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PHONOLOGY-INTERNAL VS. PHONOLOGY-EXTERNAL REASONS FOR ANTI-SANDHI BEHAVIOUR IN CZECH AND ELSEWHERE

(1) question
in languages without (external) sandhi, i.e. where phonology does not apply across word boundaries, what is the reason for the incommunication among words?
Two possible answers:
a. procedural
[phonology-external]
cyclic derivation (today derivation by phase). Words sit in different phases, and Phase Impenetrability freezes previously interpreted items.
b. representational
[phonology-internal]
a representational unit that carries morpho-syntactic information in phonology inhibits cross-word communication.
Typical case: "process X applies within the Prosodic Word", and the Prosodic word coincides with the morpho-syntactic word.

[don't worry for the word "word", which is just shorthand for "some morpho-syntactically relevant chunk at about the word size. Discussion on what counts in and out in which language is irrelevant here.]

1. Process-specific PIC and the role of representational sandhi-blockers

(2) cross-word phonology is process-specific
English: stress assignment is strictly limited to the word, but there is a lot of (external) sandhi.
a. párent - parént-al, but in [paréntal tasks] stress is not reassigned: *parentál tasks
b. t-flapping
[Kahn (1976) etc.]
According to Nespor & Vogel (1986), flapping applies in whatever the syntactic environment provided the /t/ is word-final and intervocalic.
1. word-internal /t/
[ɾ] ci**t**y, a**t**om
2. word-final /t/ across word boundaries
[ɾ] a**t** issue
a whi**t**e owl
invi**t**e Olivia
a**t** eleven
just the other nigh**t** a racoon was spotted in our neighbourhood

(3) possible solutions
  a. having a more fine-grained definition of Phase Impenetrability
     previously interpreted strings are not frozen altogether; only phonological properties that are due to previous phonological computation are frozen, i.e. cannot be undone.
     Kaye (1992, 1995).
     1. further stress shift after the word level is blocked because stress was assigned by previous computation. Flapping across word boundaries can go into effect because the /-t/ was not modified by previous computation.
     2. ==> this is roughly the distinction between structure-building and structure-changing processes that was introduced in the 80s in order to rescue The Strict Cycle Condition (SCC, rules apply only to derived environments), cf. Kiparsky (1982a:46ff, 1982b:160ff).
  b. Phase Impenetrability is phase-specific
     Mohanan & Mohanan (1984) and Halle & Mohanan (1985:95ff) argue for the stratum-specificity of the SCC: in English, stratum 1 is, but stratum 2 is not cyclic (=respects the SCC).
  c. process-specific PIC
     it is specified for each process whether its application is subject to the PIC or not. Stress assignment is, flapping is not.
     1. ==> this is reminiscent of, but not equivalent to, Praguian segregation, i.e. the idea that word- and sentence phonology are two distinct computational systems: lexical vs. post-lexical phonology, where individual rules are part of either, or of both.
     2. process-sensitive PIC has also been proposed in syntax (Bošković 2007), and is implied by Marvin's (2002) analysis of English stress.

==> determining the phase structure of a language is necessary, but does not tell you much about the phonological consequences of phases since
==> Phase Impenetrability (in phonology) is not an automatic consequence of a phase.

(4) what about representational solutions ?
  a. cross-word phonology may be blocked by
     - the PIC
     - representational means
  b. example of competing procedural and representational analyses
     nasal assimilation: u**n**-predictable vs. i**m**-possible
     1. procedural:
        un- is an adjunct and therefore interpreted by itself, while in-is not
        [[un][predictable]
        vs.
        [in-possible]
        Newell & Scheer (2007)

2. representational:
   un- is a Prosodic Word by itself, while in- is part of the PrW of the root.
   Nasal assimilation applies only within PrWs.
   Rubach & Booij (1984), Rubach (1984:221ff), Vogel (1991).

c. result: indeterminacy.

