

Studies in Generative Grammar 68.1

Editors

Harry van der Hulst

Jan Koster

Henk van Riemsdijk

Mouton de Gruyter
Berlin · New York

A Lateral Theory of Phonology

What is CVCV and why should it be?

by

Tobias Scheer

Mouton de Gruyter
Berlin · New York

Mouton de Gruyter (formerly Mouton, The Hague)
is a Division of Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG, Berlin.

The series Studies in Generative Grammar was formerly published by
Foris Publications Holland.

⊗ Printed on acid-free paper which falls within the guidelines
of the ANSI to ensure permanence and durability.

ISBN 3-11-017871-0

Bibliographic information published by Die Deutsche Bibliothek

Die Deutsche Bibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie;
detailed bibliographic data is available in the Internet at <<http://dnb.ddb.de>>.

© Copyright 2004 by Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG, D-10785 Berlin.
All rights reserved, including those of translation into foreign languages. No part of this
book may be reproduced in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including
photocopy, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system, without permission
in writing from the publisher.
Cover design: Christopher Schneider, Berlin.
Printed in Germany.

Table of Contents - overview

§	page
Table of contents – detail	vii
1 Editorial note: two volumes.....	xxxvii
2 Foreword.....	xli
3 How to use this book	li
4 Conventions used in this book.....	liii
 Part One: What is CVCV ?	
8 1. Introduction	1
14 2. Open versus closed syllables in CVCV.....	7
69 3. A unified theory of vowel - zero alternations.....	81
76 4. Alternating vowels are present in the lexicon	87
83 5. The beginning of the word: "#" = CV	95
110 6. The Coda Mirror.....	117
135 7. Consequences of the Coda Mirror: no confusion between Government and Licensing anymore	149
165 8. A syntax of phonology	181
218 9. Lateral relations are head-final: length in phonology.....	249
240 10. Syllabic and trapped consonants in CVCV	283
 Part Two: Why CVCV ?	
302 1. Introduction	365
303 2. Principles of argumentation I: disjunctive contexts	369
304 3. Principles of argumentation II: representations and their function	371
332 4. Principles of argumentation III: generality of processes.....	405
339 5. Principles of argumentation IV: a better solution for extrasyllabicity than extrasyllabicity.....	415
381 6. Argument 1 Languages without initial restrictions	459
387 7. Argument 2 What you get is NOT what you see: Tina Turner was wrong	469

§		page
390	8. Argument 3 Description vs. explanation of restrictions on word-initial consonant clusters	473
411	9. Argument 4 Lower: empty Nuclei and regressive internuclear relations have been used for over 30 years in the analysis of Slavic vowel-zero alternations	495
426	10. Argument 5 The life of "yers" outside of Slavic and in locations where vowels do not alternate with zero	519
501	11. Argument 6 Unified representations for the syllable and stress	597
524	12. Argument 7 Licensing power of final empty Nuclei parameterised: paired vs. impaired behaviour of internal and final Codas	625
556	13. Argument 8 The Coda Mirror.....	665
579	14. Argument 9 News from the yer context: what happens in Codas and before an unpronounced alternating vowel	691
591	15. Argument 10 What sonorants do in Codas: a unified theory of melodic reaction on positional plight	707
618	General Conclusion	745
	Appendices	
620	1. List of parameters and their translation into CVCV and other theories	749
621	2. Closed Syllable Shortening vs. diminutive lengthening in Czech.....	753
622	3. Polish two-membered word-initial consonant clusters.....	759
623	4. A short guide to 1990 Government Phonology	765
632	References	779
633	Subject Index	825
634	Language index	841

Table of Contents – detail

§	page
1	Editorial note: two volumes xxxvii
2	Foreword xli
3	How to use this book li
4	Conventions used in this book liii
5	1. General conventions: symbols, languages, cross- references..... liii
6	2. Phonological lingua franca and the skeleton lv
7	3. Czech and Polish spelling conventions..... lvii

Part One: What is CVCV ?

8	Chapter 1 Introduction
9	1. CVCV in a nutshell..... 1
10	2. Some core properties of Standard Government Phonology 1
11	3. Syllabic arborescence is not primitive: it derives from lateral relations among segments 3
12	4. If lateral relations are primary, syllabic arborescence has to go 3
13	5. Roadmap of Part One..... 4
14	Chapter 2 Open versus closed syllables in CVCV
15	1. The Empty Category Principle, Proper Government and vowel-zero alternations in Standard Government Phonology 7
16	1.1. Vowel-zero alternations and the Empty Category Principle..... 8
17	1.2. The Projection Principle, empty Nuclei and Government 10
18	1.3. Final empty Nuclei and Coda Licensing..... 11
19	1.4. The analysis of vowel-zero alternations in Standard Government Phonology 15
20	1.4.1. The basic pattern: vocalisation occurs before empty Nuclei 15

§	page
21	1.4.2. Intervening governing domains block Proper Government17
22	1.4.3. Moroccan Arabic vocalisation before geminates induces disjunctivity19
23	1.5. Proper Government is not recursive21
24	1.6. Domains and domain-final empty Nuclei22
25	1.7. Summary: the ECP and Proper Government in Standard Government Phonology24
26	2. Open vs. closed syllables in CVCV: the problem and two indications24
27	3. Internuclear communication over consonant clusters26
28	3.1. The vocalisation of Czech prefixes26
29	3.2. Consequences of this prefixal alternation28
30	3.2.1. Vowel-zero alternations in Standard Government Phonology28
31	3.2.2. Falsification of the statement "intervening governing domains block Proper Government"29
32	3.2.3. Unvocalised prefixes occur only before branching Onsets31
33	3.2.4. Heteromorphemic TR vs. monomorphemic TR: variable intimacy of adjacent consonants33
34	3.2.5. Consonantal interaction35
35	3.3. The representation of open vs. closed syllables in CVCV - first definition38
36	4. Substantial condition on Infrasegmental Government: the internal structure of consonants40
37	4.1. John Harris derives sonority from a non-observational property: complexity40
38	4.2. The sonorant is the head of TR clusters42
39	4.3. Complexity and the internal structure of consonants44
40	4.3.1. Segmental alternations are a sovereign and unquestionable referee44
41	4.3.2. Different approaches to the representation of consonants45
42	4.3.3. The same set of primes for consonants and vowels46
43	4.3.4. The undissociability of velarity and roundness makes wrong predictions47

§		page
44	4.3.5. Dentals, derived sonority and the incompatibility of A and ?	51
45	4.3.5.1. Dentals: [t,d] are empty	51
46	4.3.5.2. Sonority is a derived category	51
47	4.3.5.3. A and ? hate each other: they cannot combine	52
48	4.3.6. Sonorants are heavy: abundant evidence	53
49	4.3.6.1. [r], [l] and nasals contain A	53
50	4.3.6.2. [r], [l] and [n] contain I, [ʎ] contains U	55
51	4.3.6.3. Conclusion: sonorants are too complex to be governees	58
52	4.3.7. Complexity counts only Place definers	59
53	4.3.7.1. All stops have the same degree of stopness	59
54	4.3.7.2. Vocalic sonority disregards manner definers	60
55	4.3.7.3. Counting manner definers is not fair play: sonorants will be demoted before being able to score	61
56	4.3.7.4. The manner-place distinction is commonplace elsewhere	62
57	4.4. Infrasegmental Government: how complexity conditions interconsonantal relations	63
58	5. Phonotactic condition on Infrasegmental Government: Government Licensing	65
59	6. Consequences for the ECP and final empty Nuclei	67
60	6.1. The Empty Category Principle - final version	67
61	6.2. The special status of final empty Nuclei in Standard Government Phonology	67
62	6.3. The special status of final empty Nuclei in CVCV	70
63	6.4. Government Phonology predicts that the right edge of words is special	71
64	7. Domains of Infrasegmental Government and branching Onsets are not the same	72
65	7.1. How could the empty Nucleus enclosed by TR clusters betray its existence ?	72
66	7.2. When TR clusters are bare of Infrasegmental Government: French	73
67	8. Open vs. closed syllables in CVCV - second definition	76
68	9. The identity of Codas in CVCV - first definition	78

§		page
69	Chapter 3	
	A unified theory of vowel - zero alternations	
70	1. Transparency of monomorphemic clusters for Proper Government	81
71	2. Vocalisation of alternation sites: Standard Government Phonology is disjunctive, CVCV is not	82
72	2.1. Why Standard Government Phonology must invoke two different causes	82
73	2.2. Why all vocalisations have the same cause in CVCV	84
74	3. Observation vs. explanation.....	85
75	4. Proper Government always applies	86
76	Chapter 4	
	Alternating vowels are present in the lexicon	
77	1. Standard Government Phonology: alternating vowels are inserted.....	87
78	2. Alternating vowels may not always be identified phonetically	87
79	3. Deletion or insertion? When more than one vowel alternates with zero	88
80	4. Deletion is also enforced for theory-internal reasons	89
81	5. Alternating vowels are floating chunks of melody	90
82	6. The three-way distinction: associated vs. floating vs. no melody at all.....	91
83	Chapter 5	
	The beginning of the word: "#" = CV	
84	1. The beginning of the word is a phonological object.....	95
85	1.1. Phonologists do not appear to be eager to discover the real identity of the unknown	95
86	1.2. Nobody was happy to get rid of pink panthers when the Coda was (re)introduced.....	97
87	2. Why do pink panthers always do the same things ?	97
88	2.1. There can be no causal relation between things that belong to different worlds.....	97
89	2.2. What left pink panthers do I: co-occurrence restrictions on initial clusters.....	98

