *Non-ILT multiple-foot patterns*
 8 subpatterns: 2 feet \times 2 directionalities \times 2 primary stress positions
- c. *ILT single-foot patterns*
 8 subpatterns: 4 feet \times 2 directionalities (left or right alignment)
- d. *ILT multiple-foot patterns*
 16 subpatterns: 4 feet \times 2 directionalities \times 2 primary stress positions

Breakdown of each of the 22 BTU-patterns by foot form

Headedness is indicated at the levels of Ft_{min} and Ft_{non-min}.

1 Rhythmic category A: single-foot systems

Single binary foot (B(σ*)) (4 subpatterns)

(óσ)σ*	(σó)σ*	σ*(óσ)	σ*(σó)
(óσ)	(σó)	(óσ)	(σó)
(óσ)σ	(σó)σ	σ(óσ)	σ(σó)
(óσ)σσ	(σó)σσ	σσ(óσ)	σσ(σó)
(óσ)σσσ	(σó)σσσ	σσσ(óσ)	σσσ(σó)
(óσ)σσσσ	(σó)σσσσ	σσσσ(óσ)	σσσσ(σó)
(óσ)σσσσσ	(σó)σσσσσ	σσσσσ(óσ)	σσσσσ(σó)
(óσ)σσσσσσ	(σó)σσσσσσ	σσσσσσ(óσ)	σσσσσσ(σó)
Tunica	Lakota	Mohawk	Atayal

Single ternary foot (T(σ*)) (8 subpatterns)

((óσ)σ)σ*	((σó)σ)*	(σ(óσ))σ*	(σ(σó))*
(óσ)	(σó)	(óσ)	(σó)
((óσ)σ)	((σó)σ)	(σ(óσ))	(σ(σó))
((óσ)σ)σ	((σó)σ)σ	(σ(óσ))σ	(σ(σó))σ
((óσ)σ)σσ	((σó)σ)σσ	(σ(óσ))σσ	(σ(σó))σσ
((óσ)σ)σσσ	((σó)σ)σσσ	(σ(óσ))σσσ	(σ(σó))σσσ
((óσ)σ)σσσσ	((σó)σ)σσσσ	(σ(óσ))σσσσ	(σ(σó))σσσσ
((óσ)σ)σσσσσ	((σó)σ)σσσσσ	(σ(óσ))σσσσσ	(σ(σó))σσσσσ
Tunica	Lakota	Lakota	Choguita Rarámuri

σ*((óσ)σ)	σ*((σó)σ)	σ*(σ(óσ))	σ*(σ(σó))
(óσ)	(σó)	(óσ)	(σó)
((óσ)σ)	((σó)σ)	(σ(óσ))	(σ(σó))
σ((óσ)σ)	σ((σó)σ)	σ(σ(óσ))	σ(σ(σó))
σσ((óσ)σ)	σσ((σó)σ)	σσ(σ(óσ))	σσ(σ(σó))
σσσ((óσ)σ)	σσσ((σó)σ)	σσσ(σ(óσ))	σσσ(σ(σó))
σσσσ((óσ)σ)	σσσσ((σó)σ)	σσσσ(σ(óσ))	σσσσ(σ(σó))
σσσσσ((óσ)σ)	σσσσσ((σó)σ)	σσσσσ(σ(óσ))	σσσσσ(σ(σó))
Macedonian	<i>unattested</i>	Mohawk	Atayal

4 Rhythmic category D: mixed binary/ternary systems

Unidirectional B*(T) (16 subpatterns)

((óσ)σ)	((σó)σ)	(σ(óσ))	(σ(σó))
(óσ)	(σó)	(óσ)	(σó)
((óσ)σ)	((σó)σ)	(σ(óσ))	(σ(σó))
(óσ)(òσ)	(σó)(σò)	(óσ)(òσ)	(σó)(σò)
(óσ)((òσ)σ)	(σó)((σò)σ)	(óσ)(σ(òσ))	(σó)(σ(σò))
(óσ)(òσ)(òσ)	(σó)(σò)(σò)	(óσ)(òσ)(òσ)	(σó)(σò)(σò)
(óσ)(òσ)((òσ)σ)	(σó)(σò)((σò)σ)	(óσ)(òσ)(σ(òσ))	(σó)(σò)(σ(σò))
(óσ)(òσ)(òσ)(òσ)	(σó)(σò)(σò)(σò)	(óσ)(òσ)(òσ)(òσ)	(σó)(σò)(σò)(σò)
Pintupi	Araucanian	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>
Cairene Arabic	Creek	Piro	<i>unattested</i>

