Opportunistic Centralization in Tudanca Montañés

University of Utah
a.kaplan@utah.edu

Aaron Kaplan
25mfm
May 25–27, 2017

Centralization

- Centralization in Tudanca Montañés (Romance; Spain) involves a derived environment effect, but traditional approaches to DEEs fail.
- Instead, Dep[–F] constraints offer a simple analysis.

- Centralization Harmony: final high vowels centralize (=−[ATR]) shown with capitalization) and trigger harmony up to and including the stressed vowel (Huualde 1989, Penny 1978):

  (1) piñU ‘male calf’ or EgAnU ‘oregano’
  sektÁU ‘to dry him’ antiguwÁmU ‘very old’
  kÁrLabU ‘tawny owl’

- A Positional Licensing effect (e.g. Walker 2011):

  (2) a. LICENSE[–[ATR]post-tonic, ŋ]: assign one violation mark for each post-tonic −[ATR] that does not coincide with the stressed syllable.
  b. *+[hi, +ATR]#: assign one violation mark for each word-final +[hi, +ATR] vowel.

- Pretonic Centralization: mid vowels centralize if they are labial-adjacent (4a), but other vowels normally do not (4b):

  (3) /orígana/ *+[hi, +ATR]# LICENSE[–[ATR]post-tonic, ŋ] IDENT(ATR)
  a. orígana
  b. orígana
  c. orígana
  d. orígana

- Labial-adjacent non-mid vowels do centralize when the word also contains Centralization Harmony:

  (4) /piy´ıhku/ *[+hi, +ATR]# LICENSE[–[ATR]post-tonic, ŋ] IDENT[ATR]
  a. piy´ıhku
  b. piy´ıhku
  c. piy´ıhku

- This is a DEE: “one process [Centralization Harmony]... creates the conditions for another process [labial-induced centralization of non-mid vowels]” (McCarthy 2003). 19.
- But standard approaches to DEEs do not work here.

⇒ Only *LAB+[ATR] favors the pretonic centralization in (7), and it is impotent (6b).

Approaches to DEEs

- Local Conjunction (Łubowicz 2002): *LAB+[ATR] triggers non-mid centralization only when IDENT(ATR) is violated.

(8) /piy´ıhku/ *[+hi, +ATR]# LICENSE[–[ATR]post-tonic, ŋ] IDENT
  a. piy´ıhku
  b. piy´ıhku
  c. piy´ıhku

- But the conjuncts must share a locus of violation. Abandoning this principle predicts unattested DEEs (Łubowicz 2002, McCarthy 2003).
- This condition is not met:
  - *LAB+[ATR] violated by pretonic labial-adjacent vowels
  - IDENT(ATR): violated by post-tonic vowels

⇒ *LAB+[ATR] & IDENT(ATR) is illicit.

- Comparative Markedness (McCarthy 2003): sMARKEDNESS penalizes only configurations not inherited from the input: derived configurations.
  - *[LAB+[ATR]] penalizes only derived labial/[+ATR] sequences.
  - But the derived environment that triggers Tudanca’s DEE—centralization harmony—doesn’t introduce new violations of *LAB+[ATR].

Summary

- Why is Tudanca’s DEE different?
  - The DEE’s locus does not overlap with the operation that triggers it.
- Why does Dep(−ATR) work?
  - Because of *[+hi, +ATR]# ⇒ Dep(−ATR), final vowels can centralize.
  - Once *[+hi, +ATR]# introduces [−ATR], it can be manipulated to satisfy other constraints ranked below Dep(−ATR).
  - Spreading violates IDENT(ATR) but not Dep(−ATR).

Dep[−ATR] provides an account of DEEs that are not confined to a single locus. It permits DEEs to manipulate features introduced by another processes, thereby confining DEEs to contexts in which the other process occurs.