§	page
90	2.3. What left pink panthers do II: stability of the first vowel of the word.....98
91	2.4. What left pink panthers do III: strength of word-initial consonants99
92	2.5. Disjunctivity leads us to # = CV.....100
93	2.6. Initial vowels are stable because they are preceded by an empty Nucleus100
94	2.7. Czech prefixes again.....101
95	2.8. Summary: phonology operates only over phonological objects.....103
96	3. Word-initial empty Nuclei prior to CVCV: Magic Licensing103
97	3.1. The notorious bad guy: s+C sequences103
98	3.2. Initial Codas.....105
99	3.3. Magic Licensing105
100	3.4. Initial s+C sequences in CVCV.....106
101	3.5. The mystery of s+C sequences is also melodic: [s] is the bad guy.....107
102	4. Restrictions on initial consonant clusters.....108
103	4.1. Why are there no initial #RT clusters? The classical explanation is circular.....108
104	4.2. CVCV and initial restrictions109
105	4.3. What about languages without initial restrictions ?.....111
106	5. Interonset Government111
107	5.1. Comparison of Interonset and Infrasegmental Government..111
108	5.2. Interonset Government violates the most fundamental principles of Standard Government Phonology.....112
109	5.3. Interonset Government in CVCV has no handle on initial clusters.....115
110	Chapter 6
	The Coda Mirror
111	1. Scope of the Coda Mirror117
112	1.1. Positional effects vs. the transmission of primes between (adjacent) segments117
113	1.2. The three players and their eventual coalition: position, shared melody and stress117
114	2. The basic factor: five positions119

§	page
115	3. The Strong Position: empirical evidence 121
116	3.1. Why the Coda Mirror is the Mirror of the Coda..... 121
117	3.2. French obstruents..... 122
118	3.3. Somali stops..... 124
119	3.4. Sievers' Law: the vocalic face of the Coda Mirror 127
120	3.4.1. Vocalic effects of the Coda: closed syllables 127
121	3.4.2. Sievers' Law - the facts..... 128
122	3.4.3. Alternation sites are vocalised before Codas and after Coda Mirrors..... 130
123	4. Consequences for syllable structure..... 131
124	5. The Coda Mirror: descriptive adequacy 132
125	6. Government inhibits, Licensing enhances the segmental expression of the target 134
126	6.1. Government Licensing: French 135
127	6.2. Government Licensing: Czech 136
128	6.3. Charette (1990): consonant clusters need vocalic support..... 137
129	6.4. A good guy and a bad guy 138
130	7. The Coda Mirror: explanatory adequacy, or why strong positions are strong 139
131	8. Two ways of being weak 142
132	9. Positional Faithfulness and associated psycho-linguistic explanations miss the disjunction 145
133	9.1. Positional Faithfulness has overlooked half of the Strong Position 145
134	9.2. Psycho-linguistic "grounding" is no ground for the Strong Position 146
135	Chapter 7
	Consequences of the Coda Mirror: no confusion between
	Government and Licensing anymore
136	1. The confusion of Government and Licensing in Standard Government Phonology 149
137	1.1. Licensing: one word for two different realities 149
138	1.1.1. Type I Licensing: Licence in order to be absent 149
139	1.1.2. Type II Licensing: Licence in order to be present..... 151
140	1.1.3. Summary 152

§	page
141	1.2. Government: a different word for similar phonological realities.....153
142	1.2.1. Type I Government: the segment gluer153
143	1.2.2. Type II Government: the segment-destroyer.....154
144	1.2.3. Summary155
145	1.3. Did the conception of Harris (1994a) govern the model as it stood in 1990 ?156
146	1.4. Conclusion: lateral relations need to be identified according to their properties157
147	2. Government and Licensing in CVCV160
148	2.1. There is only one kind of Government160
149	2.2. The special status of Infrasegmental Government.....162
150	2.3. The identity of Codas in CVCV - second definition163
151	2.4. Government and Licensing are the translation of two antagonistic situations that are found in nature164
152	3. Internuclear Licensing165
153	3.1. Internuclear Licensing was practised before it was named: Kaye (1990a) and Yoshida (1993).....166
154	3.1.1. Vowel shortening before an empty Nucleus.....166
155	3.1.2. The unnamed internuclear relation at hand is Licensing169
156	3.2. Vowel length alternations in CVCV170
157	3.2.1. Italian Tonic Lengthening170
158	3.2.2. The target of spreading must be licensed171
159	3.2.3. Government or Licensing ?173
160	3.2.4. Internuclear Government and Licensing in complementary distribution ?174
161	4. Typology of lateral relations.....175
162	5. Open vs. closed syllables in CVCV177
163	5.1. Third definition.....177
164	5.2. The two typical syllable-related vocalic events: alternations in length and vowel-zero alternations179

§	page
165	Chapter 8
	A syntax of phonology
166	1. The core identity of Government Phonology: lateralisation of structure and causality181
167	1.1. Vowel-zero alternations and Proper Government182
168	1.2. Coda Licensing185
169	1.3. Government Licensing186
170	1.4. Syllable structure and its function188
171	1.5. Conclusion190
172	2. Remaining vertical structure and causality in Standard Government Phonology191
173	2.1. Syllable structure191
174	2.2. Effects of the Coda on consonants193
175	2.3. Effects of the Coda on preceding vowels194
176	2.4. The Binary Theorem: its interpretation and its consequences196
177	2.4.1. Ternary constituents are ill-formed, intermediate structure does not matter196
178	2.4.2. The price to pay: an unwarranted prediction197
179	2.5. Prosodic Government198
180	2.6. Coda-Onset vs. Bogus clusters199
181	2.6.1. Bogus: a three-way distinction199
182	2.6.2. Typical bogus clusters: tl, dl199
183	2.6.3. Cam(e)ra: bogus clusters created by post-tonic syncope in English200
184	2.6.4. Bogus clusters with a melodic effect: t-lenition in English201
185	2.6.5. We never see a true three-way distinction203
186	3. Harris (1994a): lateralisation of causality but not of structure, and a new meaning for Government and Licensing204
187	3.1. Government curtails distribution, Licensing is a condition on syllable structure204
188	3.1.1. New Licensing relations that parallel Government204
189	3.1.2. Licensing vs. Government I: different function, different effect206
190	3.1.3. A new parameter: Rhymal Adjuncts may be licensed once or twice208

§	page
191	3.1.4. Why are there no Coda clusters nor word-final Codas ?210
192	3.1.5. Closed Rhyme Shortness lateralised211
193	3.1.6. Licensing vs. Government II: Rhymal Adjuncts are constituent-licensed, but not constituent-governed211
194	3.1.7. Government and Licensing viewed by John Harris and the Coda Mirror212
195	3.2. Causality is only lateral: Licensing Inheritance.....215
196	3.2.1. The general picture.....216
197	3.2.2. Alas, foot-initial ≠ word-initial, foot-internal ≠ intervocalic218
198	3.2.3. The status of Codas and word-final consonants220
199	3.2.4. Licensing Inheritance: how it works222
200	3.2.5. The strength of post-Coda consonants223
201	3.2.6. Licensing Inheritance: three major problems225
202	3.2.6.1. The Coda Mirror context remains disjunctive225
203	3.2.6.2. Stress is a secondary, not a primary factor.....226
204	3.2.6.3. In many systems, post-Coda consonants are insensitive to the content of the preceding Coda227
205	3.2.7. Summary229
206	4. CVCV: lateralisation of both structure and causality230
207	4.1. Harris' advances establish a hybrid system: lateral causality but vertical structure230
208	4.2. Arborescence is redundant, the null hypothesis for syllable structure is lateral231
209	4.2.1. Takahashi (1993): only lateral causality, a farewell to constituency, but no additional empty Nuclei231
210	4.2.2. The existence of lateral relations makes arboreal structure redundant235
211	4.2.3. The null hypothesis for syllable structure is lateral: why taking two steps if one is enough ?.....237
212	4.2.3.1. The central tacit assumption: co-occurrence restrictions are due to arboreal structure237
213	4.2.3.2. Co-occurrence restrictions: the parallel with syntax is phoney.....237
214	4.2.3.3. The only critical factor is relative sonority, hence a lateral relation240

§	page
215	4.3. Bogus clusters again: transforming melodic contrasts among adjacent objects into vertical structure is a bad idea.....241
216	4.4. HIGH vs. LOW.....243
217	4.5. Summary.....246
218	Chapter 9
	Lateral relations are head-final: length in phonology
219	1. Lateral relations in CVCV are automatically regressive249
220	2. Vocalic length.....251
221	2.1. Systems with inalterable vowel length252
222	2.2. Syllable-sensitive vowel length253
223	2.2.1. Closed Syllable Shortening253
224	2.2.2. Tonic Lengthening255
225	2.2.3. Three labels, one phonological reality.....256
226	2.3. Compensatory Lengthening.....259
227	2.4. Compensatory Lengthening is different: spreading may occur in either direction262
228	2.5. All long vowels obey the same requirement: their complement is licensed.....264
229	2.6. LOWER spreading may be in both directions, but UPPER Licensing is only regressive266
230	2.7. Alternating long vowels are head-initial, their non-alternating peers are head-final.....267
231	2.7.1. Only CVCV can build on the contrast head-initial vs. head-final267
232	2.7.2. Head-final vs. head-initial also expresses the parameter on the existence of super-heavy Rhymes ...268
233	2.8. Progressive Compensatory Lengthening: an argument in favour of CVCV271
234	3. Consonantal length275
235	3.1. The representation of geminates in conventional models and in CVCV.....275
236	3.2. Standard Government Phonology: why geminates cannot be preceded or followed by consonants276
237	3.3. CVCV: head-initial and head-final geminates.....277