((óσ)σ)	((σó)σ)	(σ(óσ))	(σ(σó))
(óσ)	(σó)	(óσ)	(σó)
((óσ)σ)	((σó)σ)	(σ(óσ))	(σ(σó))
(òσ)(óσ)	(σò)(σó)	(òσ)(óσ)	(σò)(σó)
((òσ)σ)(óσ)	((σò)σ)(σó)	(σ(òσ))(óσ)	(σ(σò))(σó)
(òσ)(òσ)(óσ)	(σò)(σò)(σó)	(òσ)(òσ)(óσ)	(σò)(σò)(σó)
((òσ)σ)(òσ)(óσ)	((σò)σ)(σò)(σó)	(òσ)(óσ)(σ(òσ))	(σ(σò))(σò)(σó)
(òσ)(òσ)(òσ)(óσ)	(σò)(σò)(σò)(σó)	(òσ)(òσ)(òσ)(óσ)	(σò)(σò)(σò)(σó)
Garawa	<i>unattested</i>	Wargamay	<i>unattested</i>
<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	Warao	<i>unattested</i>

Bidirectional B*(T)(B) (16 subpatterns)

((óσ)σ)	((σó)σ)	(σ(óσ))	(σ(σó))
(óσ)	(σó)	(óσ)	(σó)
((óσ)σ)	((σó)σ)	(σ(óσ))	(σ(σó))
(óσ)(òσ)	(σó)(σò)	(óσ)(òσ)	(σó)(σò)
(óσ)((òσ)σ)	(σó)((σò)σ)	(óσ)(σ(òσ))	(σó)(σ(σò))
(óσ)(òσ)(òσ)	(σó)(σò)(σò)	(óσ)(òσ)(òσ)	(σó)(σò)(σò)
(óσ)((òσ)σ)(òσ)	(σó)((σò)σ)(σò)	(óσ)(σ(òσ))(òσ)	(σó)(σ(σò))(σò)
(óσ)(òσ)(òσ)(òσ)	(σó)(σò)(σò)(σò)	(óσ)(òσ)(òσ)(òσ)	(σó)(σò)(σò)(σò)
<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>
<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	Indonesian	<i>unattested</i>

6 Rhythmic category F: ternary and binary exhaustive systems

Unidirectional T*(B)(B) (16 subpatterns)

((<i>óσ</i>) <i>σ</i>)	((<i>σó</i>) <i>σ</i>)	(<i>σ(óσ)</i>)	(<i>σ(σó)</i>)
(<i>óσ</i>) ((<i>óσ</i>) <i>σ</i>) (<i>óσ</i>)(<i>òσ</i>) ((<i>óσ</i>) <i>σ</i>)(<i>òσ</i>) ((<i>óσ</i>) <i>σ</i>)((<i>òσ</i>) <i>σ</i>) ((<i>óσ</i>) <i>σ</i>)(<i>òσ</i>)(<i>òσ</i>) ((<i>óσ</i>) <i>σ</i>)((<i>òσ</i>) <i>σ</i>)(<i>òσ</i>)	(<i>σó</i>) ((<i>σó</i>) <i>σ</i>) (<i>σó</i>)(<i>σò</i>) ((<i>σó</i>) <i>σ</i>)(<i>σò</i>) ((<i>σó</i>) <i>σ</i>)((<i>σò</i>) <i>σ</i>) ((<i>σó</i>) <i>σ</i>)(<i>σò</i>)(<i>σò</i>) ((<i>σó</i>) <i>σ</i>)((<i>σò</i>) <i>σ</i>)(<i>σò</i>)	(<i>óσ</i>) (<i>σ(óσ)</i>) (<i>óσ</i>)(<i>òσ</i>) (<i>σ(óσ)</i>)(<i>òσ</i>) (<i>σ(óσ)</i>)(<i>σ(òσ)</i>) (<i>σ(óσ)</i>)(<i>òσ</i>)(<i>òσ</i>) (<i>σ(óσ)</i>)(<i>σ(òσ)</i>)(<i>òσ</i>)	(<i>σó</i>) (<i>σ(σó)</i>) (<i>σó</i>)(<i>σò</i>) (<i>σ(σó)</i>)(<i>σò</i>) (<i>σ(σó)</i>)(<i>σ(σò)</i>) (<i>σ(σó)</i>)(<i>σò</i>)(<i>σò</i>) (<i>σ(σó)</i>)(<i>σ(σò)</i>)(<i>σò</i>)
Estonian	Chugach	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>
<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>

