

Class 14: Ineffability, a.k.a. absolute ungrammaticality

To do for next time

- Work on project. (I'll give you your next assignment Monday)

1. Some examples (from Raffelsiefen 1996, 1998)

Deadjectival-verb-forming *-en* can't attach to sonorant-final stems or stems > one syllable:

	<i>Google (May 18)</i> ¹		
blacken	64,600	*greenen	916
whiten	102,000	*bluen	2,000
redde	172,000	*brownen	6,500
sweeten	147,000	*souren	9,120
sharpen	347,000	*dullen	782
fatten	91,400	*slimmen	140
thicken	183,000	*thinnen	53
sicken	63,000	*wellen	27,000
?wetten	79,600	*dryen	691
sadden	34,100	*calmen	412
		*yellowen	20
		*purplen	48
broaden	635,000	*narrowen	15
deepen	332,000	*shallowen	21
worsen	277,000	*betteren	27

But **greenen* doesn't suggest a phonological repair. You just have to try again: *greenify*? *green_v*? *make green*?

-ize:	rándomize	133,000	*corrúptize	7
	átomize	16,800	*obscénize	4
	váporize	76,700	*secúriz	236

2. MPARSE (Prince & Smolensky 1993)

Every tableau contains as a candidate the null parse, which violates MPARSE.

corrúpt+ize	IDENT(stress)	CLASH	MPARSE
corrúptize		*!	
córruptize	*!		
☞ ∅			*

¹ Used Google's restrict-to-English utility. Obviously there is a lot of junk, especially proper names and German pages that slip through.

3. Orgun & Sprouse: problems for MPARSE

Tagalog –um- infixation (I have changed the analysis slightly, but the point is the same):

um+bili	ANCHOR-stem-L	ALIGN(<i>um</i> ,L,Wd,L)
umbili	*!	
☞ bumili		*
bilumi		**!*

- If we add in the null parse, where must MPARSE be ranked?

Gaps in nonce infixations:

fumafagi na	‘it’s foggy now’
kumaklawdi na	‘it’s cloudy now’
*mumimisti na	‘it’s misty now’

→ OCP-*um*: **m-um*, **w-um*

- Where should this constraint be ranked w.r.t. MPARSE? What’s the ranking problem?

um+misti				
ummisti				
mumisti				
mimistumi				
☞ Ø				

4. Control

Orgun & Sprouse propose that rather than MPARSE, there is a separate component, CONTROL, which contains inviolable markedness constraints.

The regular ranking provides an output, and then CONTROL checks it:

um+RED+misti	ANCHOR-stem-L	ALIGN(<i>um</i> ,L,Wd,L)
ummimisti	*!	
☞ mumimisti		*
mimistumi		**!****

CONTROL	OCP- <i>um</i>
✗ mumimisti	*!

5. Ill-formed meter

Why does an ill-formed verse or line not always suggest its own repair? Hayes's example:

well-formed as iambic pentameter, not complex

The li- / on dy- / ing thrust- / eth forth / his paw (Shakespeare, R3)

well-formed as iambic pentameter, very complex

Let me / not to / the mar- / riage of / true minds (Shakespeare, sonnet 116)

ill-formed as iambic pentameter

Ode to / the West / Wind by / Percy / Bysshe Shelley (Halle & Keyser 1971)

When a line doesn't work, the grammar doesn't tell you what to do—you just have give up and try a different way of saying what you want to say.

6. Componentiality in metrics

Metrical component (ranking depends on meter in use) ranks certain “metrical” constraints (the ones inviolable in that meter) higher than “phonological” ones—i.e., it *does* suggest a repair.

Hayes's example: **Young Emily in her cha----mber* (illegal in “4343” verse)

- “4343” grammar says *LAPSE >> DEP-SYLL
- Line is repaired as *Young Emily in her chambeler* (or some such). Hayes calls this the “suicide candidate”.
- The paraphonological component (“para” because slightly different from phonology of ordinary speech), however, while it allows some outputs that are illegal in colloquial speech (e.g, *o'er*), does not allow **Young Emily in her chambeler* (DEP-SYLL >> *LAPSE).
- Because there is no common legal output of the two components, the derivation crashes, and the line is unmetrical.

7. Componentiality in morphology?

(Extension that has been contemplated—I don't know what he thinks about this these days—by Bruce Hayes to his proposal about componentiality in metrics (ms.).)

The morphological component absolutely requires that *-en* be attached to an obstruent-initial stem. Thus, we might have suicide candidates like *greenden*, *greeden*:

<i>morphological component</i> green+en	MORPHO CONSTRAINTS	DEP	IDENT(nas)
greenen	*!		
☞ greenden		*	*
☞ greeden		*	*

The phonological component, however, does not allow insertion or denasalization in this context:

<i>phonological component</i>	DEP	IDENT(son)
green+en		
☞ greenen		
greenden	*!	
greeden		*!

