

Synchronic typology of metrical systems

Day 2:
Moraic Phonology

Björn Köhnlein
Leiden University
EGG School 2014, Debrecen
05-08-2014

What we did yesterday...

Some of the most important phonetic correlates of stress

- Attraction of (intonational) tones
- Higher pitch
- Longer duration / lengthening of stressed syllables
- Higher intensity
- Lenition in unstressed syllables (reduction / deletion)
- Fortition in stressed syllables (vowels / consonants)

Day-to-day program

- Monday – Introduction / phonetic correlates of stress
- Tuesday – Moraic Phonology
- Wednesday – Foot inventory
- Thursday – Foot inventory II
- Friday – Metrical structure in Optimality Theory

Moraic phonology

- Where does moraic phonology come from?
- What are moras, and why / how are people using them?
- It all started with the rediscovery of syllable structure in (generative) phonology and the introduction of the CV tier

Arguments for the CV tier

- Language game: Luganda – Ludikya (Clements 1986)
- Taken from Gussenhoven & Jacobs 2011 (like some other examples)

Luganda – Ludikya

Luganda

mukono

mubinikilo

baana

ɣɣuba

kiwoɣɣolo

kubaɣɣa

Ludikya

nokomu

lokinibimu

naaba

bbaju

loɣowwoki

ɣabakku

‘arm’

‘funnel’

‘children’

‘dove’

‘butterfly’

‘to work in wood’

Luganda – Ludikya

b a n a
| ^ | |
C V V C V
| v | |
n a b a

k u b a ɟ a
| | | | ^ |
C V C V C C V
| | | | v |
ɟ a b a k u

Luganda – Ludikya

- Provides evidence that (vowel) length is not a feature like [+long] but follows from more abstract representations (e.g. two V-slots)

The skeletal tier

- Skeletal slots between the segments and the syllable: CV slots
- C = syllable margin (consonant)
- V = syllable peak (vowel)

