Class 2 (Week 1, T): Upwards interfaces II, amendments to the edge-driven model
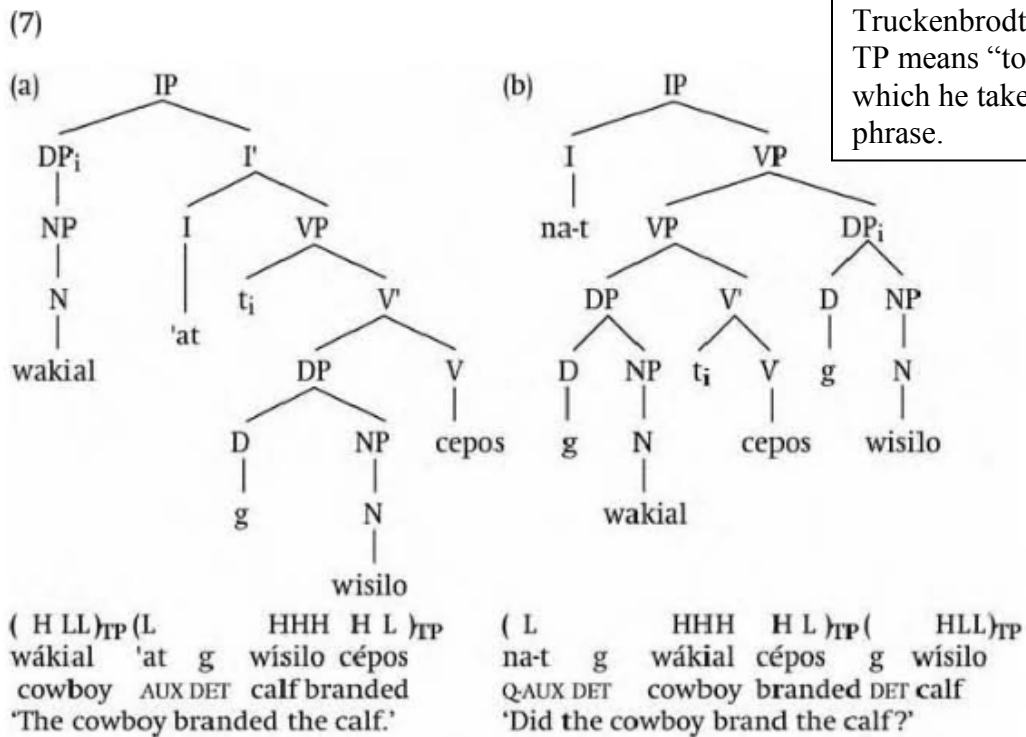

To do

☐ Read Pak & Friesner 2006 for this Thursday (Oct. 1). Ann Z. and Brice will present.

☐ Read Lloret 2004 for *next* **Thursday (Oct. 8)**

   ▪ _____: present Lloret's data and analysis

   ▪ _____: present a Base-Derived Correspondence analysis of Lloret's data (successful or not!)

Overview: Last time we saw syntactic-edge-driven prosodic domains. This time, friendly amendments. Next time, proposals that don't use edges, or don't even use domains.

1.   Truckenbrodt 1999: WRAP-XP

- Tohono O'odham example (Uto-Aztecan, Mexico & USA, 14,000 speakers; Ethnologue & Gordon 2005), based on discussion in Truckenbrodt 2007

- How do you diagnose a p-phrase?
  - ▪ H tone from first word stress to last word stress of the p-phrase
  - ▪ L tone elsewhere
  - ▪ Except, l p-phrase must end with L tone even if attached to a stressed syllable (in T's example, result is a falling tone on a long vowel)
  - ▪ We can imagine rules or constraints to enforce this pattern
  - o Take a minute to convince yourself that the tones are correct:

> Truckenbrodt 2007, p. 439
> TP means "tone phrase", which he takes to be the p-phrase.

(7)

(a) IP ... (H LL)$_{TP}$ (L   HHH H L)$_{TP}$
wákial   'at g wísilo cépos
cowboy AUX DET calf branded
'The cowboy branded the calf.'

(b) IP ... (L   HHH   H L)$_{TP}$(HLL)$_{TP}$
na-t g wákial cépos g wísilo
Q-AUX DET   cowboy branded DET calf
'Did the cowboy brand the calf?'

  - o But what determines the p-phrase boundaries? Let's try our parameters from last time (XP or X, L or R)

- Truckenbrodt proposes WRAP-XP: "For each [lexical-projection] XP there must be a p-phrase that contains the XP" (p. 439)

o Let's try a tableau—remember, the IP doesn't count as an XP for WRAP-XP.

o If time, let's also try this Catalan example from Prieto 2005. (P-phrase boundaries were diagnosed in Prieto's corpus of speech by intonation criteria.)

