

Class 2 (Week 1 Thurs.): Deep into SPE, part II

To do for next time

- Prince & Smolensky study questions due Tuesday (get reading from CCLE; get study questions from course web page, to be found at my own web page)
- I'll post a homework problem (probably Palauan) tonight. Due Fri., Jan 16.

Overview: The less-common expansion conventions from Chomsky & Halle (1968). Making theoretical choices. The dawn of constraints. (Sorry, still only one chunk of real data.)

1. Super- and subscripts

➤ X_n^m means from n to m Xs

- C_n : “ n or more Cs” (most common is C_0)
- V^m : “up to m Vs”
- C_n^m : “anywhere from n to m Cs”

$$C \rightarrow \emptyset / _ C_0 \# \quad = \quad \dots$$

$$C \rightarrow \emptyset / _ CCCC \#$$

$$C \rightarrow \emptyset / _ CCC \#$$

$$C \rightarrow \emptyset / _ CC \#$$

$$C \rightarrow \emptyset / _ C \#$$

$$C \rightarrow \emptyset / _ \#$$

- The tricky thing is that we apply the *longest* rule whose structural description matches (**disjunctive** ordering again).
- How would the schema above apply to /tapskt/?

2. Parentheses with star (but see discussion in Week 3 Anderson reading)

➤ $(...)^*$ means that the material in parentheses can occur zero or more times.

$V \rightarrow [+stress] / \#C(VCVC)^* _$ expands to

$$V \rightarrow [+stress] / \#C _$$

$$V \rightarrow [+stress] / \#CVCVC _$$

$$V \rightarrow [+stress] / \#CVCVCVCVC _ \quad \text{etc.}$$

- With $(...)^*$, there is yet a third type of ordering: **simultaneous**—identify targets of any sub-rule and change them simultaneously
- How would the stress rule above apply to /badupidome/?
- How would $C \rightarrow \emptyset / _ C^* \#$ apply to /tapskt/?

3. Angled brackets—we'll just skim this part, because they're rarely used

- Like parentheses, but when the optional information is in more than one place.
 - A schema with angle brackets expands into two (disjunctively ordered) rules: the rule with the information in the angle brackets and the rule without that information.

$C \rightarrow \emptyset / V \langle C \rangle _ \langle C \rangle V$ (silly example) expands to

$$\begin{array}{ll} C \rightarrow \emptyset / VC _ CV & \text{both} \\ C \rightarrow \emptyset / V _ V & \text{neither} \end{array}$$

- An exercise for later if you like: expand the following schema and apply it to *putod*, *luced*, and *fesil*.

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{syll} \\ \langle +\text{back} \rangle \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [-\text{hi}] / _ C \left\langle \begin{array}{l} +\text{syll} \\ +\text{back} \\ -\text{hi} \end{array} \right\rangle C \#$$

- You can also subscript angle brackets to show which ones go together:

$C \rightarrow \emptyset / V \langle {}_1 C \rangle _ \langle {}_2 s \rangle \langle {}_1 C \rangle V \langle {}_2 h \rangle \#$ (even sillier rule) expands to

$$\begin{array}{ll} C \rightarrow \emptyset / VC _ s CV h \# & \text{both the 1s and the 2s} \\ C \rightarrow \emptyset / V _ s V h \# & \text{just the 2s} \\ C \rightarrow \emptyset / VC _ CV \# & \text{just the 1s} \\ C \rightarrow \emptyset / V _ V \# & \text{neither} \end{array}$$

4. Not an expansion convention, an extension of the theory's power: Transformational rules

- Useful for metathesis, coalescence...anything where more than one segment is affected at once.
- In SPE, these were given in two parts:

$$\text{Structural description: } \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{syll} \\ +\text{low} \end{array} \right]_1, \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{syll} \\ +\text{hi} \\ \alpha\text{round} \end{array} \right]_2$$

$$\text{Structural change: } 1 \ 2 \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} 1 \\ -\text{lo} \\ +\text{long} \\ \alpha\text{round} \\ \alpha\text{back} \end{array} \right], \left[\begin{array}{l} 2 \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right]$$

- What does this rule do?
- It may seem arbitrary to say that 1 changes and 2 deletes rather than the reverse. Try writing the rule the other way too.

