Locality Domains and Phonological C-Command Over Strings

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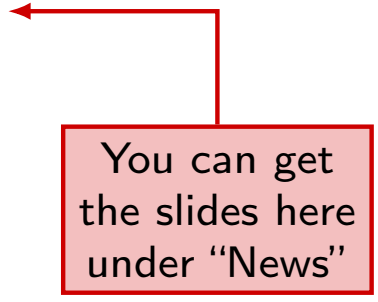

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Take-Home Message

A cross-module restriction on well-formedness conditions:

Domain	Phonology	Syntax
bounded	intervocalic voicing	subcategorization
unbounded	sibilant harmony	movement
b + **u**	non-final RHOL	c-command
b + **u** + **b**	*first-last harmony	*sibling of c-commandee

The Main Conjecture: Ban on Improper Locality

Once unbounded, always unbounded.

This talk is mostly about the **phonology** column.

Methodology

- Only **phonotactics** considered (no input-output mappings)
- **Subregular** phonology as measuring rod for complexity
  (Heinz 2009, 2010; Heinz et al. 2011; Chandlee 2014; Jardine 2016; McMullin 2016; Graf 2017)

1. define different classes of grammars
2. organize these classes into an expressivity hierarchy
3. needed level of expressivity?

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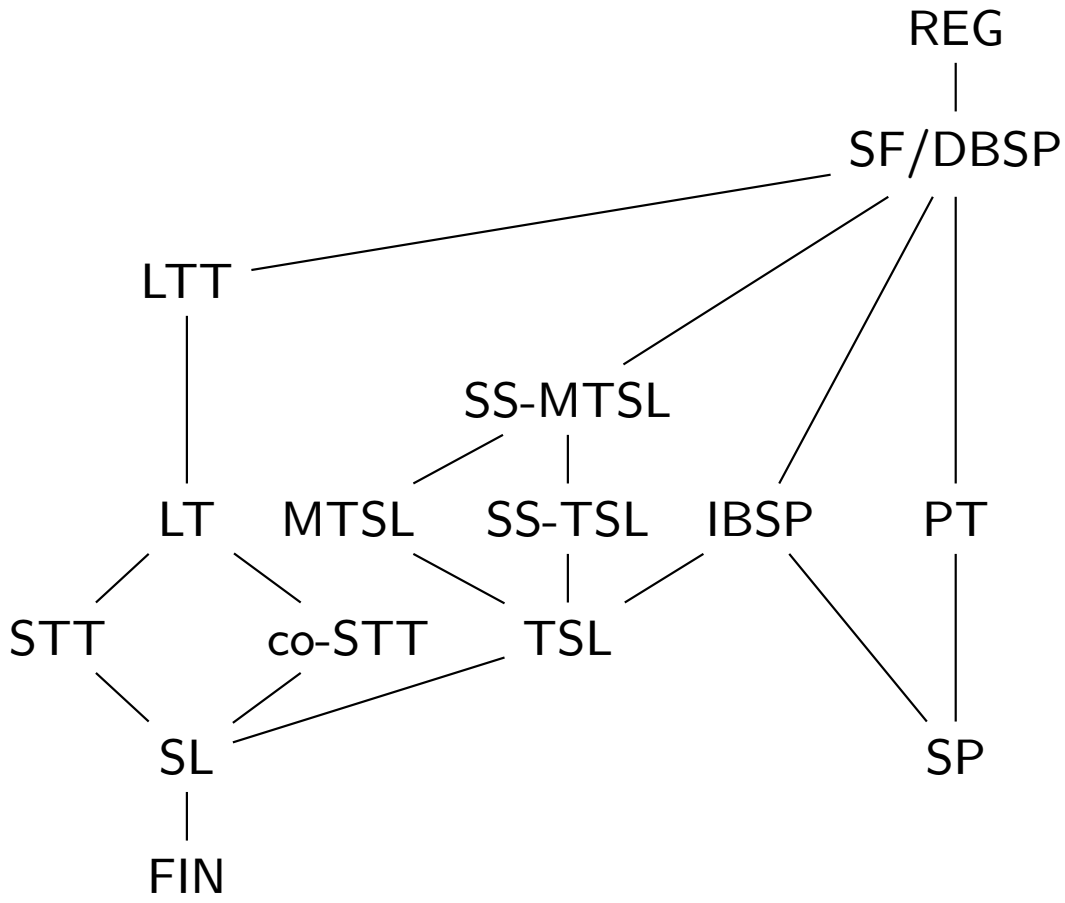

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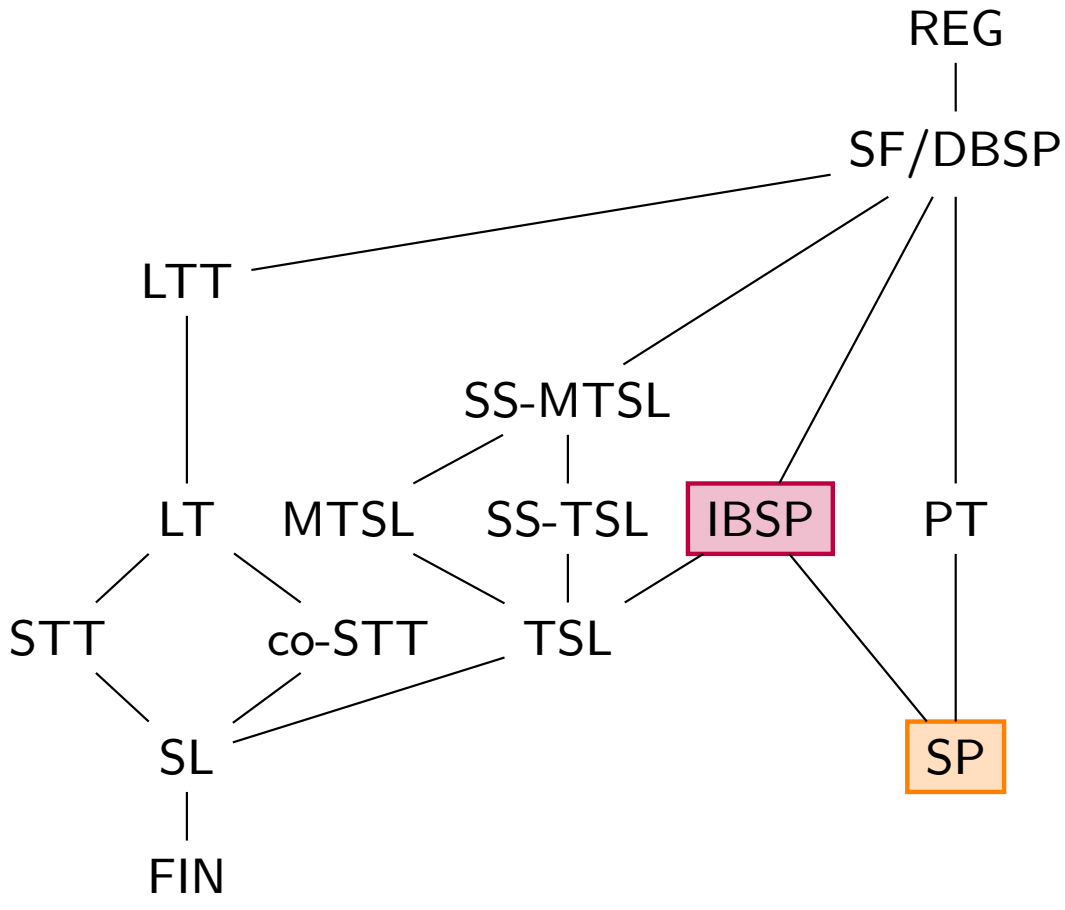


Outline

Unbounded Phenomena in Phonology

1. **Samala Sibilant Harmony**
   Sibilants must not disagree in anteriority.
   (Applegate 1972)

   (1) a. * hasxintilawaʃ
   b. * haʃxintilawas
   c. haʃxintilawaʃ

2. **Unbounded Tone Plateauing in Luganda** (UTP)
   No L may occur within an interval spanned by H.
   (Hyman 2011)

   (2) a. LHLLLLL
   b. LLLLLHL
   c. * LHLLLHL
   d. LHHHHHL

Strictly Piecewise Dependencies

- Each phenomenon can be represented by a collection of finitely many **forbidden subsequences**.

Phenomenon	Constraint	Forbidden Subsequences
Sibilant harmony	$^*[\alpha$ ant$]\cdots[-\alpha$ ant$]$	**s∫** , **∫s**
UTP	*HLH	HLH

- A well-formedness condition is **strictly piecewise (SP)** iff it is equivalent to a finite list of forbidden subsequences.

