

Linking-r in Eastern Massachusetts and Optimality Theory

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Background

- Early phonological analyses
 - ◆ Johansson (1973)
 - ◆ McCarthy (1993)
 - ◆ Harris (1994)
 - ◆ Anttila and Cho (1998)
- More current data-oriented work
 - ◆ Hay and Sudbury (2005) and references
 - ◆ Irwin and Nagy (2007)
 - ◆ etc.

Background

- Some phonological patterns remain constant across dialects (e.g. _C vs. _V)
- Some phonological patterns vary across dialects (e.g. neighboring V quality)

Our Goal

- Show how these two kinds of patterns can be separated in an Optimality Theoretic analysis
- We illustrate this by two case studies of linking-*r* variation in Bostonian English.

Outline

- Data set 1: John F. Kennedy (1960)
- An OT model (Prince and Smolensky 1993)
- Data set 2: 7 more Bostonians (2005)

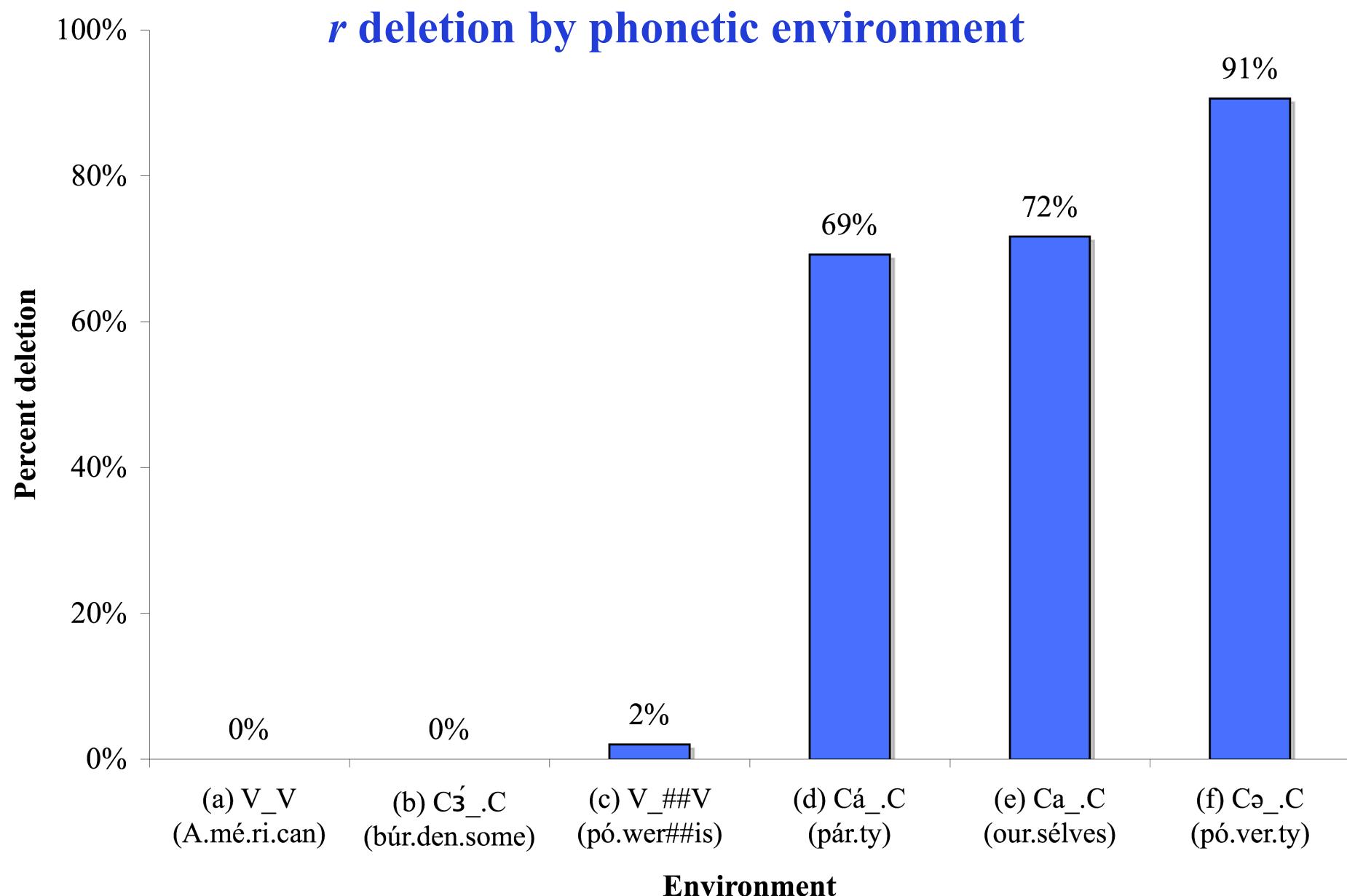
Coding

- Kennedy's (1960) nomination acceptance speech
 - ◆ Data coded impressionistically (Bernard 2007)
 - Presence vs. absence of *r*
 - Preceding V quality, level of stress
- 7 middle-aged to senior Bostonian speakers (2005)
 - ◆ Coded for several internal & external variables by course participants at LSA Institute (Eckert and Mendoza-Denton 2005)

JFK: Results 1

Environment	Deletion frequency	Examples
(a) V_V, word-medially	0/41 0%	<i>Américan</i>