§	page
238	3.4. CVCV: why geminates cannot be preceded or followed by consonants279
239	3.5. Geminates, RT clusters and homorganic NC clusters are one.....280
240	Chapter 10
	Syllabic and trapped consonants in CVCV
241	1. Setting the scene: phonological hermaphrodites.....283
242	2. Syllabic and trapped consonants tell us about each other - we are well advised to listen carefully.....284
243	3. The synchronic situation of trapped consonants: trapped (Polish) vs. syllabic (Czech)286
244	3.1. Trapped consonants in Polish: lexically trapped or trapped by a vowel-zero alternation.....286
245	3.2. Syllabic, but not trapped consonants constitute syllabic peaks and can bear stress.....288
246	3.3. Czech syllabic consonants and prefixal vowel-zero alternations.....289
247	3.4. Vocalisation of Polish prefixes before trapped roots.....292
248	3.4.1. Morphology has got a word to say292
249	3.4.2. Polish prefixes and phonological domains295
250	3.4.3. How Polish prefixes behave before trapped consonants297
251	3.5. Summary syllabic vs. trapped consonants298
252	4. What kind of animal is a syllabic consonant ?.....298
253	4.1. Classical approaches since SPE: function, not behaviour decides299
254	4.2. Why syllabic consonants do not sit in Nuclei.....300
255	5. Do syllabic consonants spread to their right or to their left ?302
256	5.1. Some literature.....302
257	5.2. A fundamental argument for left-branchers: the complementary distribution of C and əC.....304
258	6. Do syllabic consonants need to satisfy the ECP ?306
259	7. Alternations of syllabic and non-syllabic versions of the same consonant307

§	page
260	8. Syllabic consonants are left-branching structures: arguments.....309
261	8.1. Synchronic situation in Germanic: complementary distribution of Ć and əC.....309
262	8.2. Diachronic situation: syllabic consonants come into being because a preceding vowel is lost.....309
263	9. Syllabic consonants are left-branching: they govern in Czech...311
264	10. The phonological identity of trapped consonants314
265	10.1. Trapped consonants are right-branching: they refuse to govern in Polish314
266	10.2. Charette (1992): trapped consonants are an extreme case of Government Licensing315
267	11. Summary: the identity of syllabic and trapped consonants.....316
268	12. Phonetic correlates of syllabic and trapped consonants.....319
269	12.1. Trapped consonants are transparent to voicing, syllabic consonants are not319
270	12.2. Classical interpretation: trapped = extrasyllabic.....321
271	12.3. An alternative solution: trapped = obstruent323
272	12.3.1. Real sonorants do not undergo final devoicing Palatalised sonorants devoice word.....323
273	12.3.2. Palatalised sonorants devoice word-finally323
274	12.3.3. Trapped sonorants are obstruents325
275	12.3.4. Romansch trapped sonorants are also transparent and have voiceless allophones326
276	12.3.5. Summary329
277	13. Diachronic confirmation: yers followed trapped, but preceded syllabic consonants.....329
278	13.1. The Western Slavic comparatistic situation: cz ĆRC = pol CVRC and ĆC.....330
279	13.2. The Common Slavic and Old Church Slavonic sources of Polish vocalised liquids333
280	13.3. CS ʦrt and CS trʦt have never merged.....335
281	13.3.1. CS ʦrt and CS trʦt remain distinct in Polish.....335
282	13.3.2. CS ʦrt and CS trʦt remain distinct in Baltic and Eastern Slavic.....335
283	13.3.3. The yers of OCS trʦt < CS ʦrt refuse to vocalise.....339
284	13.3.4. Summary: trapped consonants result from the loss of a following yer, but what about their syllabic peers ?.....340

§	page
285	13.4. What has happened to Czech (and Slovak) trapped consonants?.....341
286	13.4.1. Old Czech: sonorants from CS <i>tr̥t</i> are syllabic against trapped from CS <i>tr̥t</i>341
287	13.4.2. Secondary vocalisation of syllabic consonants in Czech (and Polish, Slovak)343
288	13.4.3. The Old Czech phonemic opposition trapped < CS <i>tr̥t</i> vs. syllabic < CS <i>tr̥t</i>345
289	13.4.3.1. Syllabic liquids from CS <i>tr̥t</i> do, but trapped liquids from CS <i>tr̥t</i> do not count in Old Czech verse345
290	13.4.3.2. The opposition trapped vs. syllabic was phonemic in Old Czech347
291	13.4.3.3. Prepositions stopped to vocalise when trapped roots became syllabic348
292	13.4.3.4. Why did trapped consonants refuse to become syllabic in word-initial position ?.....350
293	13.4.4. Trapped consonants in Modern Czech: type <i>křtít</i> = <i>třt</i> < <i>tr't</i> < CS <i>tr̥t</i>351
294	13.4.4.1. Inventory of trapped roots, and why they could not become syllabic.....351
295	13.4.4.2. Do trapped roots provoke the vocalisation of prepositions ?353
296	14. Summary and final amendment due to the right periphery of syllabic consonants356
297	14.1. Summary356
298	14.2. The right periphery of syllabic consonants.....358
299	14.3. Phonological domains are of no rescue360
300	14.4. Syllabic consonants behave like both pre- and postvocalised structures361
301	15. Conclusion363

§	page
Part Two: Why CVCV ?	
302 Chapter 1	
Introduction	365
303 Chapter 2	
Principles of argumentation I: disjunctive contexts	369
304 Chapter 3	
Principles of argumentation II: representations and their function	371
305 1. What representations are good for: they are the answer of the 80s to the fundamental problem of overgeneration that has dominated the debate in the 70s	371
306 1.1. SPE and overgeneration	371
307 1.2. One option: fighting against abstractness limits the generative power	372
308 1.3. Another option: autosegmental representations automatically restrict the generative power	375
309 1.4. Structure and process: there is no natural science in absence of one or the other	377
310 1.4.1. OT holds that monsters could exist in nature, but accidentally do not occur	378
311 1.4.2. Only competition determines (a)grammaticality in OT: nothing can be inherently (a)grammatical	379
312 1.4.3. Computation is king: representations are only decorative in OT	379
313 1.4.4. Since they do not matter, representations are arbitrary and interchangeable in OT: they are doomed to disappear	380
314 1.4.5. Back to where we started: representations were the enemy of overgeneration	382

§	page
315	1.4.6. OT tools for fighting back overgeneration: markedness and grounded constraints384
316	1.4.6.1. Markedness and OT384
317	1.4.6.2. The fundamental source of arbitrariness in OT: anything and its reverse can be a constraint.....385
318	1.4.6.3. Grounded constraints387
319	1.4.6.4. If phonological events have exclusively non-phonological (grounded) causes, why replicate them as constraints ?.....390
320	1.4.7. Summary: structure and process have an independent existence in nature, but not in OT391
321	1.4.8. Shifting burden over to GEN: a promising track to follow ?.....393
322	1.4.9. Inventing and turning wheels394
323	2. Structure and process: the take of Government Phonology395
324	2.1. Representations that are (en)rich(ed) enough to support parameterisation.....395
325	2.2. Internal and final Codas: different but still the same.....396
326	2.3. Vowel-zero alternations: enriched representations avoid absolute neutralisation and allow to express the parameter Havlík vs. Lower398
327	2.3.1. Slavic vowel-zero alternations: the basic pattern398
328	2.3.2. Two kinds of yers399
329	2.3.3. The introduction of representations allows to get rid of the absolute neutralisation400
330	2.3.4. Further enriched representations: Government Phonology.....401
331	2.3.5. The parameter Havlík vs. Lower supposes enriched representations403
332	Chapter 4 Principles of argumentation III: generality of processes
333	1. Introduction: SPE hocus-pocus, the baby and the bath.....405
334	2. Vowel-zero alternations406
335	3. Vowel-zero alternations and sonority sequencing in languages without initial restrictions408
336	4. The yer context410

§	page
337	5. The Coda Mirror, Closed syllable shortening and l-vocalisation.....412
338	6. Summary.....413
339	Chapter 5
	Principles of argumentation IV: a better solution for extrasyllabicity than extrasyllabicity415
340	1. Some elementary and consensual facts about syllabic theory416
341	2. The facts that cannot be accommodated by the theory417
342	3. Extrasyllabicity was created by people who believed in their theory.....418
343	4. Type I extrasyllabicity: enforced underparsing, an edge consonant fails to be parsed.....420
344	4.1. Interaction of unparsable consonants with other rules: typical serial solutions420
345	4.1.1. German Jagd: devoicing must apply after adjunction420
346	4.1.2. Stray erasure and the Prosodic Hierarchy.....421
347	4.1.3. Polish kadra: devoicing must apply before adjunction422
348	4.2. Can there be more than one extrasyllabic consonant at the right edge?.....423
349	4.2.1. Reduction of extrasyllabic candidates by morphology423
350	4.2.2. You can get a coronal for free in Germanic424
351	4.2.3. Summary426
352	4.3. Word-initial extrasyllabicity426
353	4.3.1. Typology of initial extrasyllabicity426
354	4.3.2. Word-initial extrasyllabic consonants are different I: they are not transparent to voicing427
355	4.3.3. Word-initial extrasyllabic consonants are different II: they do not degeminate428
356	4.3.4. The contrast is automatic if word-final extrasyllabicity is due to final empty Nuclei429
357	4.4. Peripherality.....430