Blocking Effects are Beyond SP

- SP conditions have no notion of locality at all.
- Blocking is a simple form of locality, and hence beyond SP.

Latin L-Dissimilation (Simplified; (Stanton 2016))

- /l/ in morpheme /-alis/ becomes /r/ if stem contains /l/

  (3) a. * lupanalis

  b. lupanaris

- blocked by intervening /r/

  (4) a. fulguralis

  b. * fulguraris

- **Problem for SP**: forbidding l···l for (3a) also rules out (4a)

Locality Domains are Beyond SP

- There is also a problem with the SP account of UTP.
- *H···L···H bans any L between H, no matter what.
- But tone processes are known to also apply across words.
- Unless we limit representations to single words, *H···L···H overapplies.

(5) a. *LHLLLHLL

b. LHL$LHLL

- The word boundary $ should block tone plateauing, but blocking effects are not SP.

SP + Locality = IBSP

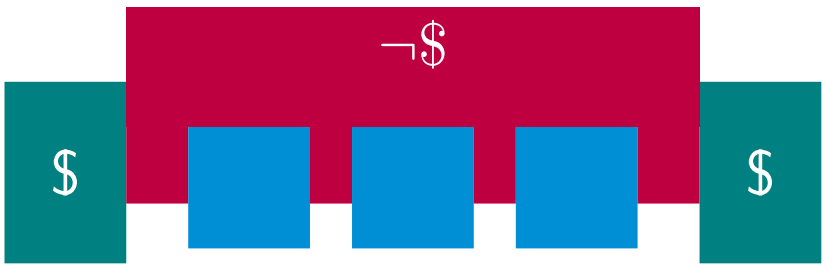
- The central problem of SP is the lack of locality domains.
- **Danger:** arbitrary domains push SP to DBSP $\Rightarrow$ too powerful
- **Restricted version:** SP limited to specific intervals

Interval-Based Strictly Piecewise (IBSP)

1. Finite list of forbidden subsequences
2. Application domain, encoded as **k-val**

3-val for UTP

- Forbidden subsequence: *HLH
- Locality domain:
  - spans between two $,
  - and no other $ occurs between them.
- Represented as a 3-val:



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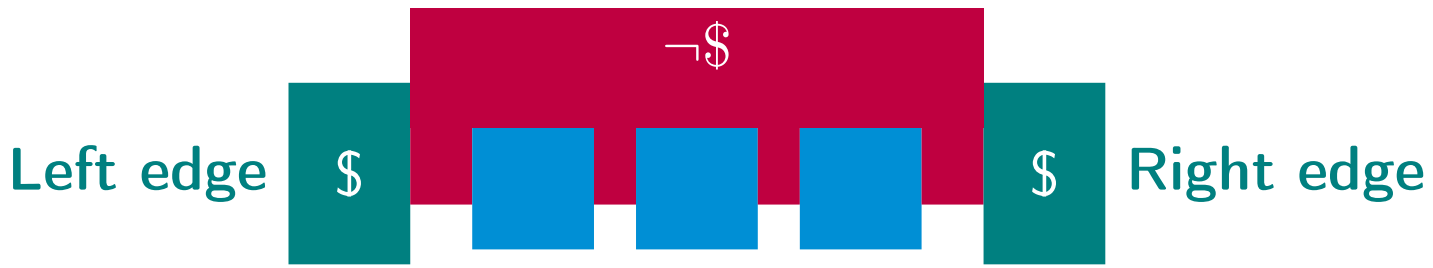

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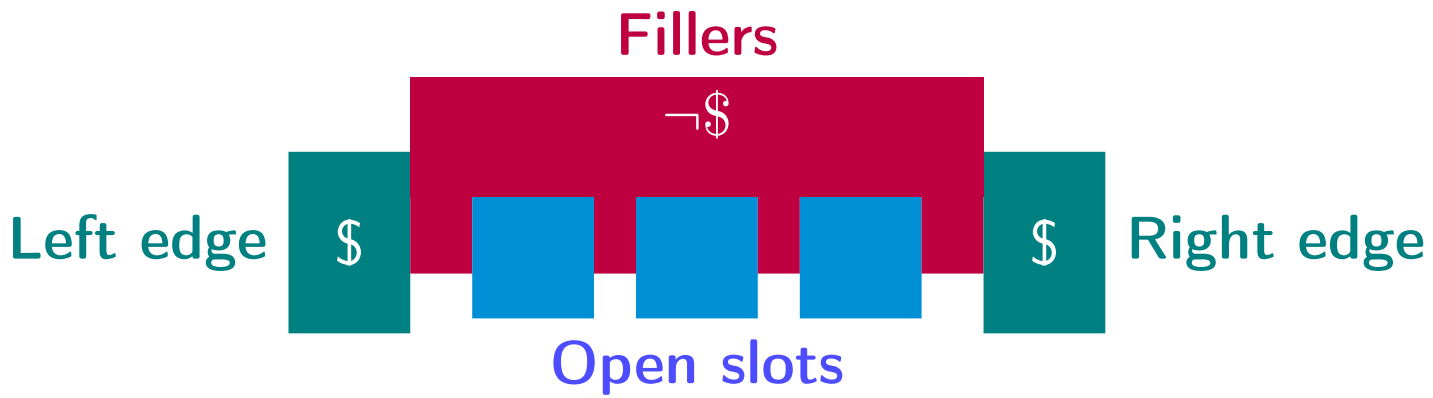

Restricting *HLH with the k-Val

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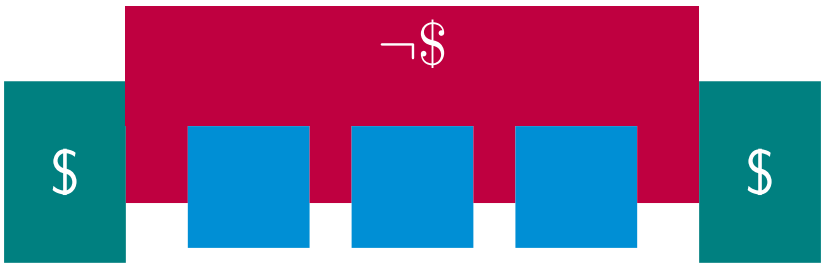

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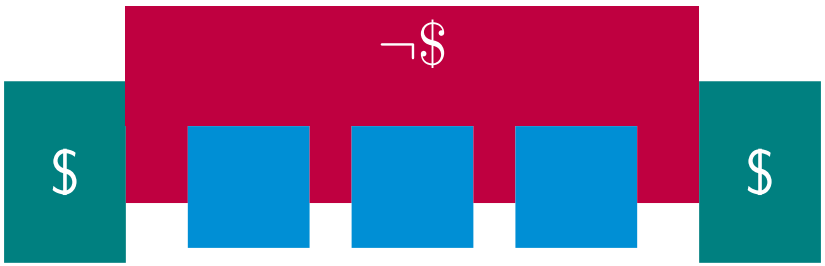

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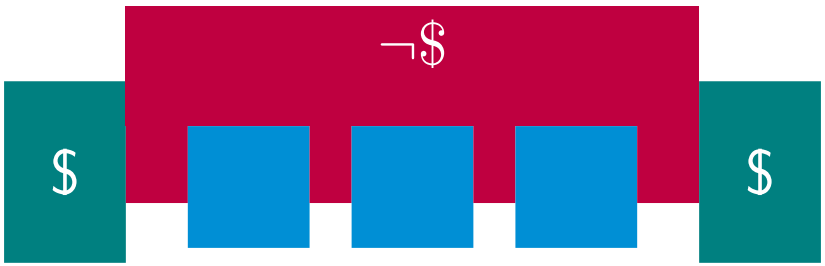

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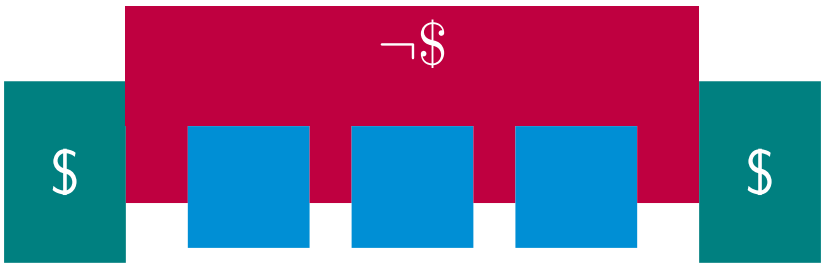

