## Phonology 3

stıejnd3 wimən lajın in $\mathrm{p}^{\text {h }}$ andz distııbjərıy soıdz iz now bejsis fəı ə sistəm $\partial \mathrm{v}$ gavəmənt

a.ı juw səgd3єstı $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}}$ owkənıts majg.ejt?

juw m $\wedge$ st $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{h}} \Lambda \mathrm{t}$ dawn ðə majtijəst trij in ðə foıəst wı $\theta$ ə he.ı!
wıt iz ði ej.sspijd vəlasərij əv ən $\wedge$ nlejdən swalow?


## Arabic definite article

Pal-qamr 'the moon'
Pal-faras
Pal-kitaab 'the mare'
Pal-harb
Pal-the war'
("moon letters": q, f, k, h, २...)

Paf-fams 'the sun'
Pad-daar 'the house'
Paz-zajt 'the oil'
Pan-nahr 'the river'
PaO- $\theta$ awb 'the garment'
("sun letters": $\int, \mathrm{d}, \mathrm{z}, \mathrm{n}, ~ \theta \ldots$ )

## Coronal


coronal: articulated with the tongue tip or blade

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coronal: articulated with the tongue tip or blade
Paf-Jams, Pad-daar, Paz-zajt, Pan-nahr, Pa日-易awb...
Pal-qamr, Pal-faras, Pal-kitaab, Pal-harb, Pal-Pab...

## Coronal

A rule for the Arabic definite article:

$$
[1] \rightarrow \mathrm{C}_{\mathrm{i}} / \_\mathrm{C}_{\mathrm{i},[\text { coronal }]}
$$

(notice that [1] is also coronal...)

## Coronal

A rule for the Arabic definite article:

$$
[1] \rightarrow \mathrm{C}_{\mathrm{i}} / \_\mathrm{C}_{\mathrm{i},[\text { coronall }]}
$$

(notice that [1] is also coronal...)
assimilation rule: one sound becomes more like another sound.
(saves wear and tear on articulators, and probably makes perception easier, too...)

## Another assimilation rule

inedible
impossible
i[ $\mathfrak{\eta}]$ credible...

## Vowel harmony again

(remember vowel harmony?)

## Vowel harmony again

Finnish vowel inventory:

|  | front | back |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| high | $[\mathrm{i}],[\mathrm{y}]$ | $[\mathrm{u}]$ |
| mid | $[\mathrm{e}],[\varnothing]$ | $[\mathrm{o}]$ |
| low | $[æ]$ | $[\mathrm{a}]$ |

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| $[\mathrm{i}],[y]$ | $[\mathrm{u}]$ |
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| $[æ]$ | $[a]$ |

[рøуdæ-llæ] 'on the table' [kadu-lla] 'on the street'

## Vowel harmony again

Finnish vowel inventory:
front back
high [i], [y] [u]
mid [e], [ø]
[o]
low [æ]
[a]
[pøydæ-llæ] 'on the table' [kadu-lla] 'on the street'
[pysæki-llæ] 'at the station' [lapse-lla] 'on the child'

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| mid | $[\mathrm{e}],[\varnothing]$ | $[\mathrm{o}]$ |
| low $[æ]$ | $[a]$ |  |
| [pøydæ-llæ] 'on the table' | $[$ kadu-lla] 'on the street' |  |
| [pyseki-llæ] 'at the station' <br> [perhee-llæ] 'at the family' | $[$ [lapse-lla] 'on the child' |  |

## Vowel harmony again

Finnish vowel inventory:
front back

| high | $[\mathrm{i}],[\mathrm{y}]$ | $[\mathrm{u}]$ | Notice that if a vowel <br> is not round, and not |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mid | $[\mathrm{e}],[\phi]$ | $[\mathrm{o}]$ | low, it's front. |

low [æ]
[a]
[рøуdæ-llæ] 'on the table' [kadu-lla] 'on the street'
[pysæki-llæ] 'at the station' [lapse-lla] 'on the child' [perhee-llæ] 'at the family'

