1. Kelkhar’s Hindi: stress rightmost heaviest syllable; in case of tie, stress rightmost nonfinal heaviest

Weight hierarchy: CVVC (S) > CVV, CVC (H) > CVC, CV (L)

Peak-Prominence >> Nonfinality >> Rightmost

Peak Prominence: *L’ >> *H’ >> *S’

Overriding requirement that every word have a stress

Problems for derivational theory: rightmost nonfinal stress suggests extrametricality/RLR edge-marking. But we must suspend extrametricality just in case the final syllable is the heaviest in the word; but we don’t know whether it is the strongest in the word until we have computed the stress already. A case of “global comparison”.

A possible analysis is to project to the metrical grid in phases. First project all superheavy syllables; then project the final syllable; EM: RLR, LLL, Head=R. Then project heavy syllables; and finally project all light syllables. Rules cease to apply once a stress is obtained.

L S -> L S -> L S -> L S -> L S

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H H L H -> H H L H -> H H L H -> H H L H

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H H L -> H H L -> H H L -> H H L -> H H L -> H H L

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2. Kashmiri:

Weight hierarchy: CV: (H) > CVC (H) > CV (L)

Nonfinality >> Peak Prom >> Leftmost