> *Data*
> ([Comprava [mapes]ₙₚ]ᵥₚ)φ
> 'I used to buy maps'
>
> ([Comprava)φ   ([mapes [de Barcelona]ₚₚ]ₙₚ]ᵥₚ)φ
> 'I used to buy maps of Barcelona'
>
> ([Comprava [mapes)φ   ([de [la Barcelona antiga]ₐₚ]ₚₚ]ₙₚ]ᵥₚ)φ
> 'I used to buy maps of old Barcelona'
>
> *Constraints to rank*—hint: first see if any of them is never violated
> - WRAP-XP
> - ALIGN(XP,__; P-phrase, __)
> - MAX-BIN-END: the final p-phrase of the utterance [more precisely, the p-phrase bearing the main stress of the utterance] contains at most two p-words

2. Hayes 1990: precompiled phrasal phonology

- Proposes that alongside the normal operation of domains, there are some phrasal rules that operate more lexically.

- Start with something uncontroversial, such as syntax-sensitive allomorphy—example from Spanish (p. 93)

la torre (feminine)	'the tower'
el agua (feminine)	'the water'
la alta torre (fem.)	'the high tower'

  lexical entry for feminine definite article

  $$\begin{bmatrix} \text{el} \ / \ \_\_ \ [_N \ \text{'a} \\ \text{la} \end{bmatrix}$$

- Expand the idea: allow "whole classes of words to acquire precompiled alternants" (p. 93)
- Example from Hausa: verb-final V shortens when followed by non-pronoun NP complement.
  - Hayes defines a "frame", then has a lexical rule that refers to it

    Frame 1 = $[_{VP} \ \_\_ \ NP \ ... \ ]$ (NP $\neq$ pronoun)

    V: $\rightarrow$ V / [... $\_\_$]$_{[Frame \ 1]}$

  - Ideally, we'd see languages where multiple rules refer to the same frame

- Q: How is this different from just allowing phonological rules/constraints to refer to as much syntax as they want (rather than using domains as a bottleneck at the interface)?
  - A: These precompiled rules are lexical rules, which means they...
    - have to precede any postlexical rules
    - can't introduce anything not in the phoneme inventory ("structure preservation")
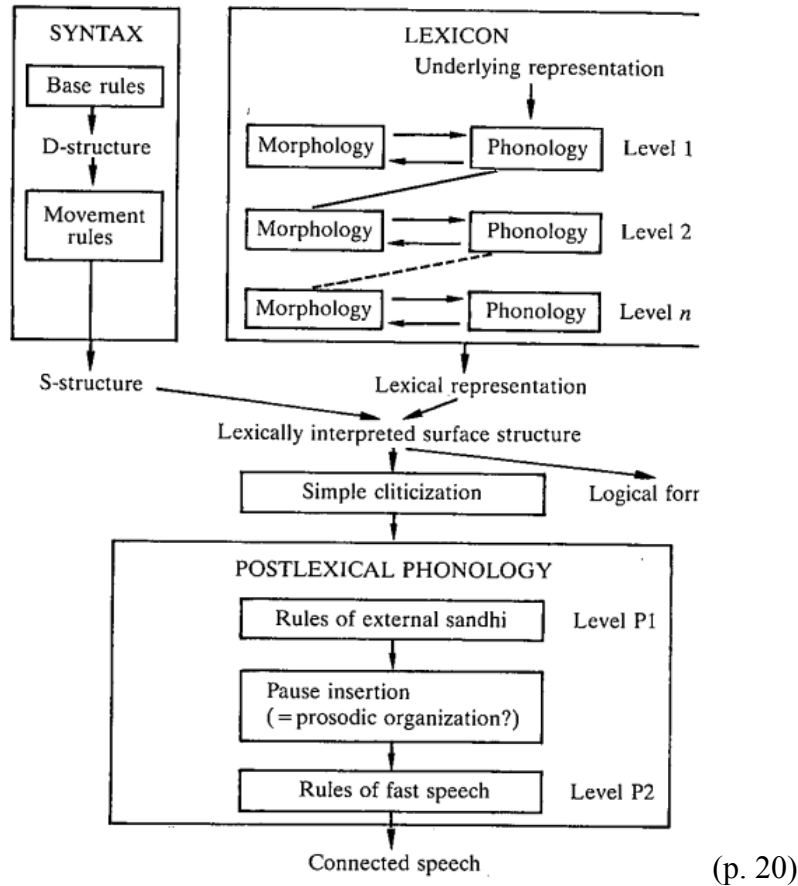   - shouldn't care about pauses and speaking rate

3. Kaisse 1985: fast-speech rules

Before we hear about Kaisse's theory of domains, there's something else you should know about from the same book.

- Kaisse proposes that some rules simply don't care about domains: *fast-speech rules*.
- For example, English nasalization (p. 28):
  - I sãw Nora.
  - I neither sãw nor heard him.
  - Food you eat rãw needs careful preparation.
  - The Shãh never left Egypt.
  - He chose yõu, no doubt.

o What might Selkirk say about a rule like this?

- Kaisse claims that unlike rules that just happen to have large domains, fast-speech rules...
    - are sensitive to speech rate (rather than register)
    - are blocked by pauses (unlike, say, French liaison)

- The post-lexical component then has to be expanded:

(p. 20)

4. Looking forward

- Next time, we'll see some recursion-heavy approaches where syntactic structure is reflected more directly in the prosodic structure
- We'll also see the proposal that some rules don't care about prosodic structure at all

5. A theory that relies on c-command: Kaisse 1985 (student presentations)

References

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