((<i>óσ</i>) <i>σ</i>)	((<i>σó</i>) <i>σ</i>)	(<i>σ(óσ)</i>)	(<i>σ(σó)</i>)
(<i>óσ</i>) ((<i>óσ</i>) <i>σ</i>) (<i>òσ</i>)(<i>óσ</i>) (<i>òσ</i>)(<i>óσ</i>) ((<i>òσ</i>) <i>σ</i>)(<i>óσ</i>) (<i>òσ</i>)(<i>òσ</i>)(<i>óσ</i>) (<i>òσ</i>)((<i>òσ</i>) <i>σ</i>)(<i>óσ</i>)	(<i>σó</i>) ((<i>σó</i>) <i>σ</i>) (<i>σò</i>)(<i>σó</i>) (<i>σò</i>)(<i>σó</i>) ((<i>σò</i>) <i>σ</i>)(<i>σó</i>) (<i>σò</i>)(<i>σò</i>)(<i>σó</i>) (<i>σò</i>)((<i>σò</i>) <i>σ</i>)(<i>σó</i>)	(<i>óσ</i>) (<i>σ(óσ)</i>) (<i>òσ</i>)(<i>óσ</i>) (<i>òσ</i>)(<i>σ(óσ)</i>) (<i>σ(òσ)</i>)(<i>σ(óσ)</i>) (<i>òσ</i>)(<i>òσ</i>)(<i>σ(óσ)</i>) (<i>òσ</i>)(<i>σ(òσ)</i>)(<i>σ(óσ)</i>)	(<i>σó</i>) (<i>σ(σó)</i>) (<i>σò</i>)(<i>σó</i>) (<i>σò</i>)(<i>σ(σó)</i>) (<i>σ(σò)</i>)(<i>σ(σó)</i>) (<i>σò</i>)(<i>σò</i>)(<i>σ(σó)</i>) (<i>σò</i>)(<i>σ(σò)</i>)(<i>σ(σó)</i>)
<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>
<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>

Bidirectional T*(B)(B/T) (16 subpatterns)

((<i>óσ</i>) <i>σ</i>)	((<i>σó</i>) <i>σ</i>)	(<i>σ(óσ)</i>)	(<i>σ(σó)</i>)
(<i>óσ</i>) ((<i>óσ</i>) <i>σ</i>) (<i>óσ</i>)(<i>òσ</i>) ((<i>óσ</i>) <i>σ</i>)(<i>òσ</i>) ((<i>óσ</i>) <i>σ</i>)((<i>òσ</i>) <i>σ</i>) ((<i>óσ</i>) <i>σ</i>)(<i>òσ</i>)(<i>òσ</i>) ((<i>óσ</i>) <i>σ</i>)(<i>òσ</i>)(<i>òσ</i>)	(<i>σó</i>) ((<i>σó</i>) <i>σ</i>) (<i>σó</i>)(<i>σò</i>) ((<i>σó</i>) <i>σ</i>)(<i>σò</i>) ((<i>σó</i>) <i>σ</i>)((<i>σò</i>) <i>σ</i>) ((<i>σó</i>) <i>σ</i>)(<i>σò</i>)(<i>σò</i>) ((<i>σó</i>) <i>σ</i>)(<i>σò</i>)(<i>σò</i>)	(<i>óσ</i>) (<i>σ(óσ)</i>) (<i>óσ</i>)(<i>òσ</i>) (<i>σ(óσ)</i>)(<i>òσ</i>) (<i>σ(óσ)</i>)(<i>σ(òσ)</i>) (<i>σ(óσ)</i>)(<i>òσ</i>)(<i>òσ</i>) (<i>σ(óσ)</i>)(<i>òσ</i>)(<i>σ(òσ)</i>)	(<i>σó</i>) (<i>σ(σó)</i>) (<i>σó</i>)(<i>σò</i>) (<i>σ(σó)</i>)(<i>σò</i>) (<i>σ(σó)</i>)(<i>σ(σò)</i>) (<i>σ(σó)</i>)(<i>σò</i>)(<i>σò</i>) (<i>σ(σó)</i>)(<i>σò</i>)(<i>σ(σò)</i>)
<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>
<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>