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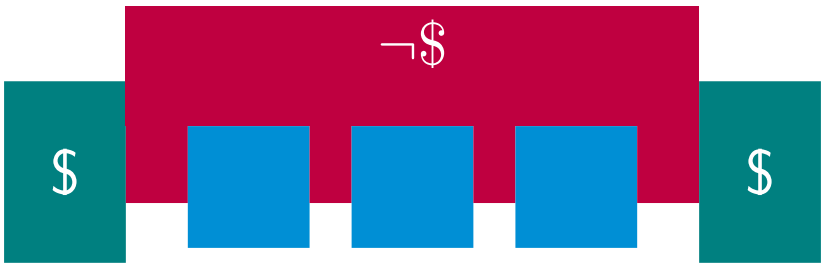

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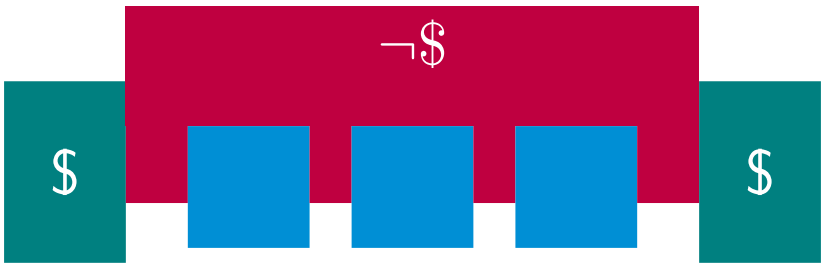

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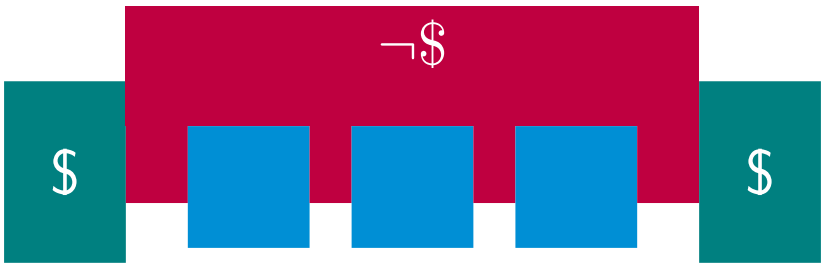

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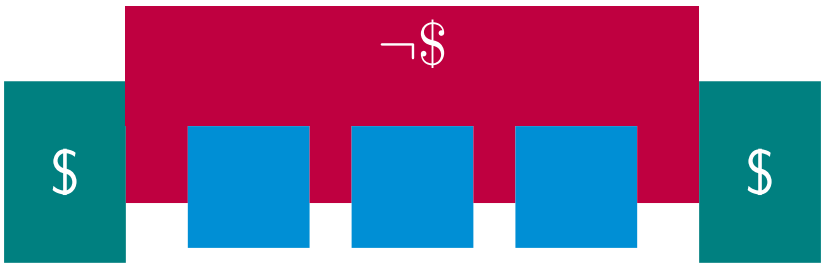

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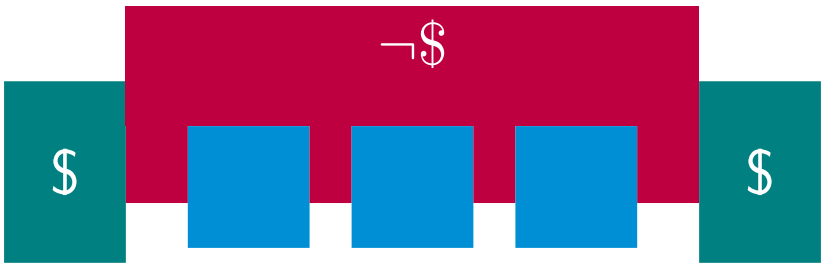

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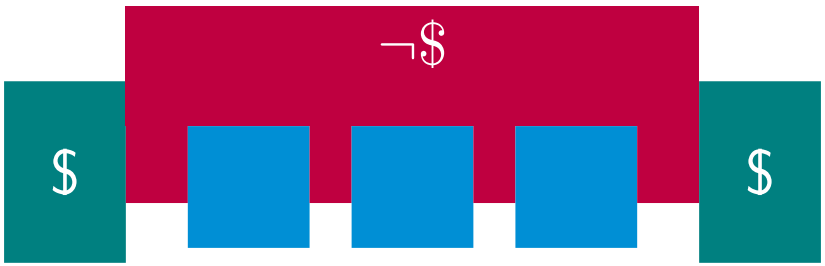

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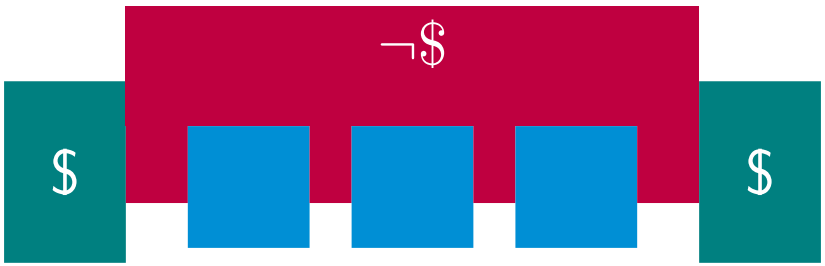

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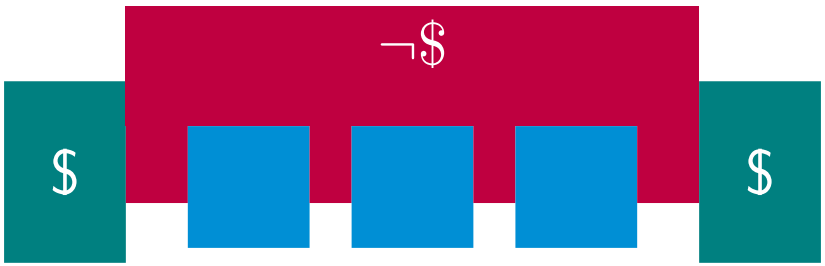

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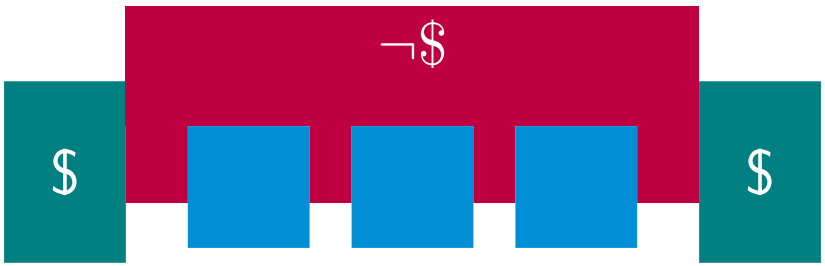

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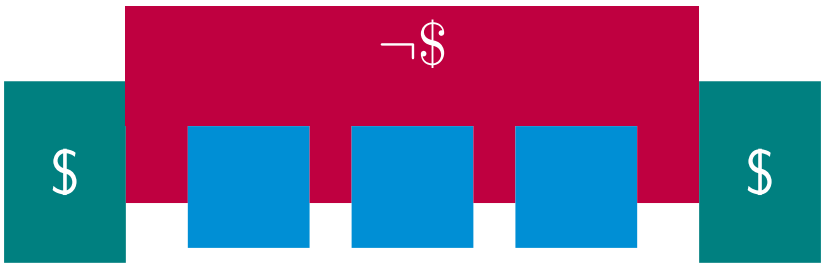

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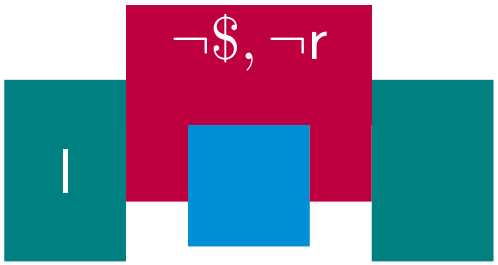
- A simple constraint: *l
- With a peculiar domain:



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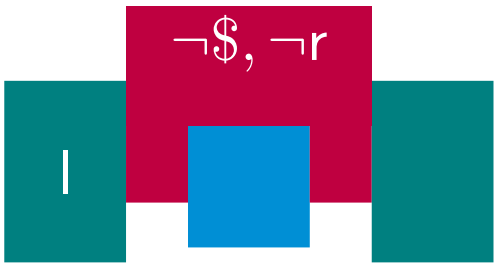