(5) Procedural First
   a. Newell & Scheer (2007) propose this principle:
      given a morpho-phonologically conditioned process, the conditioning is of procedural nature unless there are good reasons to believe that it is representational.
   b. reason:
      phase structure makes predictions on the morpho-syntactic side, while representational intervention makes no prediction at all: ANY derivational history is compatible with ANY prosodic phrasing.
   c. example:
      phonology (nasal assimilation) forces un- to be a phase of its own:
      [[un] [predictable].
      Morpho-syntactically speaking, the fact that [un] sits in phase of its own means that terminals may be spelled out independently. This is not a trivial thing in syntax at all: The interpretation of pieces prior to their being merged runs under the banner of counter-cyclic merger (or late adjunction) in syntax. The idea is that the status of a phrase as an adjunct (or subject) entails interpretation at PF prior to merger into the core syntactic tree (e.g. Uriagereka 1999, Stepanov 2001, Lebeaux 1988). Adjuncts are therefore a separate phase in the terminology of modern phase theory.
      See Newell (2008:168ff) for details.

2. Representational intervention reduces to syllabic space

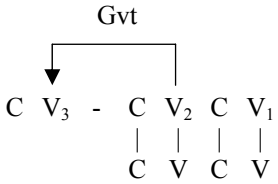
(6) diacritics such as # or prosodic constituency (ω, φ etc.) do not qualify
carriers of morpho-syntactic information in phonology cannot be
   a. diacritic
      modules carry out computation over a proprietary vocabulary (domain-specificity)
      Hence only objects that belong to this domain-specific vocabulary can be used in the computation.
      ==> phonological computation uses only phonological vocabulary
      labial, coronal, stopness etc. are phonological objects, #, ω, φ etc. are not. They are diacritic carriers of morpho-syntactic information in phonology which need to be translated into phonological vocabulary.
      Scheer (2008a, forth a)
   b. melody
      the area below the skeleton, i.e. melody, is entirely incommunicado with morpho-syntax. This is a hard observational fact. One half of it is expressed in Zwicky & Pullum's (1986) generalization regarding Phonology-Free Syntax.

(7) Direct Interface
[Scheer forth a]

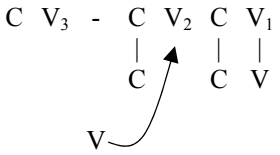
a. non-diacritic communication with phonology is therefore DIRECT: instead of diacritic placeholders such as #, ω, φ etc. that mediate between morpho-syntax and phonology, truly phonological vocabulary items are inserted into phonology.
b. these produce a DIRECT effect, i.e. without need to be activated by some phonological rule/constraint.
c. diacritics are "sleepers" in the sense that they have no effect at all by simply existing: the existence of an "#" in the phonological string does not influence the course of phonology in any way.
They only have an effect when they are accessed by some phonological rule/constraint: "process X applies within ω/ before #".
d. also, diacritics have no PREDICTABLE effect: they may trigger any process and its reverse. This, however, is counterfactual since the processes that are observed at word margins for example are anything but random: word margins have very specific and well-known effects.
e. illustration of the Direct Effect
suppose two processes:
1. V → ø / #C__CV
2. ø → V / #C__CV
==> are they equally probable? Can the left margin of the word be responsible for the insertion AND the deletion of the first vowel of words?
No: process 2) is regular, while process 1) is alien (masochistic).
And this is predicted by the initial CV:

deletion vs. insertion of the first vowel in a word in CVCV

1. deletion: ill-formed



2. insertion: structure saved



(8) hence

a. among all phonological objects, the only possible carrier of morpho-syntactic information is syllabic space, i.e. syllabic constituents.
Scheer (forth a)
b. in CVCV, the inventory of syllabic items reduces to one single object:
==> a CV unit.
Lowenstamm (1996), Scheer (2004)
c. example
the phonological identity of the beginning of the word is an empty CV (Lowenstamm 1999). Its presence/absence regulates the distinction between #TR-only languages (only #TR attested) and anything-goes languages (#TR and #RT occur).

d. extension to two other phenomena:
- first vowels of the word that (do not) alternate with zero
- strength/weakness of word-initial consonants
Scheer (2000, 2004, forth a), Pagliano (2003), Seigneur-Froli (2003, 2006), Ségéral & Scheer (2008).