§	page
358	5. Type II extrasyllabicity: deliberate underparsing, a word-final consonant does not behave like a Coda.....431
359	5.1. If certain word-final consonants must not be Codas, what could they be ?431
360	5.2. Extrasyllabicity effects on both word-final consonants and the preceding vowel433
361	5.3. Summary435
362	6. Doubts on extrasyllabicity and an alternative view435
363	6.1. There is no extrasyllabicity without serialism and a syllabification algorithm436
364	6.2. Extrasyllabic once, extrasyllabic forever.....437
365	6.3. Extrasyllabic consonants do not behave like nothing - they often behave like Onsets437
366	6.4. Can we afford to allow for constituents that do not express any co-occurrence ?438
367	6.5. Extrasyllabic consonants adjoined to the phonological word440
368	6.6. There are initial and internal s+C effects, but there are only initial extrasyllabic consonants.....441
369	6.6.1. The regular extrasyllabic analysis of initial s+C clusters.....441
370	6.6.2. Word-internal s+C effects443
371	6.6.3. All s+C clusters cannot be contour segments either443
372	6.6.4. Conclusion.....444
373	6.7. Why are there no words with two, nine or twenty extrasyllabic consonants ?445
374	6.7.1. The only definition of extrasyllabicity is negative445
375	6.7.2. Wild Polish initial clusters are less wild than their reputation446
376	6.7.3. Conclusion: there are no extrasyllabic clusters in Polish, and probably not in Salish or any other language either450
377	6.8. Confusion of causalities: there are three, not two phonologies.....452
378	6.9. Edge consonants are special because they occur at edges: all phonology-internal solutions (such as extrasyllabicity) must be wrong.....454

§	page
379	6.10. We need a theory of margins: final empty Nuclei and the initial CV455
380	6.11. Conclusion.....456
381	Chapter 6
	Argument One
	Languages without initial restrictions
382	1. Classical syllabic theory is made of sonority sequencing, Onset Maximisation and the word-initial anchor.....459
383	2. No co-occurrence restrictions, hence no branching constituents..460
384	3. Could a consonant of whatever sonority close an internal syllable ?462
385	4. How to have your cake and eat it: vowel-zero alternations have got nothing to do with closed syllables465
386	5. Only CVCV offers a unified theory of syllable structure and vowel-zero alternations467
387	Chapter 7
	Argument Two
	What you get is NOT what you see: Tina Turner was wrong
388	1. Phonologists explain that Tina Turner was wrong when teaching phonemics and Onsets469
389	2. Phonologists explain that Tina Turner was right when teaching Nuclei471
390	Chapter 8
	Argument Three
	Description vs. explanation of restrictions on word-initial consonant clusters
391	1. What circularity is: the non-independence of prediction and observation.....473
392	1.1. The only reality that is real is the one that humans perceive: Kant, Saussure, Popper473
393	1.2. How a sound prediction emerges: back and forth between data and theory474
394	1.3. Circularity: overt and hidden varieties.....475
395	1.4. Summary.....476

§	page
396 2. The regular account of initial restrictions: "within a branching Onset sonority must increase".....	476
397 3. Constraints are inherently circular and may inhibit research.....	478
398 4. Standard Government Phonology: constituency is redundant, it restates the lateral relations among segments a second time	479
399 5. Lateral relations are self-sufficient: CVCV builds on complexity and lateral relations, but does away with redundant arboreal structure	481
400 6. Standard Government Phonology: the left-headedness of constituents does not follow from anything.....	482
401 7. CVCV: why #RT cannot exist in typical Indo-European languages	483
402 8. The initial CV parameterised: morphology does (#TR-only languages) or does not (anything-goes languages) send down the initial CV	485
403 8.1. How can anything-goes languages exist, and why are there no #RT-only languages ?	485
404 8.2. The distribution of the initial CV is parameterised: it is present in #TR-only languages, but absent when anything goes	485
405 8.3. Diacritics are arbitrary in number, nature and effect, but their effect in natural language is not	487
406 8.4. Anticipating on Volume 2: phonologically relevant morpho-syntactic information is translated into phonological categories	489
407 8.5. Why #RT-only languages cannot exist.....	490
408 8.6. Word-initial extrasyllabicity in CVCV: why there can be one extrasyllabic consonant at most.....	490
409 9. Independence of theoretical devices and the empirical target	491
410 10. Conclusion	492
411 Chapter 9	
Argument Four	
Lower: empty Nuclei and regressive internuclear relations have been used for over 30 years in the analysis of Slavic vowel-zero alternations	
412 1. Introduction.....	495
413 2. Slavic vowel-zero alternations and their analysis	497

§	page
414 3. Distributional facts and the challenge they raise	498
415 4. Lower - how it works and what it implies	501
416 5. The difference between Lower and Havlík.....	505
417 5.1. Lightner makes modern Slavic look like Common Slavic underlyingly, yet Lower is not exactly like Havlík.....	505
418 5.2. The difference: "secondary vocalisation", that is "every other" (Havlík) vs. "all but the last" (Lower)	506
419 6. The difference between final and alternating yers	509
420 6.1. Synchronic evidence	509
421 6.2. Diachronic evidence: only alternating yers may originate in epenthesis	509
422 6.3. Conclusion: Common Slavic yers and modern abstract vowels.....	513
423 7. Autosegmentalised Lower	513
424 8. Slavic vowel-zero alternations are caused by a lateral relation	516
425 9. Conclusion	517
426 Chapter 10	
Argument Five	
The life of "yers" outside of Slavic and in locations	
where vowels do not alternate with zero	
427 1. Introduction.....	519
428 2. Yers all over the place in Slavic?.....	520
429 2.1. The general picture	520
430 2.2. Czech alternations in vowel length.....	521
431 2.3. Czech and Polish [ɔ] - [u(u)], Polish ą-ę	522
432 2.3.1. The synchronic situation of [ɔ] - [u(u)]	522
433 2.3.2. The only solution is diachronic: the alternation in fact concerns vowel length.....	523
434 2.3.3. Polish ą-ę is but the nasal version of o > oo	525
435 2.4. Summary: the ambition of Lower is too narrow.....	526
436 3. French: yers all over the world ?.....	527
437 3.1. ATRness of mid vowels in Southern varieties.....	527
438 3.2. French couldn't have yers, but it can have abstract vowels.....	528
439 3.3. Schwa - [ɛ] alternations	530
440 4. The big puzzle: nature produces two antagonistic patterns	531

§	page
441	5. Three implementations of the insight that yers are empty Nuclei.....533
442	5.1. Empty Nuclei prior to Government Phonology I: Stephen Anderson on French.....533
443	5.1.1. On the structural side: how to get something for nothing.....533
444	5.1.2. On the computational side I: Coda capture534
445	5.1.3. On the computational side II: Coda capture misses the basic insight of Lower.....536
446	5.2. Tracy Hall on German: consonants preceding schwa end up as Codas, but for a good reason539
447	5.2.1. On the structural side: schwa is a floating x-slot.....539
448	5.2.2. On the computational side: the consonant preceding schwa has a good reason to end up as a Coda541
449	5.3. Empty Nuclei prior to Government Phonology II: Andrew Spencer on Polish.....543
450	5.3.1. On the structural side: a less abstract Lower543
451	5.3.2. On the computational side: fill-in without causality vs. intervocalic relation545
452	5.3.3. Kenstowicz & Rubach's (1987) arguments against empty Nuclei546
453	5.3.4. Spencer's analysis cannot be extended to other alternations546
454	5.4. Szpyra (1992a): insertion into unsyllabifiable clusters without intervocalic causality.....547
455	5.5. We are looking for a theory of intervocalic relations548
456	5.5.1. Synopsis of all analyses regarding the yer context.....548
457	5.5.2. Why does everybody delete material without phonetic existence at the end of the derivation ?.....550
458	5.5.3. The lateral relation described by Lower is (Proper) Government.....550
459	6. Government Phonology and yers.....551
460	6.1. Abstract vowels can be nothing but empty Nuclei551
461	6.2. Empty Nuclei are not really empty: their melody is present underlyingly.....552

§	page
462	7. Empty Nuclei after internal Codas.....554
463	7.1. Slavic vowel-zero alternations and French schwa-[ɛ]: no additional empty Nuclei needed555
464	7.2. More empty Nuclei required.....556
465	7.2.1. Czech vowel length556
466	7.2.2. French ATRness.....559
467	7.3. General summary thus far.....559
468	8. There are two patterns of vowel-zero alternations in nature: Havlík and Lower560
469	8.1. Government derives Havlík, not Lower560
470	8.2. Havlík and Lower: how they are distributed and how they are parameterised562
471	8.3. A terminological clarification.....564
472	9. Contradictory effects of yers: there are two antagonistic lateral forces in nature.....565
473	10. Who is who (Government vs. Licensing) and the parameterised lateral ability of schwa.....567
474	10.1. Identification of the lateral relation through its effect567
475	10.2. Licensing abilities of schwa are also parameterised (and independent from the parameter on government).....568
476	10.3. Western Slavic [ɔ̃] is not a regular long vowel: it was born through the voicing of the following consonant.....570
477	10.4. French ATRness is an instance of Licensing.....572
478	10.5. The tricky French schwa - [ɛ] is driven by Licensing as well574
479	10.6. Summary: lateral abilities and the distribution of Government and Licensing.....575
480	11. More evidence from German: the velar nasal.....576
481	11.1. Introduction576
482	11.2. The distributional situation of [ŋ] and [ŋg] in German577
483	11.3. /g/ does not appear on the surface when it fails to be licensed579
484	11.4. Additional evidence for the governing ability of schwa in Germanic: Dutch582
485	12. Gussmann & Kaye (1993): cyclicity, domains and Reduction...583
486	12.1. The selection of Havlík or Lower has got nothing to do with the particular vowel that alternates.....583
487	12.2. Domains and Reduction.....583