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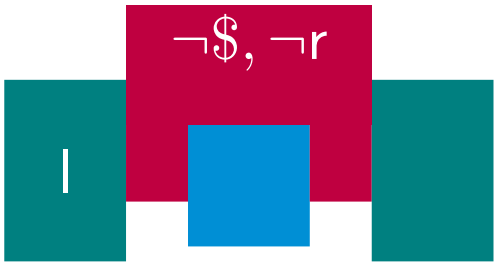

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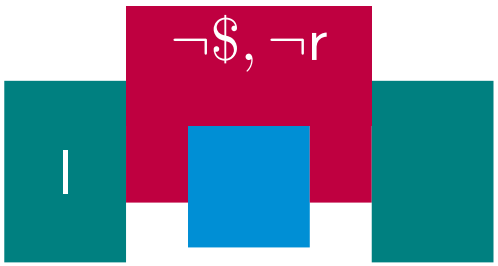

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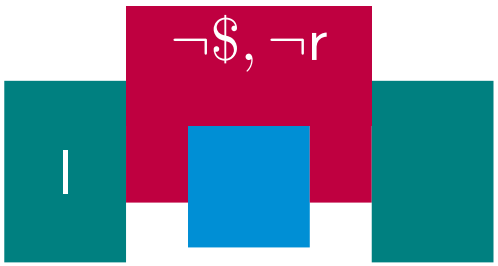

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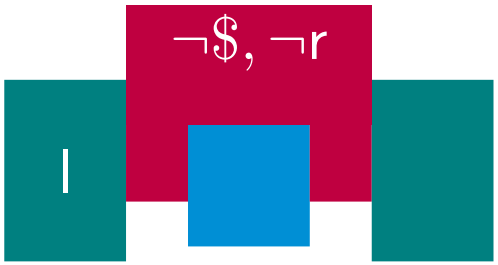

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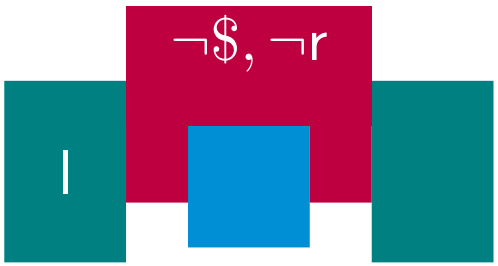

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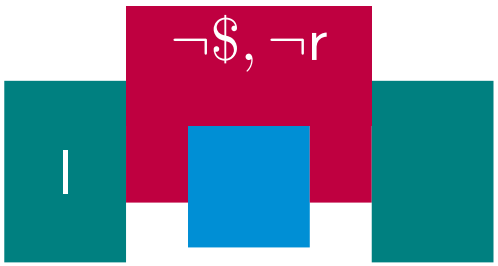

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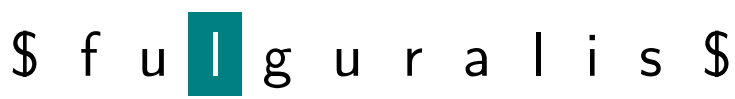

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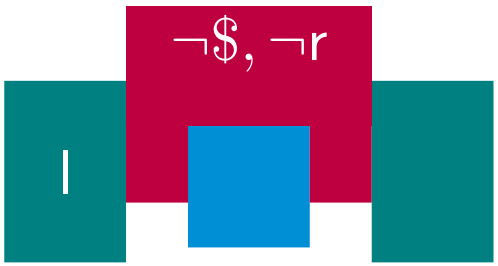

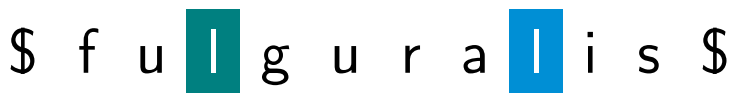

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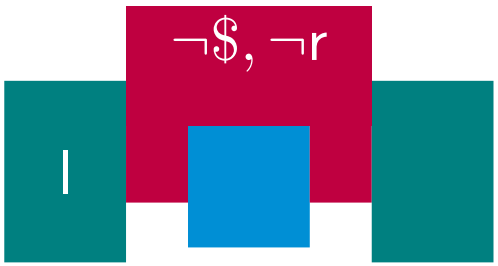

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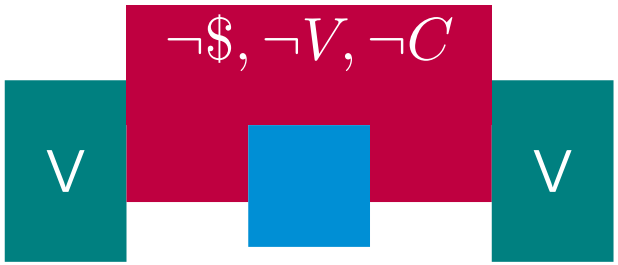
  - **Domain:** between vowels, with no fillers



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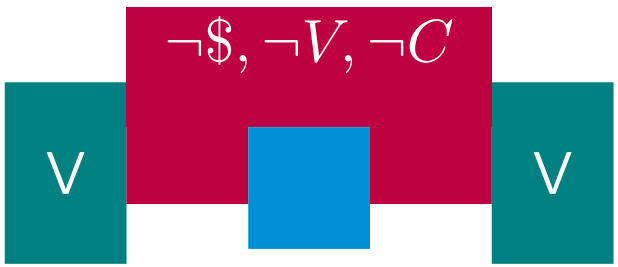

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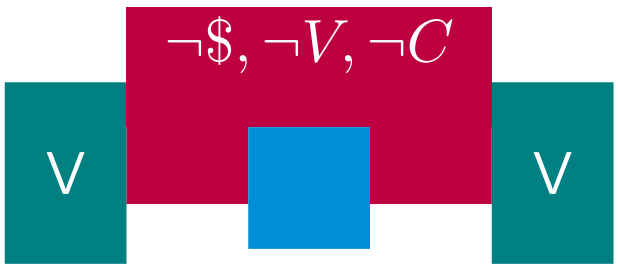

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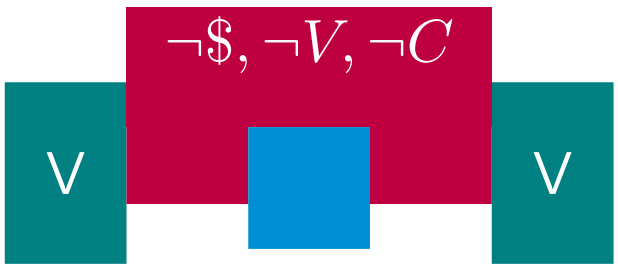

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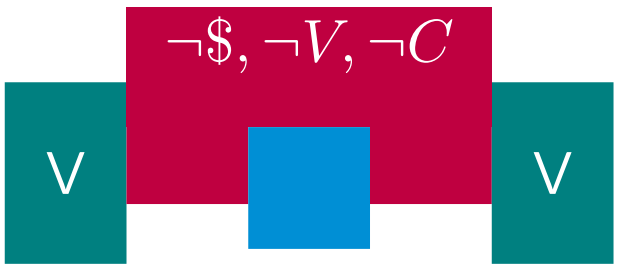

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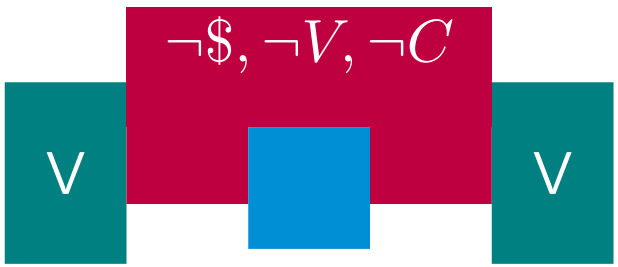

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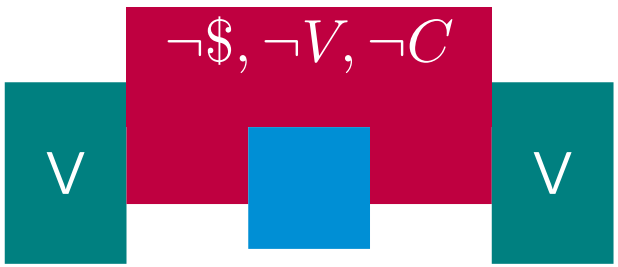

