Refining the Contrastivist Hypothesis

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Acknowledgement

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- Full specification: Both contrastive and redundant features are present in the input to P rules (Stanley 1967).
- Radical Underspecification: Redundant features are initially absent, but filled in as the derivation progresses (Archangeli 1988).
- Parametric Visibility: Any given rule may refer to
 - all features, or
 - only contrastive features, or
 - only marked feature values (Nevins 2005).

The Contrastivist Hypothesis Stating the hypothesis

• One attempt at formulating the most restrictive theory:

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- But what does 'operate on' mean, exactly?
- It can't just be a restriction on the input to the phonology; non-contrastive features could (by definition!) be filled in by rule, as in RU.
- On the other hand, the phonology can't be limited to spreading and delinking features that are already there....

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- Canadian raising does not seem to be characterizable as the spreading of a contrastive feature from a following voiceless consonant to the diphthong.
 - (Maybe it could be treated as delinking of contrastive [low].)
- But we can tell that Canadian raising must be part of the phonological computation.

Raising and flapping	
U.R.	writer rider /ɹajt+əɹ/ /ɹajd+əɹ/



Raising and flapping			
	writer	rider	
U.R.	/ɹajt+əɹ/	/ıəjd+əı/	
Canadian Raising	٦vjtəл		
Flapping	reJVr	Lejler	

Raising and flap	oping			
		writer	rider	
	U.R.	/ıajt+əı/	/ıajd+əı/	
	Canadian Raising	٦ <mark>٨</mark> jtəл		
	Flapping	ıkjrəl	, kenjek	
	S.F.	[גפונאג]	[גפיונפג]	

Raising crucially applies before flapping (Chambers 1973: 121):

Raising and flapping				
		writer	rider	
	U.R.	/ɹajt+əɹ/	/ıajd+əı/	
_	Canadian Raising	٦vjtəл		
	Flapping	גר <mark>ז</mark> נאג	, kenjek	
_	S.F.	[גקונא]	[kenjek]	

If raising were phonetic, we would not expect this kind of counterbleeding pattern to be possible.

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"Leslie" Josh Finlayson/Andy Maize/Wayne Stokes Skydiggers, *Skydiggers* (1990)



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- This would involve something like van Oostendorp's (2007) theory of Coloured Containment:
 - Each piece of underlying structure has an indelible 'colour' identifying its morphological affiliation.
 - Non-underlying structure is 'colourless'.
 - In this adaptation, colourless features can be introduced, but not subsequently referred to, by phonological rules.

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- In this system, prophylactic features are simply the result of redundancy rules that crucially apply before some other process.
- Like all other non-contrastive features, prophylactic features are invisible to subsequent phonological computation (but are phonetically interpretable).

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- This suggests that phonology needs to be able to see (and spread) redundant features, rather than merely supplying them to the phonetics.

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- We can distinguish two types of predictable features:
 - Paradigmatically predictable features
 - Can be predicted from other features of the same segment alone
 - Not dependent on context
 - Inaccessible to further phonological computation
 - Syntagmatically predictable features
 - Cannot be predicted from other features of the same segment alone
 - Inserted only in a particular context
 - Accessible to further phonological computation

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- No single constraint can be held responsible for the introduction of any feature.
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- This is unfortunate, because Modified Contrastive Specification is not otherwise incompatible with OT (Mackenzie & Dresher 2003).

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- The first option is more restrictive in the information it allows the phonological computation to see...
- ... but also less restrictive in that it does not require the computation to use rules rather than constraints.
- So let's try that first, then.

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