7 Rhythmic category G: ternary and binary non-exhaustive systems

Unidirectional T*(B/σ) (16 subpatterns)

((óσ)σ)	((σó)σ)	(σ(óσ))	(σ(σó))
(óσ)	(σó)	(óσ)	(σó)
((óσ)σ)	((σó)σ)	(σ(óσ))	(σ(σó))
((óσ)σ)σ	((σó)σ)σ	(σ(óσ))σ	(σ(σó))σ
((óσ)σ)(òσ)	((σó)σ)(σò)	(σ(óσ))(òσ)	(σ(σó))(σò)
((óσ)σ)((òσ)σ)	((σó)σ)((σò)σ)	(σ(óσ))(σ(òσ))	(σ(σó))(σ(σò))
((óσ)σ)((òσ)σ)σ	((σó)σ)((σò)σ)σ	(σ(óσ))(σ(òσ))σ	(σ(σó))(σ(σò))σ
((óσ)σ)((òσ)σ)(òσ)	((σó)σ)((σò)σ)(σò)	(σ(óσ))(σ(òσ))(òσ)	(σ(σó))(σ(σò))(σò)
Tripura Bangla	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	Hocak
<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>

((óσ)σ)	((σó)σ)	(σ(óσ))	(σ(σó))
(óσ)	(σó)	(óσ)	(σó)
((óσ)σ)	((σó)σ)	(σ(óσ))	(σ(σó))
σ((óσ)σ)	σ((σó)σ)	σ(σ(óσ))	σ(σ(σó))
(òσ)((óσ)σ)	(σò)((σó)σ)	(òσ)(σ(óσ))	(σò)(σ(σó))
((òσ)σ)((óσ)σ)	((σò)σ)((σó)σ)	(σ(òσ))(σ(óσ))	(σ(σò))(σ(σó))
σ((òσ)σ)((óσ)σ)	σ((σò)σ)((σó)σ)	σ(σ(òσ))(σ(óσ))	σ(σ(σò))(σ(σó))
(òσ)((òσ)σ)((óσ)σ)	(σò)((σò)σ)((σó)σ)	(òσ)(σ(òσ))(σ(óσ))	(σò)(σ(σò))(σ(σó))
<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	Sentani	<i>unattested</i>
<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>

Non-directional (B)T*(σ) (16 subpatterns)

((óσ)σ)	((σó)σ)	(σ(óσ))	(σ(σó))
(óσ)	(σó)	(óσ)	(σó)
((óσ)σ)	((σó)σ)	(σ(óσ))	(σ(σó))
((óσ)σ)σ	((σó)σ)σ	(σ(óσ))σ	(σ(σó))σ
(óσ)((òσ)σ)	(σó)((σò)σ)	(óσ)(σ(òσ))	(σó)(σ(σò))
((óσ)σ)((òσ)σ)	((σó)σ)((σò)σ)	(σ(óσ))(σ(òσ))	(σ(σó))(σ(σò))
((óσ)σ)((òσ)σ)σ	((σó)σ)((σò)σ)σ	(σ(óσ))(σ(òσ))σ	(σ(σó))(σ(σò))σ
(óσ)((òσ)σ)((òσ)σ)	(σó)((σò)σ)((σò)σ)	(óσ)(σ(òσ))(σ(òσ))	(σó)(σ(σò))(σ(σò))
<i>non-directional</i>	<i>non-directional</i>	<i>non-directional</i>	<i>non-directional</i>
<i>non-directional</i>	<i>non-directional</i>	<i>non-directional</i>	<i>non-directional</i>