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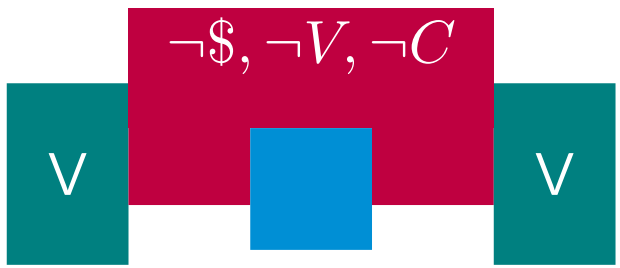

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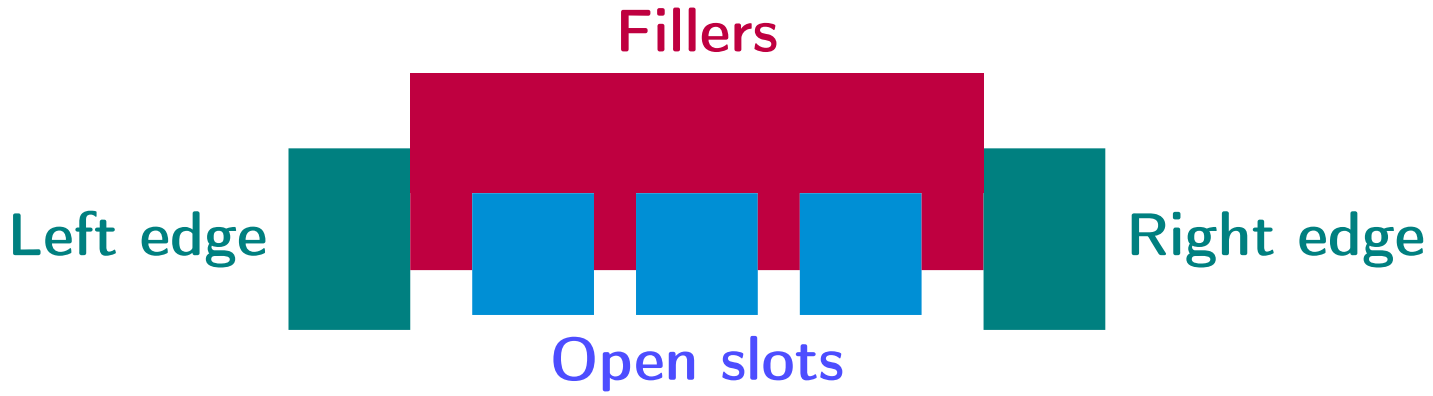
Prediction: Local and Non-Local Do Not Mix

- All k-vals follow the same base template:



- To enforce adjacency, we have to ban all potential fillers.
- But without fillers, we get **adjacency across the board**!

- **IBSP Prediction:** Local and non-local do not mix.

Non-Local Local Phenomena Exist!

- The IBSP prediction is **false**!
- Some phenomena combine local and non-local information:
  1. non-local blocking of local dissimilation (Samala) (Applegate 1972; McMullin 2016)
  2. non-final RHOL (Eastern Cheremis, Dongolese Nubian) (Hayes 1995; Baek 2017)
  3. non-local trigger of ternary spreading (Copperbelt Bemba) (Bickmore and Kula 2013; Jardine 2016)
- **Conclusion:** IBSP needs a more fine-grained notion of k-val.

Non-Local Blocking of Local Dissimilation

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   [sn], [sl], [st] are forbidden. . .
2. **. . . With Non-Local Blocking**
   . . .unless there is another [s] later on in the same word

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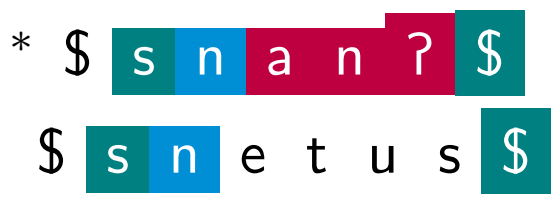

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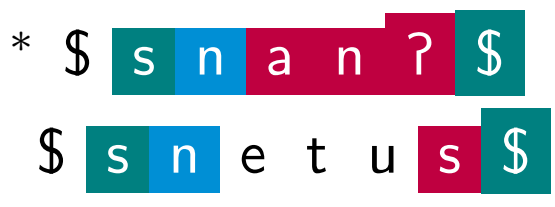

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*	$	L	Ĺ	H	H	H	$
*	$	L	L	Ḧ	H	H	$
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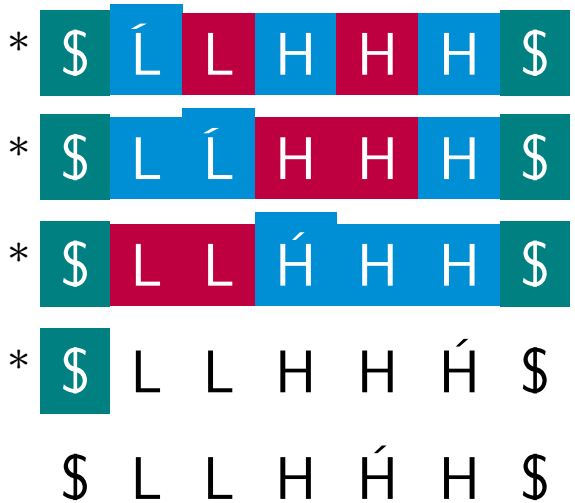

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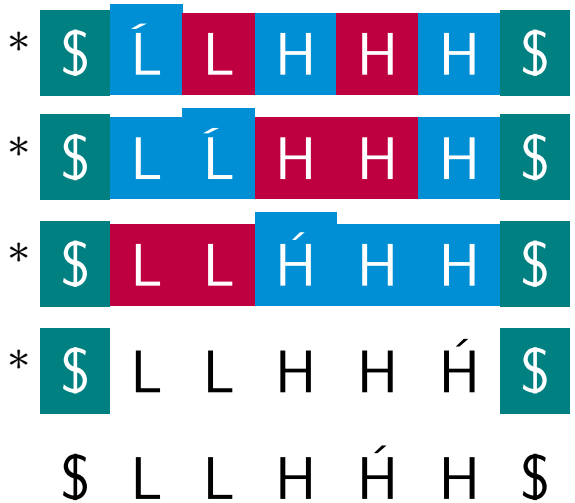

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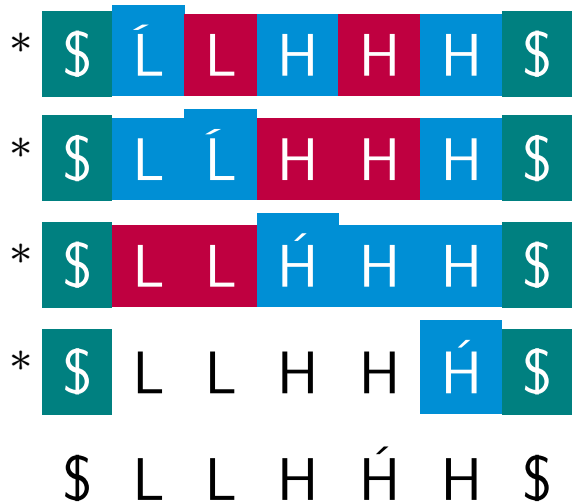

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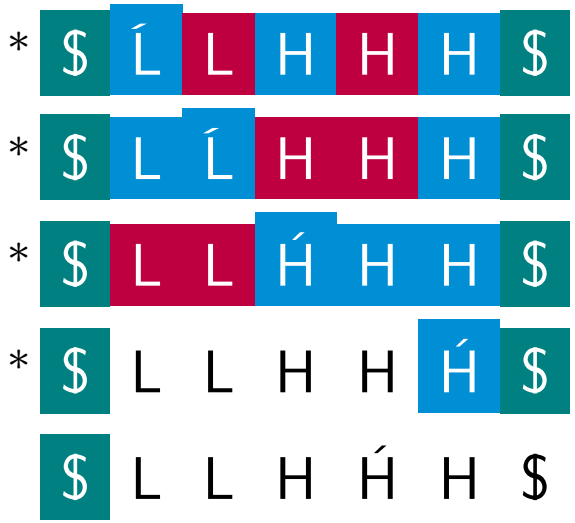