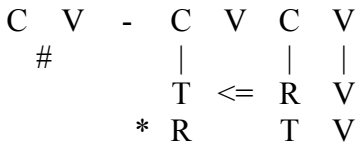
3. Predictions made by the initial CV

(9) typological predictions made by the parameterisation of the initial CV

	in a language where the initial CV is present	in a language where the initial CV is absent
a.	word-initial consonants are strong	word-initial consonants are non-strong
b.	initial clusters are restricted to #TR	there are no restrictions: #TR, #RT, #TT and #RR clusters may occur
c.	first vowels of words may not alternate with zero	first vowels of words may alternate with zero

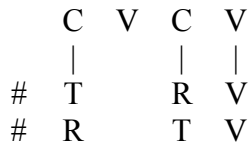
(10) presence vs. absence of the initial CV: predictions

a. initial clusters: initial CV present



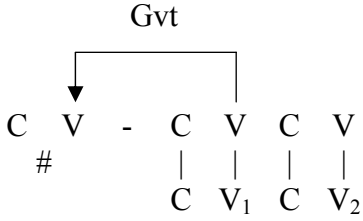
1. *#RT: two ø's in a row

b. initial clusters: initial CV absent



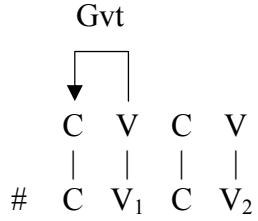
1. #RT ok

c. initial simplex C: initial CV present



2. #C strong: #C escapes Gvt
3. V_1 cannot be absent: two ø's in a row

d. initial simplex C: initial CV absent



2. #C is governed (=intervocalic)
3. V_1 can be absent: only one ø

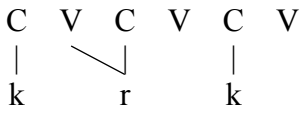
(11) review of some languages
vocabulary items:
- TR-only language = language where #RT, #TT and #RR do not occur
- anything-goes language = language where #RT, #TT and #RR *do* occur

	initial clusters		first V alternates		#C strong	
	#TR	#RT	no	yes	yes	no
a. Czech	x	x		x	?	
b. Polish	x	x		x		x (?)
c. Moroccan Arabic	x	x		x	?	
d. Greek (classical and modern)	x	x	?			x
e. German (standard)	x		x		x	
f. Belarusian	x		x			

4. Syllabic consonants: another prediction?

(12) what is a syllabic consonant?

a. solution 1: left-branching



Harris (1994:224s), Hall (1992:35s), Wiese (1986,1996), Szigetvári (1999:117ss), Toft (2002), Scheer (2004, 2008b)

b. solution 2: right-branching

Rowicka (1999a:261ss,2003), Blaho (2001,2004), Rennison (1999b:333ss), Ziková (2007, 2008)

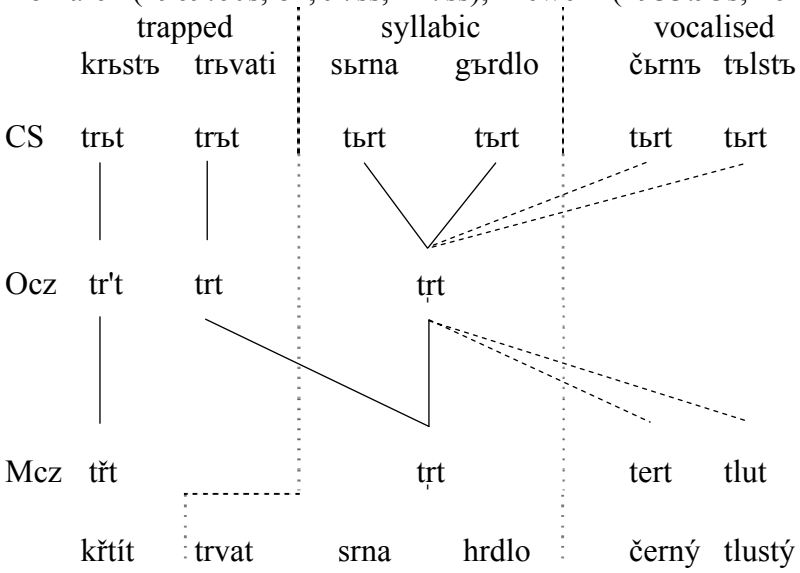
(13) situation in two languages
syllabic consonants occur

	word-initially	word-medially	word-finally
a. Czech	—	smrt	bratr
b. Serbo-Croatian	ŕvati se	smrt	—

(14) Western Slavic reflexes of Common Slavic tьrt and trьt

Common Slavic	tьrt		trьt		sьrna - trьvati
OCS	tr̥t	syllabic	trt	trapped (?)	sr̥na - trvati
Old Czech	tr̥t	syllabic	trt	trapped	sr̥na - trvati
Modern Czech, Slovak	tr̥t	syllabic	tr̥t	syllabic	sr̥na - tr̥vat
Polish	tVrt	vocalised	trt	trapped	sarna - trwać

(15) evolution of Common Slavic tьrt and trьt in Czech
e.g. Trávníček (1935:57s, 111ss, 226ss), Lehr-Spławiński & Stieber (1957:97ss), Komárek (1969:60s, 82, 97ss, 127ss), Liewehr (1933:93s, 162s).