(b) _C, primary stress, after central vowel	0/13 0%	<i>búrdensome, prefér that</i>
(c) V_V, word-finally	1/49 2%	<i>pówer is</i>
(d) _C, primary stress, after non-central vowel	36/52 69%	<i>párty, yóur help</i>
(e) _C no primary stress, after non-central vowel	43/60 72%	<i>oursélves, your cíties</i>
(f) _C no primary stress, after central vowel	58/64 91%	<i>póverty, were bóldest</i>

JFK: Results 2



A Simple OT Model

OT Constraints

- **MAX:** No deletion
- **ONSET:** Have an onset
- The less prominent the syllable, the worse the coda
 - ◆ ***C/U:** No coda in unstressed syllables
 - ◆ ***C/US:** No coda in unstressed or secondary-stressed syllables
 - ◆ ***C/USP:** No coda in unstressed, secondary-stressed, or primary-stressed syllables

The Tableau

Underlying form	Candidates	Constraints				
		MAX	ONSET	*C/USP	*C/US	*C/U
(a) A.mé.rí.can	(1) A.mé.rí.can					
	(2) A.mé.[r]í.can	*	*			
(b) búr.den.some	(1) búr.den.some					
	(2) bú[r].den.some	*				
(c) pó.we.r##is	(1) pó.we.r##is					
	(2) pó.we.[r]##is	*	*			
(d) pár.ty	(1) pár.ty			*		
	(2) pá[r].ty	*				
(e) our.sélves	(1) our.sélves			*	*	
	(2) ou[r].sélves	*				
(f) pó.ver.ty	(1) pó.ver.ty			*	*	*
	(2) pó.ve[r].ty	*				

Variation in OT

- Assumption 1: Variation arises from multiple grammars within/across individuals.
- Assumption 2: The number of grammars predicting a variant is proportional to that variant's output frequency.

