Turbid strict CV

Silent lateral actors in Arabic

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1PL	*lebesna*
1SG	*lebest*
3F.SG	*lebset*

Excerpt of PRF of $\sqrt{\text{LBS}}$ 'put (clothes) on' (CEA, Fathi 2013)

- *e* between C_2 and C_3 iif followed by CC
  - 1PL: ...*esn*
  - 1SG: ...*est*
- No *e* if followed by a full V
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- 1PL: *lebesna*

C_1	V_1	C_2	V_2	C_3	V_3	C_4	V_4
l	e	b	e	s		n	a

- 1SG: *lebest*

C_1	V_1	C_2	V_2	C_3	V_3	C_4	V_4
l	e	b	e	s		t	

- 3F.SG: *lebset*

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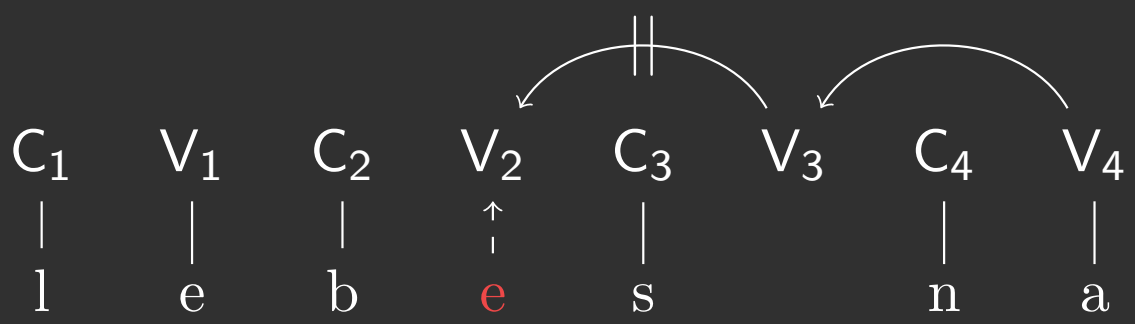
l	e	b		s	e	t	

- 1PL: *lebesna*
  - V_4 = full N, V_4 PGs V_3 $\Rightarrow$ $V_3 = \emptyset$
  - V_3 is PGed $\Rightarrow$ V_3 *PGs V_2 $\Rightarrow$ $V_2 = e$



- 1SG: *lebest*
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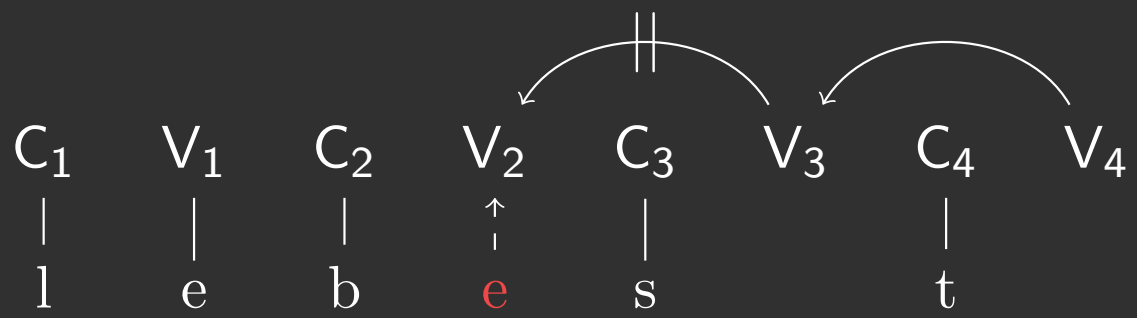

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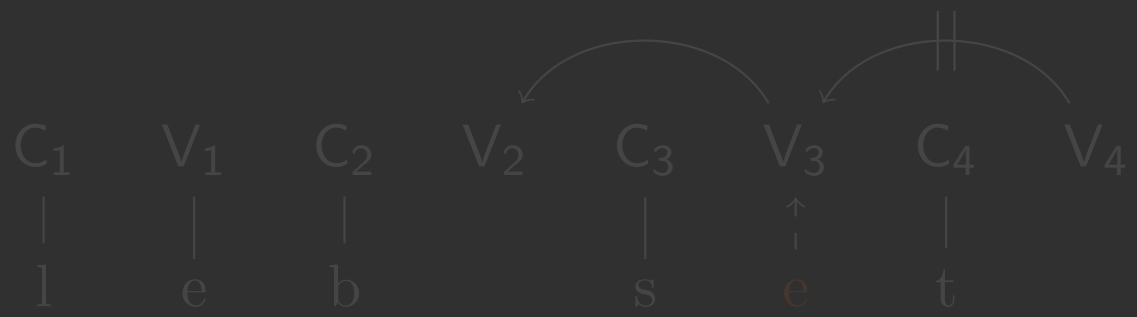

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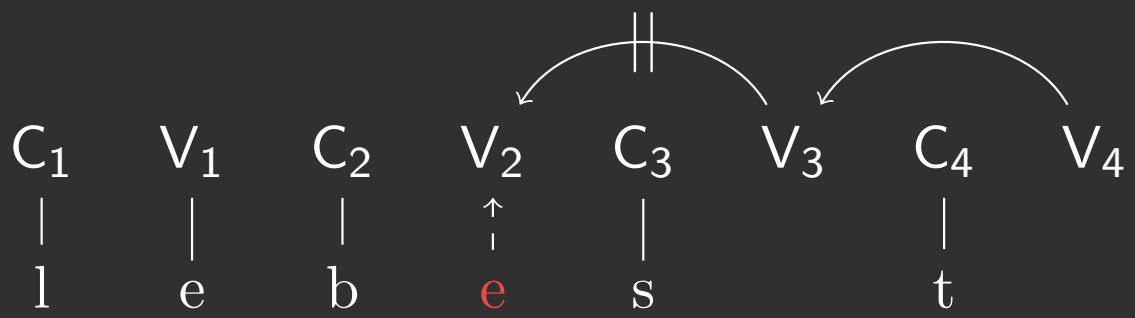

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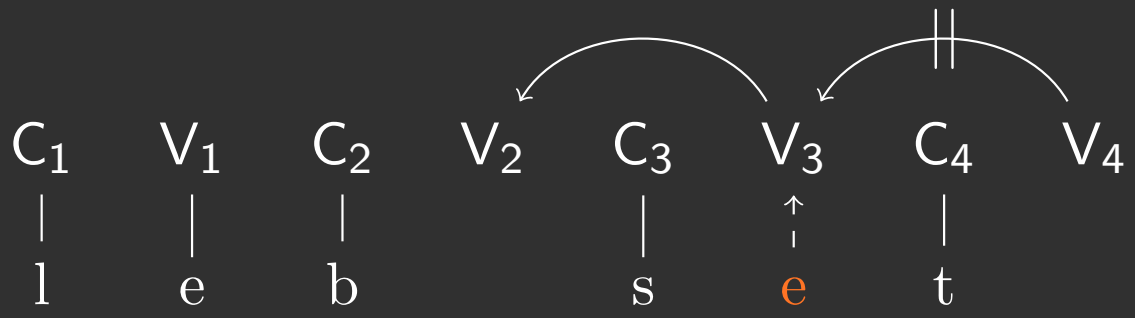

- **Problem**
  - FEN parameters are systemic
  - They hold throughout the whole grammar
  - If FEN PGs in $1\textsc{sg}$, then it should PG in $3\textsc{f}.\textsc{sg}$ too
- **Questions**
  - How to account for cases where FEN parameters do not work?
  - Can we get rid of FEN parameter(s)?
  - How to make a N laterally active despite not being pronounced?

