

The Coda Mirror v2

[written version: Scheer & Ziková 2010]

1. At the right edge: binary variation

- (1) the last consonant of C-final words (domains)
 - a. either behaves like a coda (pattern A):
 1. it shows coda effects on its own body
 2. the preceding vowel shows closed syllable effects
 - b. or behaves like a non-coda (an onset) (pattern B)
 1. it shows no coda effects
 2. the preceding vowel shows open syllable effects
- (2) l-vocalization in Brazilian Portuguese: word-final consonants do react
internal = final codas (pattern A)

a. V V	b. V #	c. V C
Braz. Europ.	Braz. Europ.	Braz. Europ.
sa[t̪]eiro sa[t̪]eiro	sa[w] sa[t̪]	sa[w]-gar sa[t̪]-gar
ca[t̪]adu ca[t̪]adu	ca[w] ca[t̪]	ca[w]sa ca[t̪]sa
ma[t̪]a ma[t̪]a	ma[w] ma[t̪]	ma[w]-vado ma[t̪]-vado
mu[t̪]a mu[t̪]a	su[w] su[t̪]	su[w]co su[t̪]co
vi[t̪]a vi[t̪]a	vi[w] vi[t̪]	fi[w]tro fi[t̪]tro

- (3) l-vocalization in Old French: word-final consonants do not react
internal ≠ final codas (pattern B)

onset			coda		
#	C	V V	#	C	
lamina	lame	plaga	plai	vela	voile
levare	lever	flore	fleur	mula	mule
luna	lune	fab(u)la	fable	dolore	douleur
lepore	lièvre	C		valere	valoir
		mer(u)lu	merle		
sal	sel	alba	aube		
mel	miel	talpa	taupe		
fil(u)	fil	poll(i)ce	pouce		
cabal-l(u)	che-val	sol(i)dare	souder		

- (4) closed syllable shortening in Turkish, Czech and Cl. Arabic: vowels before word-final consonants do react

internal = final codas (pattern A)

		open syllable CV	closed syllable R.TV	C#
a.	Turkish	meraak-i	merak-tan	merak
b.	Czech	kraav-a	krav-ka	krav
c.	Classical Arabic	ʔa-quul-u	ta-qul-na	qul

- (5) closed syllable shortening in Icelandic: vowels before word-final consonants do not react
internal ≠ final codas (pattern B)

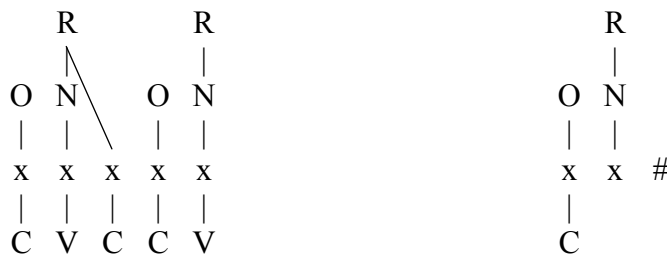
Gussmann (2002: 157-159)

word-internal			word-final	
long VV		short V	long VV	
a. CVVCV	b. CVVTRV	c. CVVRTV	d. CVV#	e. CVVC#
staara	nεεp ^h ja	kampyr	puu	θaak ^h
luuða	pεet ^h ri	haulvyr	t ^h voo	hœi:s
fai:ri	aap ^h ril	haṛka	fai:	k ^h vœœl

2. Standard Government Phonology must claim that this variation does not exist

- (6) regular analysis: extrasyllabicity
- pattern A
internal = final codas
==> final C is a coda
 - pattern B
internal ≠ final codas
==> final C is extrasyllabic
[and later, i.e. after the relevant phonological processes have taken place, is somehow reintegrated into syllable and/or prosodic structure]
- (7) in (Standard) GP, extrasyllabicity is impossible
- all morphemes end in a nucleus
==> Coda Licensing Kaye (1990)
 - there is no resyllabification
but coda-final morphemes require resyllabification in case a V-initial suffix is attached.
 - therefore GP must dismiss the existence of pattern A:
final Cs never ever behave like internal codas
==> SGP needs to discount the evidence

- (8) picture in SGP in ALL languages (that have codas): pattern B
 ==> no parameterization possible
 internal situation final situation



- (9) GP has always tried to talk down and dismiss pattern A
- a. the entire GP literature since Kaye (1990) that is concerned with coda effects was exclusively after showing that word-final consonants are onsets because they behave as such. Examples are Harris (1992; 1994; 1997), Gussmann & Harris (1998, 2002) and Gussmann (2002). These authors have accumulated evidence for pattern B in order to assess the idea that all word-final consonants in all languages are onsets.
 - b. people attempted to discuss away the data, or putative coda analyses were doomed misanalyses. The following quotation from Harris' (1994) textbook provides illustration.