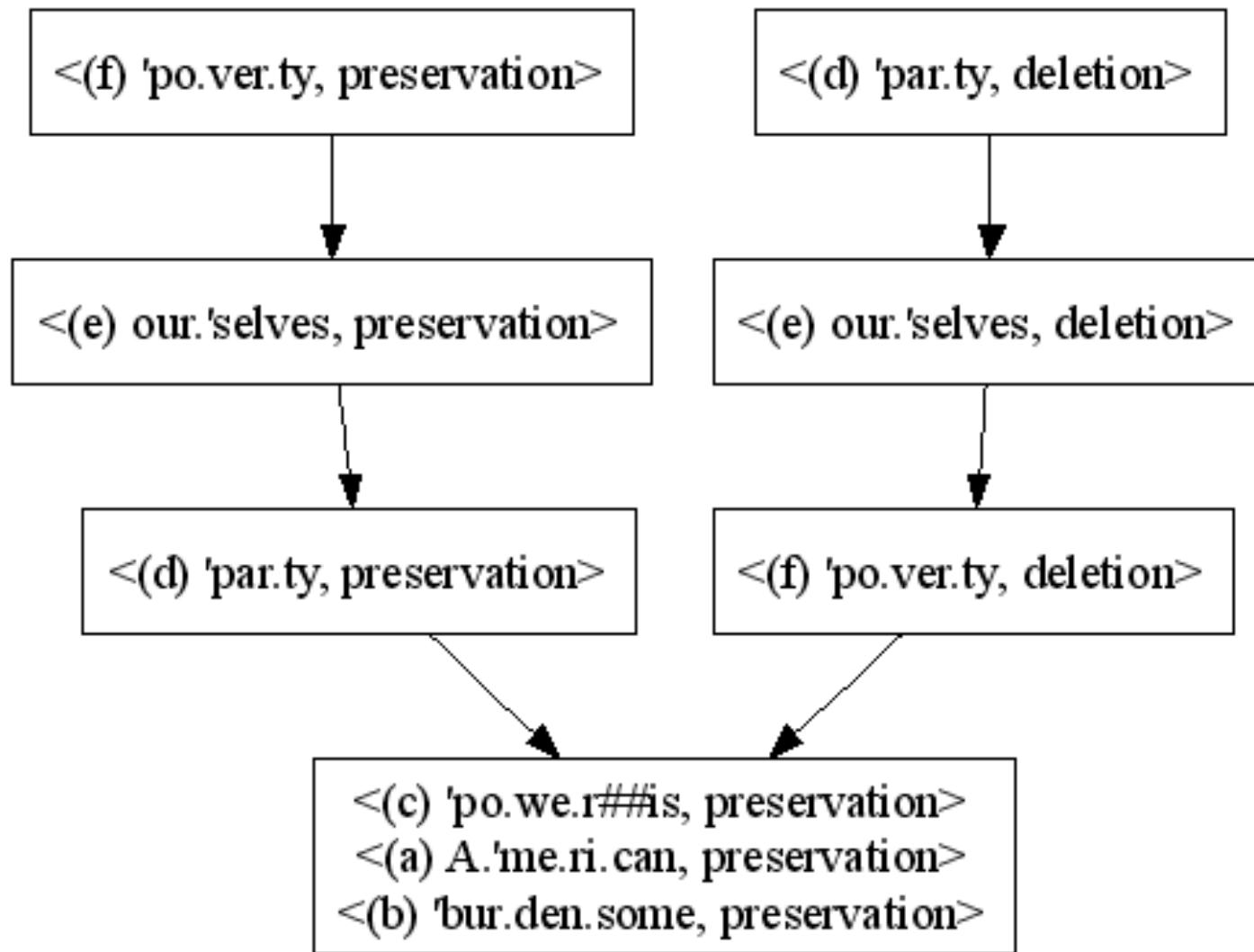
4 Possible Grammars

Generated by OTSoft (Hayes, Tesar, & Zuraw 2003)