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  - Silence and phonological emptiness are not the same thing
  - Silence can conceal phonological complexity
    - Not all (F)EN are the same/really empty

Upgrading strict CV with Turbidity Theory

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Upgrading strict CV with Turbidity Theory

Structure of the talk

1. Strict CV *meets* Turbidity Theory
2. Case study I: Stress and length in CEA
3. Case study II: CEA inflectional markers
4. Extensions
5. Conclusion

Strict CV *meets* Turbidity Theory

Turbidity Theory (Goldrick 2001)

- OT-born input-output Containment relation
  - The input is always contained in the output
- Deletion as non-pronunciation of a UR prime
  - A prime 'belonging to' a C/V is not pronounced
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- Reverse of deletion
  - Alternating V/*yer*
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Asymmetric relations between primes and prosodic nodes

- **Projection** (↓)
  - Lexical affiliation of a prime to a C/V
  - No manipulation allowed
- **Pronunciation** (↑)
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Strict CV *meets* Turbidity Theory

Floating prime	**EN**	**eN**	**Full N**
	V_1	V_2	V_3
		$\downarrow$	$\updownarrow$
$\lvert A \rvert$		$\lvert A \rvert$	$\lvert A \rvert$
$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	$[a]$

- **Floating prime**: V-less prime
- **EN**: prime-less V
- **eN**: prime, V, $\downarrow$ (= *yers*)
- **Full N**: prime, V, $\downarrow$ and $\uparrow$

TT and the Complexity Condition

- Hypothesis I: Complexity Condition (Harris 1990)
  - "Let α and β be melodic expressions occupying positions A and B respectively. Then, if A governs B, β is no more complex than α"
  - Lateral strength $\propto$ representational complexity
- Hypothesis II
  - Representational complexity = number of representational primitives
  - Representational primitives = primes and relations ($\downarrow$ and $\uparrow$)
- Some consequences
  - eN are more complex thus laterally stronger than EN
  - Some (F)EN are actually (F)eN
  - Silent N (eN) can be phonologically active

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Two CEA puzzles

- Distribution of stress and length (case study I)
- Vocalization of the root-final V (case study II)
- Thoroughly discussed in Fathi (2013)
  - 'Informal' proposal of two silent objects
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Case study I: Stress and length in CEA

Distribution of stress and length

- Stress and length both in penultimate and final position
- Length-stress correlation (when V = corner vowel; see below)

a.	[mesekˈnaː] ‘we caught him’	CVCVCˈ**CVV**
b.	[mesekˈnaːha] ‘we caught her’	CVCVCˈ**CVV**CV
c.	[meseknaˈhaːli] ‘we caught her for me’	CVCVCCVˈ**CVV**CV

Distribution of stress and length

- Length is contrastive only in final position

a.	[meˈsektu]	[mesekˈtuː]
	/mesek-tu/	/mesek-tu-u/
	caught-2PL.SBJ	caught-2PL.SBJ-3M.SG.OBJ
	‘you caught’	‘you caught it’
b.	[ˈkorsi]	[korˈsiː]
	/korsi/	/korsi-i/
	chair.SG	chair.SG-3M.SG.POSS
	‘chair’	‘his chair’

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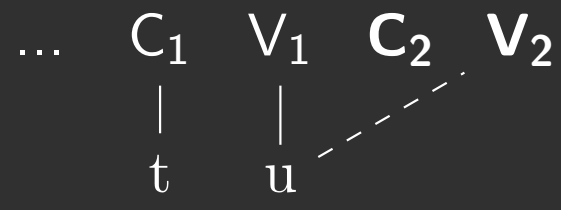

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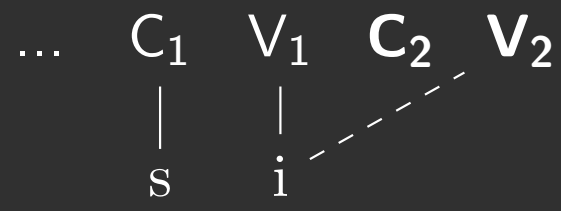

c. [mesekˈnaː]
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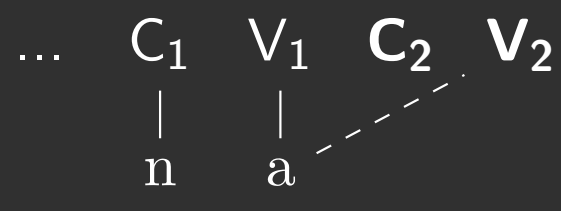

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3M.SG.OBJ as empty CV?

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- 3M.SG.OBJ $=$ CV
  - C $=$ /h/
  - V $=$ /u/
- /h/ and /u/ are **not necessarily pronounced**
- /u/ is **visible** to the stress assigning algorithm
  - Stress to the penultimate prime associated with a V

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Representing 3M.SG.OBJ - provisional

- 3M.SG.OBJ enters the derivation with only ↓
- Its pronunciation (↑) depends on the phonological environment

$$\begin{array}{cc} C_1 & V_1 \\ \downarrow & \downarrow \\ h & u \end{array}$$

- What about the [kor'siː] and [mesek'naː]?
  - How to make [iː] and [aː] compatible with /hu/$_{\text{3M.SG.OBJ}}$?
  - Where does the extra V come from if not provided by /hu/$_{\text{3M.SG.OBJ}}$?

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Stress and length

- CEA corner vowels are **phonologically** long
- CEA corner vowels are **phonetically** long is stressed
  - When a corner vowel "is identified as the stress bearing unit, pitch floods over its corresponding templatic chunk (that is two V slots), thus perceived 'longer' than usual" (Fathi 2013: 198)
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Stress and length in TT

- **No stress $\Rightarrow$ phonologically long, phonetically short**
  - Prime associated with both V via $\downarrow$, but only with one V via $\uparrow$
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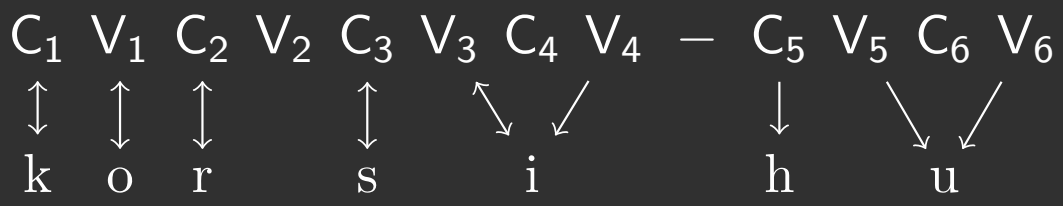