Further arguments for the CV tier

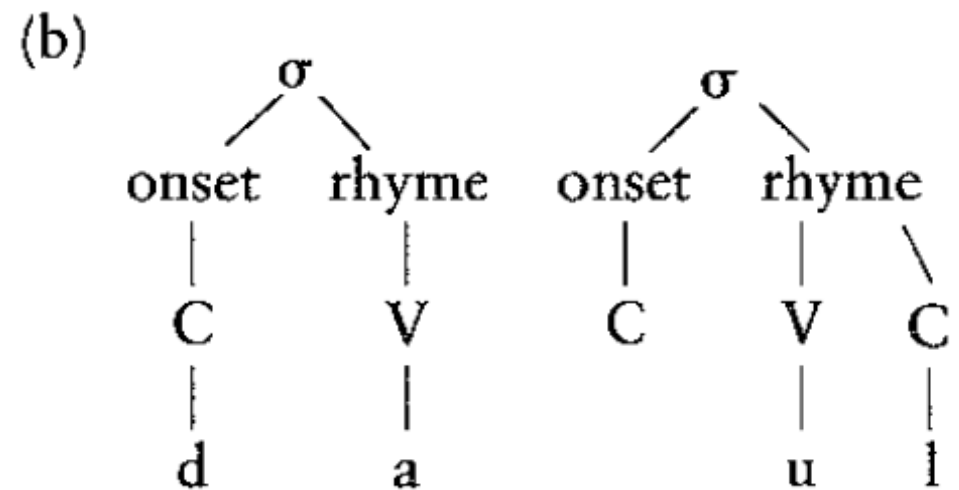
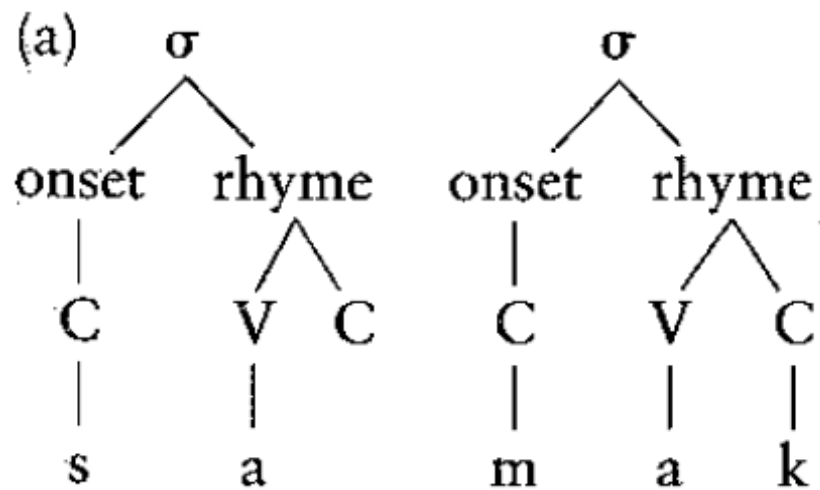
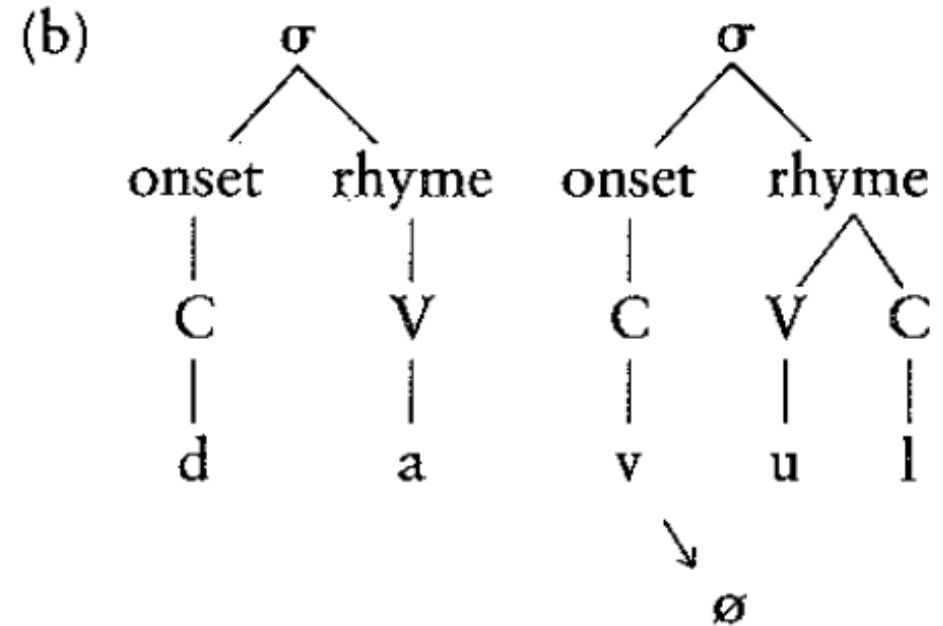
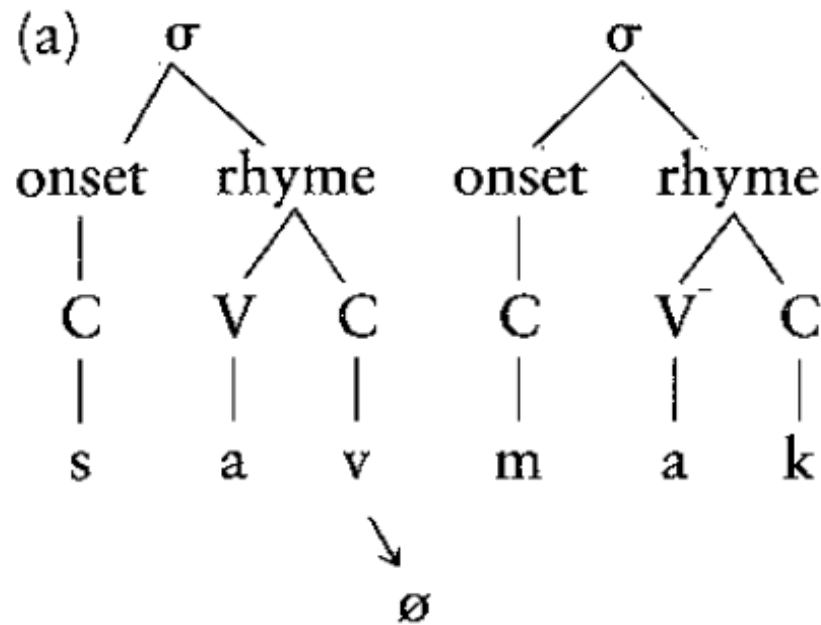
- Compensatory lengthening
- When a segment gets lost, an adjacent segment can take over its skeletal position
- Result: lengthening

Ingwaeonic → English

- gans ga:s goose
- fimf fi:f five
- tanth ta:th tooth
- munth mu:th mouth

- x x → x x
| | | /
a n a n

CL in Turkish (based on Sezer 1986)



CL in Turkish (based on Sezer 1986)

- [savmak] → [sa:mak]
- [davul] → [daul], *[da:ul], *[dau:l]

CL in Latin (Hayes 1989)

*kasnus	→	ka:nus	‘gray’
*kosmis	→	ko:mis	‘courteous’
*fideslia	→	fide:lia	‘pot’
*smereo:	→	mereo:	‘deserve-1 sg.-pres.’
*snurus	→	nurus	‘daughter-in-law’
*slu:brikus	→	lu:brikus	‘slippery’