$((\acute{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)$	$((\sigma\acute{\sigma})\sigma)$	$(\sigma(\acute{\sigma}\sigma))$	$(\sigma(\sigma\acute{\sigma}))$
$(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)$ $((\acute{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)$ $\sigma((\acute{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)$ $((\grave{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)$ $((\acute{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)((\acute{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)$ $\sigma((\grave{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)((\acute{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)$ $((\acute{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)((\grave{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)$	$(\sigma\acute{\sigma})$ $((\sigma\acute{\sigma})\sigma)$ $\sigma((\sigma\acute{\sigma})\sigma)$ $((\sigma\grave{\sigma})\sigma)(\sigma\acute{\sigma})$ $((\sigma\acute{\sigma})\sigma)((\sigma\acute{\sigma})\sigma)$ $\sigma((\sigma\grave{\sigma})\sigma)((\sigma\acute{\sigma})\sigma)$ $((\sigma\acute{\sigma})\sigma)((\sigma\grave{\sigma})\sigma)(\sigma\acute{\sigma})$	$(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)$ $(\sigma(\acute{\sigma}\sigma))$ $\sigma(\sigma(\acute{\sigma}\sigma))$ $(\sigma(\grave{\sigma}\sigma))(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)$ $(\sigma(\grave{\sigma}\sigma))(\sigma(\acute{\sigma}\sigma))$ $\sigma(\sigma(\grave{\sigma}\sigma))(\sigma(\acute{\sigma}\sigma))$ $(\sigma(\grave{\sigma}\sigma))(\sigma(\grave{\sigma}\sigma))(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)$	$(\sigma\acute{\sigma})$ $(\sigma(\sigma\acute{\sigma}))$ $\sigma(\sigma(\sigma\acute{\sigma}))$ $(\sigma\grave{\sigma})(\sigma(\sigma\acute{\sigma}))$ $(\sigma(\sigma\grave{\sigma}))(\sigma(\sigma\acute{\sigma}))$ $\sigma(\sigma(\sigma\grave{\sigma}))(\sigma(\sigma\acute{\sigma}))$ $(\sigma(\sigma\grave{\sigma}))(\sigma(\sigma\grave{\sigma}))(\sigma\acute{\sigma})$
<i>non-directional</i>	<i>non-directional</i>	<i>non-directional</i>	<i>non-directional</i>
<i>non-directional</i>	<i>non-directional</i>	<i>non-directional</i>	<i>non-directional</i>

8 Rhythmic category H: strictly ternary systems

Unidirectional T*(σ)(σ) (16 subpatterns)

$((\acute{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)$	$((\sigma\acute{\sigma})\sigma)$	$(\sigma(\acute{\sigma}\sigma))$	$(\sigma(\sigma\acute{\sigma}))$
$(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)$ $((\acute{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)$ $((\acute{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)\sigma$ $((\acute{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)\sigma\sigma$ $((\acute{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)((\grave{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)$ $((\acute{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)((\grave{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)\sigma$ $((\acute{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)((\grave{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)\sigma\sigma$	$(\sigma\acute{\sigma})$ $((\sigma\acute{\sigma})\sigma)$ $((\sigma\acute{\sigma})\sigma)\sigma$ $((\sigma\acute{\sigma})\sigma)\sigma\sigma$ $((\sigma\acute{\sigma})\sigma)((\sigma\grave{\sigma})\sigma)$ $((\sigma\acute{\sigma})\sigma)((\sigma\grave{\sigma})\sigma)\sigma$ $((\sigma\acute{\sigma})\sigma)((\sigma\grave{\sigma})\sigma)\sigma\sigma$	$(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)$ $(\sigma(\acute{\sigma}\sigma))$ $(\sigma(\acute{\sigma}\sigma))\sigma$ $(\sigma(\acute{\sigma}\sigma))\sigma\sigma$ $(\sigma(\acute{\sigma}\sigma))(\sigma(\grave{\sigma}\sigma))$ $(\sigma(\acute{\sigma}\sigma))(\sigma(\grave{\sigma}\sigma))\sigma$ $(\sigma(\acute{\sigma}\sigma))(\sigma(\grave{\sigma}\sigma))\sigma\sigma$	$(\sigma\acute{\sigma})$ $(\sigma(\sigma\acute{\sigma}))$ $(\sigma(\sigma\acute{\sigma}))\sigma$ $(\sigma(\sigma\acute{\sigma}))\sigma\sigma$ $(\sigma(\sigma\acute{\sigma}))(\sigma(\sigma\grave{\sigma}))$ $(\sigma(\sigma\acute{\sigma}))(\sigma(\sigma\grave{\sigma}))\sigma$ $(\sigma(\sigma\acute{\sigma}))(\sigma(\sigma\grave{\sigma}))\sigma\sigma$
<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>
<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>