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     - V_3, $V_4 \downarrow$ /i/ $\Rightarrow$ phonologically long /iː/
     - /i/ $\uparrow V_3 \Rightarrow$ phonetically short [i]
  2. /huː/ ‘3M.SG.POSS’
     - V_5, $V_6 \downarrow$ /u/ $\Rightarrow$ phonologically long /uː/
     - $C_5 \downarrow$ /h/
     - no $\uparrow \Rightarrow$ phonetically silent marker

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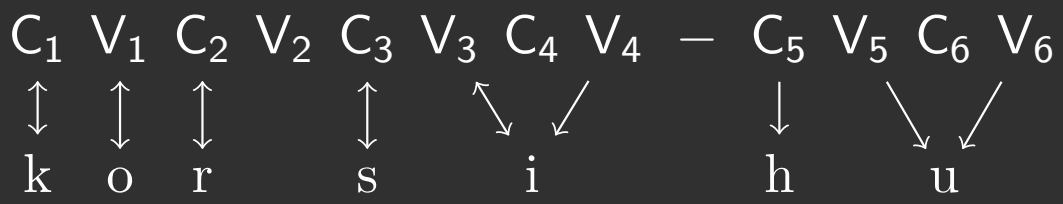

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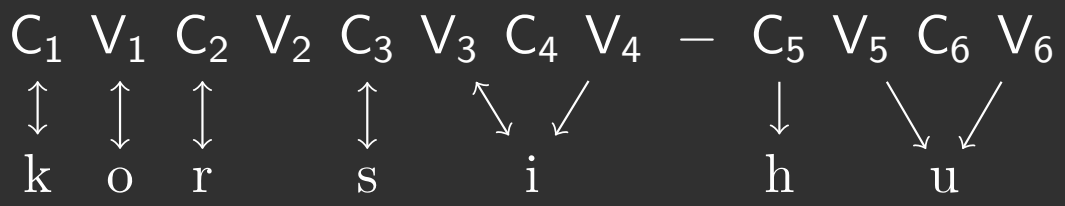
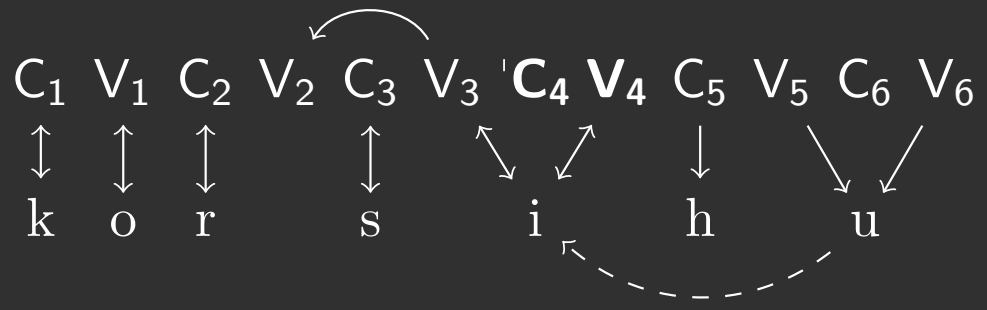


- Vocabulary entries (UR)
  1. /korsiː/ 'chair.SG'
     - V_3, $V_4 \downarrow$ /i/ $\Rightarrow$ phonologically long /iː/
     - /i/ $\uparrow V_3 \Rightarrow$ phonetically short [i]
  2. /huː/ '3M.SG.POSS'
     - V_5, $V_6 \downarrow$ /u/ $\Rightarrow$ phonologically long /uː/
     - $C_5 \downarrow$ /h/
     - no $\uparrow \Rightarrow$ phonetically silent marker

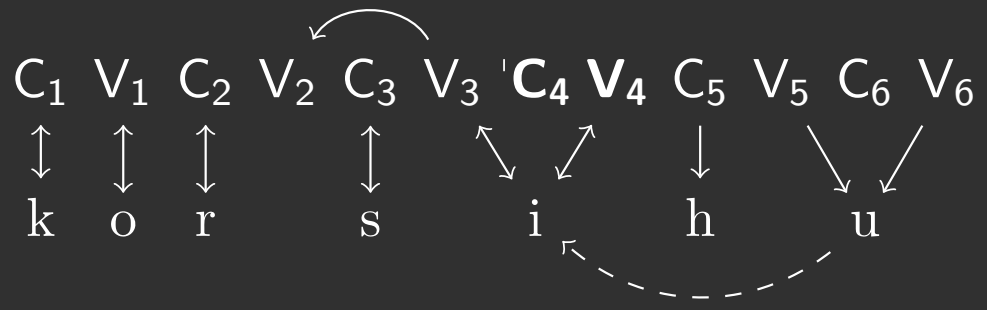
     NB /uː/ final $\Rightarrow$ /iː/ penultimate

Stress and length



- Phonological computation
  - Stress to /i/ (penultimate associated prime)
  - /i/-to-V_4 $\uparrow$ insertion (length licensing)
    - /iː/ $\rightarrow$ [iː]
  - V_3 PGs V_2 $\Rightarrow$ $V_2 = \emptyset$
  - /huː/ unstressed $\Rightarrow$ no $\uparrow$ $\Rightarrow$ $\emptyset$
  - V_5('s /u/) licenses V_4('s /i/)

Stress and length



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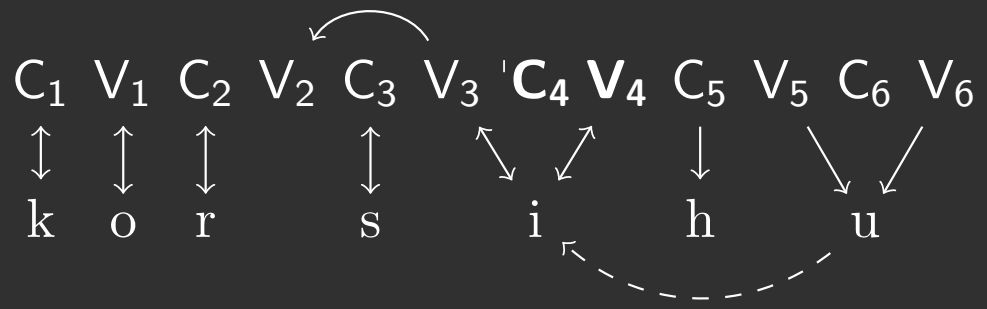

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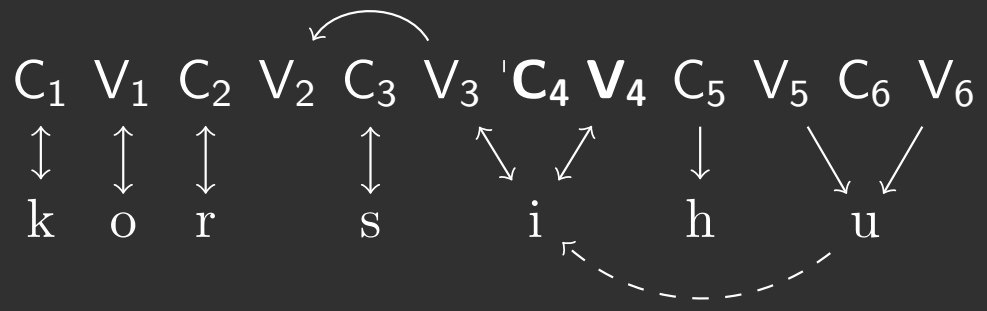

