North East Linguistics Society

Volume 24
Issue 2 *NELS 24: Volume 2*

Article 8

1994

Monotonic Cyclicity and Optimality Theory

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1. Introduction

Evidence for cyclicity (e.g. Mascaró 1976, Kiparsky 1982, 1993 Hargus 1993, Inkelas 1993) seems to pose a serious challenge to nonderivational approaches to phonology (e.g., Scobbie 1991, Goldsmith 1993, Bird 1990, Lakoff 1993, Prince and Smolensky 1993). Cyclic phonology is thought to require serial derivations, but serial derivations are cognitively implausible (see, for example, papers in Goldsmith 1993b). Proponents of nonderivational phonology have responded to this issue in two very different ways:

i) Recent work in Optimality Theory (Prince and Smolensky 1993) claims that cyclic effects are an epiphenomenon resulting from constraints on alignment between morpheme edges and metrical constituents (McCarthy and Prince 1993). This approach is based on the tacit assumption that all cyclic effects occur at morpheme junctures.

ii) Harmonic Phonology and related approaches (Goldsmith 1993, Lakoff 1993; cf. Cole 1990) assume a small, fixed number (usually three) of parallel phonological representations or "levels" with constraints on correspondences between levels. This approach is based on the assumption that exactly two applications of phonology are required regardless of the morphological structure of a form.

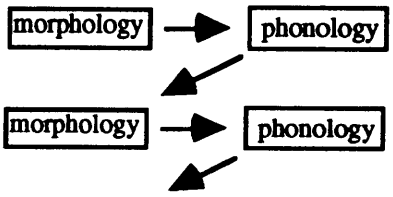
This paper presents two cases of cyclic phonology which do not yield to either approach. I then propose a new model of the phonology-morphology interaction which

preserves the advantages of nonderivationalism (and is consistent with Optimality Theory), yet derives cyclic effects as an automatic consequence.

1.1 Cyclicity in Lexical Phonology

Although there are early cyclic analyses in phonology (e.g., Pesetsky 1979), the term cyclicity has come in modern phonological literature to be equated with the theory of Lexical Phonology (Kiparsky 1982, Mohanan 1982, 1986). The aversion to cyclicity among nonderivational phonologists is perhaps caused by the unfortunate factory metaphor used in Mohanan's (1986) implementation of Lexical Phonology.[1]

(1)



The following quote from Goldsmith illustrates a typical reaction to Lexical Phonology:

> Much of the material discussed here arose out of a critical analysis of Lexical Phonology, which depends heavily on what appear to be thorough-going uses of an implausible metaphor involving space and time: "First add an affix, then send that material through a set of rules which modifies the resultant form; then go to the next level, add another affix, and finally string all the words together, only after which do we reach a point where the postlexical rules get a chance to apply." The hope is implicit in such an account that the ungainly metaphors are present only for expository reasons; but as I attempted to extract the essence from the packaging, for my own purely pedagogical purposes, I slowly, and reluctantly, came to the conclusion that the operation left little behind. (1993: 21)

My own reaction to Lexical Phonology has been somewhat different:

> As I attempted to extract the essence from the packaging, for *my* own purely pedagogical reasons, I slowly, yet eagerly, came to the conclusion that a great insight remained.

The goal of this paper is to develop a unification-based formalism from which the major insight of Lexical Phonology, the interleaving of phonology and morphology, follows, and to briefly explore the desirable theoretical and cognitive aspects of such an approach. The case studies I present illustrate rule interaction paradoxes and inside-out effects, which are among the major motivations of cyclic phonology.

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1 Perhaps another reason that the idea of cyclicity in phonology has attracted so much hostility is because it is assumed to be the counterpart in phonology of cyclic rule application in syntax. However, as we will see, cyclicity in phonology in fact does not correspond to cyclicity in syntax at all; if an analogy is to be found in syntactic theory, feature percolation is probably the best available.

2. The insufficiency of past approaches

In this section, I present two case studies which show that neither the alignment approach of Optimality Theory nor the parallel representations approach of Harmonic Phonology can handle all cases of cyclic phonology.

2.1 The alignment approach

McCarthy and Prince 1993 have shown that some cyclic effects can be accounted for by constraints on alignment between morpheme edges and metrical constituents. I illustrate this approach by presenting a reanalysis of Poser's (1989) cyclic account of Diyari stress (later I will present cases that cannot be handled noncyclically by alignment).

Diyari stress.