(16) there is a general movement from Ocz to Mcz that eliminates trapped consonants, turning them into syllabic consonants.
This movement is blocked in two circumstances:
a. ř, i.e. palatalized r, *never* becomes syllabic, whatever its position
b. r,l refuse to become syllabic in word-initial position

	word-initially	word-medially	word-finally
ř	řvát	křtít	pepř
r,l	—	trvat > tṛvat	bratr > bratṛ

c. result: ALL Mcz #rC, #lC are trapped, not syllabic:
r: rtut', rvát, rty, rdít se etc.
l: lhát, lžíce etc.

(17) question: why is the general movement blocked in these two cases?
Answer:
a. ř is not a sonorant and only sonorants qualify for syllabicity.
[ř has a voiced and a voiceless version and participates in final devoicing etc.]
b. if syllabic consonants are left-branching, initial sonorants have nothing to branch on in a language like Czech that lacks the initial CV.
a. TR-only language: CV present b. anything-goes language: CV absent

(18) sounds good
  a. but: makes a wrong prediction
    1. TR-only languages (initial CV present) can have word-initial syllabic consonants
    2. anything-goes languages (initial CV absent) cannot have word-initial syllabic consonants
  b. the latter appears to be wrong: Serbo-Croatian has #TTs and #RRs, but also word-initial syllabic consonants:

bd	bdjeti	to keep guard
gd	gdje	where
pt	ptica	bird
tk	tkati	to weave

(19) conclusion
  a. there is no correlation between the presence/absence of word-initial syllabic consonants and the presence/absence of the initial CV.
  b. the reason why Czech has no word-initial syllabic consonants is *not* the absence of the initial CV.
  c. there is a better reason:
    1. syllabic consonants are right-branching
    2. there are no word-initial syllabic consonants because this position is the only one where sonorants that are candidates for syllabicity are not preceded by other consonants, i.e. do not engage into a branching onset-type relationship:
      - final …**T**R# bratr
      - medial …**T**RT krk
      - initial #RT… lžíce

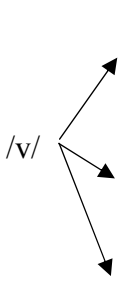
      Becoming syllabic is a reaction (a repair) on the absence of a vowel to the right of branching onsets: TRø is not viable – but #Rø is.
      Scheer (forth b)

5. The initial CV in connected speech

(20) Belarusian
  a. a TR-only language
  b. where phonology applies across word boundaries

  ==> contradiction
  1. TR-only: the initial CV must be present
  2. connected speech: the initial CV must be absent

(21) distribution of Belarusian /v/



[v] /	V__V	korov-a	cow NOMsg
	##__V	vad-a	water
	C.__	barv-a	coloration
[w] /	__.C	korow-k-a	cow dim. NOMsg
	__##	korow	cow GENpl
[u] /	##__C	udav-a	widow

(22) behaviour of /v/-initial words in context

a. taja wdava — this widow
this widow NOMsg

brat udavy — the brother of the widow
brother NOMsg widow GENsg

b. taja vada — this water
this water NOMsg

brat vady — the brother of the water
brother NOMsg water GENsg

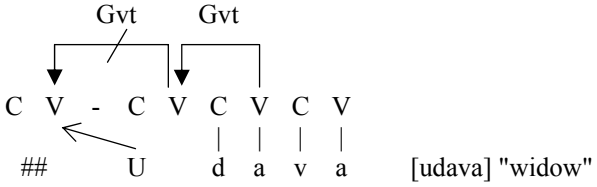
(23) word boundaries are invisible

word-initial /v/ preceded by another word		/v/ in words quoted in isolation	result	
…C # __C	=	##__C	[u]	brat udavy = udava
…C # __V	=	C.__	[v]	brat vady = barva
…V # __C	=	coda	[w]	taja wdavy =korow, korowka
…V # __V	=	V__V, ##__V	[v]	taja vada = korova

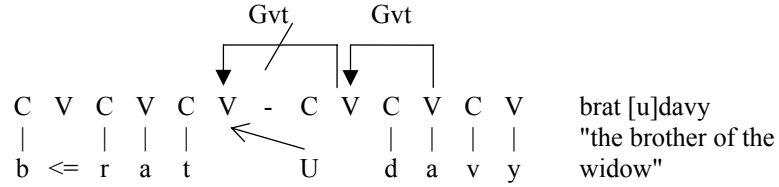
(24) distribution of the initial CV in Belarusian

a. utterances are headed by the initial CV.
b. within utterances, the initial CV is not distributed (especially not word-initially).