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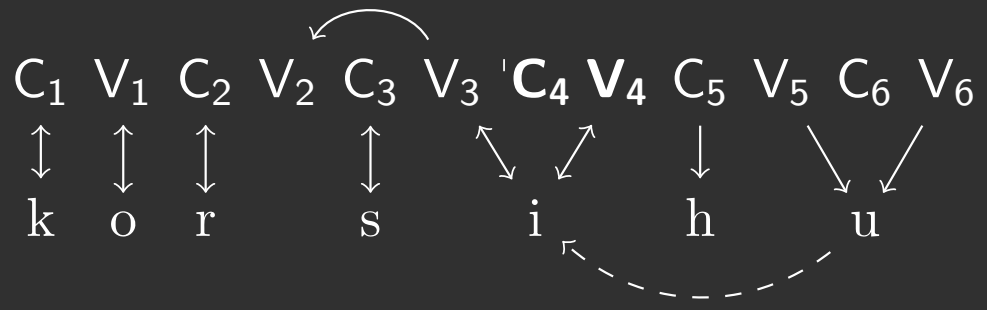

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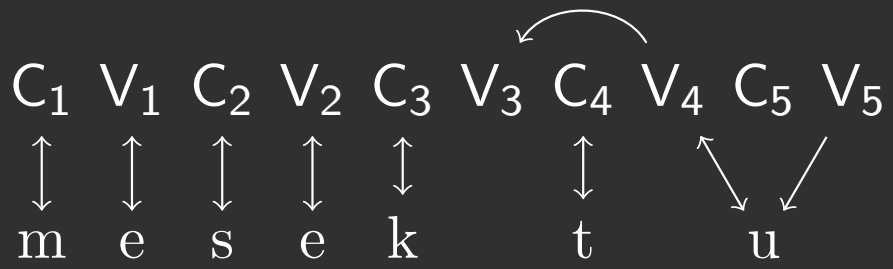
Surfacing of 3M.SG.OBJ

- /mesek-tuː/ 'you caught' → [meˈsektu]



- *u* = corner vowel ⇒ 2SG.SBJ = /tuː/
- V_4 PGs V_3 ⇒ $V_3 = \emptyset$
- Stress on /e/ in V_2 ⇒ /uː/ unstressed
- No stress on 2SG.SBJ's /uː/ ⇒ no /u/-to-V_5 ↑ ⇒ /tuː/ → [tu]

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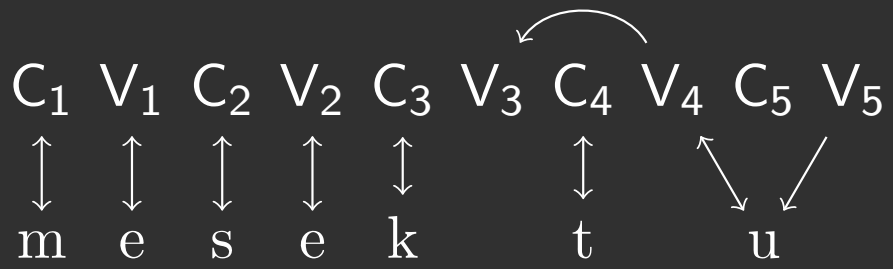

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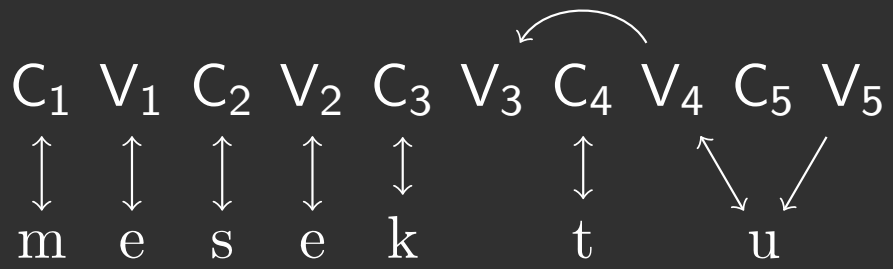

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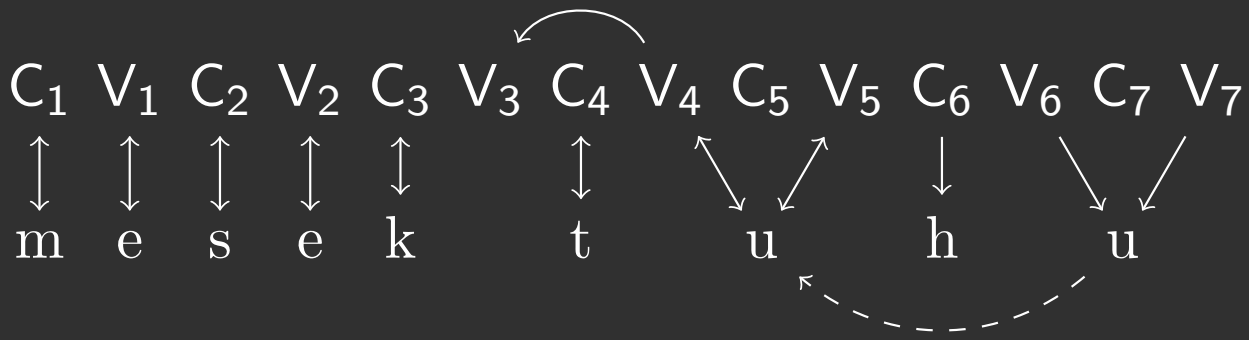

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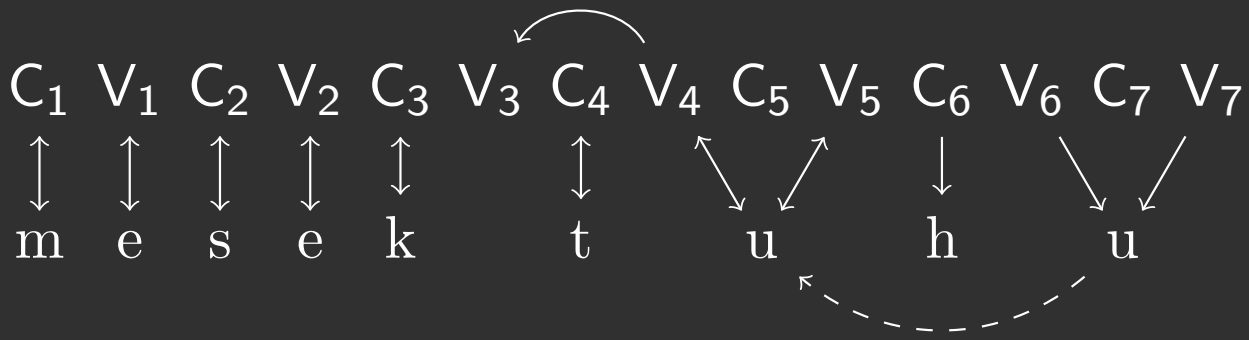

