

- (c) CV... CV as the unmarked skeleton
- i. word-initial V – it cannot dispose of its governing/licensing power – dispreferred

?	→	V	C
a		t	
 - ii. word-final C – unlicensed and un-governed C remains silent (Cs inherent property is muteness!)

V	C
a	t
 - iii. languages prefer to mark the word boundary by a PERIPHERAL UNIT, i.e. by a vC unit on left and by a Vc on the right (cf. Minimal Word)
9. The minimal word contains at least one nonperipheral unit (word boundaries are indicated)
- (a) a CV word is subminimal, it does not contain any nonperipheral unit: vC-Vc
 - (b) a VC word is ok: YC
 - (c) a CVV word is ok: vC-Vc-Vc
 - (d) a VV word is ok: Yc-Vc
10. Phonotactics – coda clusters vs. bogus clusters
- (a) *#rt, *#tn: word initially none of them is allowed
 - (b) rt# vs. *tn#: word finally codas are OK, bogus clusters are not
 - (c) different kinds of lenition
 - (d) *arnta: no adjacent coda clusters
 - (e) if CCC clusters exist: only a coda cluster followed by a bogus cluster (artna) is OK, bogus cluster followed by a coda cluster (*apnta), bogus cluster followed by another bogus cluster (*tkm), or coda cluster followed by another coda cluster (*rnt) are not
11. Summary
- (a) We define what vocalicness and consonantalness mean.
 - (b) We elaborate on the meaning of government and licensing.
 - (c) We account for different lenition types at different sites.
 - (d) We resolve the stop paradox (the stops have the longest lenition trajectories vs. they are the least marked consonants)
 - (e) We claim that if we are to accept a skeleton made up of strictly alternating Cs and Vs and that these form units (i.e. if a string begins with one, it must end with the other), then it must be made up of VC and not CV units.
 - (f) We explain the different behaviour of coda clusters and bogus clusters.

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Repartitioning the skeleton: VC phonology

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1. Preliminaries

- (a) two types of lenition:
 - consonantal lenition – debuccalization ([t] → [ʔ]; [s] → [ʃ])
 - vocalic lenition – vocalization/sonorization ([b] → [β]; [t] → [t̪])
- (b) the meaning of *government* and *licensing* is not made explicit in previous theories (the cf. Scheer and Ségéral, 1998, 1999)
- (c) the phonological skeleton is made up of strictly alternating C and V slots; no brand constituents: apparently adjacent CC or VV is separated by an empty V or an empty (cf. Lowenstamm, 1996)

2. Goals and restrictions

- (a) we elaborate on the inherent properties of V and C
- (b) we intend to give an account of possible lenition sites and the types of lenition occur there
- (c) a theory of phonotactics
- (d) if the phonological skeleton is restrained as above then it is made up of VC units rather than CV units
- (e) for the moment, branching onsets are disregarded
- (f) we do not look “above” the skeleton: suprasegmentals, licensing between vowels, stress, are not dealt with here

3. Conventions

- (a) \mathcal{V} : any vowel position
- (b) \mathcal{C} : any consonant position
- (c) \mathcal{V} : melodically not empty vowel position
- (d) \mathcal{v} : melodically empty vowel position
- (e) \mathcal{C} : melodically non-empty consonant position
- (f) \mathcal{c} : melodically empty consonant position

4. Primitives

- (a) vocalicness is inherently *loud*: \mathcal{V} s aim at being pronounced
- (b) consonantalness is inherently *mute*: \mathcal{C} s aim at remaining silent
note: the prototypical \mathcal{C} is a *stop*, a brief period of *silence*, also cf. Dependency Phonology
- (c) LICENSING supports the expression of the melodic elements of the target (cf. Scheer Ségéral, 1998, 1999)
- (d) GOVERNMENT destroys the inherent nature of the target (i.e. a \mathcal{C} becomes louder if governed
a \mathcal{V} loses its loudness if governed)