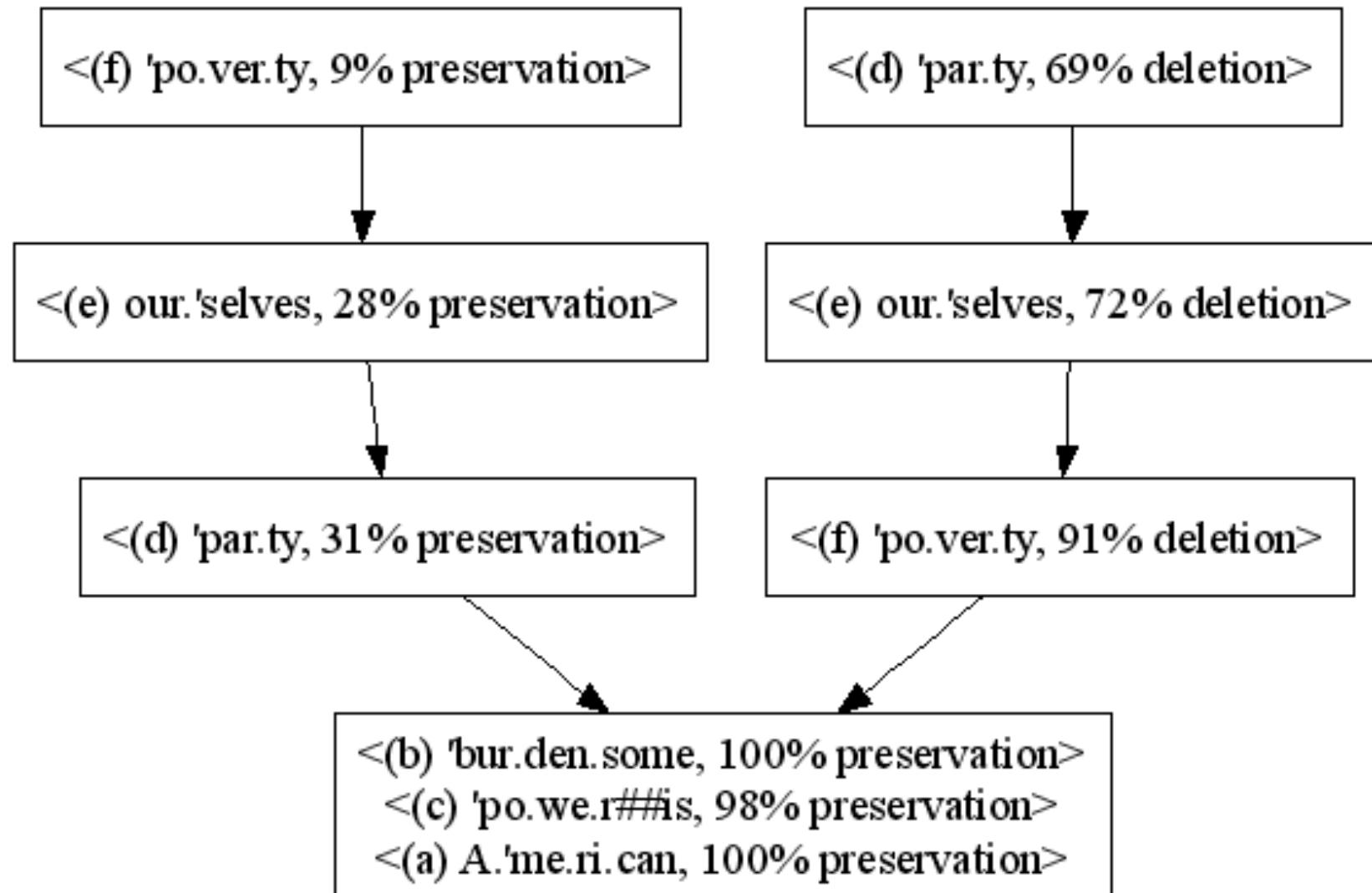
	Env. A <i>A.mé.rí.can</i>	Env. B <i>búr.den.some</i>	Env. C <i>pó.we.r##is</i>	Env. D <i>pár.ty</i>	Env. E <i>our.sélves</i>	Env. F <i>pó.ver.ty</i>
Grammar 1	r	r	r	r	r	r
Grammar 2	r	r	r	r	r	Ø
Grammar 3	r	r	r	r	Ø	Ø
Grammar 4	r	r	r	Ø	Ø	Ø

Implicational Universals: a T-Order

(Anttila & Andrus 2006)