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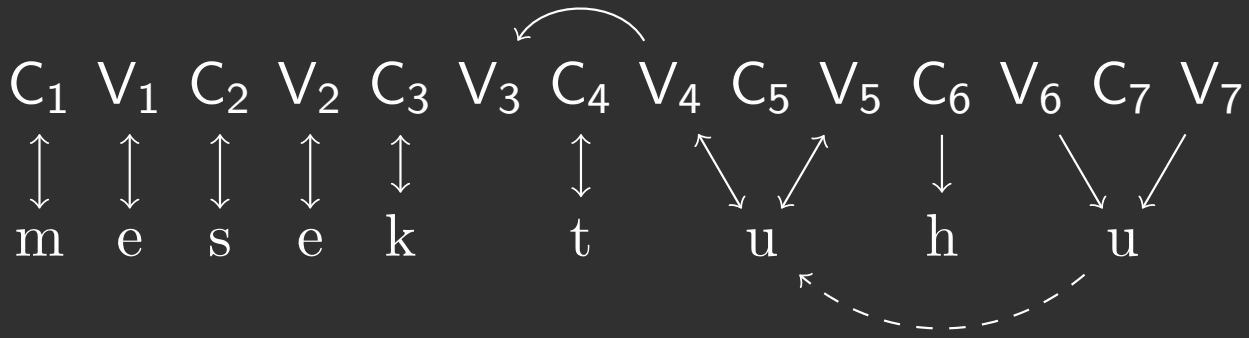

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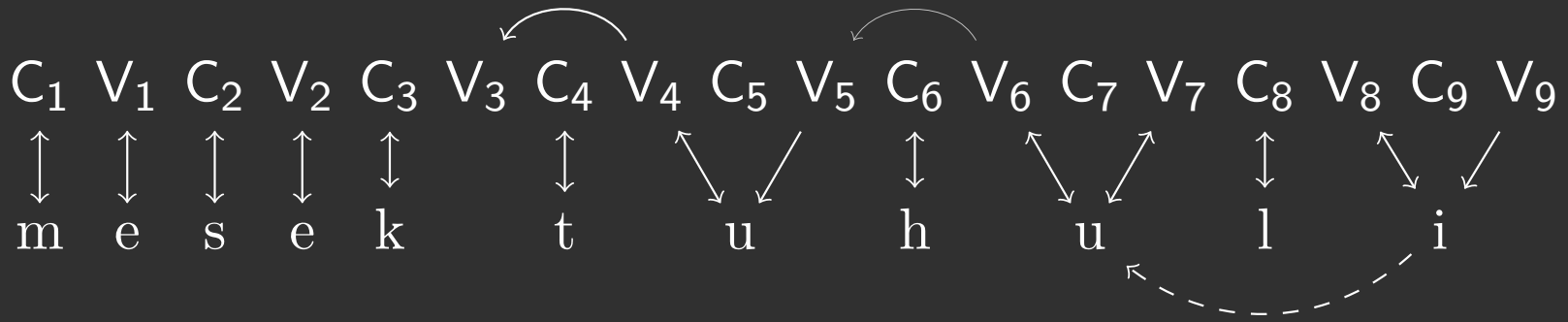

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  - V_6 PGs V_5?
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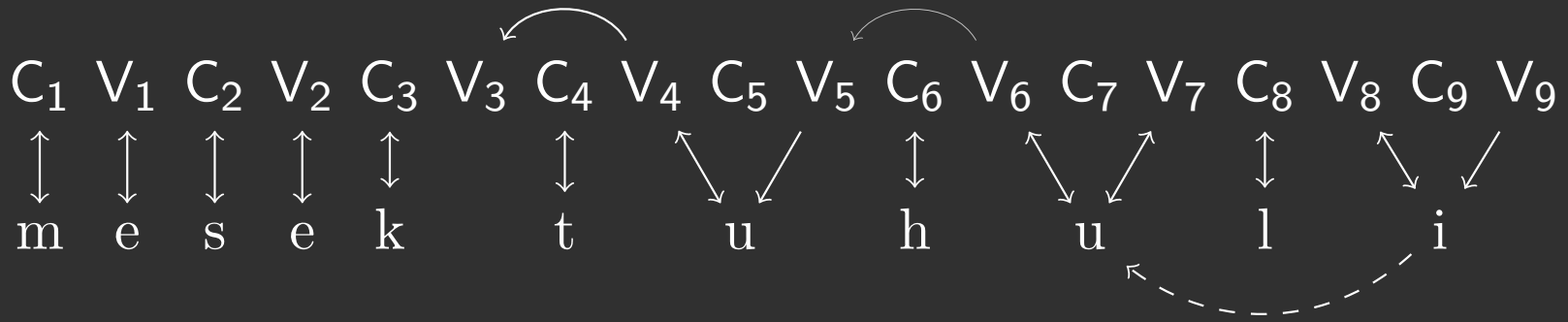

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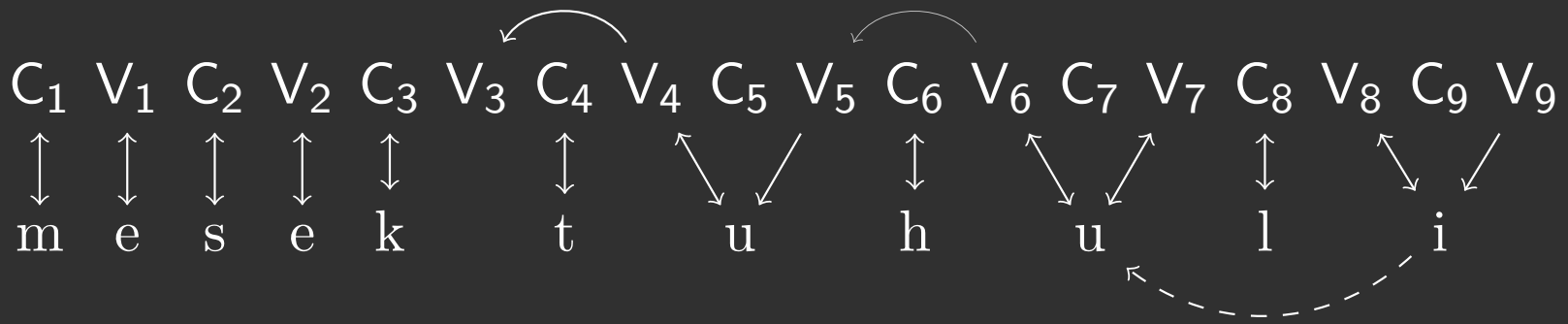