5. Relations

- (a) The unmarked direction of GOVERNMENT and LICENSING is right-to-left (but branching onsets!?)
- (b) LICENSING
 - i. \mathcal{V} 's are inherently licensed
 - ii. a live \mathcal{V} licenses the preceding \mathcal{C}
- (c) GOVERNMENT
 - i. a live \mathcal{V} has governing power which it prefers to dispose of:
 - α . it tries to govern the preceding \mathcal{V} if it is empty (i.e. v) else
 - β . it governs the preceding \mathcal{C}
 - ii. a \mathcal{C} can govern the preceding \mathcal{C} if
 - α . it is not governed itself by a \mathcal{C} (cf. government in the case of vowels!) and
 - β . the vowel between them is empty (v) – BURIAL
 - iii. a governed v loses its inherent properties, i.e. its loudness as well as its inherent license: it becomes silent and it cannot license or govern – it is DEAD
 - iv. a governed \mathcal{C} loses its inherent property, i.e. its muteness: it becomes louder, more sonorous – vocalic lenition (cf. below)

(d) BURIAL – *Coda cluster*

- i. a \mathcal{C} which is not governed by another \mathcal{C} can govern the preceding \mathcal{C} if the vowel between them is empty (v)
- ii. in this case the v is BURIED and it remains silent, i.e. it is DEAD
- iii. BURIAL is lexically determined
- iv. nothing can “see info” the burial domain, i.e. the following \mathcal{V} cannot govern the empty v (cf. Minimality Condition)
- v. coda cluster

- C_1 is governed by $C_2 \rightarrow$
- V cannot govern $v \rightarrow$
- V must govern C_2
- V licenses C_2
- buried (dead) v neither licenses nor governs the previous C_1
- C_2 is not governed by a \mathcal{C} (but it is governed by a V), hence it can govern



- (e) An (empty) vowel is DEAD if it is
 - i. governed or
 - ii. buried
- (f) The Empty Category Principle (ECP)
 - An empty category loses its inherent properties iff governed or buried.
 - i. v remains silent (losing its inherent loudness) iff governed or buried (i.e. if it is dead)
 - ii. c is pronounced (losing its inherent muteness) iff governed or buried (?)

6. Types of \mathcal{C} – types of lenition

(a)

licensed	governed	status	lenition
+	–	very good	no
–	–	bad	consonantal
+	+	bad	vocalic
–	+	very bad	vocalic/consonantal

- (b) i. GOVERNED \mathcal{C} : vocalic lenition
- ii. UNLICENSED \mathcal{C} : consonantal lenition
- (c) LICENSED and UNGOVERNED \mathcal{C} : second in a bogus cluster:
 - V C \leftarrow \mathcal{V}
 - | | |
 - a t k a
- (d) UNLICENSED and UNGOVERNED \mathcal{C} : first in a bogus cluster
 - V \mathcal{C} \leftarrow \mathcal{V}
 - | | |
 - a t k a
- (e) LICENSED and GOVERNED \mathcal{C} : intervocalic or second in a coda cluster
 - V \mathcal{C} \leftarrow \mathcal{V}
 - | | |
 - a t a
- (f) UNLICENSED and GOVERNED \mathcal{C} : first in a coda-cluster
 - V \mathcal{C} \leftarrow \mathcal{V}
 - | | |
 - a n t a

7. Problems

- (a) i. word-initial consonant both governed and licensed: a possible lenition site – not attested
- ii. solution: the skeletal tier must start with a \mathcal{V} (cf. Lowenstamm, to appear) – no word-initial lenition
- (b) word-final empty nuclei – how can they remain silent and why? Our ECP does not with them
 - i. solution: a word must end in a \mathcal{C}
 - ii. word-final \mathcal{C} is also an UNGOVERNED and UNLICENSED \mathcal{C} – consonantal lenition

8. VC theory

- (a) **The phonological skeleton is made up of \mathcal{VC} units.**
- (b) Motivations
 - i. word-final v s have lost their importance, since we allow unlicensed \mathcal{C} s
 - ii. the situation that word-final v is licensed to remain silent by the word-boundary strange and lacks satisfactory explanation
 - iii. word-final v s are different from word-medial v s: cf. Charette (1992), Szigetvári's proposal
 - iv. the \mathcal{C} s in Lowenstamm (to appear)'s word-initial empty \mathcal{C} s are functionless
 - v. allowing empty \mathcal{C} s in a \mathcal{CV} -theory raises the problem of proliferation of such units