

Data & Problem

(1) Possible initial clusters in Hebrew

	V	Action N	epenthetic e	
TR	a. karac	k rica	no	'wink'
sT	b. fatak	f tika	no	'remain silent'
TT	c. gadal	g dila	no	'grow'
	d. takaf	t kifa	no	'attack'
*RT	e. nafam	n efima	yes	'breathe'
*RR	f. lamad	l emida	yes	'learn'

⇒ TT-languages (TR+TT): an understudied pattern
(Slovenian, Serbo-Croatian, Emilian dialects of Italo-Romance)

(2) External Sandhi of RT, RR

1. after V-final word

	Action N	'the'+ action N	
TR	a. k rica	a krica	'wink'
sT	b. f tika	a ftika	'silence'
TT	c. g dila	a gdila	'growth'
	d. t kifa	a tkifa	'attack'
RT	e. n efima	a nefima ~ a n f ima	'breath'
RR	f. l emida	a lemida ~ a l m ida	'learning'

⇒ Epenthesis becomes optional

2. after C-final word

	Action N	'against'+ action N	
TR	a. k rica	néged k rica	'wink'
TT	b. g dila	néged g dila	'growth'
RT	e. n efima	néged n efima (* n fima)	'breath'
RR	f. l emida	néged l emida (* l mida)	'learning'

⇒ Epenthesis obligatory

Empirical generalizations

1. Optional epenthetic [e] in external sandhi is only possible with illegal #RT, #RR (= #RC)

⇒ its origin must be the computation of the action noun alone, i.e. when #RC are string-initial.

2. After C-final words, epenthetic [e] from the word-level computation is obligatory because of *CRC, but CTR, CTT are ok because TR and TT are solidary (branching onsets).

⇒ [word1 + word2] is a computational domain where phonological well-formedness is enforced.

The beginning of the word impacts computation at word level-, but not at external sandhi (post-lexical) computation.

The effect of word-level computation is carried over to external sandhi, though.

The initial CV has done its work, the initial CV may go

Noam Faust

The Hebrew University

Tobias Scheer

Université de Nice - CNRS 7320

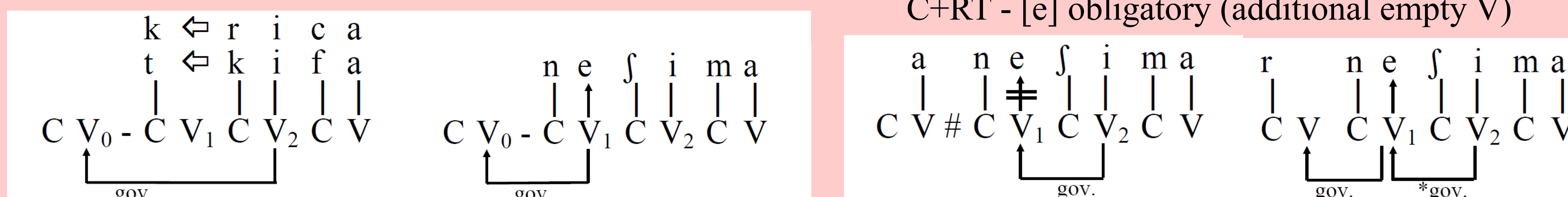
Analysis with initial CV = word-initial

(3) Word-level: initial CV must be present:
it enforces epenthesis

(4) External sandhi: initial CV must be absent:
otherwise epenthesis in #RC will always be enforced

V+RT - [e] may be present

C+RT - [e] obligatory (additional empty V)