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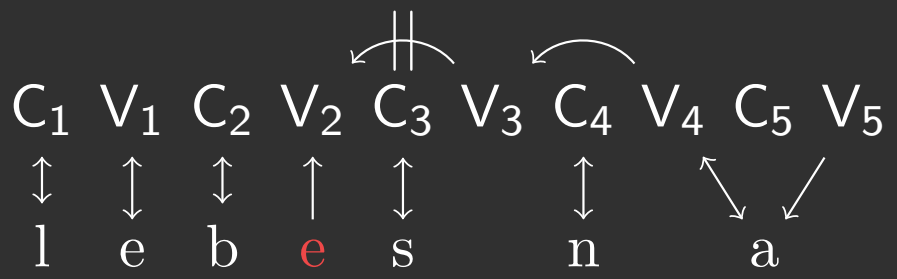
Interim conclusion

- TT allows for a neat formalization of
  - Silent phonologically active objects (/huː/$_{\text{3M.SG.OBJ}}$)
  - The distribution of stress (always penultimate)
  - The correlation of stress and length in corner vowels

Case study II: CEA inflectional markers

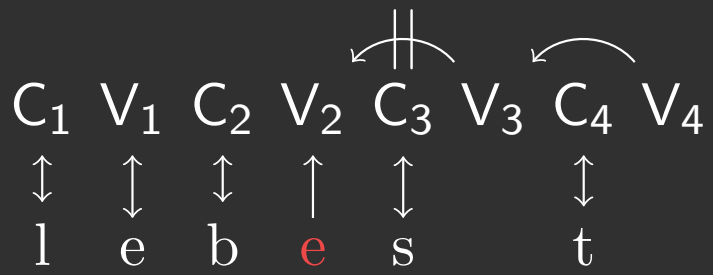
Basic patterns and TT - provisional analysis

- 1PL: /lebs-naː/ → [leˈbesna]
  - V_4 = full N, V_4 PGs V_3 ⇒ $V_3 = \emptyset$
  - V_3 is PGed ⇒ V_3 *PGs V_2 ⇒ V_2 = [e]



Basic patterns and TT - provisional analysis

- 1SG: /lebs-t/ → [le'best]
  - V_4 = EN, V_4 PGs V_3 ⇒ $V_3 = \emptyset$, V_3 *PGs V_2 ⇒ V_2 = [e]
  - **FEN parameter ON**



- 3F.SG: /lebs-t/ → ['lebset]
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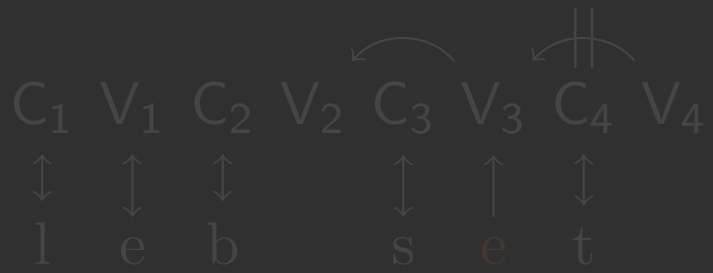

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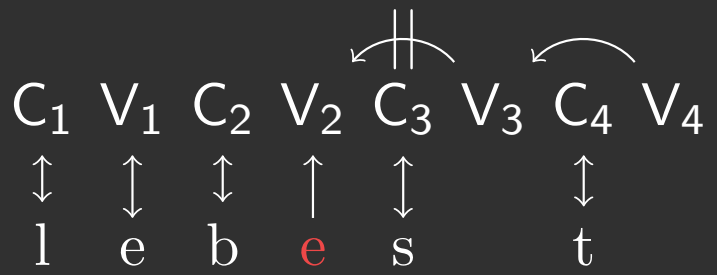

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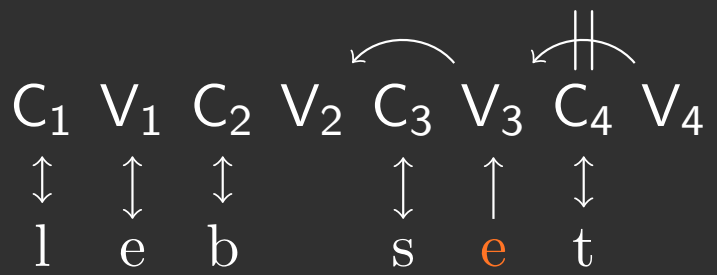

Basic patterns and TT - provisional analysis

- **Problem**
  - FEN parameters are systemic
  - They hold throughout the whole grammar
  - If FEN PGs in $1\textsc{sg}$, then it should PG in $3\textsc{f}.\textsc{sg}$ too
- **Solution**
  - The silent final V of $1\textsc{sg}$ and $1\textsc{f}.\textsc{sg}$ are different objects
  - $1\textsc{f}.\textsc{sg}$ has a **FEN $\Rightarrow$ no PG**
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FEN *vs* FeN

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  - V_4 = EN, V_4 *PGs V_3
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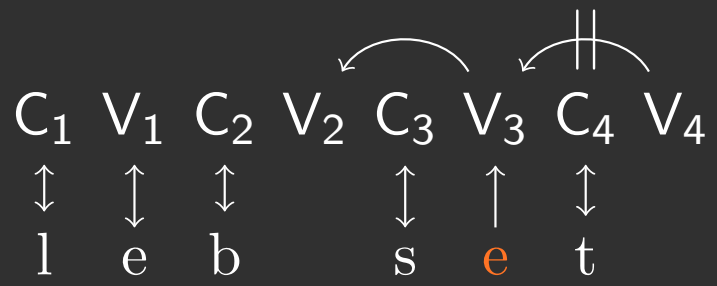
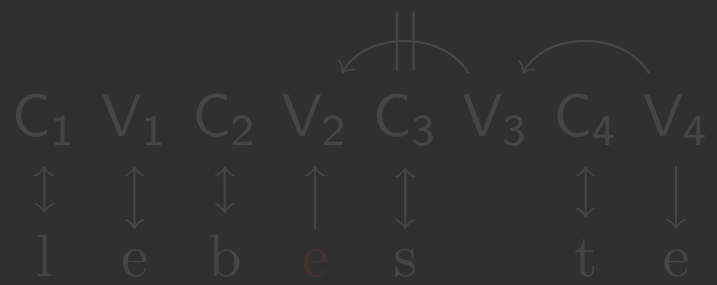


- 1SG: /lebs-t/ → [le'best]
  - V_4 = eN ⇒ V_4 more complex than V_3 ⇒ V_4 PGs V_3
  - **FEN parameter OFF, but irrelevant**
  - **Stress on [e]** because **penultimate**



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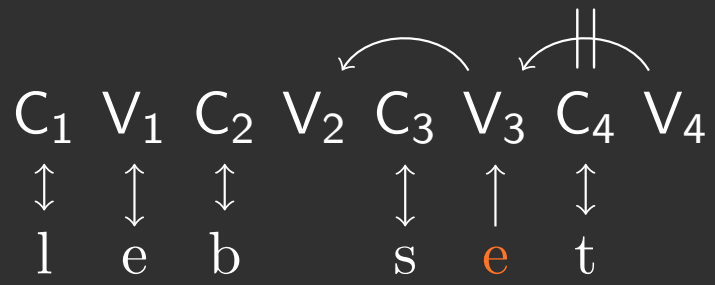