## Vowel harmony again

Finnish vowel inventory:
front back
high $[i],[y] \quad[u]$ One way to think about
mid [e], [ø]
[o] 'give all the vowels in the word the same value for
low [æ] [a] [back]...but don't create non-Finnish vowels"
[pøydæ-llæ] 'on the table' [kadu-lla] 'on the street'
[pysæki-llæ] 'at the station' [lapse-lla] 'on the child' [perhee-llæ] 'at the family'

## Vowel harmony again

"Give all the vowels in the word the same value for [back]...but don't create any non-Finnish vowels ( $u, \gamma$ )"

Remember Optimality Theory?

## Vowel harmony again

"Give all the vowels in the word the same value for [back]...but don't create any non-Finnish vowels ( $u, \gamma$ )"

Remember Optimality Theory?
*[+back, -round, -low] $>\quad *[\alpha$ back $] \ldots[-\alpha$ back $]$
("The most important thing is not to create back, nonlow, unrounded vowels. But as long as you don't do that, make sure all the vowels have the same value for [back]")

## "Feature spreading"

One popular approach to phenomena like vowel harmony involves allowing a feature of a sound to appear in multiple places.

$$
\begin{array}{lllllllll}
\mathrm{p} & \emptyset & \mathrm{y} & \mathrm{~d} & \mathfrak{x} & 1 & \mathrm{l} & \mathfrak{x}
\end{array}
$$

Here's the Finnish word for 'on the table' again...

## "Feature spreading"

One popular approach to phenomena like vowel harmony involves allowing a feature of a sound to appear in multiple places.

| p $\emptyset$ | $y \quad d$ | æ | æ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [+round] | [+round] | [-round] | [-round] |
| [mid] | [high] | [low] | [low] |
| [-back] | [-back] | [-back] | [-back] |

Here's the Finnish word for 'on the table' again, and you might have thought that each vowel would be specified separately...

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It's as though there's only one [back] feature in the word, and all the vowels share it (at least, the ones that can...)

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Autosegmental


Representation

Here's the Finnish word for 'on the table' again, and you might have thought that each vowel would be specified separately, but a popular approach denies this: a feature like [-back] can be specified as being shared among all the vowels.

It's as though there's only one [back] feature in the word, and all the vowels share it (at least, the ones that can...)

## Another (much rarer) kind of harmony (Navajo)

```
ni-sé-ne' 'I played'
ni-sé-łkáá` 'I investigated it'
sé-zị' 'I stood'
ni-síní-ne' 'You played'
ni-síní-łkáá' 'You investigated it'
síní-zị' 'You stood'
ni-soo-ne' 'You two played'
ni-soo-łkáá' 'You two investigated it'
soo-zị' 'You two stood'
```


## Another (much rarer) kind of harmony (Navajo)

| ni-sé-ne' | 'I played' |
| :--- | :--- |
| ni-sé-łkáá' | 'I investigated it' |
| sé-zị' | 'I stood' |
| ni-síní-ne' | 'You played' |
| ni-síní-łkáá' | 'You investigated it' |
| siní-zit' | 'You stood' |
| ni-soo-ne' | 'You two played' |
| ni-soo-łkáá' | 'You two investigated it' |
| soo-zit | 'You two stood' |
| fé-łbéé3 | 'I boiled it' |
| Jíní-łbéé3 | 'You boiled it' |
| Joo-łbéé3 | 'You two boiled it' |

## Another (much rarer) kind of harmony (Navajo)

| ni-sé-ne' | 'I played' | ni-sis- 'na' 'I crawled around' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ni-síní-ne' | 'You played' | ni-síní- 'na' 'You crawled' |
| ni-soo-ne' | 'You two played' | ni-soo-'na' 'You 2 crawled' |
| sé-zị ${ }^{\prime}$ | 'I stood' |  |
| síní-zị | 'You stood' |  |
| soo-zí | 'You two stood' |  |
| Jé-łbéé3 | 'I boiled it' | ni-fif-nif 'I worked' |
| Jíní-łbéé3 | 'You boiled it' | ni-Jíní-lnif 'You worked' |
| ¢oo-łbéé3 | 'You two boiled it' | ni-foo-łni§ 'You 2 worked' |