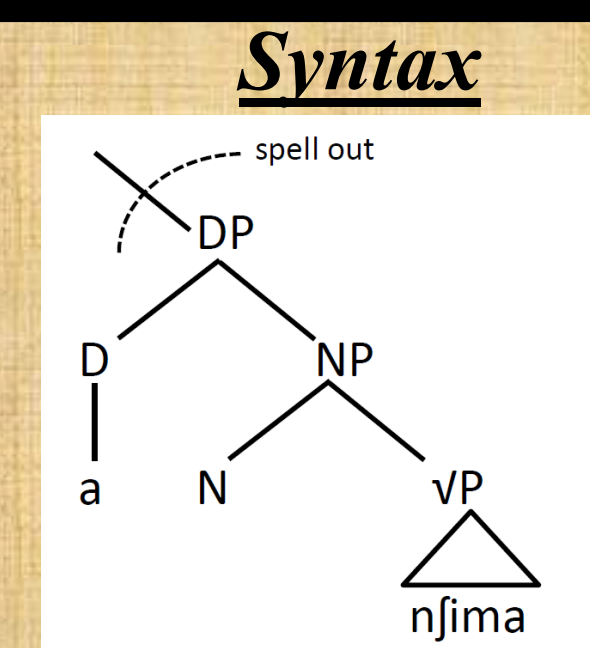


What the initial CV is initial of

1. The initial CV is not word-, but phase-initial (Scheer 2009, 2012).

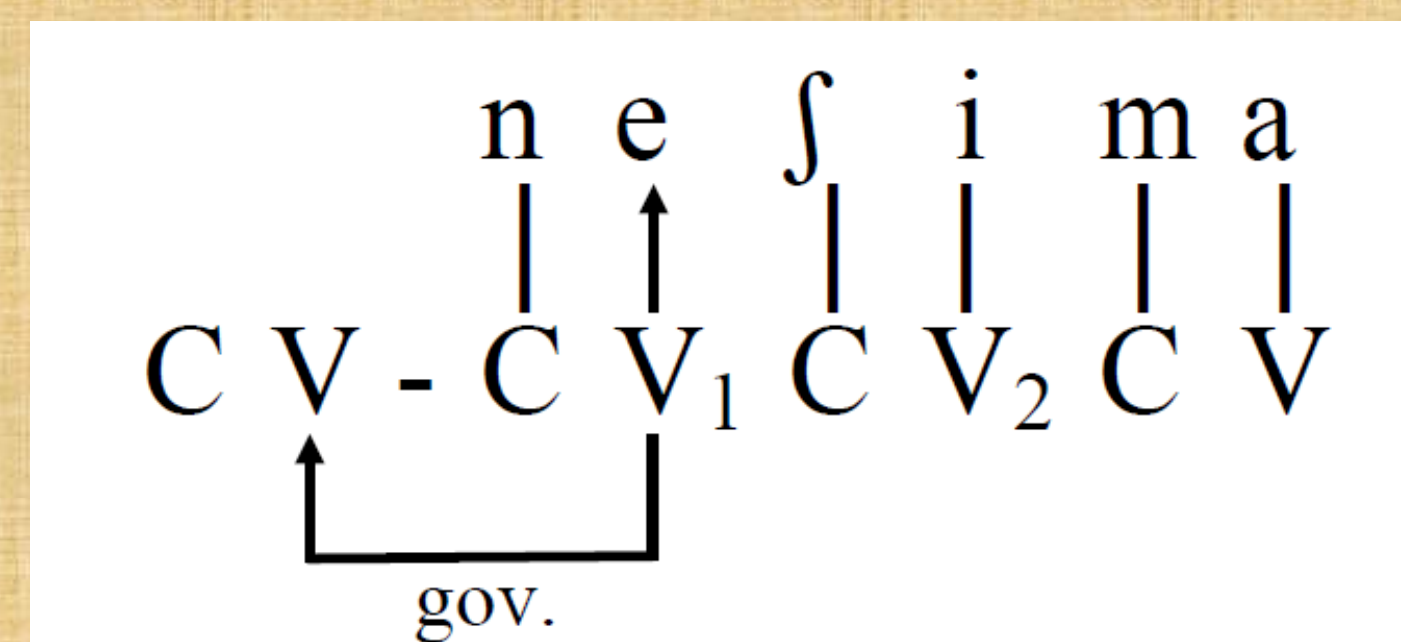
2. Hence it is present upon the computation of the phase it is the exponent of, and absent otherwise
spell-out of [A[B]]: CV-[B] > CV-[AB]

(6) Portion to be spelt out



[A[B]]