§	page
488	12.3. As cyclic as Rubach (1984), but Reduction on top of that.....585
489	12.4. Boundary abuse: selling phonology for morphology586
490	13. Havlík vs. Lower: how Rubach (1984), Standard Government Phonology and CVCV encode the parameter588
491	13.1. Standard Government Phonology and CVCV588
492	13.2. Classical Lower as exposed in Rubach (1984).....588
493	13.3. Comparison of the three approaches: procedural vs. lateral solutions.....589
494	13.4. Four different nuclear categories.....590
495	14. Summary and conclusion of chapters II,9 and II,10591
496	14.1. The study of the yer context in the past 30 years: three separate traditions591
497	14.2. The West was wrong: the closed, not the open syllable is an optical illusion592
498	14.3. Government Phonology has given a theoretical status to things that people have been using for a long time: empty Nuclei and lateral relations.....594
499	14.4. Parameterisation of the lateral capacities of schwa594
500	14.5. What vowel-headed Government and Licensing do to vowels and consonants595
501	Chapter 11
	Argument Six
	Unified representations for the syllable and stress
502	1. Introduction.....597
503	2. Classical interpretation of stress: grids and morae.....599
504	2.1. Empirical generalisation I: stress is distributed according to vowels and vocalic quantity (always) and Codas (sometimes).....599
505	2.1.1. The major parametric division across languages: CVC syllables are either light or heavy.....599
506	2.1.2. A possible third parametric situation: the sonority of Coda consonants decides whether the syllable is light or heavy601
507	2.2. Grid-based and moraic accounts of generalisation I.....603
508	2.2.1. Moraic analysis of the Latin pattern: third but last mora604

§		page
509	2.2.2. Extrametricality (dóminus, fáciō) and fórmula	605
510	2.2.3. Latin viewed through the grid: syllable marking rules	608
511	2.2.4. How grid-based and moraic systems express the three-way typology	609
512	2.3. Empirical generalisation II: Onsets are invisible to stress	610
513	2.4. Moraic theory and grids encode, but do not explain generalisations I and II	611
514	3. Stress assignment and CVCV	613
515	3.1. Why Onsets never count: their Nucleus is not empty	613
516	3.1.1. Stress falls on the third but last Nucleus	613
517	3.1.2. Viewed from ABOVE: ungoverned empty Nuclei are invisible because they are silenced by the action of LOWER melody	615
518	3.1.3. CVCV: the metrical irrelevance of Onsets is in-built	618
519	3.2. Syllabic and prosodic generalisations are expressed by the same structure	619
520	3.3. Consonants are never counted, the parameter known as "Weight by Position" concerns the visibility of governed empty Nuclei	619
521	3.4. How CVCV expresses the third pattern: when weight is sensitive to the sonority of Coda consonants	620
522	3.5. CVCV explains where others observe	623
523	4. Conclusion	623
524	Chapter 12	
	Argument Seven	
	Licensing power of final empty Nuclei parameterised: paired vs. impaired behaviour of internal and final Codas	
525	1. Setting the scene: Standard Government Phonology moved back to SPE	625
526	2. Effects on Codas	627
527	2.1. Internal ≠ final Coda	627
528	2.2. Internal = final Coda	629
529	2.2.1. L-vocalisation in Brazilian Portuguese	629
530	2.2.2. Boundary abuse: selling phonology for morphology	631

§	page
531	2.2.3. Boundary abuse produces absurd distributional and diachronic consequences632
532	3. Effects on the vowel preceding Codas.....633
533	3.1. Internal ≠ final Coda.....633
534	3.2. Internal = final Coda.....635
535	4. The life of final empty Nuclei.....637
536	4.1. How can you have your cake and eat it ?637
537	4.2. How you can have your cake and eat it without turning back the wheel.....638
538	4.2.1. Coda Licensing is too rigid, and it cannot be parameterised.....638
539	4.2.2. Lateral relations can be parameterised: a genuine tradition in Government Phonology640
540	4.2.3. Word-final RT clusters exist when final empty Nuclei can govern.....642
541	4.2.4. Final empty Nuclei can only govern Nuclei that are bare of any underlying melody (floating or attached)643
542	4.2.5. All the cake: the (im)pairment of final and internal Codas depends on whether word-final consonants are licensed or not.....645
543	4.2.6. The parametric situation of word-final consonants648
544	4.2.7. When final empty Nuclei license preceding Nuclei: the variable behaviour of vowels in final closed syllables650
545	4.2.8. The final parametric table.....651
546	5. Summary.....652
547	6. Comparison of extrasyllabicity and the parameterised lateral actorship of final empty Nuclei.....652
548	6.1. Introduction652
549	6.2. Why are there no extrasyllabic vowels? Because there are final empty Nuclei, but no final empty Onsets653
550	6.3. Deliberate underparsing is Licensing, enforced underparsing is Government.....654
551	6.4. Extrasyllabic once, extrasyllabic forever: why extrasyllabicity is not selective.....655
552	6.5. Why there are no extrasyllabic clusters at the right edge of words.....657

§	page
553	7. The fourth object: schwa.....658
554	7.1. What a schwa can do658
555	7.2. Summary: the four primary nuclear objects and their lateral activity in some languages.....661
556	Chapter 13
	Argument Eight
	The Coda Mirror
557	1. Classical syllable structure is unable to characterise the Coda Mirror as a natural class665
558	1.1. The Coda Mirror: summary665
559	1.2. Disjunctions and their consequences in phonology667
560	2. Is the Coda Mirror a phonological object ?669
561	2.1. Tiberian Hebrew spirantisation.....669
562	2.2. Non-disjunctive contexts win - but who wins when everybody is non-disjunctive ?671
563	2.3. The choice of the context determines the causality of the process671
564	3. Why the Coda Mirror is as real as Onsets and Codas.....672
565	3.1. Fortitions.....672
566	3.2. The absence of an event is an event.....675
567	3.3. Lenition is a positional effect that owes nothing to adjacency675
568	3.3.1. Positional vs. adjacency effects.....675
569	3.3.2. Obviously, Tiberian Hebrew spirantisation has got nothing to do with adjacency677
570	3.4. How could any lenition be caused by adjacency ?679
571	3.5. The Mirror effect681
572	3.6. When the Strong Position is prone to lenition683
573	3.6.1. The Coda Mirror makes only relative predictions.....683
574	3.6.2. The High German Consonant Shift683
575	3.6.3. Did fricatives in weak positions go through an intermediate affricate stage ?684
576	3.6.4. There is not a shred of evidence for post-vocalic affricates in any old or modern dialect686
577	3.6.5. Negative evidence in diachronics: "X does not exist"688
578	4. Summary689

§		page
579	Chapter 14	
	Argument Nine	
	News from the yer context: what happens in Codas and before an unpronounced alternating vowel	
580	1. A particularly nasty variant of the yer context: when the schwa is unpronounced.....	691
581	2. How to escape both resyllabification and disjunctivity	692
582	3. The Polish palatal nasal and its implosion in internal Codas.....	694
583	3.1. Alternation of [ɲ] and [ɲ̃].....	694
584	3.2. Alternation of [ɲ] and [ɲ̃]	695
585	3.3. Rhymal Adjuncts are followed by an empty Nucleus	697
586	3.4. Schwa is a good licenser in Polish	699
587	4. The German velar nasal again.....	700
588	4.1. Identical behaviour in internal and final Codas: /ŋg/ → [ŋ]	700
589	4.2. [ŋ] also occurs before unpronounced alternating vowels	702
590	5. Conclusion	705
591	Chapter 15	
	Argument Ten	
	What sonorants do in Codas: a unified theory of melodic reaction on positional plight	
592	1. The logic of the argument.....	707
593	2. Homorganic NC clusters: how the mirage of assimilation is created.....	708
594	3. The obstruent cannot impose anything on the nasal in CVCV, but the nasal may be active: there is neither master nor servant.....	709
595	4. Usually unrelated evidence I: the behaviour of nasals in final Codas (Somali, Southern French, Polish).....	710
596	4.1. Somali: loss of place produces a dental	711
597	4.2. Southern French: loss of place produces a velar.....	712
598	4.3. Polish: loss of place produces a glide	715
599	4.4. Summary.....	716
600	5. Usually unrelated evidence II: the birth of nasal vowels (French, Portuguese, Slavic).....	717