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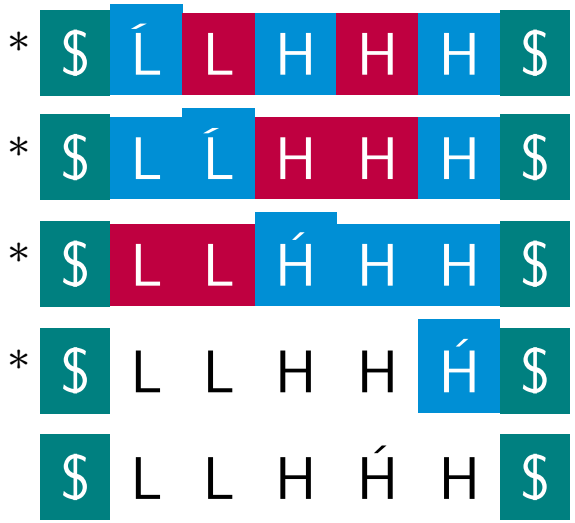

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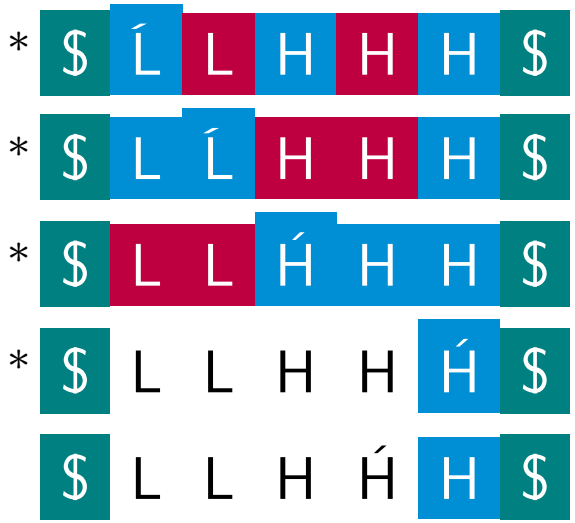
(X ∈ {H,L})

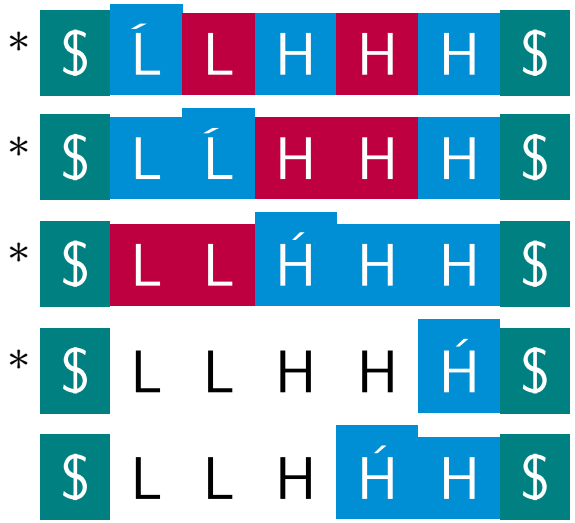


Non-Final RHOL

1. Stress the rightmost non-final heavy syllable, if it exists.
2. Otherwise, stress the leftmost (=first) syllable.

*X́HX
*XĹX
*XXX́

(X ∈ {H,L})



Bounded Tone Spreading

1. **Unbounded Tone Spreading in Copper Belt Bemba...**
   H spreads all the way to the right edge,...
2. **...With a Non-Local Inhibitor**
   ...but only 2 syllables if there is an H later on.

*	$	H	L	L	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	L	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	h	h	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	L	h	L	H	$
	$	H	h	h	L	L	L	H	$

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*LXX
*XLX
*hhh

(X ∈ {H,L,h})

*	$	H	L	L	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	L	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	h	h	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	L	h	L	H	$
	$	H	h	h	L	L	L	H	$

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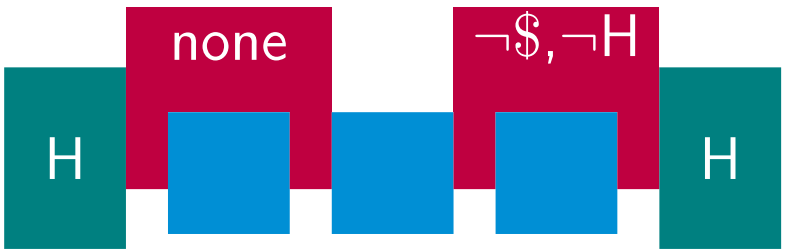

*	$	H	L	L	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	L	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	h	h	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	L	h	L	H	$
	$	H	h	h	L	L	L	H	$

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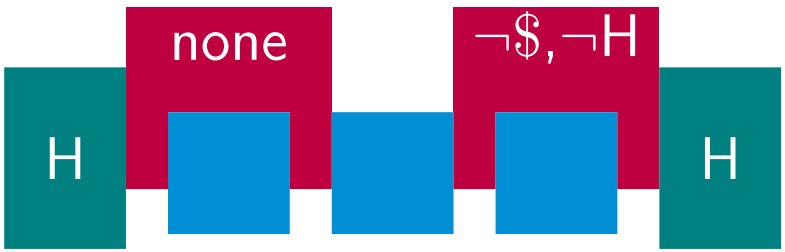

*	$	H	L	L	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	L	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	h	h	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	L	h	L	H	$
	$	H	h	h	L	L	L	H	$

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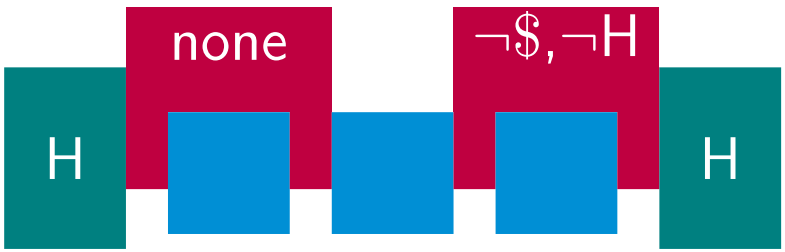

*	$	H	L	L	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	L	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	h	h	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	L	h	L	H	$
	$	H	h	h	L	L	L	H	$

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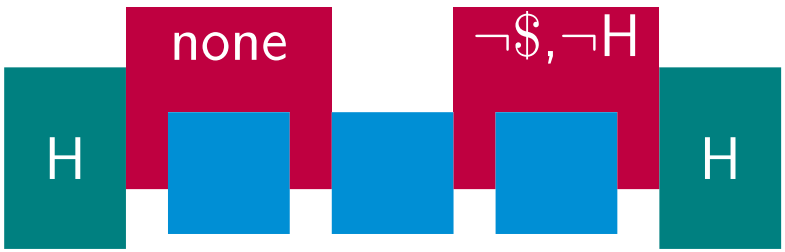

*	$	H	L	L	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	L	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	h	h	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	L	h	L	H	$
	$	H	h	h	L	L	L	H	$

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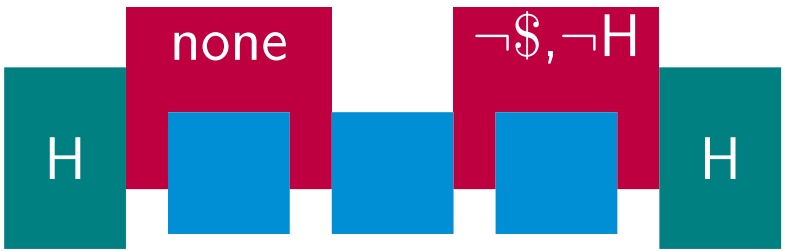

*	$	H	L	L	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	L	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	h	h	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	L	h	L	H	$
	$	H	h	h	L	L	L	H	$

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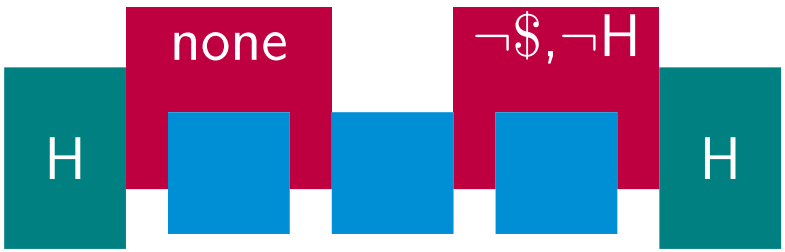

*	$	H	L	L	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	L	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	h	h	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	L	h	L	H	$
	$	H	h	h	L	L	L	H	$

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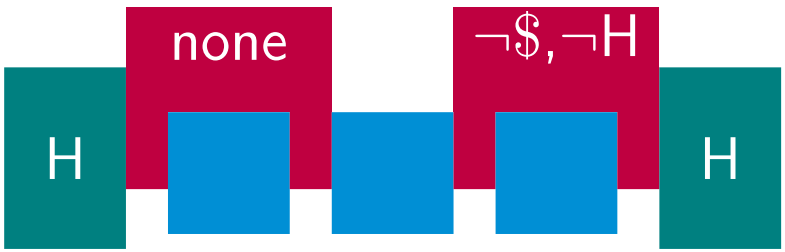