(25) /vdava/ in isolation, i.e. utterance-initially = /CV-vdava/

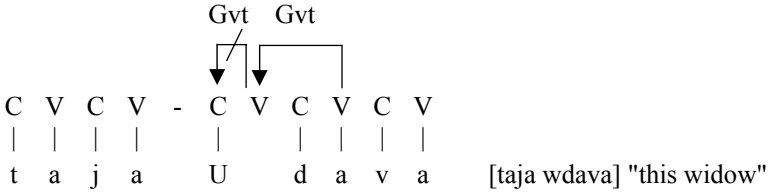


(26) /vdava/ preceded by a C-final word

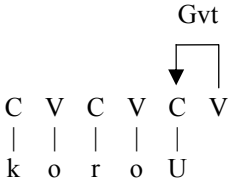


(27) [w] appears when /v/ is ungoverned (and unlicensed)

a. word-initially after a vowel-final word

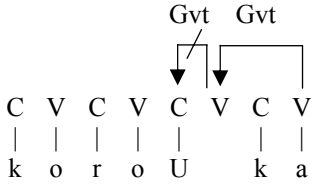


b. in (utterance-) final codas



[korow] "cow GENpl"

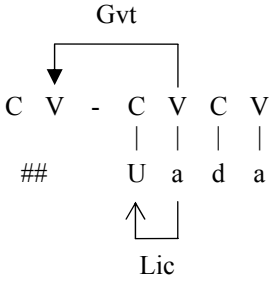
c. in internal codas



[korowka] "cow dim. NOMsg"

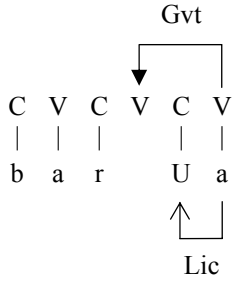
(28) /v/ in Strong Position

a. in utterance-initial position



[vada] "water"

b. in post-coda position



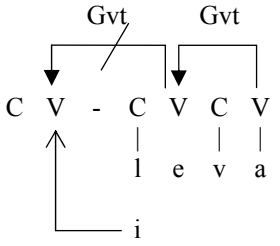
[barva] "coloration"

(29) i-prothesis before CVC roots that occur in zero grade

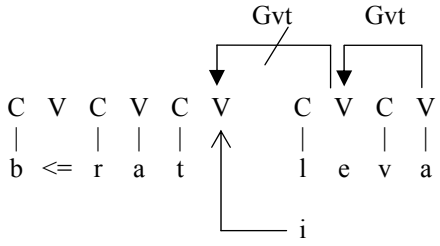
	context	example	gloss
a.	## __CVC	lew	lion NOMsg
	## __CøC-V	i-lva	lion GENsg
b.	…C # __CøC-V	brat i-lv-a	the brother of the lion
c.	…V # __CøC-V	śastra lv-a	the sister of the lion
d.	…C # __CVC	tam jość lew	there is a lion
e.	…V # __CVC	malady lew	young lion

(30) epenthesis into the leftmost of two empty nuclei in a row

a. epenthesis into the (utterance-) initial CV



b. epenthesis into the final empty nucleus of the preceding word



(31) location and causality of Belarusian i-prothesis
all and only those empty nuclei that remain ungoverned are subject to epenthesis.

(32) conclusion: contradiction

a. there must not be any empty CV at the beginning of words, i.e. intervening between words, because this would disrupt the conditioning influence of the end of the preceding word.
We would have uniform
1. [udava] everywhere: taja CV udava
2. i-prothesis everywhere: śastra CV ilv-a

b. still Belarusian is a TR-only language, which should thus distribute an empty CV at the beginning of every word.