Problems for the CV tier

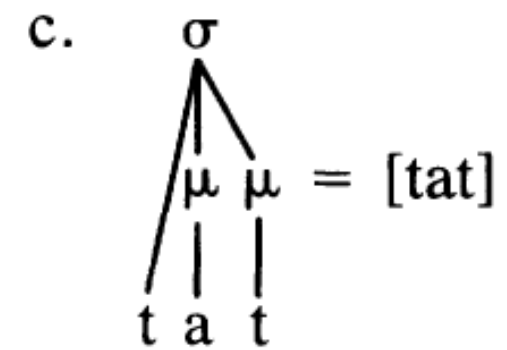
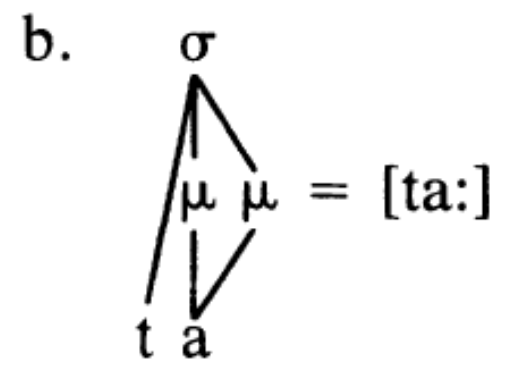
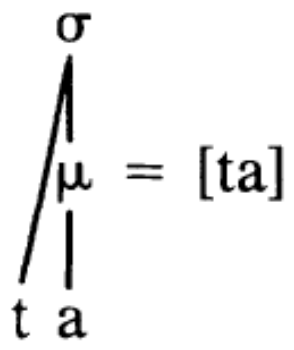
- Hayes 1989 points out that the skeletal tier cannot account for two phenomena:
 1. Compensatory Lengthening usually occurs when a segment from the rhyme gets deleted but not when a segment from the onset is deleted.
 2. Many languages distinguish syllables on the basis of **quantity**. Here again, onsets usually do not contribute to weight.

Possible solution: moras

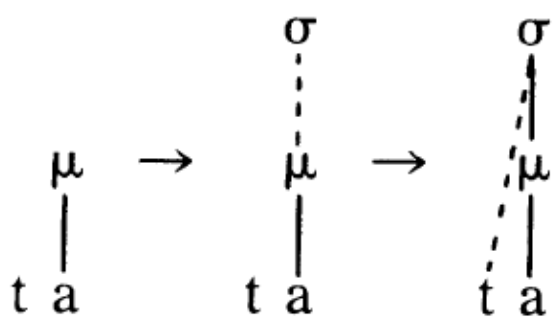
- Hyman 1985 and Hayes 1989 propose moras as an intermediate level between segments and syllables
- Syllable weight distinguishes between monomoraic (= **light**) syllables and bimoraic (= **heavy**) syllables
- Onsets are always non-moraic
- Codas may or may not be moraic
- (This is a stipulation)
- (Some people believe that onsets can be moraic as well; cf. work by Topintzi)

Draw the representations

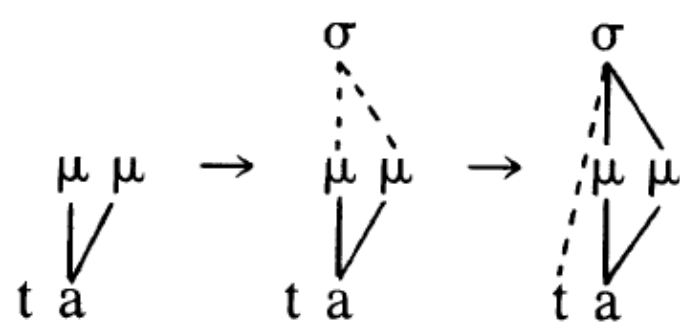
- Monomoraic: [ta]
- Bimoraic: [ta:]
- Bimoraic: [tat]



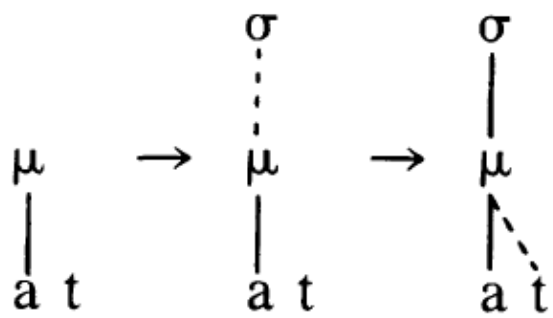
a.



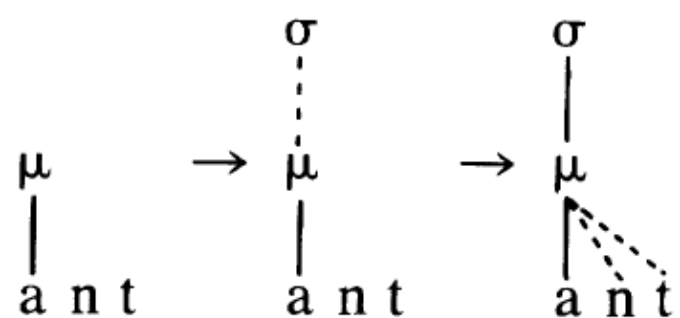
b.



c.



d.

