

A scalar constraint approach to the typology of loanword adaptation

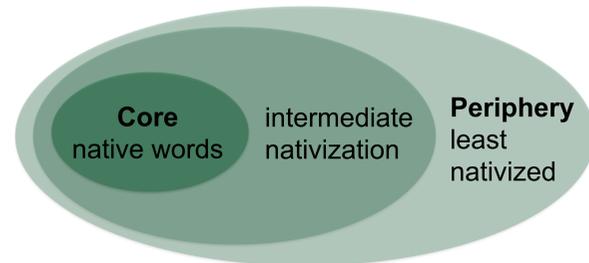


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1. Patterns of loanword adaptation

Phonological systems often impose different restrictions on native vs. non-native words.



- A. Superset-at-periphery:** Less nativized loanwords allow a **greater range** of marked structures than native words. (Paradis & Lebel 1994, Itô & Mester 1995)
- B. Subset-at-periphery:** Less nativized loanwords allow a **smaller range** of marked structures than native words. (Kenstowicz 1995)
- C. Divergent repairs:** Loanword classes **differ in the repairs** used to avoid marked structures. (Kang 1996, Peperkamp et al. 2008)

All of these patterns are **implicational**

- If a process applies at some stratum s of nativization, but fails to apply at stratum $s + 1$, it fails to apply at all strata beyond $s + 1$.

Claim: Harmonic Grammar with scalar constraints can capture all of these patterns of adaptation.

2. Scalar constraints

In Harmonic Grammar (Legendre et al. 1990, Smolensky & Legendre 2006) constraints are **weighted**.

- Proposal:** A scaling factor s is added to the basic constraint weight w . The value of s increases with distance from the core.
- Distance from the core is continuous, with the core assigned a distance value d of 0.
- The penalty assigned by a constraint $C = w + s(d)$

Example:

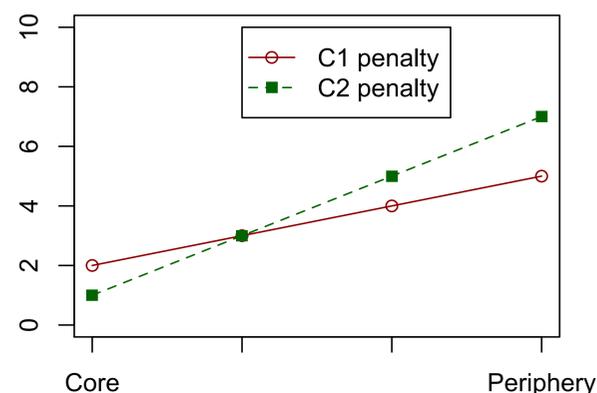
- C1 weight = 2
- C1 scaling factor = 1
- C2 weight = 1
- C2 scaling factor = 2

At the **core**:

- C1 penalty = $2 + 1(0) = 2$
- C2 penalty = $1 + 2(0) = 1$

At distance $d = 3$:

- C1 penalty = $2 + 1(3) = 5$
- C2 penalty = $1 + 2(3) = 7$



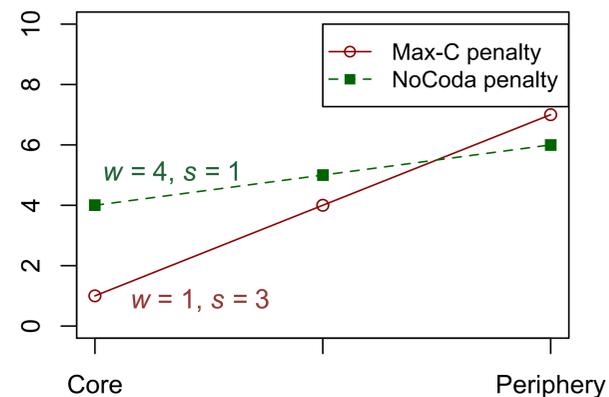
3. Analysis of stratum sensitivity in Harmonic Grammar with scalar constraints

A. Superset-at-periphery

Guaraní: Nativized Spanish loanwords undergo coda deletion; recent borrowings permit codas. (Pinta 2013)

- Less nativized loanwords allow codas, but native words do not.