*	$	H	L	L	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	L	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	h	h	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	L	h	L	H	$
	$	H	h	h	L	L	L	H	$

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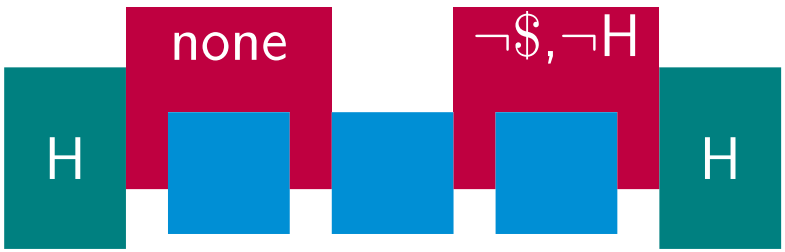

*	$	H	L	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	h	h	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	L	h	L	H	$
	$	H	h	h	L	L	L	H	$

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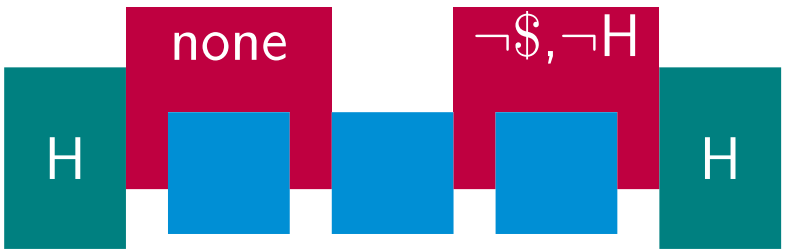

*	$	H	L	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	h	h	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	L	h	L	H	$
	$	H	h	h	L	L	L	H	$

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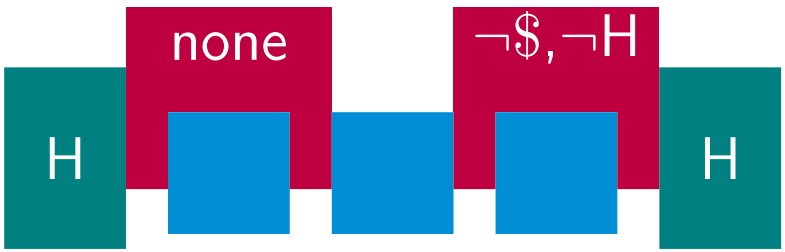

*	$	H	L	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	h	h	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	L	h	H	$
	$	H	h	h	L	L	H	$

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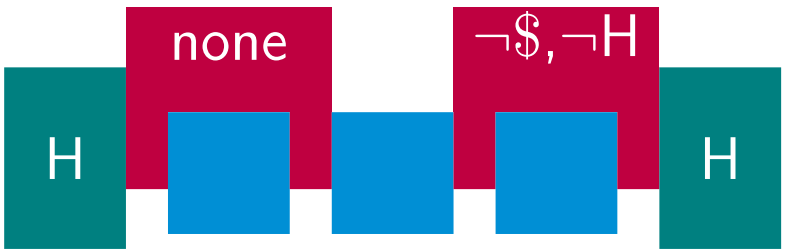

*	$	H	L	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	h	L	H	$
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	$	H	h	h	L	L	L	H	$

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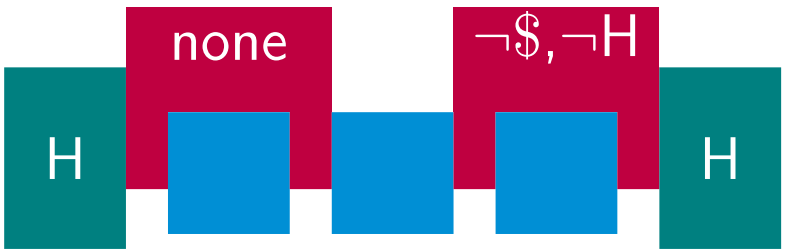

*	$	H	L	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	h	L	H	$
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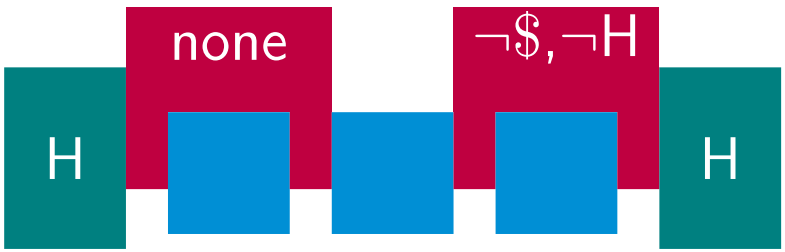

* $ H L L L L L H $
* $ H h L L L L H $
* $ H h h h h L H $
* $ H h h L h L H $
$ H h h L L L H $

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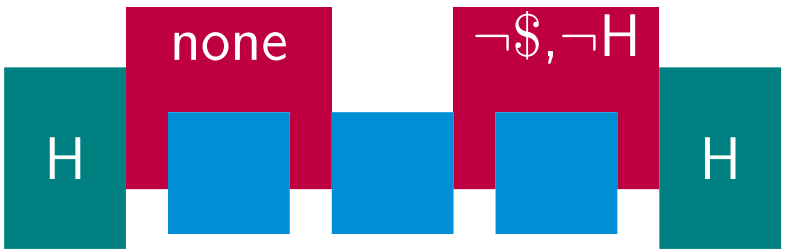

*	$	H	L	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	h	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	L	h	L	H	$
	$	H	h	h	L	L	L	H	$

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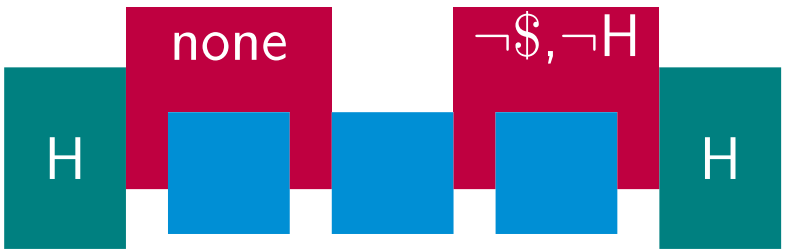

*	$	H	L	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	h	L	H	$
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	$	H	h	h	L	L	H	$

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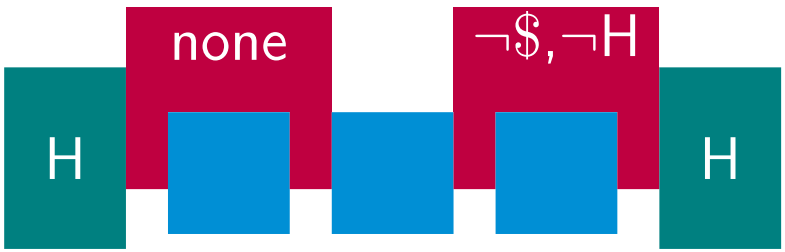

*	$	H	L	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	h	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	L	h	H	$
	$	H	h	h	L	L	H	$

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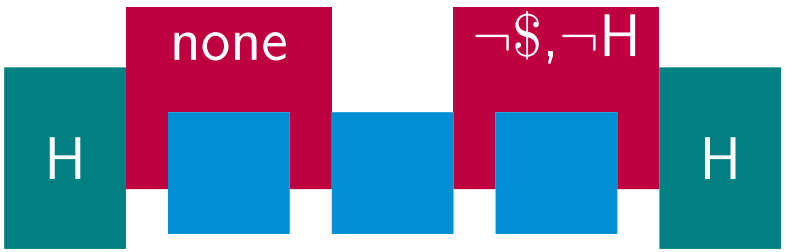

*	$	H	L	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	h	L	H	$
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	$	H	h	h	L	L	H	$

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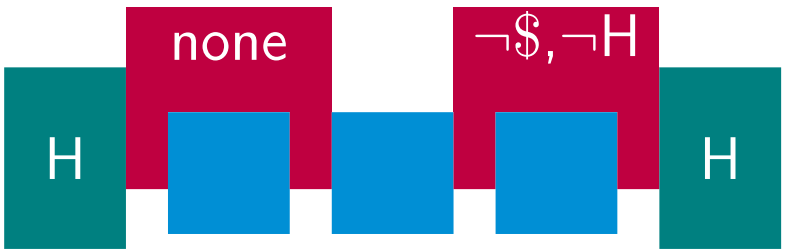

