

# Dittongo mobile no allomorphy, just phonology

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*GLOW46*  
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# Dittongo mobile

- j'ɛ' / w'ɔ' ~ e / o
  - j'ɛ' / w'ɔ' in 'C\_.
  - e / o elsewhere

# Dittongo mobile - the role of stress

a.  $\sqrt{\text{SED}}$  'sit', PRS.IND

	SG	PL
1	'sjɛ̃.do	se.'dj'a.mo
2	'sjɛ̃.di	se.'deɪ.te
3	'sjɛ̃.de	'sjɛ̃.do.no

- jɛ̃ in 'C\_\_: 1/2/3SG, 3PL
- e elsewhere : 1/2PL

b.  $\sqrt{\text{MOR}}$  'die', PRS.IND

	SG	PL
1	'mwɔ̃.jo	mo.'rj'a.mo
2	'mwɔ̃.ri	mo.'ri:te
3	'mwɔ̃.re	'mwɔ̃.jo.no

- wɔ̃ in 'C\_\_: 1/2/3SG, 3PL
- o elsewhere : 1/2PL

# Dittongo mobile - the role of stress

a.  $\sqrt{\text{VEN}}$  'come', PRS.IND

	SG	PL
1	'vɛŋ.go	ve'.nj'a'.mo
2	'vjɛ'.ni	ve'.ni:.te
3	'vjɛ'.ne	'vɛŋ.go.no

- jɛ' in 'C\_.: 2/3SG
- ɛ in 'C\_C.: 1SG, 3PL
- e elsewhere: 1/2PL

b.  $\sqrt{\text{VOL}}$  'want', PRS.IND

	SG	PL
1	'vɔʎ.ʎo	voʎ.'ʎj'a'.mo
2	'vwɔ'.i	vo.'le:.te
3	'vwɔ'.le	'vɔʎ.ʎo.no

- wɔ' in 'C\_.: 2/3SG
- ɔ in 'C\_C.: 1SG, 3PL
- o elsewhere: 1/2PL

# Previous accounts - synchronic phonological process

- UR = /iɛ/ and /uo/ (Saltarelli 1970)
  - Monophthongization rule applying in C\_ and 'C\_C.
  - Unmotivated and arbitrary rule ordering
  - Empirically inaccurate
    - 'pjɛ:go 'I fold' ~ pje'gjɛ:mo 'we fold' (\*pe'gjɛ:mo)
    - 'swɔ:mo 'I play' ~ swo'njɛ:mo 'we play' (\*so'njɛ:mo)
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    - be'vjɛ:mo 'we drink' ~ be'vo 'I drink' (\*bje'vo)
    - ve'tjɛ:mo 'we vote' ~ ve'to 'I vote' (\*vve'to)

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- Overgeneration
  - Wrong predictions
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- Allomorphy increases grammar idiosyncrasy
- Storage/Lexicon vs computation/derivation
- Storage is more costly than computation → minimize storage and maximize computation

Q How plausible is a (phonological) derivation?

- good ~ be-tter/-st: two ROOTS

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# Proposal

- Refining representations reduces cases of allomorphy
  - Strict CV (Lowenstamm 1996, Scheer 2004, 2022)
  - Turbidity Theory (Goldrick 2001, Cavirani and van Oostendorp 2017, Cavirani 2022)
- Collapsing DiMo allomorphs in one and the same UR
  - DiMo UR contain a floating j/w that surfaces only in 'C\_.
  - Stress provides room for j/w to surface
  - DiMo and non-alternating diphthongs are representationally different



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# Structure of the talk

1 Refining strict CV

2 Representations

3 Computation

4 Conclusion

## Refining strict CV

# Strict CV - the standard view (Lowenstamm 1996, Scheer 2004)

- Phonological strings as CV sequences (C/V as skeletal slots)
- Segments as 'melodic expressions' (m) associated with C/V

## a. Consonant cluster



## c. Hiatus



## b. Geminate consonant



## d. Long vowel



- No formal status assigned to {m}

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**Q1** How to represent melodic expressions as  $\{m\}$ ?

- They behave as a unit (e.g. lengthening, metathesis ...)

**Q2** How to represent floating segments?

- They must exist independently of C/V

*“timing units [...] are not the same thing as root nodes [for the latter have no timing properties but rather define segments”*

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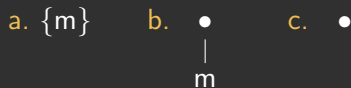
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# Refining strict CV

- A1** Melodic expressions = sets of  $m$  (a.), i.e. as  
 Representational units (b.) containing  $m$  (or not, c.)

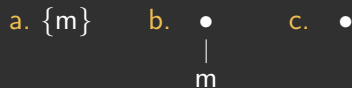


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# Refining strict CV

- Segments can contain temporally-ordered subcomponents
  - Affricates
  - Pre-post-nasalized segments, pre-/post-laryngealized segments (including affricates), consonants with on- and off- glides ...
  - Some TR clusters
  - Light diphthongs

Q3 How to represent contour segments?