Linking-*r* Frequencies: JFK

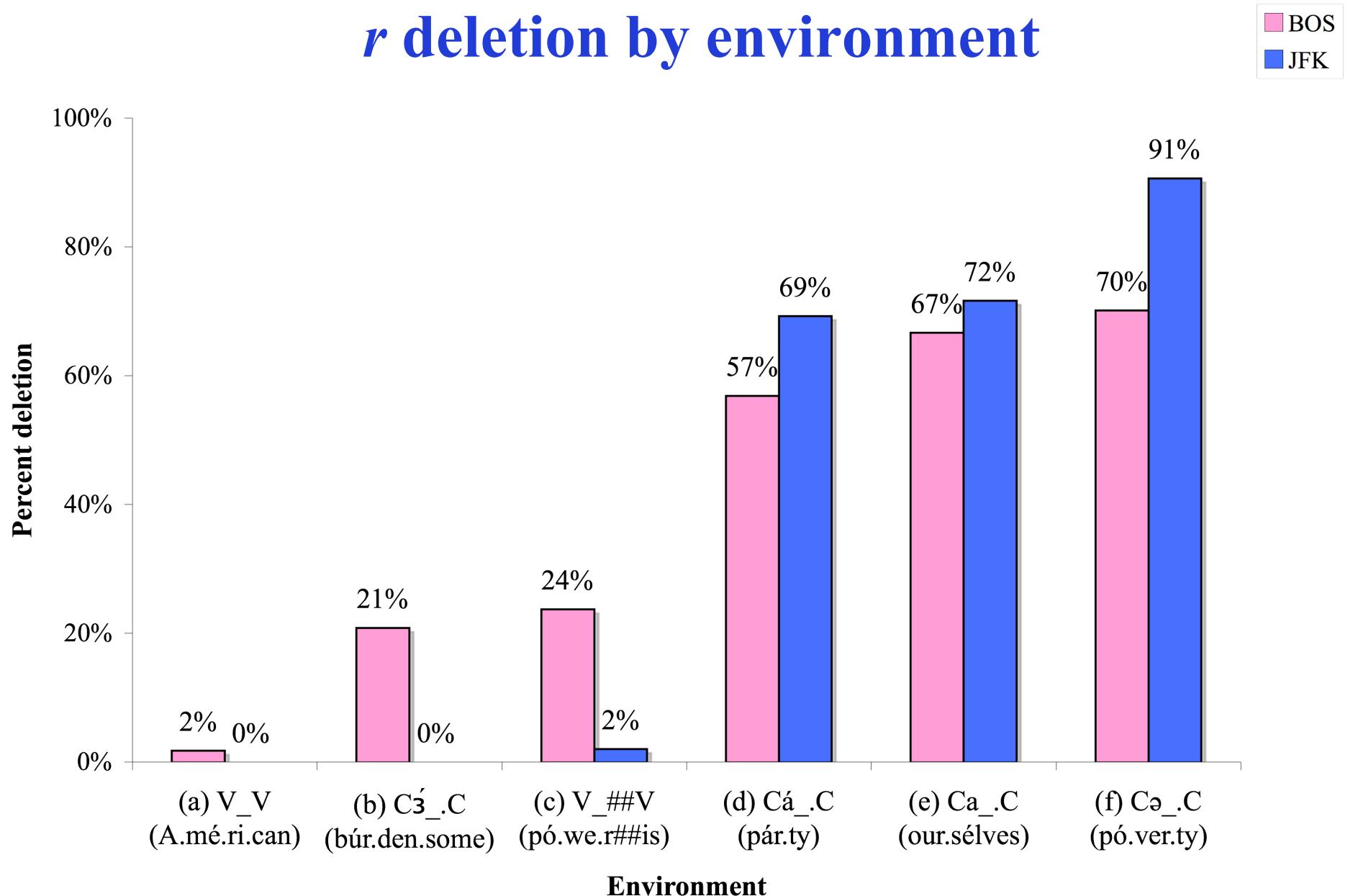


7 More Bostonians

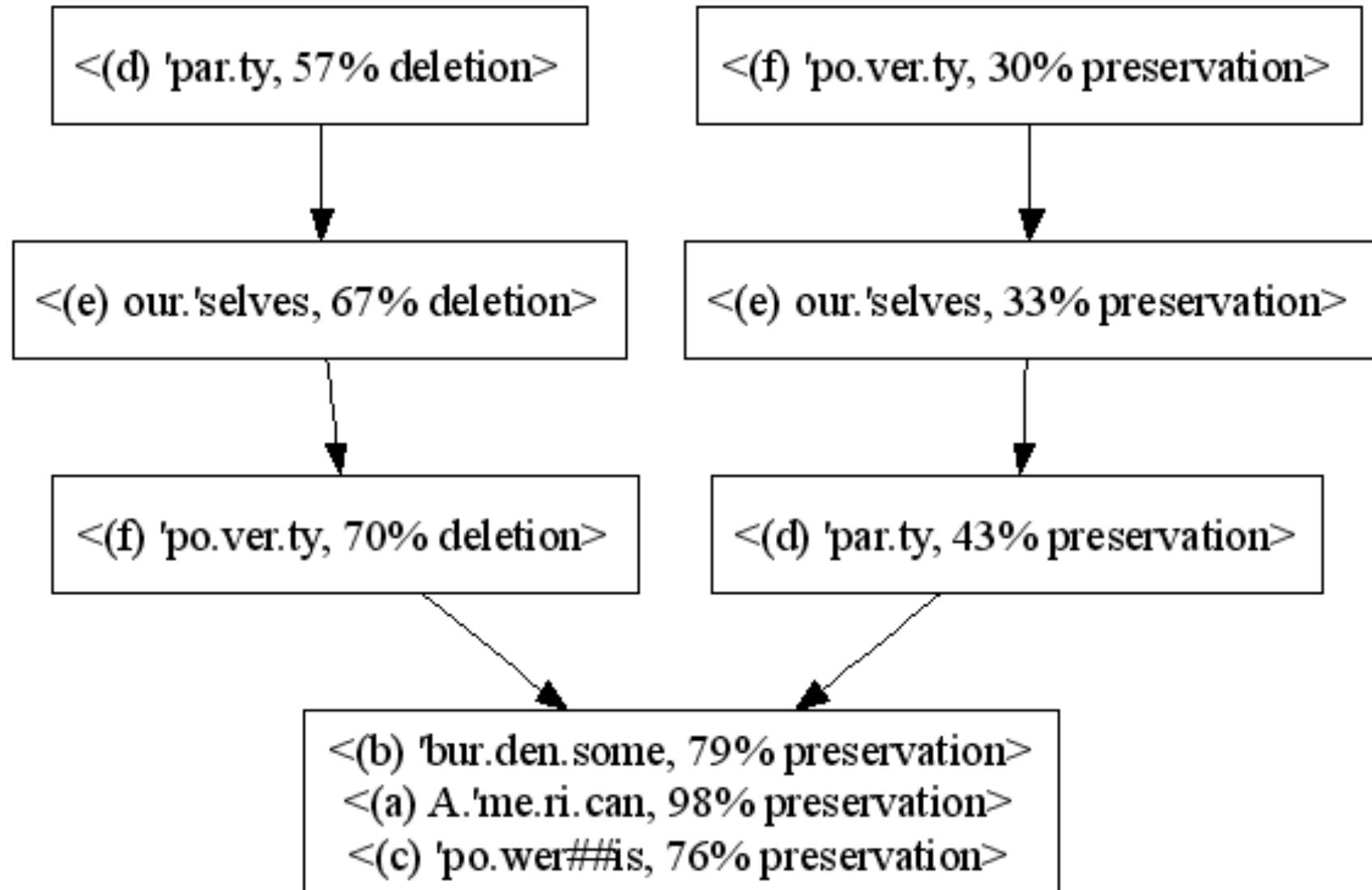
Environment	Deletion frequency	Examples
(a) V_V, word-medially	1/56 2%	<i>Américan</i>
(b) _C, primary stress, after central vowel	58/279 21%	<i>búrdensome, prefér that</i>
(c) V_V, word-finally	126/532 24%	<i>pówer is</i>
(d) _C, primary stress, after non-central vowel	475/835 57%	<i>párty, yóur help</i>
(e) _C no primary stress, after non-central vowel	96/144 67%	<i>oursélves, your cíties</i>
(f) _C no primary stress, after central vowel	415/592 70%	<i>póverty, were bóldest</i>