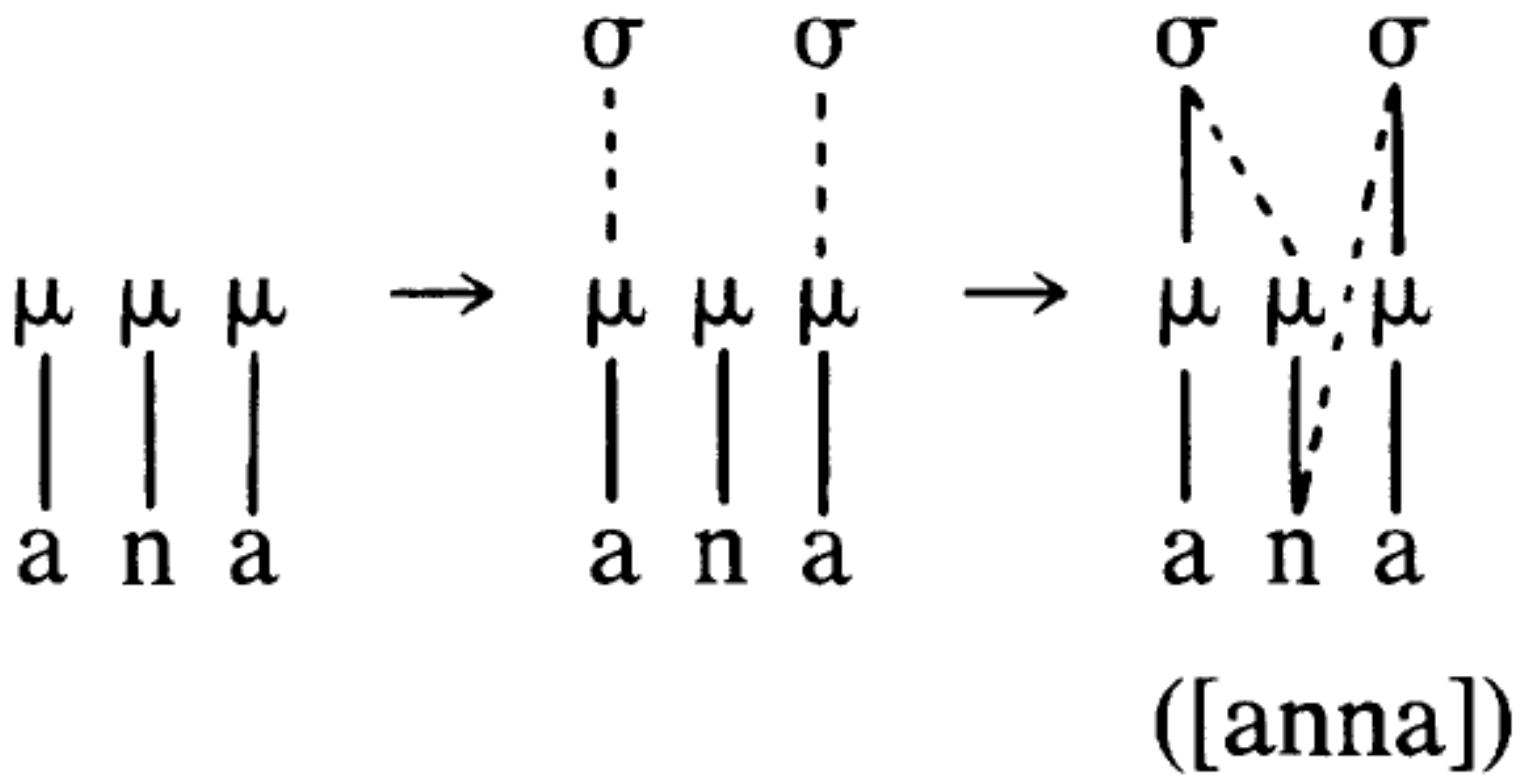


Geminates

$$\begin{array}{c} \mu \\ | \\ n \end{array} = /nn/$$

How will this word
be syllabified?