*	$	H	L	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	h	L	H	$
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	$	H	h	h	L	L	H	$

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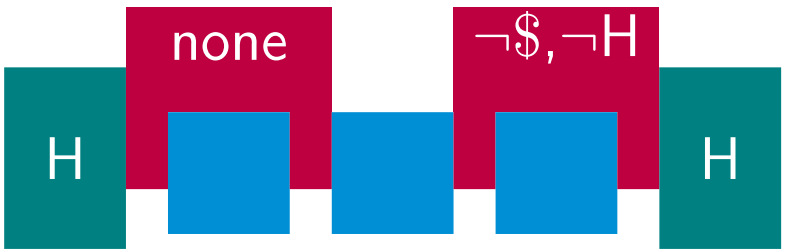

*	$	H	L	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	h	L	H	$
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	$	H	h	h	L	L	H	$

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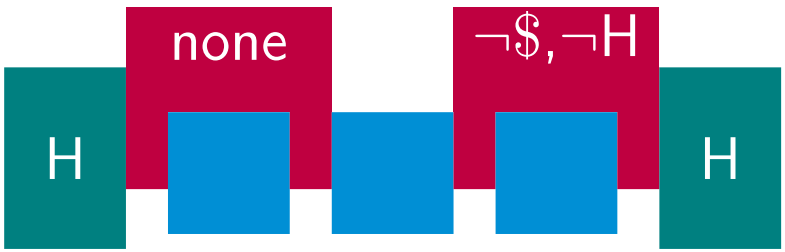

*	$	H	L	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	h	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	L	h	H	$
	$	H	h	h	L	L	H	$

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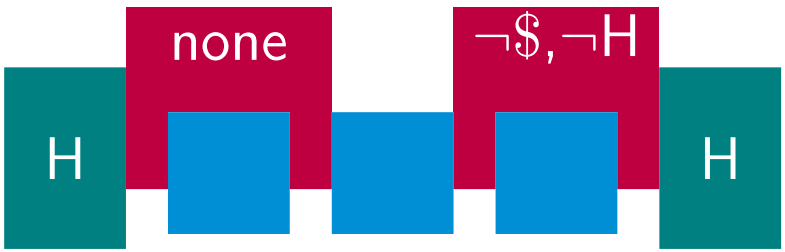

*	$	H	L	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	L	L	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	h	L	H	$
*	$	H	h	h	L	h	H	$
	$	H	h	h	L	L	H	$

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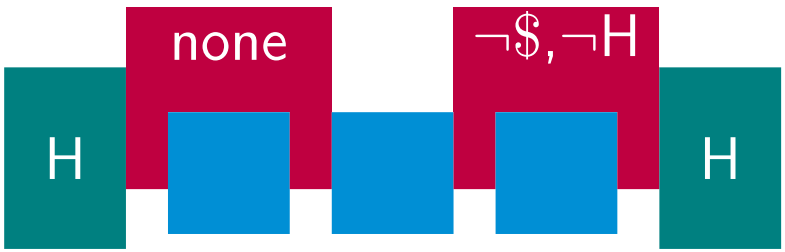
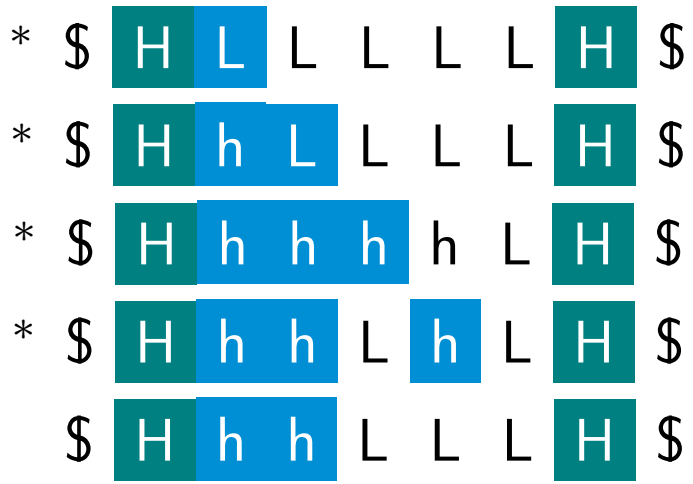
   H spreads all the way to the right edge,...
2. **...With a Non-Local Inhibitor**
   ...but only 2 syllables if there is an H later on.

*LXX
*XLX
*hhh

(X ∈ {H,L,h})





Danger, Will Robinson! Overgeneration!

- IBSP needs more fine-grained intervals.
- But this easily leads to typological overgeneration.

Danger, Will Robinson! Overgeneration!

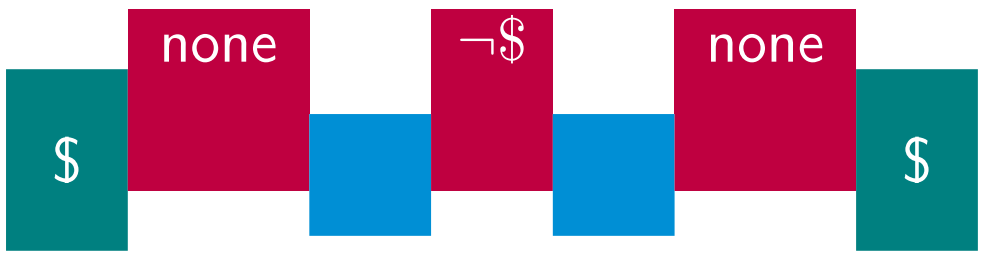
- IBSP needs more fine-grained intervals.
- But this easily leads to typological overgeneration.

*sʃ
*ʃs

Danger, Will Robinson! Overgeneration!

- IBSP needs more fine-grained intervals.
- But this easily leads to typological overgeneration.

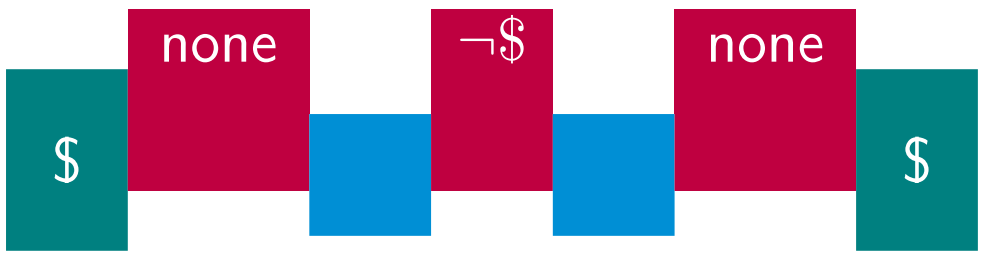
*s∫
*∫s



Danger, Will Robinson! Overgeneration!

- IBSP needs more fine-grained intervals.
- But this easily leads to typological overgeneration.

*sʃ
*ʃs



- This produces **First-Last harmony (FLH)**, which is **unattested**.

Proposal: k-Vals Must be c-Command-Like

- What separates FLH from the attested cases?
- k-val for FLH relaxes locality, then tightens it again (local + non-local + local)
- Attested cases are of the form
  - local + non-local, or
  - non-local + local
- This is similar to **c-command**.

c-Command as Local + Non-Local

x c-commands y (in a strictly binary branching tree) iff

local x has a sister z, and

non-local z reflexively dominates y.

Deepening the Connnection: Monotonicity

Ban On Improper Locality

Within a k-val, the degree of locality must be

- monotonically increasing, or
- monotonically decreasing.

- **Monotonicity in syntax**
  - Subcategorization $<$ A-Move $<$ A′-Move
  - Once you've undergone a higher operation, you can't participate in lower ones anymore.
- **Monotonicity in morphology**
  - *ABA follows from monotonicity.
- **Monotonicity in semantics**
  - Everywhere...

Summary

- SP bans subsequences $\Rightarrow$ no locality at all
- Adding locality domains to SP greatly increases its power.
- But IBSP with simple k-vals is still too weak.
- Adding c-command-like locality domains
  - grants enough expressivity
  - while avoiding overgeneration.

Main Predictions

- ***local + non-local + local (*LNL)**
  No unbounded dependency between local "clusters"
- ***non-local + local + non-local (*NLN)**
  No local "cluster" within interval dependency

Next Steps

1. Test the predictions against the full typology.
2. Explore the syntax column.
3. Go beyond monotonicity in deriving the limitation.

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