$((\acute{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)$	$((\sigma\acute{\sigma})\sigma)$	$(\sigma(\acute{\sigma}\sigma))$	$(\sigma(\sigma\acute{\sigma}))$
$(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)$ $((\acute{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)$ $\sigma((\acute{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)$ $\sigma\sigma((\acute{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)$ $((\grave{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)((\acute{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)$ $\sigma((\grave{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)((\acute{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)$ $\sigma\sigma((\grave{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)((\acute{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)$	$(\sigma\acute{\sigma})$ $((\sigma\acute{\sigma})\sigma)$ $\sigma((\sigma\acute{\sigma})\sigma)$ $\sigma\sigma((\sigma\acute{\sigma})\sigma)$ $((\sigma\grave{\sigma})\sigma)((\sigma\acute{\sigma})\sigma)$ $\sigma((\sigma\grave{\sigma})\sigma)((\sigma\acute{\sigma})\sigma)$ $\sigma\sigma((\sigma\grave{\sigma})\sigma)((\sigma\acute{\sigma})\sigma)$	$(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)$ $(\sigma(\acute{\sigma}\sigma))$ $\sigma(\sigma(\acute{\sigma}\sigma))$ $\sigma\sigma(\sigma(\acute{\sigma}\sigma))$ $(\sigma(\grave{\sigma}\sigma))(\sigma(\acute{\sigma}\sigma))$ $\sigma(\sigma(\grave{\sigma}\sigma))(\sigma(\acute{\sigma}\sigma))$ $\sigma\sigma(\sigma(\grave{\sigma}\sigma))(\sigma(\acute{\sigma}\sigma))$	$(\sigma\acute{\sigma})$ $(\sigma(\sigma\acute{\sigma}))$ $\sigma(\sigma(\sigma\acute{\sigma}))$ $\sigma\sigma(\sigma(\sigma\acute{\sigma}))$ $(\sigma(\sigma\grave{\sigma}))(\sigma(\sigma\acute{\sigma}))$ $\sigma(\sigma(\sigma\grave{\sigma}))(\sigma(\sigma\acute{\sigma}))$ $\sigma\sigma(\sigma(\sigma\grave{\sigma}))(\sigma(\sigma\acute{\sigma}))$
<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	Gilbertese	<i>unattested</i>
Cayuvava	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>

$((\acute{o}\sigma)\sigma)$	$((\sigma\acute{o})\sigma)$	$(\sigma(\acute{o}\sigma))$	$(\sigma(\sigma\acute{o}))$
$(\acute{o}\sigma)$	$(\sigma\acute{o})$	$(\acute{o}\sigma)$	$(\sigma\acute{o})$
$((\acute{o}\sigma)\sigma)$	$((\sigma\acute{o})\sigma)$	$(\sigma(\acute{o}\sigma))$	$(\sigma(\sigma\acute{o}))$
$(\grave{o})(\acute{o}\sigma)\sigma$	$(\grave{o})(\sigma\acute{o})\sigma$	$(\grave{o})(\sigma(\acute{o}\sigma))$	$(\grave{o})(\sigma(\sigma\acute{o}))$
$(\grave{o}\sigma)(\acute{o}\sigma)\sigma$	$(\sigma\grave{o})(\sigma\acute{o})\sigma$	$(\sigma\grave{o})(\sigma(\acute{o}\sigma))$	$(\sigma\grave{o})(\sigma(\sigma\acute{o}))$
$\sigma(\grave{o}\sigma)(\acute{o}\sigma)\sigma$	$\sigma(\sigma\grave{o})(\sigma\acute{o})\sigma$	$\sigma(\sigma\grave{o})(\sigma(\acute{o}\sigma))$	$\sigma(\sigma\grave{o})(\sigma(\sigma\acute{o}))$
$\sigma\sigma(\grave{o}\sigma)(\acute{o}\sigma)\sigma$	$\sigma\sigma(\sigma\grave{o})(\sigma\acute{o})\sigma$	$\sigma\sigma(\sigma\grave{o})(\sigma(\acute{o}\sigma))$	$\sigma\sigma(\sigma\grave{o})(\sigma(\sigma\acute{o}))$
$\sigma\sigma\sigma(\grave{o}\sigma)(\acute{o}\sigma)\sigma$	$\sigma\sigma\sigma(\sigma\grave{o})(\sigma\acute{o})\sigma$	$\sigma\sigma\sigma(\sigma\grave{o})(\sigma(\acute{o}\sigma))$	$\sigma\sigma\sigma(\sigma\grave{o})(\sigma(\sigma\acute{o}))$
<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>
<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>