"Underlying particular analyses of lenition is a more general assumption that melodic restrictions on domain-final consonants closely match or duplicate those operating in domain-internal codas. If this were true, it would provide some support for the view that both contexts are codas. It certainly is the case that there can be distributional overlap between the two positions, which co-occur in many classic examples of lenition and defective distribution. However, this evidence cannot be considered sufficient to clinch the case for the coda assignment of final consonants. Even if we set aside the theoretical reasons we now have for rejecting this analysis, it is flatly contradicted by the substantial body of other empirical evidence reviewed in 2.2.4.

In any case, the distributional relationship between internal codas and final consonants is by no means as close as is often supposed. The evidence discussed in 2.2.4 shows that, in this respect, the two contexts are in fact quite different in English. Moreover, some of the best-known examples from other languages which supposedly demonstrate the relationship turn out, under close inspection, to be rather less than convincing." (Harris 1994: 202)

"Assumption (12a), that a word-final consonant occupies a coda, sits uneasily with the observation that this position systematically fails to display characteristics associated with codas which can uncontroversially be identified as occurring word-internally." (Harris 1997: 324)

Hence Harris denies the factual reality of pattern A, even though he admits some "distributional overlap".¹ He also adopts the black-or-white attitude that runs through the entire GP literature: either final consonants are onsets, or they are codas, and there is no possible parametric variation across languages
 Other illustrations: Gussmann & Harris (1998: 141, 2002: 4ff, 21ff), Harris (1992: 6).

¹. This notion is explained in his footnote 95: in Lardil (native Australian), both internal codas and word-final consonants are restricted to coronals; the former, however, admit only coronal sonorants, while coronal stops are also found in the latter.

- (10) but the evidence is massive
- a. one year after the publication of Kaye's Coda Licensing, Piggott (1991:313ff) points out that you cannot decree that pattern A does not exist or is phonologically irrelevant. It does exist and is phonologically relevant.
 - b. Coda Licensing makes the prediction that "there could not be a language in which a co-occurrence restriction between a nucleus and a coda also holds between a word-final consonant and an immediately preceding vowel" (Piggott 1991:315)
 - c. along the same lines:
 1. Piggott (1999) in a TLR paper
 2. Piggott (2003) on Selayarese in Kaye's Festschrift, to make sure the argument hits at the right place
 3. Rice (2003) on Ahtna (Athapaskan) also in Kaye's Festschrift, to double-check for the right place. She joins Piggott's analysis, which is that
 - d. Piggott's conclusion
Coda Licensing is a parameter, rather than a principle
 - some languages have it ==> no final codas, pattern B
 - some languages don't ==> final codas, pattern A

3. Purpose of the talk

- (11) purpose of this talk
- a. yes, pattern A exists and is phonologically real
 - b. yes, pattern A-B variation needs to be encoded as a parameter
 - c. no, this does not mean that the universality of FEN (final empty nuclei) needs to be abandoned.
- (12) CVCV
- a. lateralization of structure and causality
the core of Government Phonology is the lateral project: rather than by arboreal distinctions (FEN vs. final codas), syllable structure is expressed by lateral relations over a stable constituent structure.
(first page of Kaye et al. 1990: a syntax of phonology)
==> Standard GP ran out of breath halfway
==> CVCV completes the missing piece
 - b. Standard GP: hybrid lateral-arboreal
Kaye et al. (1990), Kaye (1990)
- CVCV: only lateral, no trees left
Lowenstamm (1996)
Szigetvári (1999), Rowicka (1999), Scheer (2004), Szigetvári & Scheer (2005), Cyran (2010)