(7) Spell-out of B: the phase realizes a CV unit



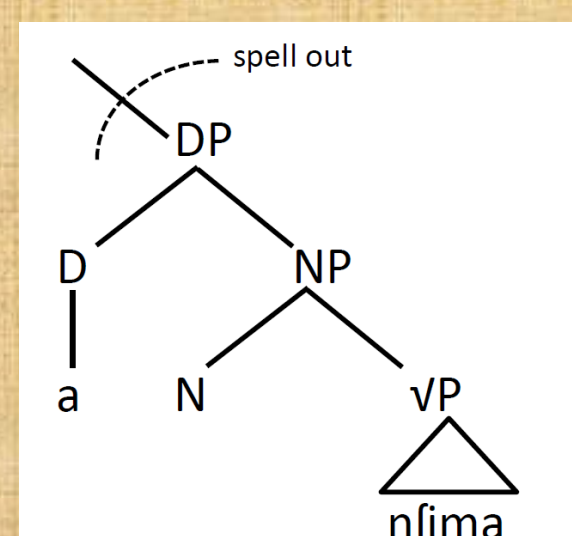
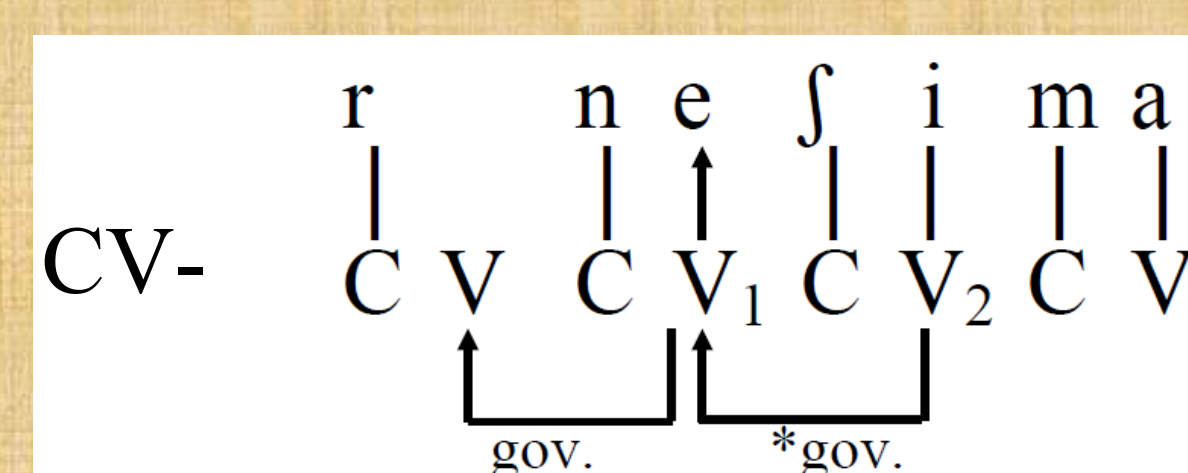
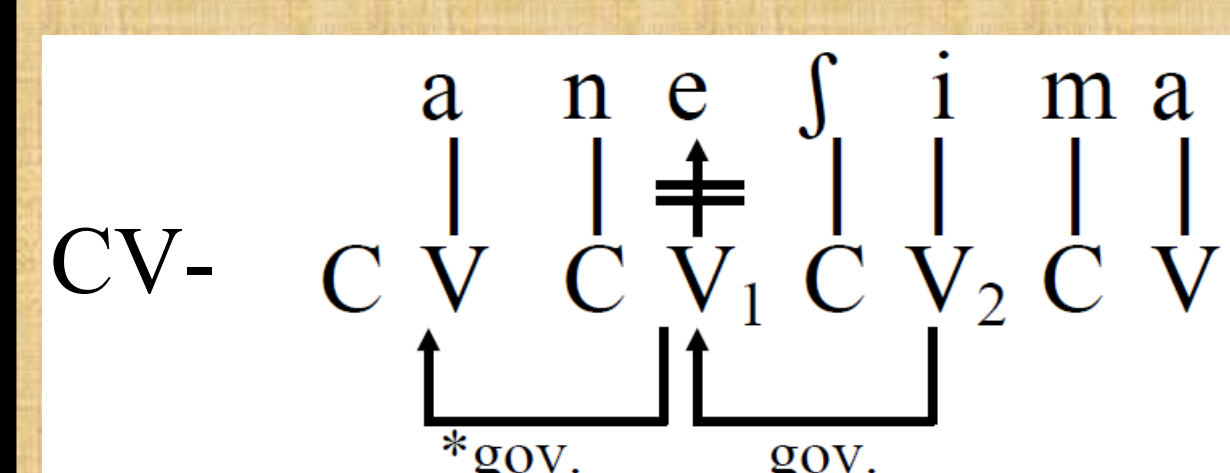
CV-[B]

(8) Spell-out of AB: the phase realizes a CV unit

"loss" of the initial CV

After a V-final word, there is no preceding empty nucleus to be goverend

After a C-final word, a preceding empty nucleus needs to be goverend



CV-[AB]

Discussion

1. Locus of variation: the PIC

Epenthetic [e] in #RC is optional after V-final words (no phonological requirement for its presence in this context).

⇒ there is an optional PIC associated to the word phase [A[B]_{PIC}]

Independence of spell-out (Phase) and PIC (D'Alessandro & Scheer 2013, to appear)

2. Interesting empirical pattern: interleaving of representational (initial CV) and derivational (spell-out, Phase) interface devices.

Analysis in Lexical Phonology

Chunk-specific mini-phonologies (Lexical Phonology, Stratal OT)

1. There are two distinct rules (or constraint sets) for vowel-zero alternations:

2. Rule #1 operates at the word level and is sensitive to the left word boundary, whose identity is representational (e.g. a Prosodic Word ω).

⇒ epenthetic [e] inserted only into #RC

3. Rule #2 is postlexical and ignores the word boundary

⇒ epenthetic e deleted after V-final words

Conclusion

1. There is reason to believe prosodic constituency is inadequate for representing morpho-syntactic information (Scheer 2009, 2012):

a. Diacritics (ω, φ etc.) are modularity-incompatible

b. Redundant: chunks the string a second time, in addition to cycles/phases

c. Makes no predictions: anything and its reverse (**including nothing**) may happen in its vicinity

d. This is not how natural language works: the beginning of the word induces stable cross-linguistic effects

2. unification #1: there is only one vowel-zero alternation in IH, only one mechanism, not two.

3. unification #2: only one phonology (rather than two mini-phonologies)

References

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