In monomorphemic words, primary stress falls on the first syllable, and secondary stress on all odd-numbered syllables, except for the ultima.

(2)	kána	'man'	pínadu	'old man'
	nánda	'to hit'	púluru	'mud'
	ŋándawàlka	'to close'	mánkara	'girl'

Morphologically complex words are stressed in a similar way, except for the requirement that the first syllable of every polysyllabic suffix is stressed, even if it happens to be an even-numbered syllable. Morpheme-final syllables are never stressed.

(3)	kán`a-wàra-ŋùndu	'man-pl-abl'	máda-la-ntu	'hill-charac-propr'
	ŋándawàlka-tàdi	'to close-pass'	púluru-ni-màta	'mud-loc-ident'
	táyi-yàtimàti	'to eat-opt'	pínadu-wàra	'old man-pl'
	kána-wàra-ŋu	'man-pl-loc'	yákalka-yìrpa-màli-na	'ask-ben-recip-part'

Poser presents a simple cyclic account of Diyari stress. He assumes that binary left-dominant quantity-insensitive feet are assigned cyclically from left to right. If there is a leftover syllable, it is assigned a degenerate foot. Poser evokes the Free Element Condition (Prince 1985) to account for the fact that feet do not cross morpheme boundaries. Since the final syllable of a stem will already be dominated by a foot (either binary or degenerate) at the time when a new suffix is added, footing on the next cycle will start from the initial syllable of the new suffix. Finally, a postcyclic defooting rule removes all degenerate feet, first stress is made prominent.

(4)	Root cycle	(x .) (x) pu lu ru
	1st affix cycle	(x .) (x) (x) pu lu ru ni
	2nd affix cycle	(x .) (x) (x) (x .) pu lu ru ni maṭa
	Postcyclic defooting	(x .) (x .) pu lu ru ni maṭa
	Surface	púlurunimàṭa

I now present a noncyclic analysis of Diyari stress using Generalized Alignment. We need the following constraints, which I present rather informally here for ease of exposition:[2]

(5) i) FtForm: Trochee
ii) No morpheme-final stress (NoAlignR (Morpheme, R, σ, R))
iii) Parse σ (by Foot)
iv) Feet want to be at the left edge: AlignL (F, L, Stem, L)

These constraints are ranked as shown in (6). The first two constraints are never violated in the data we are considering here.

(6) {FtForm, NoAlignR} >> Parse σ >> AlignL

The tableau in (7) illustrates how these constraints account for Diyari stress. Notice that it is better to leave a syllable unfooted (a parse violation) than to assign a degenerate foot or a foot that crosses morpheme boundaries.

(7)

	puluru-ni-maṭa	FtForm	NoAlignR	Parse σ	AlignL
	(x .) (x) (x) (x .) pu lu ru ni ma ṭa	**!	**		2+3+4
	(x .) (x .) (x .) pu lu ru ni ma ṭa		*!		2+4
	(x .) (x .) pu lu ru ni ma ṭa		*!	**	3
☞	(x .) (x .) pu lu ru ni ma ṭa			**	4
	(x .) (x .) pu lu ru ni ma ṭa			**	1!+4

2.2 Turkish voicing alternations

In this section, I present a case of cyclic phonology that does not admit a noncyclic reanalysis in the Generalized Alignment framework. In Turkish, root-final plosives underlyingly unspecified for voicing surface as voiced in onset and voiceless in coda position (Kaisse 1986, Rice 1990, Inkelas and Orgun1993).

(8)

	Alveolar			Labial and palatal		
	Nominative	Accusative	Gloss	Nom.	Acc.	Gloss
Alternating	kanat	kanad- i	'wing'	kitap	kitab- i	'book'
	kilit	kilid-i	'lock'	a.ač	a.aǰ- i	'tree'
Non-alternating	sanat	sanat- i	'art'	*None*		
	anıt	anıt- ı	'monument'			
	p-irelüd	p-irelüd-ü	'prelude'			
	etüd	etüd-ü	'study'			

2 The constraints are assumed to be universal, and their ranking language particular. A constraint may be violated only if a higher-ranked constraint can be satisfied by doing so. See Prince and Smolensky 1993 and McCarthy and Prince 1993 for details.

Notice that final labial and palatal plosives of polysyllabic roots always undergo these alternations. A simple analysis would be to say that plosives unspecified as to voicing are assigned voicing in onsets and voicelessness in codas. This assignment is purely structure-filling (i.e., it is more important to keep underlying voicing specifications than to obey voicing constraints), accounting for the nonalternating final alveolar plosives.[3]

The regular behavior for final plosives of monosyllabic roots, however, is to be consistently voiceless, whether in surface onset or coda position. Crucially, this is true for labial and palatal as well as alveolar plosives.