- You'll often see a simplified notation instead that collapses the structural description and structural change:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{syll} \\ +\text{low} \end{array} \right] & \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{syll} \\ +\text{hi} \\ \alpha\text{round} \end{array} \right] & \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} 1 \\ -\text{lo} \\ +\text{long} \\ \alpha\text{round} \\ \alpha\text{back} \end{array} \right] \\ 1 & 2 & \end{array}$$

- What's wrong with just saying this (same rule without the numerical indices):

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{syll} \\ +\text{low} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{syll} \\ +\text{hi} \\ \alpha\text{round} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{lo} \\ +\text{long} \\ \alpha\text{round} \\ \alpha\text{back} \end{array} \right]$$

- Say you want to write a metathesis rule that changes *s*-stop into stop-*s*. What's wrong with writing $s \left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{sonorant} \\ -\text{continuant} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} -\text{sonorant} \\ -\text{continuant} \end{array} \right] s$?
- Re-write the defective rule with transformational notation.

5. How does the learner choose a grammar?

- SPE proposed that if more than one grammar can generate the observed linguistic data, the learner must have some *evaluation metric* for choosing one.
- The evaluation metric tentatively proposed in SPE is brevity: learner chooses the grammar with the fewest symbols. (What about ties?)
- If that's right, and if we've got the notation right too, then you can tell which grammar, out of some set of candidate grammars, the learner would choose.
- More plausibly, we want to find independent evidence as to which grammar is right, and then make sure our theory explains how/why the learner chose that one—this is a lot harder!

6. Example: French elision/liaison (SPE p. 353 ff.)

- By the logic above, a theoretical innovation is held, in SPE, to be a good one if it allows more-concise descriptions of attested/common phenomena than of unattested/uncommon phenomena.

		obstruent- nasal-initial	or	liquid-initial	vowel-initial	glide-initial
		/garson/ ‘boy’		/livr/ ‘book’	/enfant/ ‘child’	/wazo/ ‘bird’
obstruent- nasal-final	or /pətit/ ‘small’	pəti_ garsõ		pəti_ livr	pətit ãfã	pətit wazo
liquid-final	/ʃɛr/ ‘dear’	ʃɛr garsõ		ʃɛr livr	ʃɛr ãfã	ʃɛr wazo
vowel-final	/lə/ ‘the’	lə garsõ		lə livr	l_ ãfã	l_ wazo
glide-final	/parej/ ‘similar’	parej garsõ		parej livr	parej ãfã	parej wazo

For the sake of reconstructing the argument, use the archaic feature [vocalic] and the still-current feature [consonantal]:

	vocalic	consonantal
obstruents and nasals	–	+
liquids	+	+
glides	–	–
vowels	+	–

- Propose rules to account for the C- and V- deletions, without using Greek-letter variables.

- Combine the rules into a schema, using Greek-letter variables

- Greek-letter variables don't allow us to compress these two rules:

$\left[\begin{smallmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ +\text{lo} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \rightarrow \emptyset / _ \# [+ \text{voc}]$ “low vowels delete before a vowel or glide”

$\left[\begin{smallmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ +\text{cons} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \rightarrow \emptyset / _ \# [+ \text{cons}]$ “liquids delete before a non-glide consonant”

With that in mind, how should the typology guide us in deciding whether to allow the same Greek-letter variable to apply to different features within a rule?

7. (*skip if no time*) Reasoning above relies on assumptions about linguistic typology:

- Assume a rule is cross-linguistically common only if it's favored by learners—i.e., learners tend to mislearn, in the direction of a more-favored grammar.
- Assume that learners favor short/simple/whatever rules.
- Therefore, rules that are cross-linguistically common should tend to be short.
- Therefore, our theory of rules, which determines what type of notation length is calculated on, should make common rules shorter than uncommon ones.
- Therefore, a theoretical innovation is good if it makes common rules shorter than uncommon ones.

=> We're not really using "short" (or "simple") in any fixed sense. Rather, we're tailoring the notation to make the rules that we think learners favor appear short. [And of course, that first assumption is questionable...]

This leads us into slippery territory in deciding whether shortness is the right criterion:

- Are learners innately endowed with a certain notation, which they use to calculate grammar length? (i.e., shortness really is the evaluation criterion)
- Or is it the case that learners employ some other evaluation metric entirely, but we've created a system of notation that makes goodness according to the real evaluation metric translate into shortness in our notation?