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**Q3** How to represent contour segments?

# Refining strict CV

## A3 Subsegmental representational units

- Kaye (1981, 1985) and Pöchtrager (2015): light diphthongs
  - Two 'melodic expressions' (x) associated to a nuclear position (N)
- Rennison (1998): affricates
  - Two 'components' associated to an onset position (O)
    - i. Stable component (specified as such in the Lexicon)
    - ii. 'Lazy' component (realized last, either floating, or acquired)
- Lowenstamm (2003): some TR clusters
  - 'Bisegmental complex'
    - "C<sup>x</sup>, where x [...] stands for secondary articulation"
- Q-Theory (Garvin et al. 2018, Shih and Inkelas 2019)
  - 3 (or maybe 4) linearly-ordered subsegments (q)
  - Closure, target, and release

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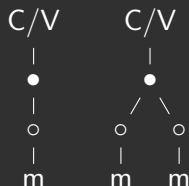
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# Refining strict CV

- Subsegmental components
  - ○
- Segments
  - ●
- Skeletal anchoring/prosodic nodes
  - C/V



# Turbidity Theory (Goldrick 2001, Cavirani 2022)

- OT-born input-output Containment relation
  - The input is always contained in the output
- Asymmetric relations between segments and prosodic nodes
  - Projection ( $\downarrow$ )
    - Lexical affiliation of a segment to a prosodic node
    - No manipulation
  - Pronunciation ( $\uparrow$ )
    - Phonetic interpretation of a segment on a prosodic node
    - Manipulated by phonology (addition/deletion of  $\uparrow$ )

# Turbid strict CV (Cavirani and van Oostendorp 2017, Cavirani 2022)



- a. Floating segment
- b. Empty prosodic node
- c. Silent prosodic node
- d. Full prosodic node

# Turbid strict CV (Cavirani and van Oostendorp 2017, Cavirani 2022)

- Decoupling of phonological (UR) relations and their pronunciation
  - Lateral activity of silent non-empty V (Cavirani 2022)
  - Normalization of apparently exceptional morphophonological patterns
- Adequate formalization of spreading
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# Representations

# What we need to capture

- Non-alternating diphthongs behave like monophthongs
  - $GV$  in  $C\_./'C\_C. \sim G \cdot V$  in  $'C\_.$ 
    - If  $G \in C/V$  and  $V \in V'$ , then  $GV \rightarrow GV$ :
  - Ok after C clusters (e.g. set: $n$ 'trj:ome 'north')
    - If  $G \in C$ , then  $*CCCC$
  - Intrinsically long C:  $\rightarrow C: / V\_ (G)V$  (e.g. at: $i$ 'sj:ome 'action')
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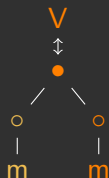
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# What we need to capture

- Non-alternating diphthongs
  - Complex vocalic segments
  - $\updownarrow$  as  $\bullet$  is always fully pronounced



# What we need to capture

- Alternating diphthongs (DiMo) need more space
  - G only surfaces if extra skeletal space is provided
    - G·V in 'C\_.
    - V elsewhere
- Vocalic segments (also word-initially)
  - DiMo select the pre-V SG.M.DEF/INDEF article allomorph
    - l/un 'wɔmo 'the/a man' vs lo/uno 'jɛti 'the/a yeti'

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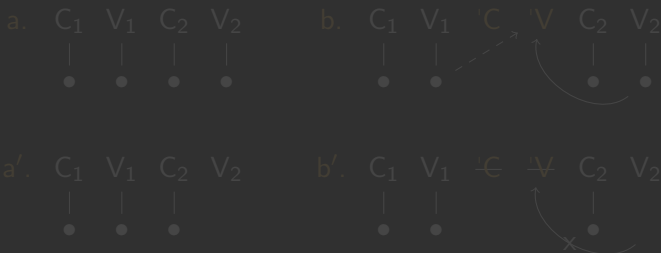
- Alternating diphthongs (DiMo)
  - Bisegmental structures
  - The second segment (V) is always pronounced (↕)
  - The first segment (G) is floating, and surfaces only if it can



# What we need to capture

## ■ Stress provides extra skeletal space (Larsen 1998)

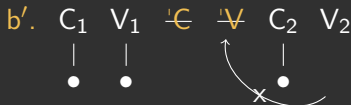
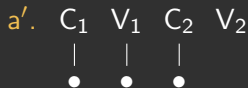
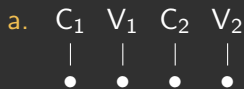
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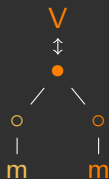
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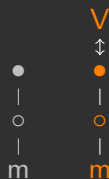