/kárlos/ → [ka.ló] 'Carlos' **MAX-C** violated
/lúnes/ → [lú.ne] 'Monday' **MAX-C** violated
/ensaláða/ → [en.sa.lá.ða] 'salad' **NOCODA** violated



Weighting conditions for analysis of superset-at-periphery patterns:

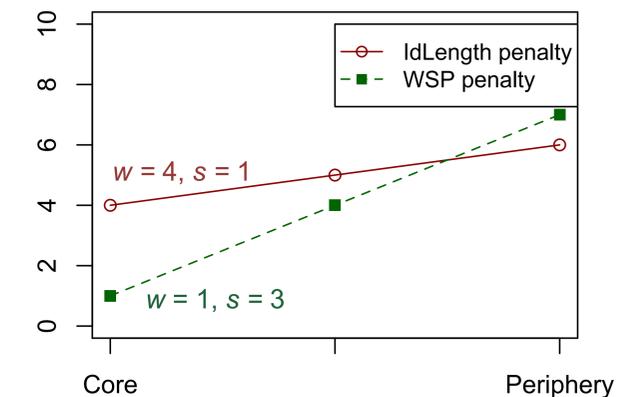
$w(M) > w(F)$, but F has a larger scaling factor, so the faithfulness penalty exceeds the markedness penalty beyond some distance from the core d .

B. Subset-at-periphery

Hungarian: Nativized loanwords show contrastive gemination; recent loanwords require gemination following short stressed vowels. (Nádasdy 1989 Magyar 2014)

- Less nativized loanwords do not have fully-contrastive geminates, but native words do.

/lop/ → [lɒp] 'piece of paper' **WSP** violated
/klip/ → [klip:] 'video clip' **IDENTLENGTH** violated



Weighting conditions for analysis of subset-at-periphery patterns:

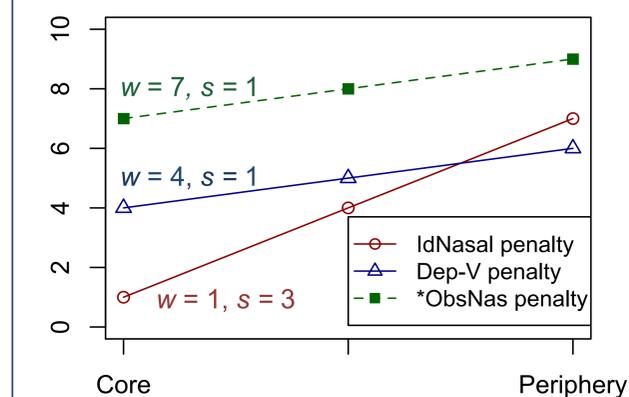
$w(F) > w(M)$, but M has a larger scaling factor, so the markedness penalty exceeds the faithfulness penalty beyond some distance from the core d .

C. Divergent repairs

Korean: Obstruent + nasal sequences are repaired by obstruent nasalization in native and Sino-Korean words, and by vowel epenthesis in recent borrowings. (Kang 1996)

- Some loanword classes use nasalization repairs, while others use epenthesis

/kuk-mul/ → [kʌŋmul] 'soup' **IDENTNASAL** violated
/kuk-min/ → [kʌŋmin] 'people' **IDENTNASAL** violated
/pʰɪknɪk/ → [pʰɪknɪk] 'picnic' **DEP-V** violated



Weighting conditions for analysis of divergent repair patterns:

$w(F1) > w(F2)$, but $F2$ has a larger scaling factor, so the relative faithfulness penalties are reversed beyond some distance from the core d .

4. Discussion

In HG, each pattern of adaptation is predicted if violations are scaled based on distance from the core.

- Patterns arise through conflict between constraints that favor vs. disfavor repair, or constraints that favor different repairs.
- These patterns are always **implicational**.

...Relative penalties assigned by pairs of conflicting constraints can be inverted **only once** between the core and the periphery.

Approaches in OT with ranked constraints (Prince & Smolensky 1993) **overgenerate**.

Ex.: Unattested, non-implicational Korean' pattern where repair choice 'skips' a level.

Native /kuk-mul/ → [kʌmmul] 'soup' **nasalization**
Sino-Kor. /kuk-min/ → [kʌkɪmin] 'people' **epenthesis**
Foreign /pʰɪknɪk/ → [pʰɪknɪk] 'picnic' **nasalization**

This pattern is predicted by indexed constraint ranking:

*OBSNAS >> DEP_F >> IDNASAL_F >> IDNASAL_{S-K} >> DEP_{S-K} >> DEP_N >> IDNASAL_N

- Indexed constraint approaches require metaconditions to prevent arbitrary constraint rerankings across strata. (Itô & Mester 1995, 1999, 2001)

- Learners must posit a potentially unbounded number of indexed constraint strata. (Hsu & Jesney to appear)

- These problems are obviated in HG with weighted scalar constraints.

See handout for references

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