BOS v. JFK:

r deletion by environment



Linking-*r* Frequencies: BOS



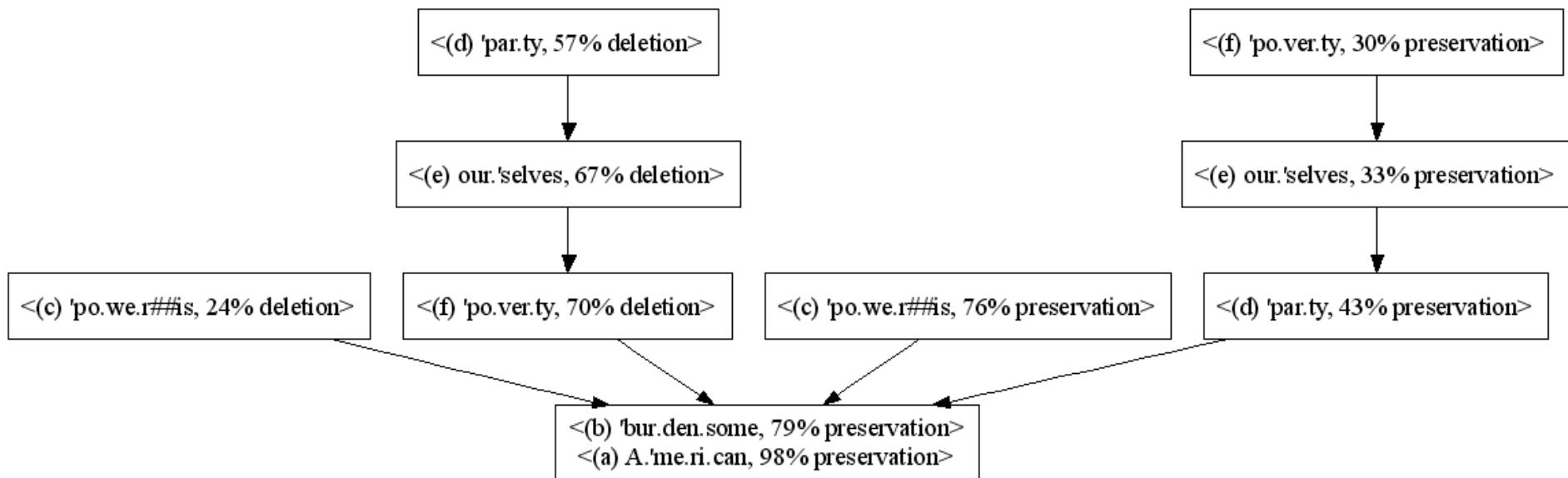
Problem: Linking-*r* preservation in environments (a) & (c)

	JFK	BOS
(a) <i>American</i>	100%	98%
(c) <i>power is</i>	98%	76%

- are predicted to behave identically

Solution

ALIGN-LEFT-WORD (McCarthy & Prince 1993)
will favor linking-*r* deletion word-finally.



Conclusions

- We have suggested an explanation for why some phonological patterns remain constant across dialects, whereas others vary.
- An OT analysis predicts that some quantitative patterns are necessary, whereas some hold depending on the constraint ranking.

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