§	page
601 6. Something that should not happen: German homorganic CN clusters.....	719
602 6.1. Illustration and their incompatibility with Standard Government Phonology	719
603 6.2. Schwa in /CəN#/ is not dropped under Government	722
604 6.3. Schwa is killed by the stabilising action of the nasal	723
605 6.4. Homorganicity has got nothing to do with adjacency	726
606 6.4.1. When the word-final nasal is promoted to a Coda Mirror consonant.....	726
607 6.4.2. Eignung: the nasal must not be homorganic because it stands in strong position	730
608 6.4.3. Eignung: the absence of schwa is mandatory because it is governed.....	732
609 6.4.4. Eignung: devoicing shows who is who	733
610 7. Usually unrelated evidence III: consequences for the genesis and identity of syllabic consonants	735
611 7.1. The analysis of syllabic and trapped consonants recalled	735
612 7.2. Germanic: why syllabic consonants are created only after schwa.....	735
613 7.3. Devoicing again: right-branching syllabic consonants do not qualify.....	736
614 7.4. Summary.....	738
615 8. General summary regarding nasals.....	738
616 9. Not only nasals react on positional plight: extension of the analysis to all sonorants	739
617 10. Conclusion: a unified theory for the behaviour of sonorants in Coda position.....	742
 618 General Conclusion	 745
 619 Appendices	
620 1. List of parameters and their translation into CVCV and other theories.....	749
621 2. Closed Syllable Shortening vs. diminutive lengthening in Czech	753
622 3. Polish two-membered word-initial consonant clusters	759

§		page
623	4. A short guide to 1990 Government Phonology	765
624	4.1. Melodic representations	765
625	4.2. Constituent structure	768
626	4.2.1. The basic architecture	768
627	4.2.2. A depleted version of the familiar syllabic tree	770
628	4.2.3. Indirect lateral conditions on the existence of skeletal slots	771
629	4.2.4. No resyllabification	773
630	4.2.5. Proper Government, the Empty Category Principle and domains	774
631	4.2.6. A trademark of Government Phonology: empty Nuclei	777
632	References	779
633	Subject Index	825
634	Language index	841

1 **Editorial note: two volumes**

When I set out to write this book in fall 2001, I merely intended to make my habilitation thesis available to the English speaking audience (all academic work in France must be written in French). The initial division included three chapters that were designed to explain what CVCV is (chapter one), why it should be (chapter two) and which place is assigned to locality, morphology and phonology in this kind of theory (chapter three). A draft version of the first two chapters circulated since late summer 2002. While work on the last chapter progressed in spring 2003, it appeared with increasing clarity that the original project would not fit into one volume.

The most natural seam was after chapter two: at this stage of the discussion, the reader has been fully introduced to CVCV. The remaining text, then, refines this basic model, explores its potential and positions it in regard of other modules of the grammar and its general architecture.

For one thing, the system is made strictly local in the syntactic sense (Relativised Minimality): two constituents can contract a lateral relation only if there is no other constituent of the same kind intervening (locality in phonology). A consequence thereof is the "dephonetisation" of phonology or, in positive terms, the phonologisation of phonology: being a good governor or a good licenser does not depend on any phonetic condition anymore ("only phonetically expressed Nuclei can govern"). Rather, phonology alone decides: all and only those Nuclei which are ungoverned possess lateral actorship.

It is also attempted to draw a red line between the area that is properly and exclusively phonological, and other domains such as phonetics and morphology, or eventual blends thereof with phonology (phonology in phonology). In a nutshell, everything that is located above the skeleton (and only this) belongs to the "immaculate" phonology and qualifies for Universal Grammar. The concept of UG must include natural language that uses non-vocal interfaces, i.e. sign language. Hence, "phon" in phonology is a misunderstanding. "Phon"ology is the study of how neuronal linguistic structure is translated back and forth to the extra-neuronal world. The particular interface used is a secondary parameter that must not condition any property of the universal human capacity to translate neuronal into extra-neuronal structure (and *vice versa*). In this context, a number of recent neo-behaviourist raids on phonology are

examined, and it is shown why phonology, rather than syntax or semantics, is singled out for behaviourist attack.

Finally, the incidence of CVCV on the representation of morpho-syntactic and semantic information in phonology is examined (morphology in phonology). After a look at how higher level information has been implemented into phonology since American Structuralism, I argue for an interface which is privative, representational and translational: morphological, syntactic and semantic information must be *translated* into the phonological language since phonology is only able to interpret truly phonological objects. Privativity holds that only phonologically relevant information is shipped off to phonology: higher levels do not communicate with the phonological module at all in case it has been decided that a given higher level division will have no phonological effect. Whether some morpho-syntactic property is phonologically relevant or not is a sovereign decision made by the higher modules; in the minimalist perspective, Chomsky's (2000,2001a,b) *phase* theory manages the mailing of postcards to the semantic and phonological interfaces.

Assuming privativity, thus, morpho-syntactic information is either shipped off to phonology or not; unlike in SPE, phonology is necessarily underfed with higher level divisions. Also, there are no negative messages: a non-intervention of higher levels simply makes phonology follow its regular domestic rule. For example, specific domains across which phonological units do not "see" each other are only created upon an explicit morpho-syntactic order. In absence thereof, heteromorphic strings are one phonologically speaking. Higher level information materialises as a modification of the phonological representation. The set of possible modifications reduces to four (see §406): either a CV unit is parachuted, or the properties of final empty Nuclei are modified. In the latter case, final empty Nuclei can either be authorised to remain empty (which on autochthonic phonological grounds they would not; they are then governed). In addition, they may be granted lateral actorship to which they do not have access according to domestic phonological rule (they then can govern and/or license).

Finally, the only portion of the representation that is accessible for morpho-syntactic modification is immediately adjacent to the morphological boundary at hand (hence spanning from the last Nucleus of the preceding morpheme to the first Onset of the following morpheme). Higher levels have no power over the morpheme-internal area, nor can they access the melody below the skeleton.

The general architecture of the grammar that this approach requires is parallel, rather than continuous: phonology is not simply the terminal structure of a big tree that begins with syntax and "hands down" information to phonology (via morphology). Rather, the different modules of grammar have a parallel organisation. According to work by Ray Jackendoff (1992,1997,2002) and Michal Starke, syntax, semantics and morphology on one hand and phonology on the other constitute two (or even three) separate worlds whose communication is not top-down. The different modules can talk to each other only via a lexical access (correspondence rules in Jackendoff's vocabulary): they send and receive postcards. This is required because phonology and the other modules do not speak the same language: while syntax, morphology and semantics all know what "plural", "case" or "gender" is, phonology is unable to interpret these concepts. By contrast, things like "labial" or "Coda" make no sense to higher level modules.

This supposes that higher level information is translated from the language that is common to morphology, syntax and semantics into the phonological idiom. Such a translational process can only be achieved by a lexical access in the sense that higher levels send a signal to some dictionary, whose entry is associated with a specific phonological property on the other end. As mentioned earlier, I argue that the outlet of this translator's office on the phonological side is made of exactly four slots (further discussion is provided in §402, which actually anticipates on Volume 2).

CVCV interprets syllable-based generalisations as the consequence of lateral relations that hold among segments. The resulting structure is entirely flat: there is no syllabic arborescence left at all. In a parallel perspective, nothing withstands a flat structure in phonology since different worlds may implement different architectures: the existence of a tree-building device in syntax, semantics and morphology does not imply its replication in phonology. If arboreal structure is indeed absent from phonology, as suggested by CVCV, a long-noticed contrast between phonology and syntax falls out automatically: there is no recursion in phonology because recursion supposes arborescence (a structure is recursive iff a given node dominates a node of the same type). The foreword §2 offers further discussion of this issue.

The preceding paragraphs describe the volume to come. The first volume is now in the hands of the public. When this editorial note was written (August 2004), the second volume was almost completed in draft.

The constant reference that is made to it here should therefore reflect its divisions quite closely.

2 Foreword

This book presents a development of Jean Lowenstamm's idea that phonological constituent structure can be reduced to a strict sequence of non-branching Onsets and non-branching Nuclei. This approach is known as "CVCV", and emerged from Government Phonology.

The book is divided into two parts, which expose what CVCV is (Part One), and why it is worth considering this idea a valuable and viable approach to phonology (Part Two).

The primary goal is not to locate Government Phonology in general and CVCV in particular within the contemporary or foregoing phonological scene. Before general comparisons in the popperian sense can be made, the properties of each competitor need to be known. Therefore, the present book aims at establishing a player in the game: it exposes the characteristics of CVCV as explicitly as possible.

In the current OT-dominated phonological scene, then, CVCV appears as a true theory of the 80s insofar as it is representational at core: representations contribute a sovereign and unoutrankable arbitral award that is not subjected to any further computation. Structure and process are related but independent; a theory that dispenses with the autonomy of one of these poles of the natural world must fail. In other words, there *is* something like ill-formedness (and not just more or less well-formedness). Grammar may assess an arbitral award regarding the grammaticality of a form in complete absence of any competition with other forms. Representations exist. They are primitive, autonomous and contribute a sovereign arbitral award that owes nothing to the computational component of the grammar. Therefore, they are not the result of any competition (such as constraint interaction). Representations do not emerge; they *are* (see §309).

The genuine research programme of Government Phonology is to build "a syntax of phonological expressions" (first page of Kaye et al. 1990).