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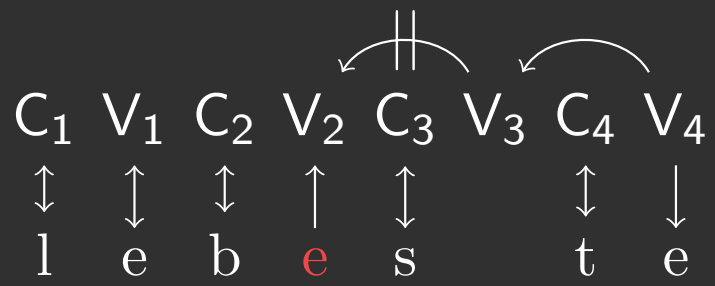

FEN *vs* FeN

- 3G.SG marker: V = EN
  - FEN parameter ON ⇒ PG
  - **FEN parameter OFF ⇒ *PG**
  - V **invisible to stress algorithm**

C V
↕
t

- 1SG marker: V = eN
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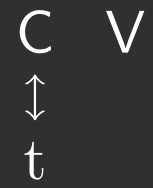

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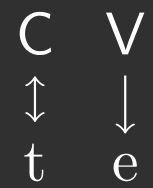

Discarding alternatives

- $1\textsc{sg}$ /lebs-t/ $\rightarrow$ [leˈbest] $\Rightarrow$ FEN parameter ON
- $3\textsc{f}.\textsc{sg}$ /lebs-t/ $\rightarrow$ [ˈlebset] $\Rightarrow$ FEN parameter OFF

What if the $3\textsc{f}.\textsc{sg}$ marker were different?

Discarding alternatives

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Discarding alternatives - I

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$$\begin{array}{cccc} C_1 & V_1 & C_2 & V_2 \\ & \updownarrow & \updownarrow & \\ & e & t & \end{array}$$

- V_1 = full N $\Rightarrow$ V_2 *PGs V_1 $\Rightarrow$ no problems with FEN parameter ON

Discarding alternatives - I

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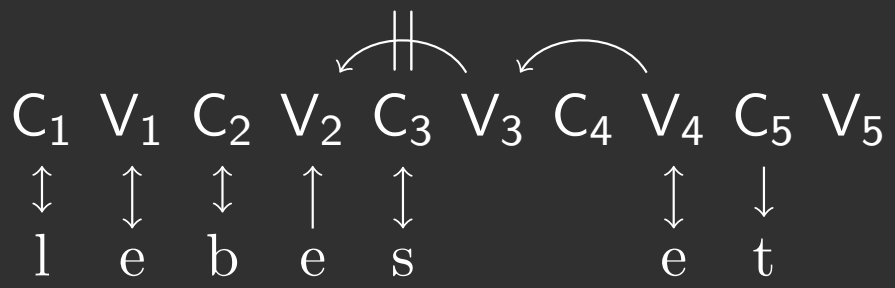
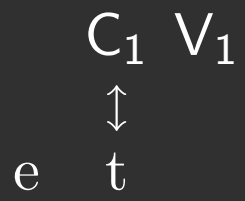
Discarding alternatives - I

- 3F.SG /lebs-et/
  - V_4 PGs V_3 $\Rightarrow$ V_3 *PGs V_2
  - /lebs-et/ $\rightarrow$ *[leˈbeset]
    - Possible way-out (?): removal of V_3-C_4 (Gussmann & Kaye 1993)



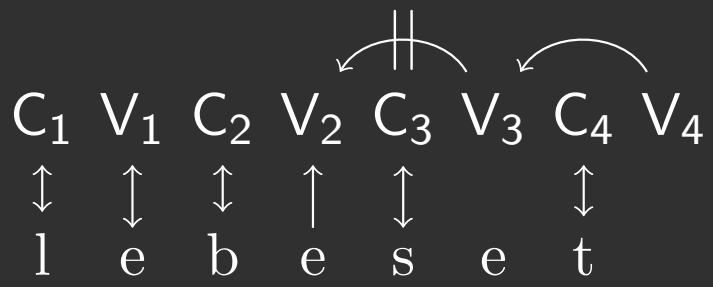
Discarding alternatives - II

- 3F.SG /lebs-^{e}**t**/
  - /e/ as floating prime



Discarding alternatives - II

- 3F.SG /lebs-^{e}**t**/ & FEN parameter ON
  - V_4 PGs V_3 $\Rightarrow$ no floating prime integration $\Rightarrow$ V_3 *PGs V_2
  - /lebs-^{e}t/ $\rightarrow$ *['lebest]



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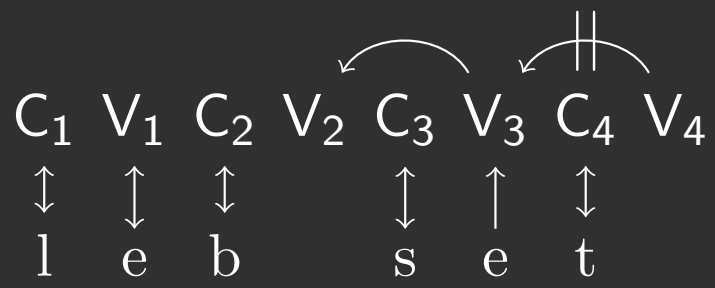

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Discarding alternatives - II

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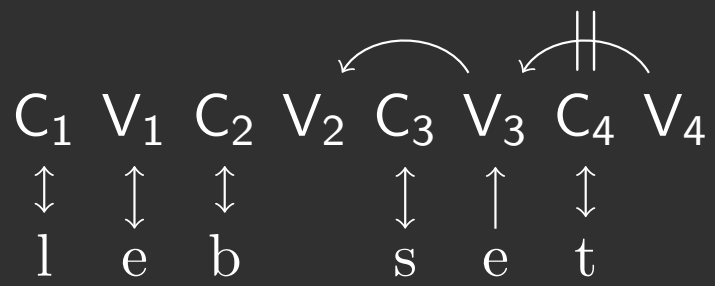

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Interim conclusion

- TT allows for a neat formalization of
  - Silent phonologically active objects (the FeN of $1\textsc{sg}$ /t/)
  - The behaviour of final CC clusters not compatible with FEN parameters

Extensions

On *yers*

- Formally unclear status
  1. (F)EN can apparently distinguish EN from *yers*
     - FEN "can only govern nuclei that do not possess any floating melody in the lexicon" (Scheer 2004: 644)
  2. *Yers* = V + floating primes
  3. If primes are floating ⇒ no association with V
  4. If V is not associated with any prime ⇒ V is empty
  5. (F)EN should not distinguish *yers* from EN

