

Illusory Strata

In this talk I demonstrate that variable phonological rule application in Ojibwe, Malagasy and Turkish do not find tenable solutions within a stratal account (OT or otherwise). Even though each of these phonological patterns is demonstrably affected by cyclic application of rules/constraints, in each of these cases it is clearly apparent that the various methods employed by the phonology to repair illicit sequences all fall within the phonological domain (PWd) (1-3).

(1) Hiatus resolution

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|---|--|
| a. n ^ó :komìs 'my grandmother' | b. ní ^d odè:nimà: 'I am jealous of her' |
| ni-o:komis | ni-i-ode:n-im-a: |
| 1-GRANDMOTHER | 1-BE JEALOUS-FINAL-TS(3 THEME) |

(2) NC cluster repair

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|---------------------------|--|
| a. mamatra 'y measures x' | b. ma ^m pifatra 'z makes x be measured' |
| m+an+fatra | m+an+f+i+fatra |
| EVENT-CAUSE-MEASURE | EVENT-CAUSE-EVENT-INTRANS.-MEASURE |

(3) Stress assignment

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|---|---|
| a. gidecé ^k tim 'I will have gone' | b. gö ^r d ^ú m 'I saw' |
| gid-ecek-i-ti-m | gör-dü-m |
| GO-FUT-COP-PAST-1SG | SEE-PAST-1SG |

It is argued here that in each of these cases there is no conceivable manner in which the two repair strategies can be logically linked to either (1) morpheme-specific rules or (2) different rules applying at different phonological strata (stem, word, phrase).

The implications of the above are that neither phonological rules nor morphemes belong to different strata in the grammar. It is put forth here that rules apply when their structural description is met, that cyclic derivation is mediated by the morpho-syntax, and that the same rule may result in a different phonological output depending on the timing of its application in relation to the cyclic interpretation of its parts.