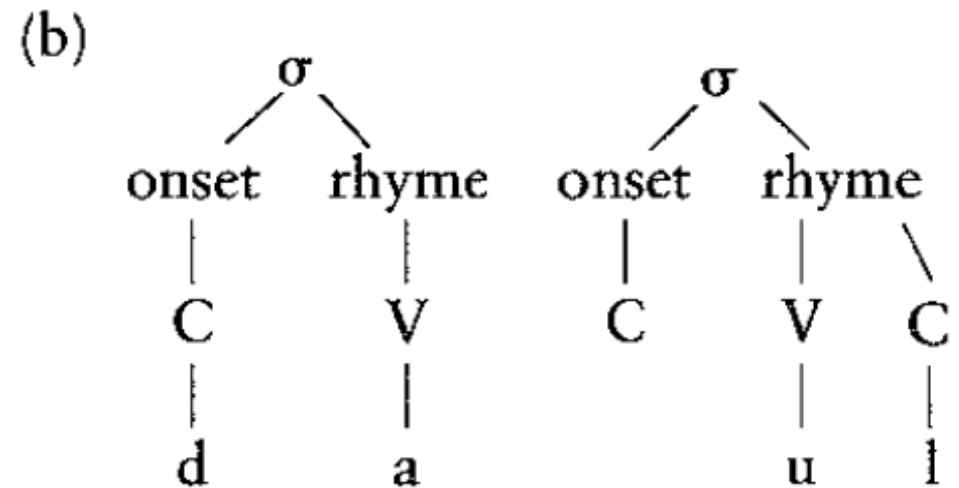
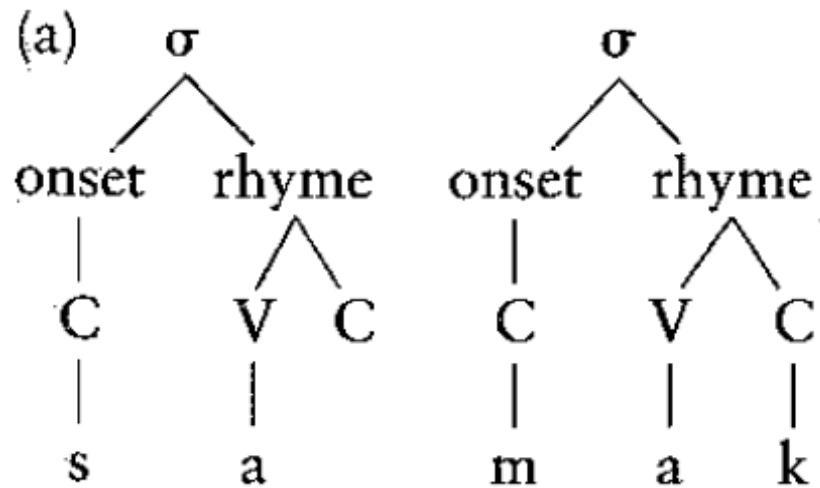
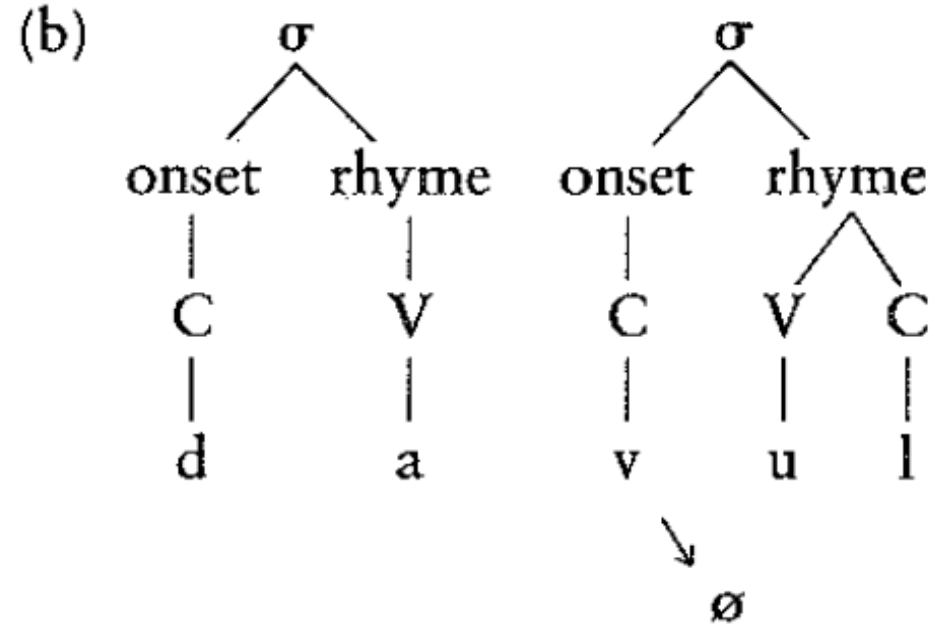
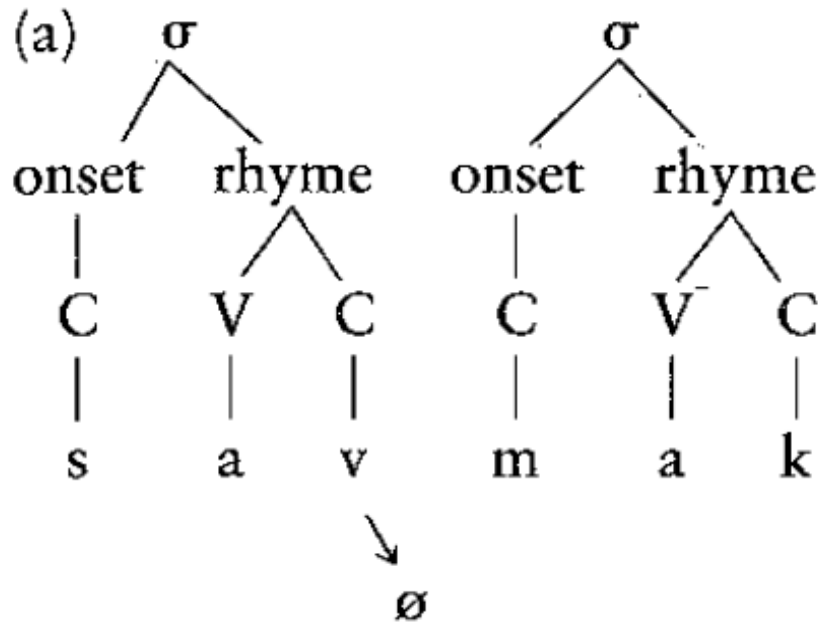
μ μ μ
| | |
a n a