(B)T(σ^*) (16 subpatterns)

$((\acute{o}\sigma)\sigma)$	$((\sigma\acute{o})\sigma)$	$(\sigma(\acute{o}\sigma))$	$(\sigma(\sigma\acute{o}))$
$(\acute{o}\sigma)$	$(\sigma\acute{o})$	$(\acute{o}\sigma)$	$(\sigma\acute{o})$
$((\acute{o}\sigma)\sigma)$	$((\sigma\acute{o})\sigma)$	$(\sigma(\acute{o}\sigma))$	$(\sigma(\sigma\acute{o}))$
$((\acute{o}\sigma)\sigma)\sigma$	$((\sigma\acute{o})\sigma)\sigma$	$(\sigma(\acute{o}\sigma))\sigma$	$(\sigma(\sigma\acute{o}))\sigma$
$(\acute{o}\sigma)(\grave{o}\sigma)\sigma$	$(\sigma\acute{o})(\sigma\grave{o})\sigma$	$(\acute{o}\sigma)(\sigma(\grave{o}\sigma))$	$(\sigma\acute{o})(\sigma(\sigma\grave{o}))$
$(\acute{o}\sigma)(\grave{o}\sigma)\sigma\sigma$	$(\sigma\acute{o})(\sigma\grave{o})\sigma\sigma$	$(\acute{o}\sigma)(\sigma(\grave{o}\sigma))\sigma$	$(\sigma\acute{o})(\sigma(\sigma\grave{o}))\sigma$
$(\acute{o}\sigma)(\grave{o}\sigma)\sigma\sigma\sigma$	$(\sigma\acute{o})(\sigma\grave{o})\sigma\sigma\sigma$	$(\acute{o}\sigma)(\sigma(\grave{o}\sigma))\sigma\sigma$	$(\sigma\acute{o})(\sigma(\sigma\grave{o}))\sigma\sigma$
<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	Ioway-Oto	<i>unattested</i>
<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>

$((\acute{o}\sigma)\sigma)$	$((\sigma\acute{o})\sigma)$	$(\sigma(\acute{o}\sigma))$	$(\sigma(\sigma\acute{o}))$
$(\acute{o}\sigma)$	$(\sigma\acute{o})$	$(\acute{o}\sigma)$	$(\sigma\acute{o})$
$((\acute{o}\sigma)\sigma)$	$((\sigma\acute{o})\sigma)$	$(\sigma(\acute{o}\sigma))$	$(\sigma(\sigma\acute{o}))$
$\sigma(\acute{o}\sigma)\sigma$	$\sigma(\sigma\acute{o})\sigma$	$\sigma(\sigma(\acute{o}\sigma))$	$\sigma(\sigma(\sigma\acute{o}))$
$((\grave{o}\sigma)\sigma)(\acute{o}\sigma)$	$((\sigma\grave{o})\sigma)(\sigma\acute{o})$	$(\sigma(\grave{o}\sigma))(\acute{o}\sigma)$	$(\sigma(\sigma\grave{o}))(\sigma\acute{o})$
$\sigma((\grave{o}\sigma)\sigma)(\acute{o}\sigma)$	$\sigma(\sigma\grave{o})\sigma(\sigma\acute{o})$	$\sigma(\sigma(\grave{o}\sigma))(\acute{o}\sigma)$	$\sigma(\sigma(\sigma\grave{o}))(\sigma\acute{o})$
$\sigma\sigma((\grave{o}\sigma)\sigma)(\acute{o}\sigma)$	$\sigma\sigma(\sigma\grave{o})\sigma(\sigma\acute{o})$	$\sigma\sigma(\sigma(\grave{o}\sigma))(\acute{o}\sigma)$	$\sigma\sigma(\sigma(\sigma\grave{o}))(\sigma\acute{o})$
$\sigma\sigma\sigma((\grave{o}\sigma)\sigma)(\acute{o}\sigma)$	$\sigma\sigma\sigma(\sigma\grave{o})\sigma(\sigma\acute{o})$	$\sigma\sigma\sigma(\sigma(\grave{o}\sigma))(\acute{o}\sigma)$	$\sigma\sigma\sigma(\sigma(\sigma\grave{o}))(\sigma\acute{o})$
<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>
<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>

