The essential challenge of phrasal phonology is to determine the correct prosodic domains (p-phrases) to which phonological rules refer. Theories differ in making direct or indirect reference to syntactic structure, but either way the syntax typically plays a central role in determining the p-phrase locations. We present the case of phrasal accent in Kashaya (Pomoan: N. California), and show that although syntactic structure defines the basic domains of phrasal groupings, the further grouping of words into p-phrases is affected by prosodic factors and often ignores syntactic constituency. There is variation in the prosodic phrasing; we provide an Optimality Theory analysis that accounts for the multiple possible realizations in our corpus.

Kashaya stress is iambic at the left edge, whether in a single word or a multiword domain, but in connected discourse not all stresses are realized with a pitch accent; some are “suppressed” and that p-phrase has no accent. When the accent does occur, however, its placement diagnoses the left edge of a p-phrase. Due to initial-syllable extrametricality, the accent often falls on the third syllable in a p-phrase (the second syllable if it is closed; Buckley 1994). The p-phrase may encompass two words, as with the binary phrasing \((\omega \omega)(\omega \omega)(\omega \omega)\) shown in (1) on the next page (Oswalt 1961; all examples are from the texts collected in Oswalt 1964). Variation in phrasing includes the following types:

- A single-word phrase (subject, object, adverbial) optionally groups with a following verb, yielding \((\omega \omega)\) or \((\omega \omega \omega)\) in (2).
- Strikingly, this variation also occurs in longer phrases of three words, which are found as \((\omega \omega \omega)(\omega)\) and \((\omega)(\omega \omega)\). In such phrases, a complex NP preceding the verb (subject or object) can be divided between two p-phrases, with the second consisting of half the NP and the V despite the syntactic mismatch (3,4,5).
- A similar pattern occurs within the DP as well (6), where a determiner can pull the second word of the NP into a separate p-phrase, once again forming \((\omega \omega)(\omega \omega)\).

A single-word p-phrase that is too short for a proper iambic foot usually remains unstressed or at least unaccented; this is true of many of the initial words in the examples given here.

In sentences where the p-phrases match the syntactic structure, such as \((\omega \omega \omega)(\omega)\) for the structure \([[[XX]\X]]\), the constraint ALIGN-XP,R generates the desired outcome (Selkirk 1995, Truckenbrodt 1995). But to account for the grouping \((\omega)(\omega \omega)\) in defiance of syntactic constituency, some prosodic factor must intervene. One option is to favor branching on the right, a sort of iambic rhythm at the p-phrase level, which can be formulated as follows.

**BRANCH-R** The rightmost p-phrase within an Intonation Phrase is branching.

Constraints on the binarity of p-phrases, BIN-MIN and BIN-MAX, control the size of these constituents (Selkirk 2000). Ranking of BRANCH-R over ALIGN-XP,R generates the mismatched phrasing, as illustrated by the tableau in (7). For the pairs of examples in (2–6), this favors the parsings in the right column. In the competing grammar where prosody matches syntax, ALIGN-XP,R is ranked above BRANCH-R as well as the two BIN constraints, favoring the left column. Truckenbrodt’s WRAP-XP, requiring that every XP be contained within a single p-phrase, must be low-ranked given the non-syntactic phrasing commonly found in the language.

We also consider other prosodic pressures that may supplement, or replace, BRANCH-R. For example, syllabification across a word boundary appears to make a single p-phrase more likely. In addition, we show that accents close to the end of a p-phrase are disfavored — akin to the well known preference for final lapses (RHYTHM in Hung 1994, LAPSE-AT-END in Kager 2001). Grouping a phrase-final word (such as the verb) with the preceding word shifts the accent leftward in deference to this final-accent avoidance, but without regard to syntactic structure.
(1) [baθaʔem]_{DP} [pʰala]_{ADV} [cóhtoʔ]_{V} [bihše]_{NP} [qʰáʔdiw]_{V} [vp] \\
\hspace{1cm} bear the again depart deer fetch \\
\hspace{1cm} ( ) ( ) ( ) ( )

‘The bear went off again to fetch the deer meat.’

(2) [ [qʰoʔo]_{NP} [cahnóʔba]_{V} ]_{vp} [ [qʰoʔo]_{NP} [cähnow]_{V} ]_{vp} \\
\hspace{1cm} song should sing \\
\hspace{1cm} ( ) ( ) ( ) ( )

‘(you) should sing the song’

(3) [ [qiʰcʰe]_{NP} [míhsaʔ] ]_{A} [ [dibiucínkʰe]_{V} ]_{IP} [ [qiʰcʰe]_{NP} [mihsáʔ] ]_{A} [ [dibiʔ]_{V} ]_{IP} \\
\hspace{1cm} rain heavy will fall \\
\hspace{1cm} ( ) ( ) ( ) ( )

‘a heavy rain will fall’

(4) [ [ʔamaʔ]_{NP} [qʰóʔdi]_{A} [tʰanqaw]_{V} ]_{vp} [ [ʔamaʔ]_{NP} [qʰóʔdi]_{A} [tʰácqan]_{V} ]_{vp} \\
\hspace{1cm} thing good feel.SG \\
\hspace{1cm} ( ) ( ) ( )

‘was happy’

(5) [ [qʰaʔbe]_{NP} [háduʔ] ]_{A} [ [dihciyícba]_{V} ]_{vp} [ [náta]_{NP} [cuhse] ]_{NP} [ [bíʔdiyʔi]_{V} ]_{vp} \\
\hspace{1cm} rock other having picked up child basket clapsed \\
\hspace{1cm} ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( )

‘after picking up another rock’

(6) [ [bihše]_{NP} [qáwiʔ] ]_{A} [ yya ]_{DP} [ [náta]_{NP} [qáwiʔ] ]_{A} [ yya ]_{DP} \\
\hspace{1cm} deer little PL \\
\hspace{1cm} ( ) ( ) ( ) ( )

‘the little deer (PL)’

(7) [[rain]_{N} [heavy]_{A} ]_{NP} [fall]_{VP} Bin-MAX Bin-MIN BRANCH-R ALIGN-XP,R WRAP-XP \\
a. (rain) (heavy) (fall) **|* * * \\
b. (rain heavy) (fall) * * ! * ! \\
c. əf (rain) (heavy fall) * ! * * * ! \\
d. (rain heavy fall) * ! * * * ! 