(13) parametric variation in CVCV

- a. parametric variation cannot be expressed by different tree geometries (onset of FEN vs. coda)
- b. variation is expressed in terms of the ability for a given constituent to be the head of a lateral relation:
 - FEN may or may not be able to govern
 - FEN may or may not be able to license
- c. a direct consequence of CVCV is thus to identify another locus of variation: the pattern A-B variation must be due to the different parametric lateral abilities of the FEN.
- d. there is a long tradition in GP to express parameters (especially on the well-formedness of clusters) in terms of lateral relations:
 1. Kaye (1990)

FEN are licensed in some languages (where thus consonant-final words may exist), but not in others (hence all words will end in vowels)
 2. Charette (1992)

across languages, (indirect) Government Licensing may be dispensed

	TRV	TR#	TRC	
- by no nucleus at all	no	no	no	overt CV languages
- only by full vowels	yes	no	no	German
- by FEN	yes	yes	no	French
- by internal empty nuclei	yes	yes	yes	Polish
 3. other work along these lines
 - Charette (1998, 2003)
 - Rizzolo (2002)
 - Scheer (1998, 2006)
 - Cyran (2001, 2003)

==> and most recently Cyran (2010)

(14) right edge (extrasyllabicity) in CVCV

- a. based on the Coda Mirror, first attempt to encode the pattern A-B variation in Scheer (2004:§524).

==> this system does not work
- b. revision of this system, and consequently of the Coda Mirror under the pressure of arguments coming from the interface

==> shaping linguistic theory according to interface requirements is a very minimalist thing to do.

4. The Coda Mirror as it stands

(15) the Coda Mirror

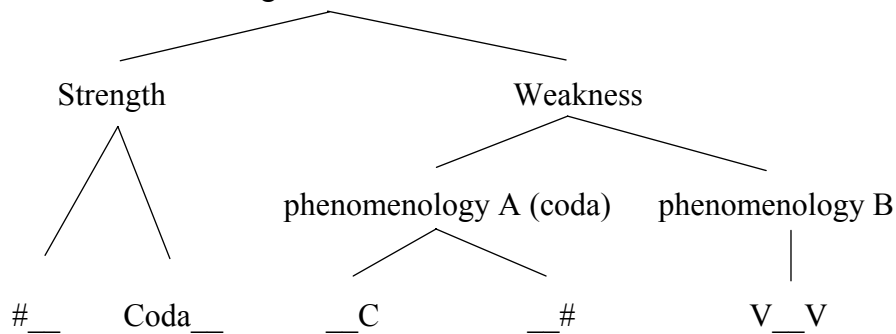
- a. a theory of lenition and fortition
- b. two antagonistic lateral forces (and no others: no lateral zoo anymore):
 - government: spoils its target
 - licensing: backs up its target
- c. nuclei can both govern and license

free combinability of government and licensing
- d. Ségéral & Scheer (2001, 2005, 2007, 2008a,b)

(16) the five positions and their clustering

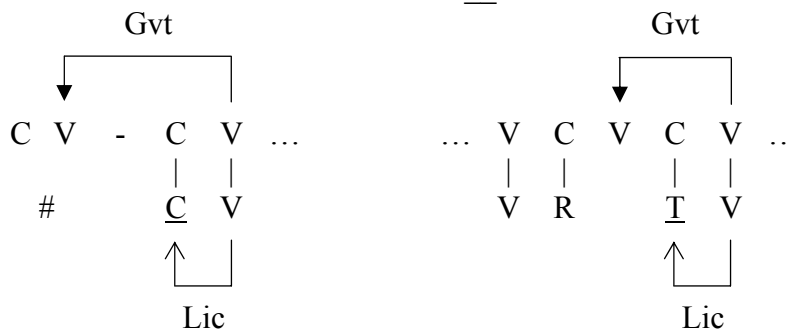
position	usual name	
a. #__V	word-initial	} strong position
b. VC.__V	post-Coda	
c. V__.CV	internal Coda	} Coda
d. V__#	final Coda	
e. V__V	intervocalic	
		} weak Positions

(17) Positional influence on segmental health



(18) consonants in strong position: ungoverned but licensed

- a. initial consonant #__ b. post-Coda consonant C.__



(20) the mirror effect

	structural description		segmental effect		syllabic analysis
Coda	___{#,C}	=	weakness	=	before empty Nuclei
	vs.		vs.		vs.
Coda Mirror	{#,C}___	=	strength	=	after empty Nuclei