16 *Violeta Martínez-Paricio and René Kager*

(B/U)T(σ^*) (16 subpatterns)

$((\acute{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)$	$((\sigma\acute{\sigma})\sigma)$	$(\sigma(\acute{\sigma}\sigma))$	$(\sigma(\sigma\acute{\sigma}))$
$(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)$ $((\acute{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)$ $(\acute{\sigma})(\grave{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma$ $(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)(\grave{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma$ $(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)(\grave{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma\sigma$ $(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)(\grave{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma\sigma\sigma$	$(\sigma\acute{\sigma})$ $((\sigma\acute{\sigma})\sigma)$ $(\acute{\sigma})(\sigma\grave{\sigma})\sigma$ $(\sigma\acute{\sigma})(\sigma\grave{\sigma})\sigma$ $(\sigma\acute{\sigma})(\sigma\grave{\sigma})\sigma\sigma$ $(\sigma\acute{\sigma})(\sigma\grave{\sigma})\sigma\sigma\sigma$	$(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)$ $(\sigma(\acute{\sigma}\sigma))$ $(\acute{\sigma})(\sigma(\grave{\sigma}\sigma))$ $(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)(\sigma(\grave{\sigma}\sigma))$ $(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)(\sigma(\grave{\sigma}\sigma))\sigma$ $(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)(\sigma(\grave{\sigma}\sigma))\sigma\sigma$ $(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)(\sigma(\grave{\sigma}\sigma))\sigma\sigma\sigma$	$(\sigma\acute{\sigma})$ $(\sigma(\sigma\acute{\sigma}))$ $(\acute{\sigma})(\sigma(\sigma\grave{\sigma}))$ $(\sigma\acute{\sigma})(\sigma(\sigma\grave{\sigma}))$ $(\sigma\acute{\sigma})(\sigma(\sigma\grave{\sigma}))\sigma$ $(\sigma\acute{\sigma})(\sigma(\sigma\grave{\sigma}))\sigma\sigma$ $(\sigma\acute{\sigma})(\sigma(\sigma\grave{\sigma}))\sigma\sigma\sigma$
<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>
<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>

$((\acute{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)$	$((\sigma\acute{\sigma})\sigma)$	$(\sigma(\acute{\sigma}\sigma))$	$(\sigma(\sigma\acute{\sigma}))$
$(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)$ $((\acute{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)$ $((\grave{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)(\acute{\sigma})$ $((\grave{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)$ $\sigma((\grave{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)$ $\sigma\sigma((\grave{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)$ $\sigma\sigma\sigma((\grave{\sigma}\sigma)\sigma)(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)$	$(\sigma\acute{\sigma})$ $((\sigma\acute{\sigma})\sigma)$ $((\sigma\grave{\sigma})\sigma)(\acute{\sigma})$ $((\sigma\grave{\sigma})\sigma)(\sigma\acute{\sigma})$ $\sigma((\sigma\grave{\sigma})\sigma)(\sigma\acute{\sigma})$ $\sigma\sigma((\sigma\grave{\sigma})\sigma)(\sigma\acute{\sigma})$ $\sigma\sigma\sigma((\sigma\grave{\sigma})\sigma)(\sigma\acute{\sigma})$	$(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)$ $(\sigma(\acute{\sigma}\sigma))$ $(\sigma(\grave{\sigma}\sigma))(\acute{\sigma})$ $(\sigma(\grave{\sigma}\sigma))(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)$ $\sigma(\sigma(\grave{\sigma}\sigma))(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)$ $\sigma\sigma(\sigma(\grave{\sigma}\sigma))(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)$ $\sigma\sigma\sigma(\sigma(\grave{\sigma}\sigma))(\acute{\sigma}\sigma)$	$(\sigma\acute{\sigma})$ $(\sigma(\sigma\acute{\sigma}))$ $(\sigma(\sigma\grave{\sigma}))(\acute{\sigma})$ $(\sigma(\sigma\grave{\sigma}))(\sigma\acute{\sigma})$ $\sigma(\sigma(\sigma\grave{\sigma}))(\sigma\acute{\sigma})$ $\sigma\sigma(\sigma(\sigma\grave{\sigma}))(\sigma\acute{\sigma})$ $\sigma\sigma\sigma(\sigma(\sigma\grave{\sigma}))(\sigma\acute{\sigma})$
<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>
<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>	<i>unattested</i>