## Another (much rarer) kind of harmony (Navajo)

| ni-sé-ne' | 'I played' |
| :--- | :--- |
| ni-síní-ne' | 'You played' |
| ni-soo-ne' | 'You two played' |

sé- $\mathrm{zi}{ }^{\prime}$
síní- $\mathrm{z} \underline{i}^{\prime}$
soo- $\mathrm{i}^{\prime}$
Jé-łbéé3
fíní-łbééz
Joo-łbéé3
'I stood'
'You stood'
'You two stood'
'I boiled it'
'You boiled it'
'You two boiled it'
ni-sis-'na' 'I crawled around' ni-síní-‘na' 'You crawled' ni-soo-'na' 'You 2 crawled'
ni-fif-nif 'I worked' ni-fíní-lnif 'You worked' ni-Soo-łnif 'You 2 worked'

Sibilant harmony: if there's a sibilant ([s], [z], [J], [3]) in the verb stem, then any sibilants in the subject prefix must match it.

## More Navajo...

$$
\text { na-ni-né } \quad \text { 'You are playing' }
$$

## More Navajo...

| na-ni-né | 'You are playing' |
| :--- | :--- |
| naa--né | 'I am playing' $\quad(n a>n n a, ~ n e v e r ~ m i n d ~ w h y) ~$ |
| na-oh-né | 'You two are playing' |
| ne-ii'-né | 'We two are playing' $\quad$ (ii' < iid) |

## More Navajo...

| na-ni-né | 'You are playing' |
| :---: | :---: |
| naa- -né | 'I am playing' (na > naa, never mind why) |
| na-oh-né | 'You two are playing' |
| ne-ii'-né | 'We two are playing' (ii' < iid) |
| na-ni-lnif | 'You are working' |

na-ni-łkaah 'You are investigating it’

## More Navajo...

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na-ni-né 'You are playing'
naa- -né 'I am playing' (na > naa, never mind why)
na-oh-né 'You two are playing'
ne-ii'-né 'We two are playing' (ii' < iid)
na-ni-lni\int 'You are working'
naa--ni\int 'I am working'
```

na-ni-łkaah 'You are investigating it'
naa- -kaah 'I am investigating it'

## More Navajo...

```
na-ni-né 'You are playing'
naa--né }\quad\mathrm{ 'I am playing' (n,
ne-ii'-né 'We two are playing' (ii' < iid)
na-ni-lnif 'You are working'
naa--ni\int 'I am working'
na-o-łni\int 'You two are working'
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na-ni-łkaah 'You are investigating it'
naa- -kaah 'I am investigating it'
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## More Navajo...

