

~~Remarks on Gussenhoven's *Sicmad*~~

Representations as an alternative to rule ordering and sympathy

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1. Bleeding in Hellendoorn nasal assimilation (Nijen Twilhaar)

(1)	a.	/lop+N/	[lo.pm̩]	`walk'
	b.	/wet+N/	[we.t̩]	`know'
	c.	/pɑk+N/	[pɑ.k̩]	`grab'
	d.	/lop+ən/	[lo.pm̩]	`walk a'
	e.	/rɑmp+nɑχt/	[rɑmp.nɑχt]	`disastrous night'
	f.	/lip+N/	[li.pm̩]	
	g.	/lop+ən+ker/	[lo.p̩ŋ.k̩r]	`walk one time'

(2)	regressive assimilation:	x x	
			[nasal] domain: ? (word? phrase?)
	progressive assimilation:	x x	
			[nasal] domain: syllable

(3)	a.	/stɔp+t+N/	[stɔ.p̩]	`walked'
	b.	/zɛt+t+N/	[zɛ.t̩]	`put'
	c.	/pɑk+t+N/	[pɑ.k̩]	`grabbed'

(4)	t deletion:	t → 0 / C __ C	
	progressive assimilation:	x x	
			[nasal] domain: syllable

(5)		/stɔp+t+N/	/zɛt+t+N/	/pɑk+t+N/
	PA	stɔpt̩n	zɛtt̩n	pɑkt̩n
	t deletion	[stɔ.p̩]	[zɛ.t̩]	[pɑ.k̩]

Advantage:

- It works without being overly complicated.

Problems:

- Why no t deletion in Standard Dutch? Is it a coincidence that this rule and progressive assimilation is ordered in this way?
- Why two assimilation rules? Why are they ordered in this way?

2. The problem with constraint ranking

- (6) NASALPLACE: Nasals outside the onset should not have an independent place feature.
 CONTOUR: Two segments should not share a place feature.
 SYLLCONTOUR: Two segments within a syllable should not share a place feature.

(7) NASALPLACE >> SYLLCONTOUR, CONTOUR

(8)

/pɑk+N/	NASALPLACE	SYLLCONTOUR	CONTOUR
pɑ.kn	*!		
☞ pɑ.kŋ		*	*

(9)

/pɑk+N+buk/	NASALPLACE	SYLLCONTOUR	CONTOUR
☞ pɑ.km.buk			*
pɑ.kn.buk	*!		
pɑ.kŋ.buk		*!	*

- (10) : Don't delete t.
 CCC: No clusters of three consonants.

(11)

/pɑk+t+N /	NASPL	SYLLCONT	CONT	CCC	MAX-T
pɑ.ktn		*	*	*!	
⊗ pɑ.kn	*!				*
☞ pɑ.kŋ		*	*		*

Advantage:

- Captures the 'conspiracies'

Disadvantage:

- Does not work for the imperfective forms (ranking paradox)

3. Sympathy

(12)

/pɑk+t+N /	CCC	MAX- *,O	NASPL	SYLLCONT	CONT	✱MAX-T
pɑ.ktn	*!			*	*	
☞ pɑ.kn			*!			*
pɑ.kŋ		*!		*	*	*

Advantage:

- Works for imperfective forms

Disadvantage:

- Sympathy Theory: same problems as a derivational account

4. Representations

- (13) *Recoverability*: Don't delete morphemes without leaving a visible trace in the output.

Recoverability can be seen:

- As a principle constraining the application of rules
- As an OT constraint

- (14) EXPRESS-[F] (Van Oostendorp 1998: TiN-dag talk!)
The morphological feature F should be expressed in the output. (Some underlying phonological feature of F should be present in the output)

(15)

/pɑk+t+N /	CCC	EXPRESS-TENSE	NASPL	SYLLCONT	CONT
pɑk.tn	*!			*	*
☞ pɑ.kn			*!		
pɑ.kŋ		*!		*	*

(16)

/zɛt ₁ +t ₂ +N /	CCC	EXPRESS-TENSE	NASPL	SYLLCONT	CONT
zɛ t ₁ . t ₂ n	*!			*	*
☞ zɛ. t ₂ n			*!		
zɛ .t ₁ n		*!		*	*

NB The representations above may have been slightly simplified. In the last two examples of (16), t₁ or t₂ probably are ambisyllabic.