# Representations

a. Non-alternating diphthongs



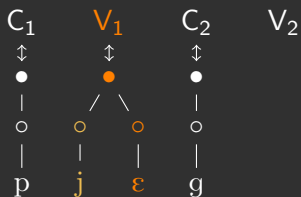
b. Alternating diphthongs (DiMo)



# Computation

# Non-alternating diphthong

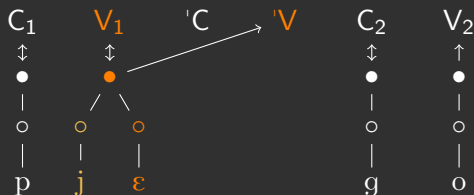
- $\sqrt{\text{PJEG}}$  'fold'



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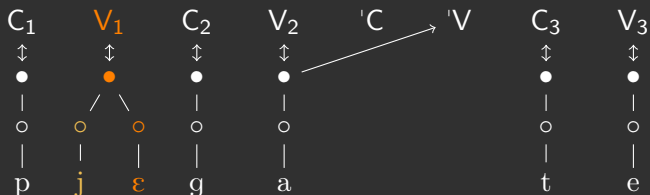
■ 'pj·ε·go 'I fold'

■ 'C'V insertion → ● spreading to 'V → j·ε'



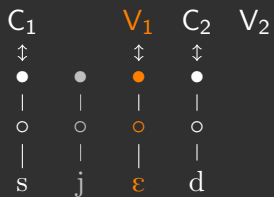
# Non-alternating diphthong

- pje'ga:te 'you<sub>PL</sub> fold'
- ■ No 'C'V insertion after V<sub>1</sub> → no ● spreading → no jε lengthening



## DiMo

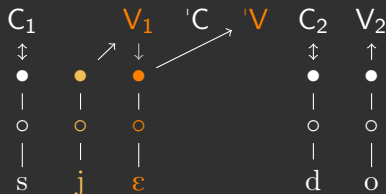
- $\sqrt{\text{SJED}}$  'sit'



## DiMo

## ■ 'sjɛdo 'I sit'

- 'C'V insertion → ● spreading to 'V → j pronunciation on V<sub>1</sub>



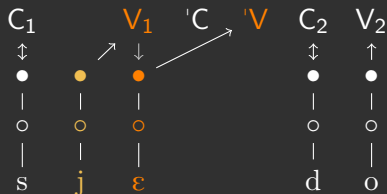
- ↑●V: pronounce only one ● per V
- ↑●: pronounce ●
- ↓●: pronounce ● where it belongs
- ↑●V, ↑● ≫ ↓●



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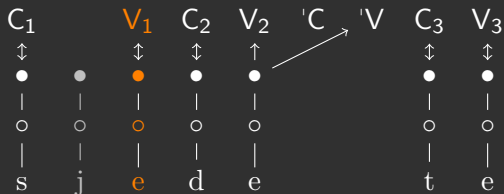


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## DiMo

- 'sedete' 'you<sub>PL</sub> sit'

- No 'C'V insertion after  $V_1 \rightarrow$  no ● spreading  $\rightarrow$  no j pronunciation

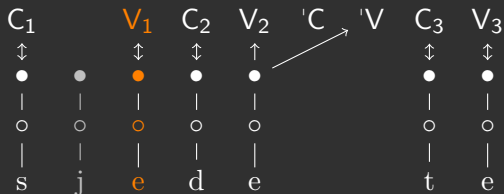


- $\uparrow\bullet V$ : pronounce only one ● per V
- $\uparrow\bullet$ : pronounce ●
- $\updownarrow\bullet$ : pronounce ● where it belongs
- $\uparrow\bullet V \gg \uparrow\bullet \gg \updownarrow\bullet$

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# Conclusion

# The benefits of refined phonological representations

- The difference between alternating diphthongs and DiMo can be related to their phonological representation
- Automatic and regular phonological derivation
  - No need for allomorphy
- Refined strict CV representation
  - Independently motivated/logically necessary
- Phonetically similar objects can have different representations
  - Phonology is not busy with phonetics, what matter are phonological analyses
  - Lowenstamm 2003, Blaho 2008, Samuels 2012, Dresher 2014, 2018, Josad 2017, Scheer 2019, Chabot 2021, Odden 2022, Cavirani 2022

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# Some questions from the CfP

- Does [dittongo mobile, DiMo] signal a morphological category?
  - No, it applies to N and V
- Do we lose a generalisation if we relegate [DiMo] to the lexicon?
  - No, we would miss a generalization if we don't do that
- Does [DiMo] have to be exceptionless/automatic/fully productive?
  - It'd better be, and it can be so only if we have the right UR
- Does [DiMo] have to be natural?
  - Not necessarily, but DiMo does (which is not bad)
- Are there different components/strata?
  - Maybe, but it's not that important now
- What is the role and purview of phonology, and (how) does it differ from other areas of our linguistic competence?
  - It mechanically transforms a phonological input into a phonological output, and it only cares about phonological objects

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