And how...

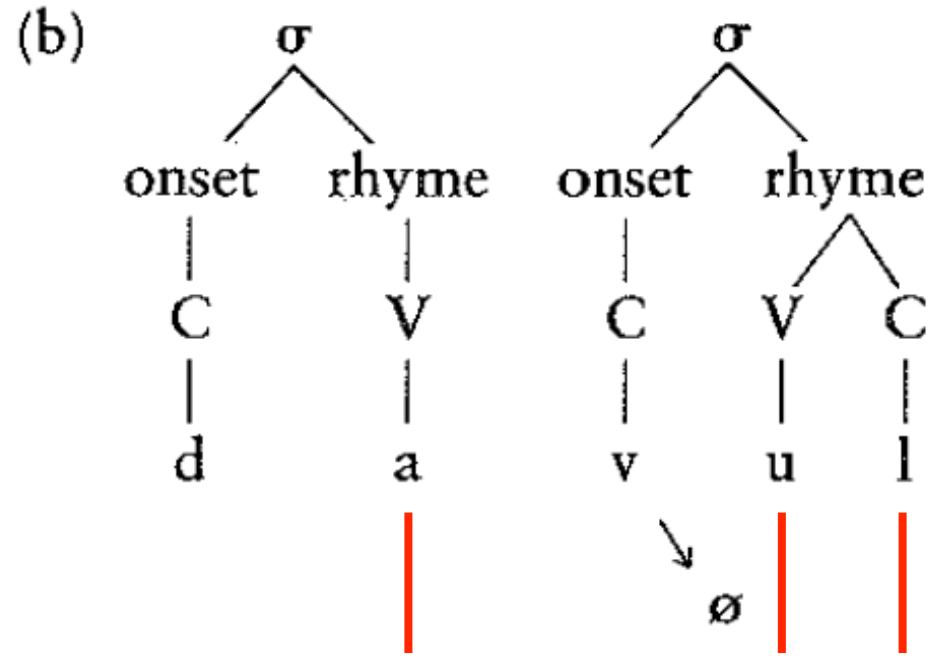
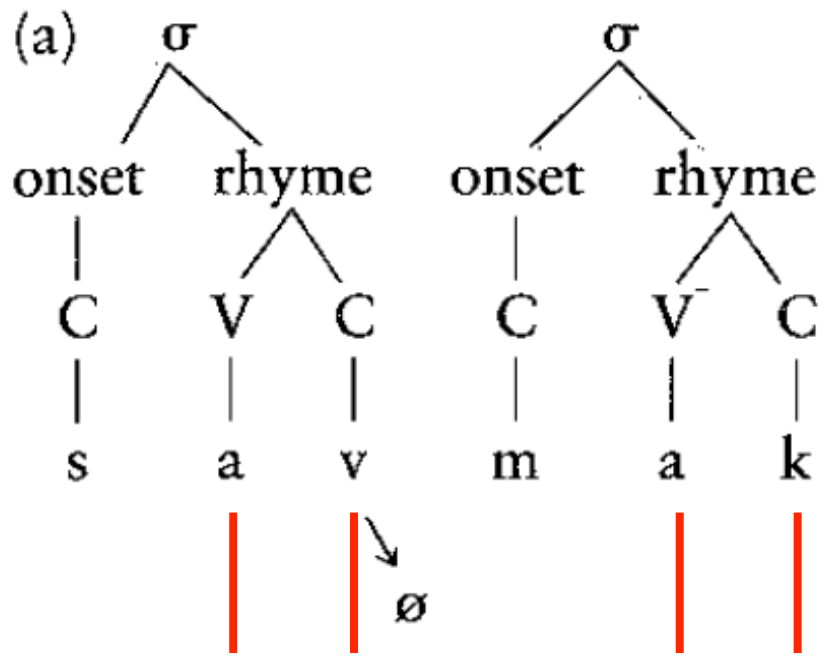
- does one do compensatory lengthening with moras?

