

Cumulative constraint effects

To consider:

- What is the problem for classic OT seen in these data sets?
- What constraints could we conjoin in OT-LCC (Lubowicz 2002)?
- Can HG (Pater 2016) capture the desired gang effect (see Smith 2022)?

1. Standard German coda restrictions

data from Ito & Mester (2003); see Smith (2022) for OT-LC vs. HG

(1) Devoicing

/ta:g/	→	.ta:k.	'day'	cf. .ta:gə.	'days'	.tɛ:k.liç.	'daily'
/li:b/	→	.li:p.	'dear'	cf. .li:bən.	'to love'	.li:p.liç.	'lovely'
/moti:v/	→	.mo.ti:f.	'motive'	cf. .mo.ti:və.	'motives'	.mo.ti:fs.	'motive's'
/li:z/	→	.li:s.	'read', imp.	cf. .le:zən.	'to read'	.le:s.bar.	'readable'

- What alternation do we see here? How can we analyze it in terms of constraints?

(2) Coda clusters are allowed in general

/baŋk/	.baŋk.	'bank'
/hand/	.hant.	'hand'
/vɛst/	.vɛst.	'west'
/li:b+t/	.li:pt.	'love-3 _{SG.PRES} '

- What constraint ranking accounts for the fact that coda clusters appear?
- Is the ranking from (1) consistent with this data set?

(3) Cluster simplification for [ŋ] specifically (let's call the constraint *VELARNC)

Cluster simplification

/dɪftɔŋg/	→	.dɪf.tɔŋ.	'diphthong'	cf. .dɪf.tɔŋ.gi:rən.	'to diphthongize'
/monɔftɔŋg/	→	.mo.nɔf.tɔŋ.	'monophthong'	cf. .mo.nɔf.tɔŋ.gal.	'monophthongal'
/Rɪŋg/	→	.Rɪŋ.	'ring'		
/ɛŋg/	→	.ɛŋ.	'narrow'		
/laŋg/	→	.laŋ.	'long'		
/laŋgmut/	→	.laŋ.mu:t.	'patience'		
/dɪŋg/	→	.dɪŋ.	'thing'	cf. .dɪŋks.bumps.	'thingamajig'

2. Northern German coda restrictions

data from Ito & Mester (2003); see Smith (2022) for OT-LC vs. HG

(4) Final /g/ in a northern German variety

a. /g/ /tso:ɡ/ → [tso:x], *[tso:k] cf. [tso:ɡ-ən] ‘pulled.1SG/-1PL’
/tru:ɡ/ → [tru:x], *[tru:k] [tru:ɡ-ən] ‘carried.1SG/-1PL’
/fly:ɡ/ → [flu:x], *[flu:k] [fly:ɡ-ə] ‘flight.SG/-PL’

vs.

b. /k/ /dɪk/ → [dɪk], *[dɪx] [dɪk-ə] ‘thick.PRED/-ATTRIB.PL’
(Ito and Mester 2003:274, 291)

- Other final-devoicing patterns are like Standard German

References

- Ito, Junko, and Armin Mester. 2003. On the sources of opacity in OT: Coda processes in German. In Caroline Féry and Ruben van de Vijver (eds.), *The syllable in Optimality Theory*, 271-303. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Łubowicz, Anna. 2002. Derived environment effects in Optimality Theory. *Lingua* 112: 243-280.
- Smith, Jennifer L. 2022. Some formal implications of deletion saltation. *Linguistic Inquiry* 53(4): 852-864.