Something for you to think about, though no answers will be forthcoming: We've seen how to evaluate a particular description or even a theoretical innovation, given a framework like SPE.

- But how do you evaluate the framework itself—in particular, how can we evaluate a principle such as "if more than one grammar can generate the observed linguistic data, the learner chooses the grammar with the fewest symbols"?

8. Shortening the (previously) unshortenable: constraints

- Kisseberth (1970) introduced the following problem, using Yawelmani Yokuts as a case study.
- These rules can't be collapsed into a schema:

$$\begin{aligned} \emptyset &\rightarrow V / C _ CC \\ C &\rightarrow \emptyset / CC + _ \end{aligned}$$
- And yet, they seem to have something in common—can you guess what? It will help to invent a form that each rule can apply to and see what that rule does.

- Cases like this became known as *conspiracies*, and their widespread existence as the *conspiracy problem*.

9. Constraints as rule blockers

- Kisseberth proposes using a constraint to make the rules of Yawelmani Yokuts simpler:

Instead of $V \rightarrow \emptyset / VC \xrightarrow{[-\text{long}]} CV$

use $V \rightarrow \emptyset / C \xrightarrow{[-\text{long}]} C$ subject to the constraint *CCC (or *{C,#}C{C,#})

- The constraint can *block* the rule: the rule applies **unless** the result violates the constraint.
- Let's try to lay out, step by step, what an algorithm would have to do to implement the rule and its blocking constraint.

10. Constraints as rule triggers

- Kisseberth also proposes that constraints can *trigger* rules: a rule applies **only if** it gets rid of a constraint violation.
- What happens if the rule $\emptyset \rightarrow i$ (context-free) applies only when triggered by the constraint *CC? Let's try to break this down into simple steps too.

11. Why is this good?

- In a system without constraints, these two grammars have equal length and should be equally plausible:

<i>Yokuts</i>	<i>imaginary and implausible</i>
$C \rightarrow \emptyset / CC + \underline{\quad}$	$C \rightarrow \emptyset / CV + \underline{\quad}$
$\emptyset \rightarrow i / C \underline{\quad} CC$	$\emptyset \rightarrow i / V \underline{\quad} CC$
$V \rightarrow \emptyset / VC \underline{\quad} C V$	$V \rightarrow \emptyset / VC \underline{\quad} C C$
[–long]	[–long]

- But in Kisseberth’s system the Yokuts grammar is shorter than the “implausible” grammar

<i>Yokuts</i>	<i>imaginary and implausible</i>
$C \rightarrow \emptyset / + \underline{\quad}$	$C \rightarrow \emptyset / CV + \underline{\quad}$
$\emptyset \rightarrow i$	$\emptyset \rightarrow i / V \underline{\quad} CC$
$V \rightarrow \emptyset / C \underline{\quad} C$	$V \rightarrow \emptyset / VC \underline{\quad} C C$
[–long]	[–long]
$*\{C,\#\}C\{C,\#\}$	

- If we’re right that the language on the right is less plausible than Yokuts, Kisseberth’s theory is better because it captures that difference.

12. Rule+constraint theories

- Many more conspiracies were identified, giving rise to more constraints.
- People liked constraints, because they solved the conspiracy problem and also gave theoretical status to the idea of “markedness”, which had been floating around.
 - Everyone knew languages don’t “like” CCC sequences (they are “marked”), but this was not directly encoded in grammars until constraints like *CCC (or a syllable-based equivalent) came along.
- On the other hand, using constraints introduces some problems into the theory—I invite you to invent cases!
 - What if there’s more than one rule (or more than one way of applying a single rule) that could fix a constraint violation?
 - What if one rule makes a constraint violation worse, but feeds another rule that makes it better?
 - What if one constraint wants to trigger a rule, but a different constraint wants to block it?

Next time: Deep into OT and how it deals with the above problems.

References

- Chomsky, Noam & Morris Halle. 1968. *The Sound Pattern of English*. Harper & Row.
 Kisseberth, Charles. 1970. On the functional unity of phonological rules. *Linguistic Inquiry* 1. 291–306.