6. Lexicon optimization

(33) the phonological point of view:
variable autonomous chunk sizes

a. autonomous chunk size: the word (no connected speech)
[[Peter] [[saw] [[his] [friend]]]]

b. autonomous chunk size: the utterance (connected speech)
[Peter saw his friend]

c. disclaimer
both Belarusian phenomena mentioned as much as English t-flapping are said to apply within the CP no matter what the syntactic relationship between two words. Whether this is really true is an understudied question. Let us assume it is for the sake of the argument.

(34) distribution of the initial CV

	CV present
a. TR-only without connected speech (e.g. English)	word-initially
b. TR-only with connected speech (e.g. Belarusian, Corsican)	utterance-initially
c. anything-goes (e.g. Moroccan Arabic)	nowhere

(35) Belarusian

	utterance-initially		utterance-internally	
	predicted	occurring	predicted	occurring
a. effect 1				
TR-only morphemes	yes	yes	no	yes
b. effect 2				
first V stable (or repair)	yes	yes	yes/no	yes/no
c. effect 3				
#C strong	yes	yes	yes/no	yes/no

(36) the three effects are different in nature

effect	nature of the effect
a. TR-only morphemes	lexical: decided in the lexicon
b. first V stable (or repair)	online: decided by online computation
c. #C strong	online: decided by online computation

(37) lexicon optimization
how computation can shape the lexicon

a. in Belarusian-type languages, #RT words are
   - well-formed utterance-internally
   - ill-formed utterance-initially
b. why does the ill-formedness of #RT-initial morphemes just in utterance-initial position ends up ruling over the entire lexicon?
   Or, in other words, why should an extremely local computation, the calculus of phonological well-formedness at the beginning of utterances, have the power to enforce a hard-wired effect on the shape of lexical items across the entire lexicon?
c. this effect is known as lexicon optimisation in the literature.
   This notion may refer to quite different things pending on the theoretical orientation and other factors. The basic idea, however, provides an answer precisely to the question that we are after:

   an entire lexicon is shaped according to the conditions that lexical items experience during computation.

   (e.g. Prince & Smolensky 1993:§9.3, Yip 1996, Bermúdez-Otero 1999:124, Inkelas 1995).
   In a nutshell, Bermúdez-Otero (2003:29) provides the following formulation (after Hale 1973:420):

   prefer inputs that are well-formed outputs.

7. Phase heads and the distribution of CV units

(38) distribution of CV units: typology and criteria

	morphemes are TR-only	no connected speech: #C strong, first vowel stable no matter what	connected speech: #C strong/weak, first vowel stable/unstable depending on preceding word
a. word-initial CV (English)	yes	yes	no
b. utterance-initial CV (Belarusian)	yes	no	yes
c. no CV at all (Moroccan Arabic)	no	no	yes

(39) who decides on connected speech ?
- a. is it a consequence of Phase structure or of the distribution of CVs?
- b. CVs are out of business:
  1. they *must* be absent in connected speech
  2. they may (English) or may not (Moroccan Arabic) be present in non-connected speech
- c. ==> connected speech is decided by phase structure alone.

(40) but what does that mean?
- a. in languages like Belarusian there are no Phases between the word level and the CP?
  ==> certainly not.
- b. this just means that Phase boundaries may be ignored by the phonology: phase boundaries
  - are detected by morpho-syntactic and/or phonological traces
  - may or may not leave morpho-syntactic traces
  - may or may not leave phonological traces

- c. phase structure and the distribution of initial CVs
  1. **initial** CVs can only be distributed phase-initially: this is what "initial" means
  2. but there is no automatic distribution: not every phase is headed by an initial CV
- d. bumpy match between syntactic and phonological evidence for phases at and above the word level

phases (syntactic evidence)	autonomous chunks (phonological evidence)	
CP	utterance	good match
vP	–	no phonological trace
DP	–	no phonological trace
TP	–	no phonological trace
…	–	no phonological trace
–	word	no syntactic trace

(41) who controls process-specific (external) sandhi ?
   a. CVs are out of business
      1. a CV unit cannot sometimes be present and at other times be absent depending on the phonological process.
         The phonological string is pieced together before it is submitted to phonological computation, which considers all of the string.
      2. alternative: a CV unit is present, but "visible" only for some processes (Balogné-Bérces 2004, 2005).
         This is exactly the diacritic "sleeper"-management of representational intervention (see (7)): # sits in the phonological string until some process calls on it / "sees" it.
         If representational intervention is not diacritic, this is not an option.
   b. processes are specified for applying over phase boundaries or not.
      Probably "they can distinguish" different phase boundaries.

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