Kiparsky 1973\(^1\) study questions
To be turned in Tuesday, Oct. 19 in class

Notes
p. 93: The numbers over the words indicate levels of stress: the lower the number, the stronger the stress. When we get to stress, perhaps we can return to this case—there are other ways to account for it.

p. 94: In (4a), ‘fit’ means ‘are non-distinct from’, in the SPE sense.

p. 94, fn. 2: ‘g.’ means ‘palatalized g’.

p. 95: One might reasonably object that the double /s/’s in the examples below (6) are really just long /s/’s (especially if there’s no morpheme boundary between them), so only the short version of the rule (without the optional C) is applying: /ʔisːaha/ → [ʔiːsːaha]. (In that case the formal version of rule (6), where the target “s” is spelled out as a feature matrix, that matrix should not say anything about the feature [long], so that the rule can apply to both long and short [s].)

p. 96: If you have seen some autosegmental phonology you may also object to the Finnish case (the application of (10a) would not really be vacuous: it would produce a single long /k/, the first half of which would not be subject to deletion). Maybe we will come back to these cases later in the quarter after we’ve seen autosegmental representations.

p. 96: Make sure you see what PAQ and RCS correspond to in (10).

p. 99: Check that (16) derives the surface forms given on p. 98. The macron (ā) over a vowel in the rules and transcriptions means ‘long’; the breve (ă) over a vowel in the rule means short (in the transcriptions, vowels without a macron are short). Kiparsky uses bh, dh for “voiced aspirated” (or breathy-voiced) sounds—they count as single consonants.

p. 99: Note that the specific (18b) has priority over the general (18a): (18a) applies only if (18b) is not applicable. The sentence right above (18) may be confusing because we need to distinguish between being applicable and actually applying. (18b) applies everywhere that it is applicable; (18a) is applicable in lots of cases but actually applies only if (18a) wasn’t applicable (and therefore didn’t apply).

p. 100: Of course there is another solution that might work but that does miss a generalization: conjunctively ordered rules that each state their environment (→ [+syll] in environment V; → [-syll] in environment G). The generalization that would be missed is that V and G are complementary environments.

p. 101: “Rules apply iteratively to their own output.” That could mean apply some rule to a form everywhere possible, then try to apply the rule again to the result; keep going until no further

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(non-vacuous) applications are possible. In the “left-linear” case, though, as we saw in class, the rule instead targets first the first segment in the word, and applies to it if it can; then, it targets the next segment in the resulting form (not in the original form), and applies to it if it can, etc. The rule doesn’t get to go back to the left afterwards and try again. (Similarly for “right-linear”.)

p. 102, first paragraph—this is different from what SPE (tentatively) proposes for X<sub>0</sub>. In SPE, the rule would apply to every syllable that satisfies any version of the environment.

p. 102: “As this would be a very peculiar sort of stress situation, we might look for a general principle that would predict the disjunctive ordering of rules like (26) and (28).” The reasoning is that because a disjunctive ordering in this case is the normal, expected situation and not a language-specific aberration, the disjunctive ordering should not require an extra statement in the grammar but rather should follow from some universal principle.

p. 102: “u-umlaut” = a → ë / C<sub>0</sub>{u,w}.

p. 104, end of 2nd full paragraph: “We might expect this to be the normal case.” That is, under the assumption that simpler/shorter rules are more typologically widespread, a lack of special annotation is expected to be the usual case.

**Something to think about:** can the subset relations that the Elsewhere Condition depends on be calculated just from looking at the rule itself? Or is additional information about, say, the phoneme inventory or lexicon required?

**Questions**

1. In the English stress example (rules 1&2), what is PAQ and what is RCS (in the sense of (4))?

2. What would happen if (2) were disjunctively ordered before (1)?

3. What are the two subrules of (6)? Show a derivation where the subrules apply conjunctively to /tissaha/.

(over)
4. Explain how (14) applies in (11c)—does it get the right result?

5. What is the order in which the Elsewhere Condition says that the disjunctively ordered sub-rules of (32) should apply?