Because there's no shared output, the derivation crashes.

- How is this similar to/different from the CONTROL story? Can it get the Tagalog case?

8. MacBride's FIAT-STRUC constraints

SYN : PHON = A form bearing the syntactic feature SYN contains the phonological structure PHON

Affixes can delete entirely if they create a bad markedness problem and the grammar's solution to that problem fails to supply PHON:

Super-simplified Ayt Ndhir Tamazight: normally masculine nouns begin with prefix [a-]
(MASC SING : a [_{stem}])

a-rjaz	'man'
a-sərðun	'mule'
a-xam	'tent'
a-fus	'hand'

unless a hiatus would result:

iləs	'tongue'
imənði	'grain'
uʃfən	'jackal'

So does that mean *VV >> MAX-V? No!

/bla/	'without'	+	/uði/	'butter'	→	[βlajuði]	'without butter'
/bla/	'without'	+	/isrðan/	'mules'	→	[βlajsərðæn]	'without mules'

- What's the ranking for hiatus, based on the 'without' forms?

- Let's do a tableau for 'tongue':

/ils/ MASC SING	
iləs	
ailəs	
aləs	
ajiləs	

(recall consistency of exponence: epenthetic segments have no morphological affiliation)

That's not quite what we want, though: we want cases where even leaving off the affix is no good. So...this may be a terrible travesty of MacBride's theory—I need to read his dissertation carefully—but let's try it...

green VERB	DEP-C	IDENT(son)	*[+son]] _{Adj} en] _V	VERB :] _{Adj} en	VERB :] _{Adj} ify
green]en			*!		*
green]den	*!			*	*
greed]en		*!			*
green]ify				*	

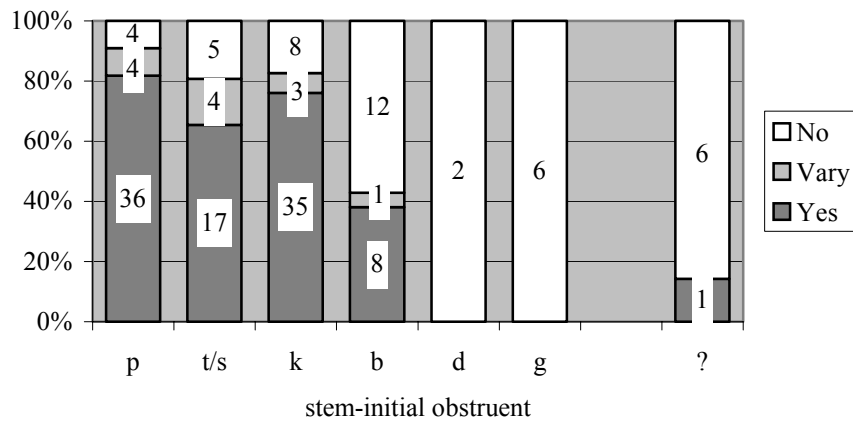
This predicts that *greenify* (or *green_V*, or whatever the real winner is above) should block *redify* (or *red_V*):

red VERB	DEP-C	IDENT(son)	*[+son]] _{Adj} en] _V	VERB :] _{Adj} en	VERB :] _{Adj} ify
redd]en					*
red]ify				*!	

- What do you think about periphrastics like *make green*?

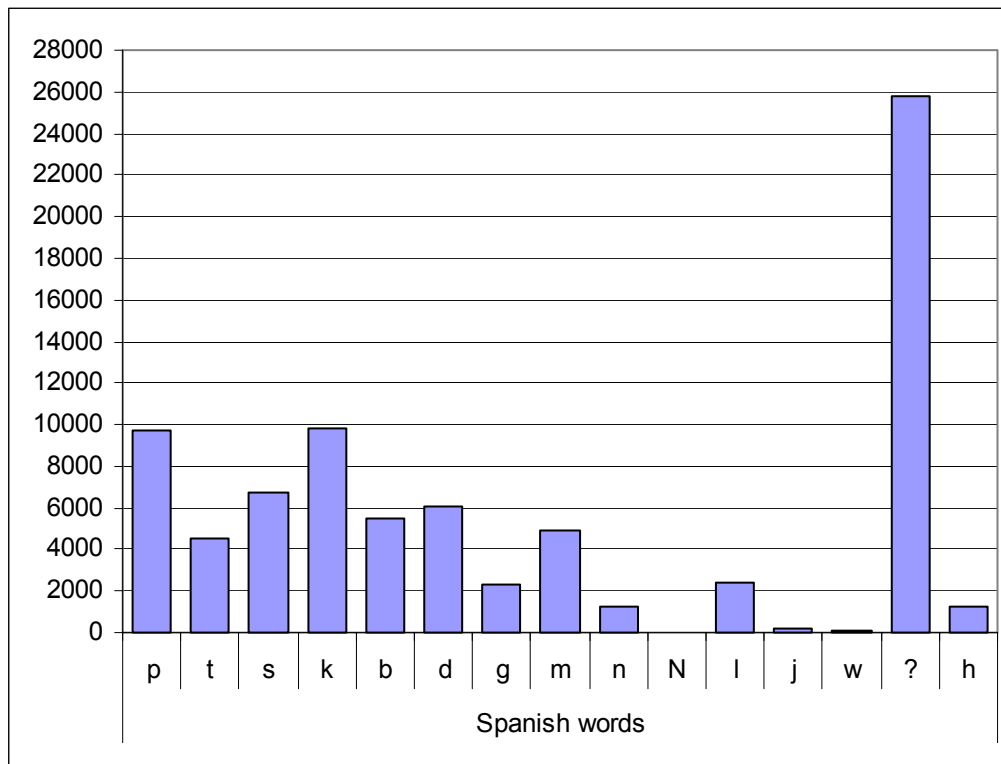
9. Statistical ineffability?

