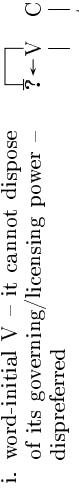


(c) CV...CV as the unmarked skeleton

- word-initial V – it cannot dispose of its governing/licensing power – dispreferred



ii. word-final C – unlicensed and un-

governed C remains silent (Cs in-  
herent property is muteness!)

a. 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)

iii. 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: VC

(c) a CVV word is ok: vC-Vc-Vc

(d) a VV word is ok: Vc-Vc

10. Phonotactics – coda clusters vs. bogus clusters

(a) \*#rt, \*#tr: 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 (\*lkm), 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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## 1. Preliminaries

(a) two types of lenition:

- consonantal lenition – debuccalization ([t] → [p]; [s] → [h])
- vocalic lenition – vocalization/sonorization ([b] → [β]; [t] → [f])

- (b) the meaning of *government* and *licensing* is not made explicit in previous theories (tho cf. Scheer and Ségral, 1998, 1999)
- (c) the phonological skeleton is made up of strictly alternating C and V slots; no branch 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) V: any vowel position

(b) C: any consonant position

(c) V: melodically not empty vowel position

(d) v: melodically empty vowel position

(e) C: melodically non-empty consonant position

(f) c: melodically empty consonant position

## 4. Primitives

- (a) vocalicness is inherently *loud*: V's aim at being pronounced
- (b) consonantalness is inherently *mute*: Cs aim at remaining silent note: the prototypical 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 Ségral, 1998, 1999)
- (d) GOVERNMENT destroys the inherent nature of the target (i.e. a C becomes louder if governed a 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.  $\gamma$ s are inherently licensed
  - ii. a live  $V$  licenses the preceding  $C$
- (c) GOVERNMENT
  - i. a live  $V$  has governing power which it prefers to dispose of:
  - a. it tries to govern the preceding  $V$  if it is empty (i.e.  $v$ ) else
  - b. it governs the preceding  $C$
  - ii. a  $C$  can govern the preceding  $C$  if
    - a. it is not governed itself by a  $C$  (cf. government in the case of vowels!) and
    - b. 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  $C$  loses its inherent property, i.e. its muteness: it becomes louder, more sonorous – vocalic lenition (cf. below)
- (d) BURIAL – *Coda cluster*
  - i. a  $C$  which is not governed by another  $C$  can govern the preceding  $C$  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 into” the burial domain, i.e. the following  $V$  cannot govern the empty  $v$  (cf. Minimality Condition)
  - v. coda cluster
    - $C_1$  is governed by  $C_2 \rightarrow C_1$
    - $V$  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  $C$  (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 (?)
  - ii.  $c$  is pronounced (losing its inherent muteness) iff governed or buried (?)

## 6. Types of $C$ – types of lenition

(a)	Licensed	governed	status	lenition
+	–	very good	no	
–	–	bad	consonantal	
+	+	bad	vocalic	
–	+	very bad	vocalic/consonantal	

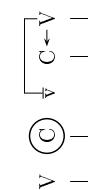
## (b)

- i. GOVERNED  $C$ : vocalic lenition
- ii. UNLICENSED  $C$ : consonantal lenition

## (c)

### LICENSED and UNGOVERNED $C$ :

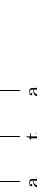
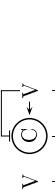
second in a bogus cluster:



## (d)

### UNLICENSED and UNGOVERNED $C$ :

first in a bogus cluster:



## (e)

### LICENSED and GOVERNED $C$ :

intervocalic or second in a coda cluster



## (f)

### UNLICENSED and GOVERNED $C$ :

first in a coda-cluster



## 7. Problems

- (a) word-initial consonant both governed and licensed: a possible lenition site – not attested
- (b) solution: the skeletal tier must start with a  $V$  (cf. Lowenstamm, to appear) – no word-initial lenition
- (c) word-final empty nuclei – how can they remain silent and why? Our ECP does not with them
- (d) solution: a word must end in a  $C$
- (e) GOVERNED and UNLICENSED  $C$  – consonantal lenition

## 8. VC theory

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