(21)

licensing	government	position	segmental health according to predictions
+	—	Strong Position	splendid
	+	V__V	unfavourable
	—	Coda	unfavourable
—	+	impossible	—

5. Right-edge variation: overgeneration with independent Gvt and Lic

(22) extrasyllabicity is driven by licensing

- this follows from its vocalic effects: long vowels need to be licensed
- long vowels

Scheer (2004:§218)

the complement of the long vowel needs to be licensed

- ## 1. alternating long vowels

left-headed

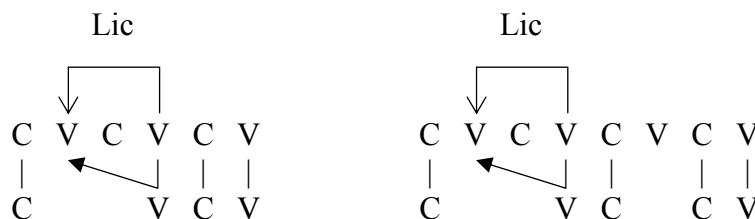
/VV/ in open syllable: [VV] /VV/ in closed syllable: [V]



- ## 2. stable (non-alternating) long vowels

right-headed = self-licensors

/VV/ in open syllable: [VV] /VV/ in closed syllable: [VV]



(23) application of the Coda Mirror to the parameterized lateral abilities of FEN in Scheer (2004:§545)

- a. recall the default assumption:
government and licensing are independent players that combine freely
- b. this opens a four-way typology that overgenerates

(24) effects of the four-way parametric system of FEN

FEN can	vowels in final closed syllables	word-final consonants are in	assessment
a. + license + govern	behave like in open syllables	intervocalic position	ok: C# extrasyllabic pattern B
b. + license - govern		post-coda (strong) position	overgenerates
c. - license + govern	behave like in closed syllables	nightmare position	overgenerates
d. - license - govern		coda position	ok: C# not extrasyllabic pattern A

(25) the nightmare position

- a. has no empirical response: there are no super-weak consonants (which occur only in word-final position)
- b. falls foul of the overall generalisation that consonants and vowels in word-final closed syllables may be stronger, but never weaker than their internal peers
- c. this is correctly pointed out by Cyran (2006:539), who argues that phonological theory should not allow for the nightmare situation to exist.
- d. other candidate for overgeneration:
Cyran also doubts that (24)b, i.e. where word-final consonants are strong, meets any empirical echo.

(26) only two of the four situations have an empirical echo

- a. we need to get rid of (24)b and (24)c
- b. licensing alone discriminates the two relevant situations
==> government is the bad guy
- b. in the two relevant situations, C# is
 1. either both governed and licensed
==> intervocalic, that is extrasyllabic
==> preceding vowel in open syllable
 2. or neither governed nor licensed
==> true codas, that is non-extrasyllabic
==> preceding vowel in closed syllable

(27) the nightmare position

... is a nightmare for the theory: it also occurs word-internally:

1. due to licensing duties of the FEN

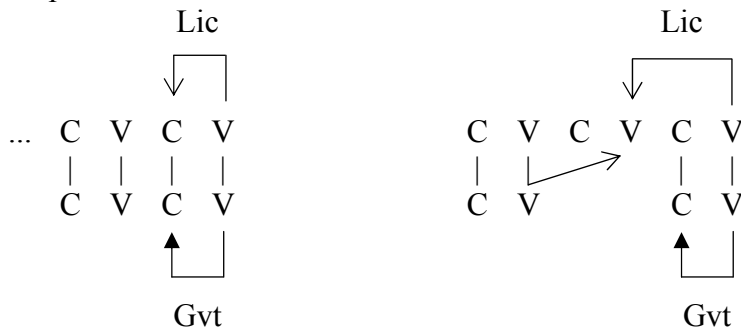
2. word-internally: VVCV

extrasyllabic languages (i.e. where FEN can license and govern)

e.g. Icelandic

a. C# following a lexically short vowel: intervocalic position

b. C# following a lexically long vowel: nightmare position



==> variable consonantal strength according to whether the preceding vowel is long or short hardly meets any empirical echo.