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na-ni-łkaah 'You are investigating it'
naa- -kaah 'I am investigating it'
na-o-łkaah 'You two are investigating it'
ne-ii-lkaah 'We two are investigating it'
```


## More Navajo...

$$
\int \mathrm{C}_{1} \mathrm{C}_{2} \rightarrow \int \mathrm{C}_{2} \quad\left(\text { naa } \int-\nmid k a a h ~ \rightarrow \text { naafkaah }\right)
$$

## More Navajo...

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\int \mathrm{C}_{1} \mathrm{C}_{2} \rightarrow \int \mathrm{C}_{2} & \text { (naa } \int-ł \mathrm{kaah} \rightarrow \text { naa } \mathrm{kaa} \\
\mathrm{~h} \mathrm{C}_{1} \mathrm{C}_{2} \rightarrow \mathrm{C}_{1[- \text { voice }]} \mathrm{C}_{2} & \text { (naoh-lni } \int \text { nao-łni } \int \text { ) }
\end{array}
$$

## More Navajo...

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\int \mathrm{C}_{1} \mathrm{C}_{2} \rightarrow \int \mathrm{C}_{2} & \text { (naaf-łkaah } \rightarrow \text { naafkaah) } \\
\mathrm{h} \mathrm{C}_{1} \mathrm{C}_{2} \rightarrow \mathrm{C}_{1[\text {-voice }]} \mathrm{C}_{2} & \text { (naoh-lnif } \rightarrow \text { nao-łnif }) \\
\mathrm{d} \mathrm{C}_{1} \mathrm{C}_{2} \rightarrow \mathrm{C}_{1[+ \text { voice] }} \mathrm{C}_{2} & \text { (neiid-łkaah } \rightarrow \text { neii-lkaah) }
\end{array}
$$

## More Navajo...

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\int \mathrm{C}_{1} \mathrm{C}_{2} \rightarrow \int \mathrm{C}_{2} & (\text { naaf-łkaah } \rightarrow \text { naafkaah) } \\
\mathrm{h} \mathrm{C}_{1} \mathrm{C}_{2} \rightarrow \mathrm{C}_{1[\text {-voice }]} \mathrm{C}_{2} & \text { (naoh-lnif } \rightarrow \text { nao-łnif }) \\
\mathrm{d} \mathrm{C}_{1} \mathrm{C}_{2} \rightarrow \mathrm{C}_{1[\text { +voice }]} \mathrm{C}_{2} & \text { (neiid-łkaah } \rightarrow \text { neii-lkaah) }
\end{array}
$$

*CCC!
(and: keep just the [voice] feature of the first C if you can; otherwise, delete the second C)

## More work for ranked constraints: Stress

> We've already talked about stress (it was part of the flapping rule) (á[r]om, a[t $\left.\mathrm{t}^{\mathrm{h}}\right]$ ómic)

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It often has effects on vowel quality
('æгəm, ə 'thamık)

## More work for ranked constraints: Stress

We've already talked about stress (it was part of the flapping rule) (á[r]om, a[th]ómic)
It often has effects on vowel quality ('æгəm, a' thamık)
Important for intonation...
("vocative chant": Laura! Pierre!)

In languages in which a word has one fixed position for stress... (data from WALS database, 282 relevant languages)
$33 \%$ First syllable (e.g., Hungarian)
6\% Second syllable (e.g., Dakota)
$<1 \%$ Third syllable (one example, Hocak)
18\% Last (ultimate) syllable (e.g., French)
39\% next-to-last (penultimate) syllable (e.g., Zulu, Polish)
4\% Antepenultimate syllable (e.g., Georgian, Macedonian)

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```

Other easy-to-imagine systems don't exist; for example, there are no languages with the rule 'stress the syllable closest to the middle of the word'

In languages in which a word has one fixed position for stress... (data from WALS database, 282 relevant languages)

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We could capture these patterns with constraints saying things like;
"Put stress as far (right, left) in the word as possible"

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39\% next-to-last (penultimate) syllable (e.g., Zulu, Polish)
4\% Antepenultimate syllable (e.g., Georgian, Macedonian)
We could capture these patterns with constraints saying things like; "Don't stress the (last, first, last two, first two) syllables"
"Put stress as far (right, left) in the word as possible"

There are other kinds of systems with multiple stresses in the word...
Pintupi

| pána | arth' | v | v |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| tjútaya | 'many' | V | v | v |  |  |  |
| m lawàna | 'through from behind' | v | v | V | v |  |  |
| púliŋkàlatju | 'w (sat) on th hill' | v | v | v | v | v |  |
| tj mulìmpatjùgku | 'our relation' | V | V | V | V | v | v |
| kúranjùlulìmpatjù.ta | 'the first relation' | v | v | v | v |  | v v |
| yúma.ıìykamàratjù.aka | 'because of mother-i |  | v | V | v |  |  |

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| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| tjútaya | 'many' | V | v | v |  |  |  |
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"stress the first syllable" >
"don't stress the last syllable" >
"don't allow two stressed syllables in a row" >
"don't allow two unstressed syllables in a row"

There are other kinds of systems with multiple stresses in the word...

Passamaquoddy

| túpqan | 'dirt' | v | v |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| tùpqánok | 'in the dirt' | v | v | v |  |  |  |
| wìcuhkémal | 's/he helps h/' | v | v | V | v |  |  |
| wìcùhkekému | 's/he helps' | v | v | v | v | v |  |
| wìcuhkètahámal | 's/he thinks about helping $\mathrm{h} /$ ' | v | v | v | v | v | v |
| tèhsàhqapàsultíne | let's walk around on top' | V | v | v | v | v |  |

"stress the first syllable" >
"don't stress the last syllable" >
"don't allow two unstressed syllables in a row" >
"don't allow two stressed syllables in a row"

There are other kinds of systems with multiple stresses in the word...
Tauya

| nònó | 'child' | v | v |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ùnetá | 'mat' | v | v | v |  |
| mòmùnepá | ' X sat and...' | v | v | v | v |
| jàpatìjəfó | 'my hand' | v | v | $\checkmark$ | v |

"stress the first syllable", and "stress the last syllable" >
"don't allow two unstressed syllables in a row">
"don't allow two stressed syllables in a row"

Another kind of stress system will have to include constraints that make reference to particular morphemes.

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## (consider English eléctric, electrícity)

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Russian: stress the first ‘lexically accented’ syllable; if there are no such syllables, stress the first syllable.

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górod 'town'
górodu 'town (dative sg.)'
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gorodám 'town (dative pl.)'
```