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On *yers*

- Unconstrained landing site of floating primes
  - If primes for V = primes for C (Element Theory), and
  - If *yer*'s V is PGed
  - Floating primes of *yers* could associate with neighbouring C
    - Possibly unattested alternations: ʧ_CV ∼ kiC_
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- No problem if *yers* = eN
  1. eN *project* a melodic prime ⇒ the prime is integrated in the phonological string
  2. EN can 'see' the prime ⇒ FEN can distinguish between EN and eN
  3. The melodic prime of a eN is pronounced on the prosodic node from which it is projected
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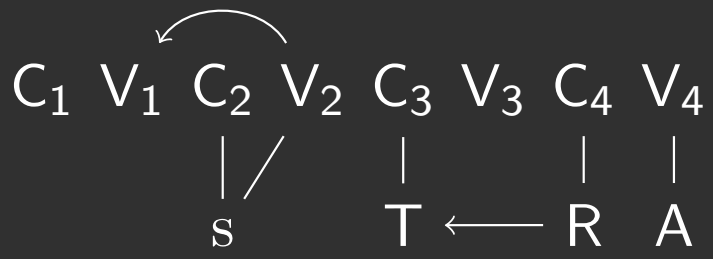
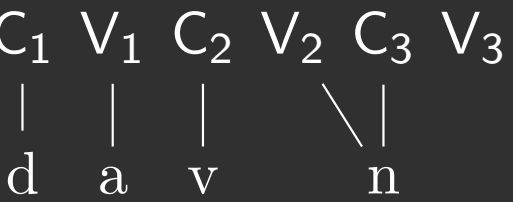
On *magic* licensing/syllabic consonants

- Getting rid of *magic* licensing (*s*TRV)
  - /s/ fills in/spreads to the EN occurring between /s/ and C (Carvalho 2017; Prince & Ferré 2020; Scheer & Segeral 2020)



- Syllabicity of C
  - "Potentially-syllabic consonants /l,n/ must always be associated to a V-slot" (Faust 2022)

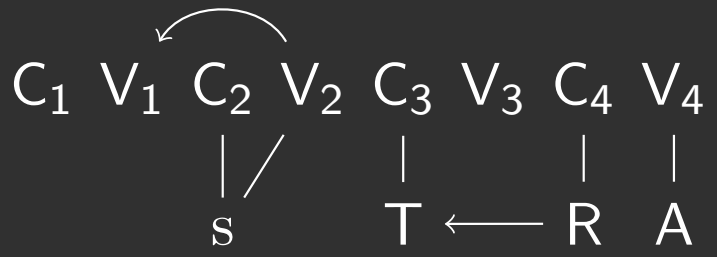


On *magic* licensing/syllabic consonants

- Orthodox use
  - Representing length
    - Cː= melodic prime associated to 2 C
    - Vː= melodic prime associated to 2 V
  - Defining the phonetic interpretation
    - |A|, |I|, |U| in V = [ə], [i], [u]
    - |A|, |I|, |U| in V = [r], [j], [w]

On *magic* licensing/syllabic consonants

- Heterodox use of association relations
  - /s/ surfaces as [s] ⇒ neither long nor syllabic



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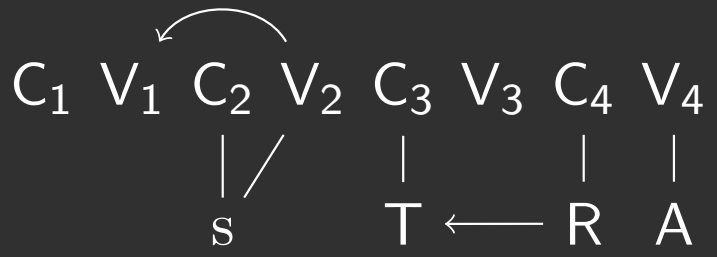

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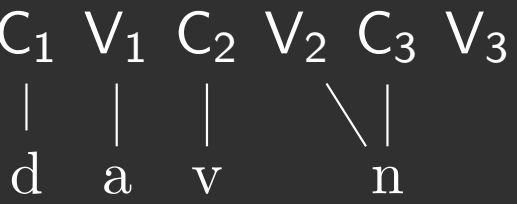
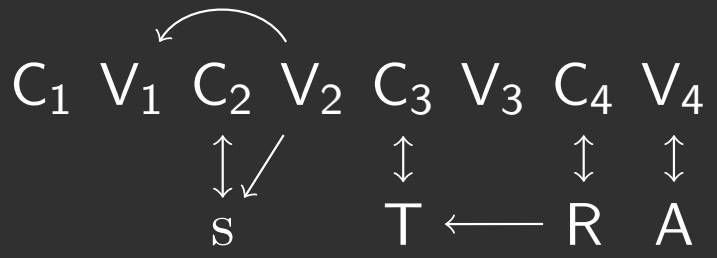


On *magic* licensing/syllabic consonants

- A coherent doxa
  - /s/ is **projected** by C_2 and V_2 ⇒ /s/ 'is' both a C and a V
  - /s/ is **pronounced** only in C_2 ⇒ /s/ surfaces as [s]



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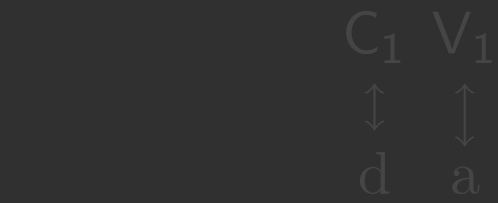

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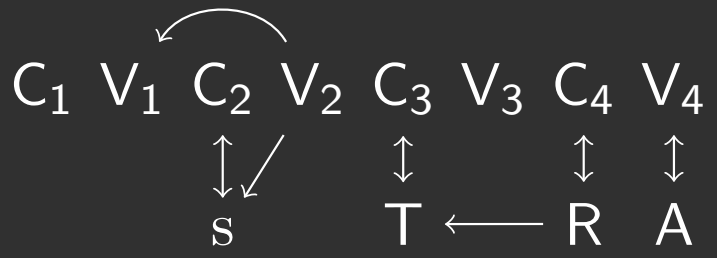

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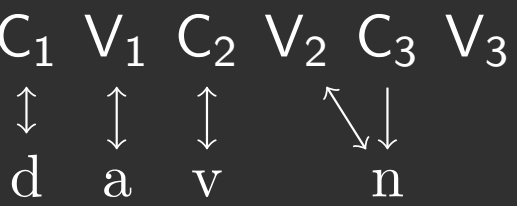

Conclusion

Why upgrading strict CV with TT is a good idea

- Specific
  - Phonological activity of silent objects (/huː/$_{\text{3M.SG.OBJ}}$, /t/$_{\text{1SG}}$'s FeN)
  - Regularization of the distribution of stress (always penultimate)
  - Formalization of the correlation of stress and length in corner vowels
  - Regularization of the behaviour of final CC clusters not compatible with FEN parameters
- General
  - Improved formalization of *yers*
  - Improved formalization of *magic* licensing and syllabic C configurations
- Even more general
  - Direct relation between lateral actorship and representational complexity
  - Reducing the need for FEN parameters: lateral strength encoded in the Lexicon
  - Accounting for *phonological traces* (not this talk, but you can ask)

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