6. Coda Mirror v2: government and licensing must not be equal-righted

(28) unitary abilities of FEN cannot be the only answer

a. solution for the right-edge overgeneration:

lateral abilities of FEN reduce to an on/off setting: either FEN are lateral actors and can both govern and license, or they are not, in which case they can dispense neither lateral force.

This prevents the system from generating word-final consonants in strong and in nightmare position.

b. but what about word-internal nightmare positions?

c. ==> the right edge is not the locus of the problem, it just reveals it.

The real problem is in the theory itself, which must not be able to generate any nightmare position at all.

(29) goal

- a. to modify the rule of the game (Coda Mirror) so to get rid of the nightmare position while not losing any of the generalisations regarding syllable structure and lenition. Touching any piece of the puzzle impacts the mechanics elsewhere. This is of course warranted, but severely restricts the room for modifications.
- b. guide:
Government and Licensing do not act independently of one another; rather, they obey a natural hierarchy that determines their behaviour when they could in principle apply simultaneously.
 1. Balogné-Bérce (2001:53)
"[a] consonant [...] cannot be simultaneously governed and licensed by the same vowel."
 2. Cyran (2006:534)

(30) **Government over Licensing**

no constituent can be governed and licensed at the same time. In case a constituent can potentially be subject to both lateral forces, it will be governed.

6.1. Impact on consonants

(31) direct impact on the identity of intervocalic consonants

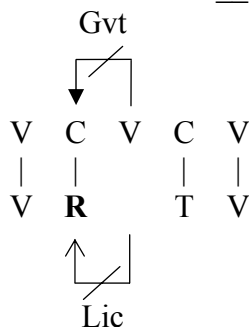
- a. while they were both governed and licensed before, they are now only governed.
- b. critique that has sometimes been voiced in regard of the Coda Mirror (among others by Cyran 2006:530ff, 537): how could the reaction of an onset be calculated if its melodic expression is simultaneously inhibited and enhanced?
- c. intuitively, opposite forces cancel each other out.
- d. the Coda Mirror has always been explicitly agnostic:
the only thing that was important was the ability of the theory to formally distinguish two weak positions, intervocalic and the coda ("two ways of being weak", cf. Scheer 2004:§131), while assuring that both of them are weaker than the Strong Position.
- e. the relative strength of both weak positions remained an open question.
Now: intervocalic Cs are governed, i.e. damaged, while coda consonants are not.
==> prediction: intervocalic Cs are weaker than coda consonants.

(32) Coda Mirror v2

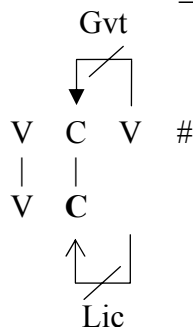
consonants in codas: ungoverned and unlicensed

intervocalic consonants: governed but unlicensed

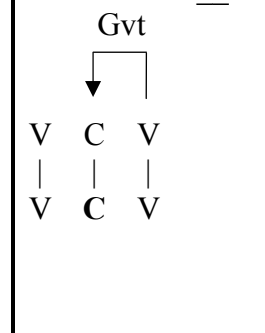
a. internal coda __.C



b. final coda __#



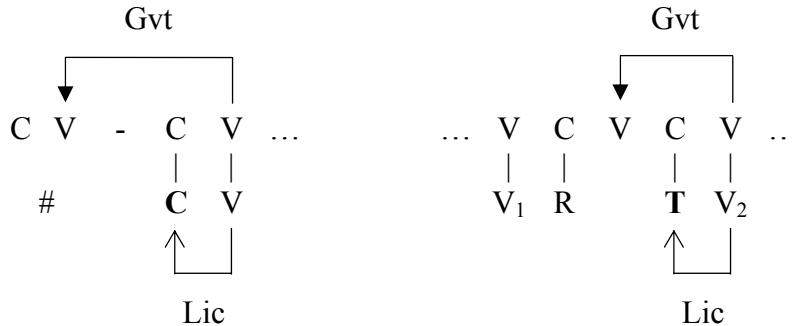
c. intervoc. V__V



(33) Coda Mirror v2

consonants in Strong Position: ungoverned but licensed

- a. initial consonant #__ b. post-coda consonant C.__



(34) Coda Mirror v2

	position		definition in terms of lateral relations
a.	Strong Position	{#,C}__	licensed but ungoverned
b.	coda	__ {#,C}	unlicensed and ungoverned
c.	intervocalic	V__V	governed (but unlicensed)