"What is at stake here goes well beyond a mere search for interesting or suggestive similarities. Rather, if (some of) the same principles can be shown to underlie phonological as well as syntactic organisation, the idea that such principles truly express special, idiosyncratic properties of the mind (such as the kind of asymmetries typical of natural language) will be correspondingly strengthened." Kaye et al. (1990:194)

This programme was implemented by *lateralising structure and causality*. That is, syllable-related processes do not root in contrasting arboreal structure. Rather, they are due to lateral forces that hold among constituents. The present book further develops this line of thought: it shows that Standard Government Phonology ran out of breath half way when pursuing the lateral idea. As a result, a permanent in-between was installed: some arboreal structure and causality was lateralised, but other chunks of the traditional syllabic tree were left in place (see chapter I,8 §165). Therefore, Standard Government Phonology is a hybrid animal. Quite some problems, many of them long-noticed (such as its inability to handle word-final consonants that behave like Codas, see chapter II,12 §524), originate in this hybridity.

For example, an important consequence of the arboreal-lateral hybridity is the redundancy of arboreal structure, something that was made crystal-clear in a largely underquoted article by Takahashi (1993) called "A farewell to constituency" (see also Takahashi 2004:141ss). If co-occurrence restrictions are expressed in lateral terms (e.g. a branching Onset: the obstruent governs the sonorant), rather than in regular arboreal fashion (the obstruent and the sonorant are sisters of the same node), the former should take over the function of the latter. This, however, is not the picture that Standard Government Phonology draws: lateral relations *cohabit* with the old arboreal structure. The latter is thus redundant. It is obvious that no theory can afford encoding the same information twice, on top of that by two devices that ought to concur each other. Takahashi (1993) demonstrates the redundancy of arboreal structure by simply showing what would happen if it were not there: nothing. Since it can be entirely deduced from lateral relations, Standard Government Phonology would have exactly the same face without any mention of arboreal constituency (see §209s).

If one were to choose, then, between the classical arboreal expression of syllable structure and the lateral alternative, it appears that the latter is certainly to be considered the null hypothesis. For, unlike in syntax, co-occurrence restrictions in phonology are defined by the *relative* sonority of adjacent consonants (segments). Hence by a lateral, not an arboreal, relation between neighbours. Arborescence only enters the picture when the

analyst translates this primary lateral reality into a secondary kind of structure. I argue that of course there is no counter-indication to do so. However, the null hypothesis ought to be lateral. The burden of proof should lie on the side of secondary approaches such as the one embodied by arboreal syllable structure (§211 details this line of reasoning).

Therefore, there is good reason to complete the missing steps on the way towards a complete lateralisation of structure and causality. This is what CVCV sets out to do: it takes the lateral idea of Kaye et al. (1990) to its logical end. In the light of the preceding discussion, it appears that this is actually a condition on the survival of the lateral enterprise: hybrid models are doomed to failure. Completing the lateral programme, then, produces a result that is entirely flat: no arboreal syllable structure is left at all. Its functional load has been shifted onto lateral relations.

Lateral relations are thus the central tool of CVCV: they define both syllable structure and cause phonological processes. When compared to Standard Government Phonology, their number has been shrunk quite radically (see §§136,147). On the other hand, they have been endowed with a clear functional identity. The architect of this evolution is the Coda Mirror (Ségéral & Scheer 2001a): Government and Licensing alone define syllable structure and a good deal of phonological computation.¹ Also, they have a stable effect on both consonants and vowels: *Government inhibits, Licensing backs up the melodic expression of the target*. In this sense, CVCV may well be interpreted as a minimalist enterprise in the Chomskyan sense: too many devices that have been added over the years without any clear definition of their function in the overall structure are cut down to a minimal number: two.

A programme that aims at unifying phonology and syntax and at the same time comes up with a flat structure may strike as self-contradictory. Quite obviously, no syntactician is prepared to buy anything that is flat: hierarchically ordered structure seems to be a genuine property of language. Therefore, I try to show two things in this book. First, a flat structure associated with lateral relations is not just a notational variant of the familiar arborescence. It is different in a way that produces theoretical and empirical advantages.

Second, nobody has ever claimed that syntax and phonology are *identical*. Obviously, unifying phonology and syntax supposes that one is aware of what is similar and what is not in the first place. Nobody has ever

¹ See §149 and Vol.2,I.8 on the peculiar status of Infrasegmental Government.

suggested that every single bit of one area is replicated on the other side. Rather, the research programme at hand seeks to identify cases where phonological structure and processes, eventually against intuition and the surface mirage, have syntactic peers and hence could be unified with them. This implies the existence of areas where phonology and syntax are different in kind. One such case, co-occurrence restrictions, is discussed in §211. Kaye et al. (1990) also express a balanced view on similarities and differences between syntactic and phonological structure:

"Allowing for fundamental distinctions between the objects under study in sentence syntax and in phonology, such as the recursive nature of syntactic, but not phonological categories, it is conceivable that some of the same principles at work in syntax will be seen to be operative in phonology, and *vice versa*." (emphasis in original) Kaye et al. (1990:193)

When comparing both areas of grammar, then, the most prominent difference that springs to one's eye is certainly the one mentioned by Kaye et al. (1990): there is no recursion in phonology. It is interesting to note that this hard fact, which is a long-standing observation, actually follows from flat structure: if, as I argue, phonology lacks a tree-building device (i.e. Merge in the minimalist vocabulary), there could not be any recursion. For recursion is defined as a node that dominates a node of the same type.

A phonological landscape along these lines is also consistent with the general picture that is drawn by Chomsky et al. (2002), who make a difference between the faculty of language in the broad (FLB) and in the narrow sense (FLN). The latter is the abstract linguistic computational system; it "comprises only the core computational mechanisms of recursion as they appear in narrow syntax and the mappings to the interfaces" (p.1573). More technically speaking, thus, FLN is made of Merge and Phase. FLB, on the other hand, includes FLN and the two interfaces themselves: the phonological and the semantic module (which the authors call "sensory-motor" and "conceptual-intentional" systems, respectively). Chomsky et al. (2002) argue that FLB is shared with animals, while FLN is uniquely and specifically human. Or rather, to be precise, their only claim is of diachronic nature: the present-day human FLB may have evolved through a series of gradual modifications on the basis of animal pre-homo FLB. The FLN may not. It is a device which specifically and uniquely characterises human communication, and therefore has no biological basis in any non-human ancestor. It must have emerged during the times when

the homo species was alone in its evolutionary branch, i.e. in the past six million years or so. FLN is a human invention, FLB is not.²

² Chomsky et al. (2002) is often condensed into "the only thing that UG contains is recursion (i.e. Merge)", suggesting that no phonological property could be part of UG and, worse, that there is nothing to be shared by syntax and phonology. This would then be the precise expression of neo-behaviourist stances such as Carr's (2000): phonology lies outside of UG. It is important to understand that this interpretation is incorrect. Chomsky et al. (2002) are explicitly agnostic with respect to this issue: "Lieberman and his associates [...] have argued that the sensory-motor systems were specifically adapted for language, and hence should be considered part of FLN. There is also a long tradition holding that the conceptual-intentional systems are an intrinsic part of language in a narrow sense. In this article, we leave these questions open, restricting attention to FLN as just defined but leaving the possibility of a more inclusive definition open to further empirical research" (p.1571). On another occasion, they even include FLB into those properties that make human communication specifically human: "we take as uncontroversial the existence of some biological capacity of humans that allows us (and not, for example, chimpanzees) to readily master any human language without explicit instruction. FLB includes this capacity, but excludes other organism-internal systems that are necessary but not sufficient for language (e.g., memory, respiration, digestion, circulation, etc)" (p.1571). On page 1573, however, they say that the strongest form of their hypothesis holds that "all peripheral components of FLB are shared with other animals, in more or less the same form as they exist in humans, with differences of quantity rather than kind".

This is all consistent with the diachronic focus which, recall from the main text, is the only purpose of their article: it may well be true that FLN is the only part of human language that has been "invented" by humans alone; that FLB is some kind of evolved version of the old animal FLB. The synchronic characteristics of UG as implemented in the human genome, however, do not care for how they have come into being: they may well possess properties that have been invented by the homo family and others that have an animal ancestor - both sets may be genetically encoded and conjointly produce the effect that mankind speaks, while animals do not.

In other words, the old animal FLB that humans have inherited may have evolved in such a way that its present version is quite different from the shared animal-human ancestor. Different enough to include specifically linguistic features to which animals, through their unevolved FLB, do not have access. The present-day human genome, then, contains a set of specifically linguistic properties of two different evolutionary origins: some are based on the common animal ancestor, others are "human inventions". In any event, at least some features of FLB are part of the present-day UG, hence of the human genome.

Hence, the critical difference that Chomsky et al. (2002) establish between syntax on one hand and phonology/ semantics on the other precisely concerns recursion: following their logic, any adequate phonological theory must be unable to produce recursive structure. One way to do that - a radical way - is actuated by CVCV: there is no recursion in phonology because there is no tree-building mechanism in this module. If the minimalist philosophy regarding Merge is taken seriously, this is actually a necessary consequence: since Merge is responsible for tree-building, hence for recursion, eliminating the latter means to eliminate the former. Or, in other words, there could be no non-recursive tree structure on minimalist assumptions. Either Merge is active and results in both arboreal structure and recursion, or it is not, and none is produced. CVCV arrives at this result "from the other end", and for entirely independent reasons that root in the original research programme of Government Phonology, i.e. the lateralisation of structure and causality.

This is to say that the flat result of CVCV is at the same time the consequence of the programme that attempts at unifying syntax and phonology, and the grounds on which the most fundamental difference between both modules may be understood.