CL in Turkish (based on Sezer 1986)



CL in Turkish

- CL takes place if the disappearing segment had a mora
- If it had no mora, we will not find CL

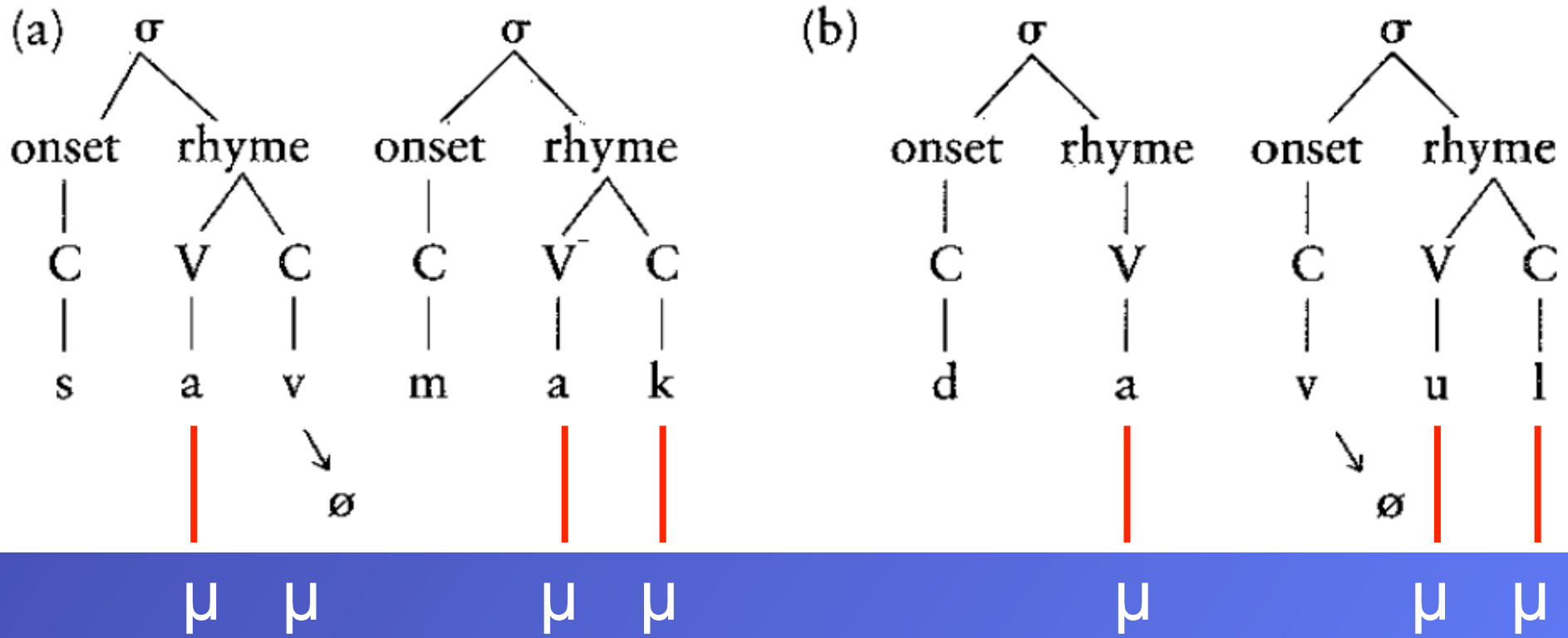


μ μ

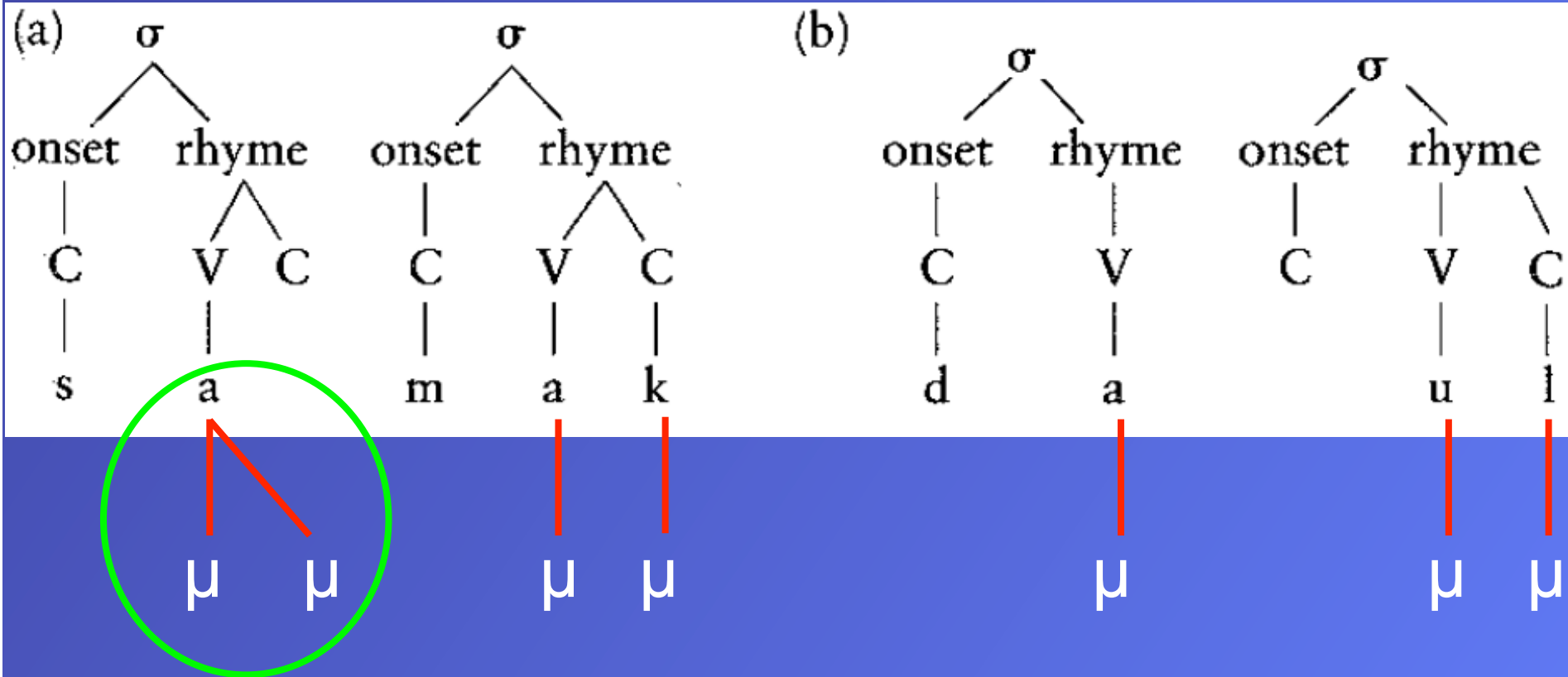
μ μ

μ

μ μ



Segment deletes, μ = floating

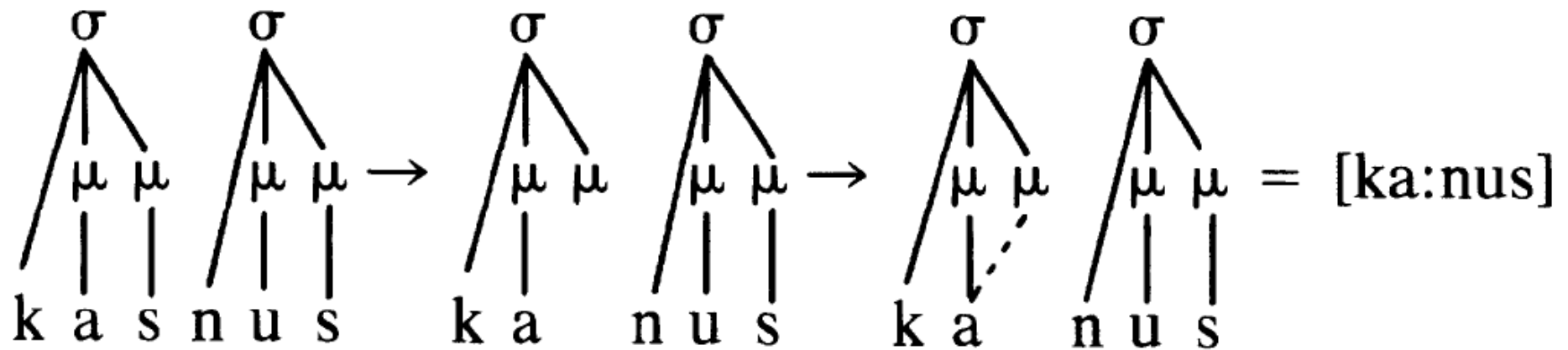


Mora reassociates with preceding vowel

CL in Latin (Hayes 1989)

*kasnus	→	ka:nus	‘gray’
*kosmis	→	ko:mis	‘courteous’
*fideslia	→	fide:lia	‘pot’
*smereo:	→	mereo:	‘deserve-1 sg.-pres.’
*snurus	→	nurus	‘daughter-in-law’
*slu:brikus	→	lu:brikus	‘slippery’

CL in Latin (Hayes 1989)



CL in Latin (Hayes 1989)