(35) benefits

- the fourth logical possibility, i.e. a constituent that is both governed and licensed, is ruled out by (30).
- the configuration "governed but unlicensed" characterised the nightmare position before, but now describes regular intervocalic onsets.
==> the system is unable to produce a situation where a consonant is weaker than both codas and intervocalic onsets.
- there is no configuration anymore where an object needs to respond to conflicting demands (which s/could cancel each other out).
- (30) kills two birds with one stone: the equal-rightedness of government and licensing is done away with, and the nightmare position is eliminated.

6.2. Impact on vowels

(36) ground rules:

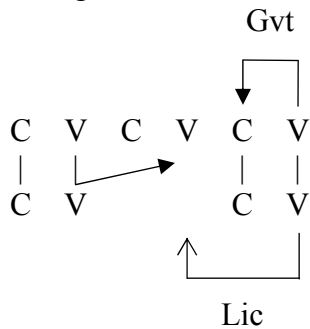
origin and application of lateral relations

- nuclei exhaust their lateral potential: nuclei which are enabled to govern do govern, nuclei which are enabled to license do license (Scheer 2004:§148).
- by default, nuclei target their own onset, i.e. "choose" the shortest move.
- they target other nuclei in two situations:
 - when they are called to either govern or license a preceding empty nucleus.
 - when they govern their onset and hence cannot license it simultaneously due to (30).

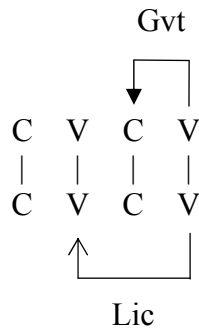
- (37) nuclei do not target their own onset when
- they are called to govern: ==> strong position
 - they are called to license: ==> long vowels
- N.B.: only alternating long vowels (i.e. that may also be short and are left-headed) need to be licensed. There are also long vowels that are lexically long (i.e. right-headed) and insensitive to their righthand context. Both types may also cohabitate in the same language (e.g. Czech, cf. Ziková 2008).

- (38) Coda Mirror v2
intervocalic Licensing

a. long vowels



b. intervocalic consonants



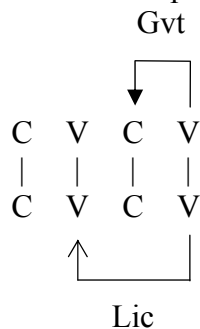
- (39) uniformity of intervocalic consonants
unlike in the old system, intervocalic consonants after long and short vowels experience the same conditions: they are governed (and unlicensed).

6.3. Benefit: new definition of open vs. closed syllables

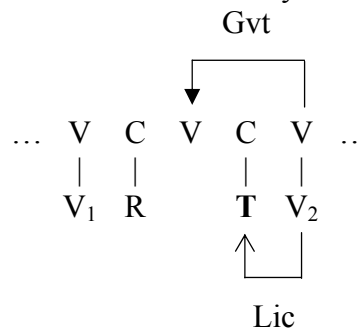
- (40) definition of open vs. closed syllables
- vowels in open syllables are licensed.
 - vowels in closed syllables are unlicensed.

- (41) vowels in open and closed syllables

a. vowel in an open syllable



b. vowel in a closed syllable



- (42) this makes sense
- licensing supports its target
 - vowel inventories in closed syllables are curtailed, they are enhanced in open syllables.

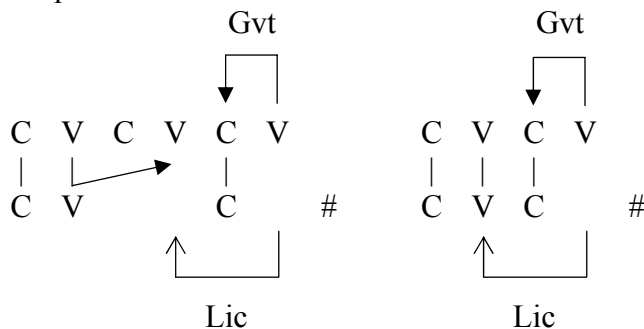
6.4. Impact on the right edge

- (43) recall that FEN may be
- able to both govern and licence
 - unable to either govern or licence