It goes without saying that Government Phonology is by no means the only or the first theory that attempts at accounting for phonological and syntactic phenomena with the same set of principles. Dependency Phonology, a sister theory not only in this respect, has a genuine tradition and an longer experience in this area. John Anderson (1985,1986,1987,1992, Anderson & Ewen 1987:283ss among others) has always promoted what he calls *structural analogy*: in the formulation of Hulst (2000:209), "grammar recapitulates, rather than proliferates, structures and principles". Further work that brings together syntax and phonology includes Riemsdijk (1982), Sauzet (1996,1999) and Michaels (1991,1992).

Before moving on, a disclaimer is in order: this book sets out only to flatten syllable structure. Other types of supra-skeletal units that are known from Prosodic Phonology since Selkirk (1984a) and Nespor & Vogel (1986) such as feet, prosodic or phonological words, phonological phrases and the like are not its primary focus. Only chapter II,11 (§501) argues that nothing else than flat CVCV is needed in order to implement the parameter known

The issue of whether there is some phonology in UG will be addressed at length in Vol.2,II where neo-behaviourist raids on phonology are discussed.

as Weight by Position, and to explain why Onsets are weightless. Whether higher areas of phonology need to be represented by arboreal structure or not is a question open to further debate. My intuition is that they do not. In any event, this question is discussed at length in Vol.2,III where the relation between phonology and other modules of the grammar is addressed.

Let us now turn to some features regarding the internal organisation of the book (see also §3). For the sake of better legibility, a stenographic overview of the melodic and syllabic properties of Standard Government Phonology is provided in appendix 4 (§623) (and also in a nutshell at the outset of Part One in §§10s,15). These pages are designed to serve as a shortcut to relevant information for the reader who is less familiar with certain aspects of the theory as it stood in 1990. Moreover, the relation of CVCV with Standard Government Phonology is established in some detail in chapters I,7 (§135) and I,8 (§165). The reader who is accustomed with earlier versions of Government Phonology will be put in a position to judge the differences. People coming from other horizons can gain an impression of the genuine properties of Standard Government Phonology, of its tools (Government and Licensing) as well as of their evolution. In any event, historical information is not central in scope and does not represent a condition on the understanding of the book. Therefore, its core is not located at the outset of the text. While chapters I,7 (§135) and I,8 (§165) concentrate relevant discussion, they do not exhaust the matter. Rather, reference to earlier versions of Government Phonology is made throughout the entire book whenever this suits the demonstration.

It was mentioned earlier that the same holds true for the position of CVCV with respect to other phonological theories. This notwithstanding, Part Two is the natural location for some comparative discussion since it is designed to explain why CVCV is worth to be considered a serious competitor in the field. Arguments are drawn from the comparison of solutions for particular phenomena that are proposed by CVCV and other approaches. These range from traditional Kahnian syllabification algorithms over Lexical Phonology and Standard Government Phonology to Optimality Theory. I have tried to focus the discussion on theory-neutral tools that were developed by phonologists over the past 30 years and have become common theoretical background. These include concepts such as branching Onsets, Coda-Onset sequences, disjunctive contexts, bogus clusters, sonority, extrasyllabicity, syllabification algorithms, resyllabification, morae, autosegmental representations and the issues related to the debate on abstractness vs. concreteness.

It is also worth mentioning that the representational orientation of Government Phonology in general and of CVCV in particular leads to the development of precise identities for basic phonological objects and processes. These include Codas, closed syllables, long vowels, geminates, syllabic and trapped consonants, the beginning and the end of the word, vowel-zero alternations, Closed Syllable Shortening, Tonic Lengthening, compensatory lengthening, lenition and the like. Throughout the book, each issue is examined with particular attention to diachronic evidence in its relation to the synchronic state of affairs. Needless to say, as well: the phenomena and languages discussed represent but an arbitrary choice that reflects my personal interests and the empirical field that I am best familiar with. As far as languages are concerned, this translates as a focus on (Western) Slavic, French, German and some Semitic.

Finally, attention needs to be drawn on the fact that the view expressed in this book represents only one possible implementation of Jean Lowenstamm's idea. Other interpretations of CVCV that may or may not be compatible with the present approach in whole or in part include the following. Szigetvári (1999a,2001) (also Dienes & Szigetvári 1999) advocates strings that obey strict CVCV, but begin with a Nucleus and end in an Onset (VC skeletons). Rennison (1999b) and Rennison & Neubarth (2003) develop an x-bar theory that roots in CVCV, and Brandão de Carvalho (2002a) operates with a "double CVCV helix". Cyran (2001,2003) abandons Proper Government or any other lateral device for the description of vowel-zero alternations. Finally, Rowicka (1999a,b,2001) holds that lateral relations are head-initial rather than head-final, while Polgárdi (1998,1999,2002,2003) rejects final empty Nuclei ("loose CV"). Also, the latter two implementations of CVCV share the view that Government Phonology and Optimality Theory are not incompatible. This is certainly true since OT, in its own understanding, is a metatheory that can work with any input (linguistic or not: "theory X with an OT-top"). Encouraged by the possible marriage of both theories, the two approaches mentioned operate with various OT-type constraints that apply to Government Phonology representations.

While writing this book, I was lucky enough to be able to spend some time in Warsaw (repeatedly, thanks to Jerzy Rubach), Leipzig (also repeatedly, thanks to Gerhild Zybatow), Lublin (thanks to Gienek Cyran) and Brno (thanks to Petr Karlík). These stimulating environments have

greatly contributed to the venture, and actually quite some text was produced there.

Another important source of inspiration have been the EGG Summer Schools (Central European Summer School in Generative Grammar, coolschool.auf.net), particularly the editions in Plovdiv/ Bulgaria (1999), Niš/ Serbia (2001), Novi Sad/ Serbia (2002), Lublin/ Poland (2003) and Cluj/ Romania (2004). Various parts of the book have been "tried out" in classes that I have taught at EGG, and other people's classes as well as further discussion at the school have greatly contributed to the result that now appears in print.

The following people have generously spent time and energy in order to discuss various drafts with me: Klaus Abels, Petr Biskup, Sylvia Blaho, Katalin Balogné Bérces, Joaquim Brandão de Carvalho, Monik Charette, Jean-Philippe Dalbera, Edmund Gussmann, Tracy Hall, Daniel Huber, Harry van der Hulst, Jonathan Kaye, Artur Kijak, Ursula Kleinhenz, Ondra Kočkour, Kristina Krchňava, Ivona Kučerová, Laszlo Kristo, Jaromír Nohavica, Gábor Oláh, Karel Plíhal, Stefan Ploch, Curt Rice, Jerzy Rubach, Jaroslav Samson Lenk, Eirini Sanoudaki, Philippe Ségéral, Michal Starke, Péter Szigetvári, Marianna Tóth. The text owes much improvement to them. Thanks a lot for the fruitful exchange.

Le Boulou, August 2004

3 **How to use this book**

This book is not a textbook. It does not aim at being pedagogical: there is no linear progression (in the sense that you have to have read through chapter n-1 in order to understand chapter n), issues are not presented by a "neutral" or "impartial" observer who does not personally support either of the views discussed, and of course there are neither exercises nor learn-by-heart summaries. On the contrary, this book is written from a partial point of view: the one of Government Phonology in general and of CVCV in particular. The goal is to demonstrate that CVCV is worthwhile; all the rest follows from this premise.

The book is thematically organised. Most probably, it will therefore be best used like a dictionary: you want to know what CVCV says about X, so you look it up. Provisions have been made to facilitate this look-up function. A fairly detailed subject index (§633) is available at the end of the book, and a language index (§634) refers to the languages mentioned and offers a list, language by language, of all individual alternations discussed. Two appendices also enhance the look-up function: appendix 1 (§620) lists and references all parameters that have been discussed, and a short guide to 1990 Government Phonology is offered in appendix 4 (§623) (cf. the foreword §2).

All sections and sub-sections are identified by a running number in the page margin, the paragraphs § (see the general conventions §5 for details). All cross-reference in this book (from the main text, from footnotes, from indexes) targets this running number. Within §s, the reference system may point towards relevant thematic units. These are identified by alphabetic characters after the § number. For example, §476c refers to the third paragraph of §476. When following a cross-reference, thus, the reader does not need to go back to the table of contents in order to identify the page number and finally look up the page: he can jump directly to the running number.

Each chapter has a thematic unity and may thus be accessed independently. This, I admit, is less true for the very beginning of the book, i.e. chapters I,2 (§14) to I,6 (§110), where the bare skeleton of CVCV is exposed. Once this system is understood, however, the order in which the remaining chapters are approached does not matter a lot.

Given this dictionary-like organisation, I do not really expect anybody to read through the entire book from the first to the last page.

Also, the rather scary size that the text has grown into should not be dissuasive for that reason. Finally, the relative thematic independence of the chapters supposes a particular effort for making information from other chapters available. As was mentioned before, I have tried to meet this challenge by using constant cross-reference and offering fairly detailed (and thematically organised) indexes and appendices. Another means of prompting relevant information are short thematic summaries. These appear whenever I found that they may enhance the reader's task, at the risk of some repetition and redundancy here and there.

To round off this practical description, it is useful to be aware of the following fact: the book which you hold in hands has changed quite a bit with respect to the various drafts that have circulated over the past two years. The comments that I was lucky enough to receive, as well as a thorough final revision of the text have eliminated a number of errors (though I apprehend in advance all those that have managed to seep through) and prompted minor, but also some major changes in all areas: organisation, presentation, style and content.