Recall Tagalog nasal substitution in loans. Why are there so few *d*- and *g*- initial loans in nasal-substituting constructions?

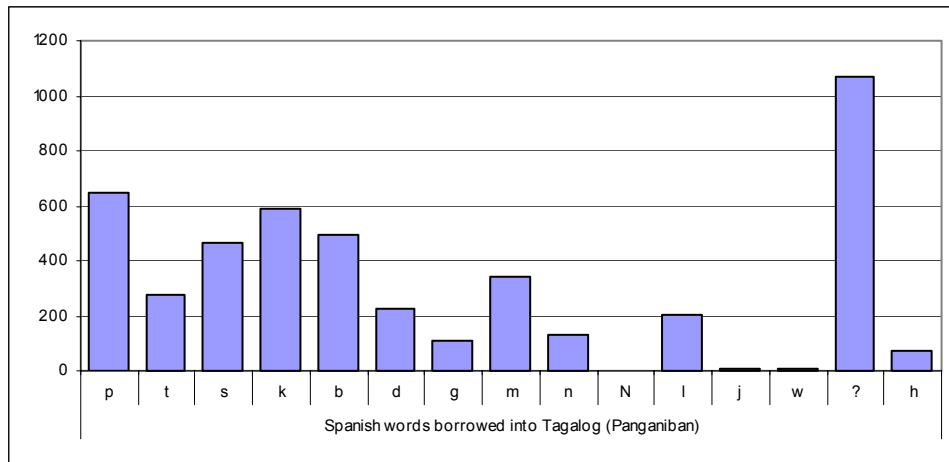


It's not because of the statistics of the Spanish lexicon, at least not for *d*:

(grouped according to the initial consonant that the borrowed form would have)



and it's more extreme than what we find in the general set of Spanish loans in Tagalog:

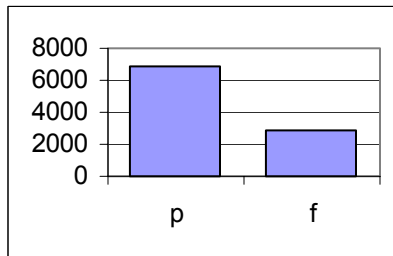


10. Some other (non-morphological) gaps in Spanish loans into Tagalog

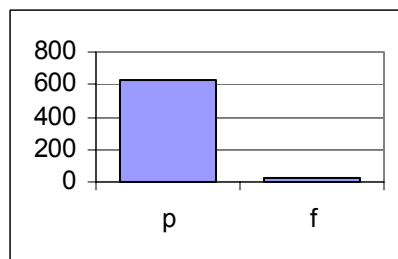
Tagalog phone inventory vs. Spanish: no [f], [r], [tʃ], [ɲ]

- Spanish [f] is borrowed as [p].

Words beginning with [p] vs. [f] in Spanish dictionary:



Spanish words beginning with [p] vs. [f] that are borrowed into Tagalog (from Panganiban 1961)



- Spanish [ɲ] is borrowed as [niy], but there are no word-initial examples. (The Spanish dictionary I used has only 50 [ɲ]-initial words, though, so we only expect about 3 to be borrowed anyway.)

- Spanish [tʃ] is borrowed as [ts], [s], or [tʃ].
We expect about 66 words beginning with [tʃ] to be borrowed, but only 38 are.
- Spanish [r] is mostly borrowed as [r].
We expect about 249 words beginning with [r] to be borrowed, and 284 are.

See also Andy Martin's MA thesis in progress: Navajo has sibilant harmony, which causes alternations. But, underlyingly disharmonic compounds are very underrepresented in the first place.