Recursivity in phonology – what can it mean below the word?

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The Hitchhiker's Guide to

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Brief History

Recursive procedures sensu lato

b go back millennia: Indian mathematicians approximated $\sqrt{2}$.

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- first appear with Dedekind in the 1890s
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Recursive procedures sensu stricto

- are themselves recursive definitions
- have a rich theory even confined to procedures on integers
- and became a key part of programming from the 50s

(Modernized) Peano's definition of natural numbers:

- 0 is a natural number
- if *n* is a natural number, so is S(n)
- (nothing else is a natural number)

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Binary trees:

 $Tree \rightarrow Leaf \mid Tree \ Tree$ $Tree := leaf \mid node(Tree, Tree)$ $Tree = \{\emptyset\} \cup (Tree \times Tree)$ $Tree = \mu X.\{\emptyset\} \cup (X \times X)$

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More syntax:

 $\begin{array}{l} \mathsf{NP} \to \mathsf{N} \mid \mathsf{Adj} \; \mathsf{NP} \mid \mathsf{NP} \; \mathsf{PP} \\ \mathsf{PP} \to \mathsf{P} \; \mathsf{NP} \\ \end{array}$

Recursion and Iteration

A natural number is a string of the form I* NP := Adj* N Tree = { $T \subseteq 2^*$: T is prefix-closed}

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Recursive definitions and computations can be *implemented* using iteration, arithmetic or pointers, and **unbounded** memory. Iterative definitions basically give regular expressions – much less than recursion. (Cf. Jeff Heinz *et al.* on subregular phonology.)

There are infinitely many natural numbers, NPs, binary trees, etc. This is *required* by the definitions.

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• Finitely by level: $Tree_0 = \{\emptyset\}$ $Tree_1 = Tree_0 \cup Tree_0 \times Tree_0$ $Tree_2 = Tree_1 \cup Tree_1 \times Tree_1$ This is **not recursive**.

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No (potential) infinity = no recursion! Bounded recursion is not real recursion!

Recursion in language

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Language games are outwith the bounds of natural language.

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Bounds on recursion

Fred Karlsson (2007) argues that no *natural* language uses more than two (maybe three) levels of centre-embedding (recursive construct requiring unbounded memory).

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Jim Hurford (2012) and students say maybe four is comprehensible: *Entweder*

die Sprache, die Kinder von ihren, sich an den Haaren zerrenden Eltern lernen, ist Deutsch,

oder sie sind dumm.



Unbounded right embedding = iteration

This is the farmer sowing the corn, That kept the cock that crowed in the morn. That waked the priest all shaven and shorn, That married the man all tattered and torn. That kissed the maiden all forlorn. That milked the cow with the crumpled horn, That tossed the dog, That worried the cat. That killed the rat. That ate the malt That lay in the house that Jack built.

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Everybody's happy with iteration in supra-word phonology, right?

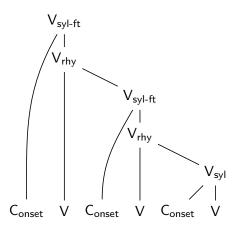
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Unbounded left/centre-embedding in supra-word phonology???

Infra-word potential recursion: prosody

For example, van der Hulst (2010) claims:

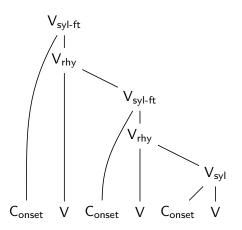


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for the English dactyl (serendipity).

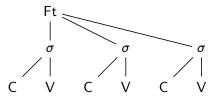
Infra-word potential recursion: prosody

For example, van der Hulst (2010) claims:



for the English dactyl (*serendipity*). Level 5 recursion in feet when we can't even do that in syntax?

Infra-word potential recursion: prosody



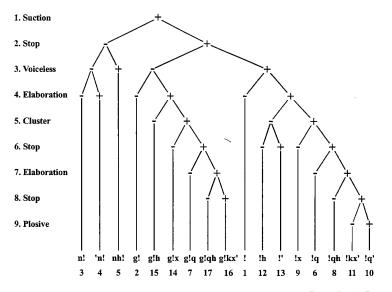
Feet longer than dactyls are also iterative in most theories (perhaps excepting grid-mark phonology) and tend to be supra-word.

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(Is 'characterlessness' really one foot?)

Feature geometry and friends

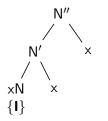
Tom Güldemann's feature geometry of clicks:



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Element geometry and friends

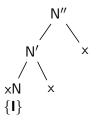
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If you buy the idea that sounds are represented and distinguished by configurations of trees of sets of elements, this might be recursion . . . but how far? Level three? So not recursion.

Does infra-word phonology have recursivity, or does it not?

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