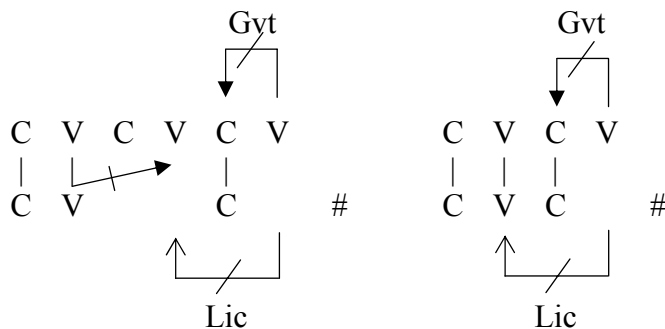
- (44) extrasyllabic languages: [+Gvt, +Lic] (e.g. Icelandic):

uniformity after long and short vowels

- /VVC#/ are long,
- C# after long vowels
is in intervocalic
position
- C# after short vowels is
in intervocalic position



- (45) non-extrasyllabic languages: [-Gvt, -Lic]
- /VVC#/ is short,
- C# is in coda position
 - C# is in coda position



- (46) results
- the contrast extrasyllabic vs. non-extrasyllabic is correctly derived.
 - no difference after long and short vowels.
 - no nightmare position
 - extrasyllabic consonants are not just floating in free space: they are intervocalic.

7. Domain-final is phase-initial

- (47) string definition
- in the modern minimalist environment, cycles are called phases, and phases are interpretational units: a string that is submitted to LF-PF interpretation.
 - domains in the sense of GP are interpretational units
==> domains = phases
Scheer (2011:§329)
 - the PIC was pioneered in GP:
in [[párent] hood] (vs. [parént-al], the outer application of phonological computation cannot modify the stress that was acquired on the inner phase because you cannot undo properties that are due to previous computation.
Kaye (1995)
This is modification-inhibiting no look-back: Scheer (2011:§287)
- (48) what happens when a phase-defined string arrives in phonology?
- In CVCV, two properties of phonological interpretation are hard-wired
- all strings end in a nucleus
 - strings are parsed from right to left, hence starting with the last nucleus
- (49) regressive interpretation follows from
- the fact that all lateral relations (and – almost – all phonological processes) are head-final. That is, phonological computation in CVCV consists of the application of government and licensing to a string that is made of onsets, nuclei and (eventually) associated melodic material.
 - given that lateral relations are head-final, the lateral status of constituents (i.e. whether they are governed and/or licensed, and in turn whether they can govern and/or license) is always determined by the lateral status of a constituent to their right.
 - this means, in turn, that the computation of constituent n supposes that the phonological status constituent n+1 be already determined.
==> phonological computation parses the string from right to left.
 - FEN are thus the last item in the string (from the temporal point of view), but they are the first item to be processed by phonological computation.
- (50) final contentful vs. final empty nuclei
- (final) contentful nuclei inherit lateral abilities from their melodic content: they are always good governors and good licensors.
 - FEN on the other hand have no phonological properties per se: their governing and licensing abilities must be determined in some other way
 - everywhere in the linear string but for FEN, the lateral properties of constituents are defined by the constituents to their right.
 - the phonological computation cannot begin unless the phonological properties of its first domino are defined.
==> **definition of the properties of FEN by a parametric choice**

- (51) why are there are no extrasyllabic vowels?
- a. in regular systems, this is a perfectly relevant question: if consonants can be underparsed, so can vowels.
 1. in some languages, vowel-final words could behave as if the vowel were not there; the preceding consonant would then have coda status
 2. in other languages where final vowels are not extrasyllabic, the preceding consonant would then be regular onsetsBut this kind of variation is not on record.
 - b. answer in CVCV: because lateral abilities need to be defined only for FEN. Thus the parametric variation associated.
Final contentful nuclei have their own lateral specifications ==> no parametric variation.
- (52) why is there parametric variation at the right, but not at the left edge?
- a. there is nothing comparable to extrasyllabicity at the left edge of the string
 - b. this is because
 1. FEN are phase-final and not phase-initial
 2. computation is right-to-left
 - c. in other theories this asymmetry is accidental.

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