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Russian: stress the first ‘lexically accented’ syllable; if there are no such syllables, stress the first syllable.

```
górod 'town' oréx 'nut'
górodu 'town (dative sg.)' oréxu 'nut (dat. sg.)'
gorodám 'town (dative pl.)' oréxam 'nut (dat. pl.)'
```

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górodu 'town (dative sg.)' oréxu 'nut (dat. sg.)'
gorodám 'town (dative pl.)' oréxam 'nut (dat. pl.)'
```

One way to think about this: a Russian morpheme can have a "lexical accent" as part of its specification, and then we need constraints like:
"only have one stress" > "stress lexical accents" >
"make stress as far left as possible"

Some languages also have stress systems that care about syllable weight. Kashmiri is a good example.

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$\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{h}}$ íkiri 'to understand' many words have initial stress...<br>ánigati 'darkness'<br>kúnivizi 'sometime'

Some languages also have stress systems that care about syllable weight. Kashmiri is a good example.

```
phíkiri 'to understand
many words have initial stress...
ánigati 'darkness'
kúnivizi 'sometime'
mokiláavun 'to finish' ...but a long vowel will attract stress...
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kítaab 'book'
...unless it is final.
```

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kítaab 'book'
báalaadər 'balcony`
...but a long vowel will attract stress ...
...unless it is final.
If there are 2 long vowels, stress the leftmost
```

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Sokírvaar 'Friday'
...but a long vowel will attract stress ...
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If there are 2 long vowels, stress the leftmost
A vowel followed by 2 consonants also gets stress
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kúnivizi 'sometime'
mokiláavun 'to finish
kítaab 'book'
báalaadər 'balcony`
Sokírvaar 'Friday'
arv ázzi 'door'
many words have initial stress...
...unless it is final.
If there are 2 long vowels, stress the leftmost
A vowel followed by 2 consonants also gets stress
If there's a long vowel and a vowel followed by
two consonants, stress the long vowel
```

We can fruitfully think of Kashmiri stress in terms of ranked constraints...
"Don't have more than one stress" >
"Don't stress the final syllable" >
"Stress long vowels" >
"Stress vowels with multiple consonants after them" >
"Put stress as far to the left in the word as possible"

We can fruitfully think of Kashmiri stress in terms of ranked constraints...
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"Don't stress the final syllable" >
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