(9)

Alveolar			Labial and palatal		
Nominative	Accusative	Gloss	Nom.	Acc.	Gloss
at	at-i	'horse'	hap	hap-i	'pill'
ot	ot-u	'grass'	top	top-u	'ball'
it	it-i	'dog'	pič	pič-i	'bastard'
et	et-i	'meat'	kič	kič-i	'ass'

The productivity of these patterns is confirmed by recent loans.

(10)

Nominative	Accusative	Gloss
teleskop	teleskob-u	'telescope'
mikroskop	mikroskob-u	'microscope'
tüp	tüp-ü	'tube'
küp	küp-ü	'cube'

The fact that a monosyllabic root-final plosive exhibits the coda effect of devoicing even if it surfaces as an onset can be analyzed straightforwardly in a cyclic model. Following Rice 1990, I assume that devoicing applies cyclically, but root final plosives are protected from devoicing on the root cycle by extrametricality (which can be implemented as an alignment constraint that prevents the root final consonant from being syllabified; see McCarthy and Prince 1993). When affixation renders the consonant non-final, it is directly syllabified into its surface position, acquiring the appropriate laryngeal specification. In monosyllabic roots, the final consonant is forced to syllabify on the root cycle by an independently needed, higher ranked bimoraic minimal size condition (Orgun and Inkelas 1992), and devoices on the root cycle. Example (11) illustrates these alternations (angled brackets indicate unsyllabified segments).

3 The fact that there are no labial and coronal root-final plosives underlyingly specified for voicing can be accounted for by a constraint on the complexity of underlying representations, such that no root-final plosive may have both a place node and a laryngeal node underlyingly. Alveolar plosives do not need an underlying place specification, therefore they can have laryngeal features. Labials and palatals do need underlying place specifications. Therefore, they have to lack an underlying laryngeal node.

(11)

	underlyingly voiceless	underlyingly unspecified	underlyingly unspecified
	'art'	'book'	'pill'
UR	sanat	kitaB	haB
Root cycle	sana<t>	kita<B>	hap
Affix cycle	sanat-i	kitab-i	hap-i
Surface	sanati	kitabi	hapi

A noncyclic account would have to claim that the plosive in question is actually a coda in the output. This would require a further, phonetic, level of representation in which the consonant in question is an onset (since we know that it is an onset in the surface phonetic form). However, this approach is not tenable, for various reasons. First, phonological codas in Turkish are realized as phonetic onsets only optionally. It is always possible to insert a glottal stop rather than resyllabify (e.g., across word boundaries, including in compounds). But in the suffixed forms in (11), resyllabification is obligatory. Since phonetic implementation should not be sensitive to morphological information, we have to conclude that the root final consonants are *phonologically* onsets. It is natural to expect that resyllabification is obligatory in the lexical phonology, but optional postlexically.[4] Thus, we have to admit multiple phonological representations to solve the problem of Turkish voicing alternations. In the next section, I show that the number of such parallel representations has to depend on the morphological structure of a form, rather than being predetermined (e.g., as lexical, postlexical, and phonetic).

2.3 The Harmonic Phonology approach

Goldsmith 1993 and Lakoff 1993 use three parallel phonological representations to account for some rule interaction and cyclic effects. The main assumptions leading to this approach can be traced back to Cole 1990, who proposed a two-cycle serial derivation. Cole's approach is based on two apparent observations (although she only mentions the first one explicitly in her paper, the second observation is necessary for her account as well):

i) One never needs more than two cycles of phonological rule application.
ii) It never hurts one two have more than one cycle of phonological rule application.

If these observations are correct, one does not need a phonological cycle for each affix. Instead, one can assume a model in which every form undergoes exactly two cycles, regardless of its morphological structure. Goldsmith 1993 and Lakoff 1993 propose a declarative approach based on the same intuition. In their approach, there

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[4] A further problem is that postlexical coda loss in Turkish is usually accompanied by compensatory lengthening, as noted by Sezer 1985. This is illustrated by the fast speech variants shown below.

yanlıš	~	ya:nıš	'wrong'
sonra	~	so:ra	'after'
anla	~	a:na	'understand'

Therefore, we should expect the resyllabification of the final consonant of a monosyllabic root to cause compensatory lengthening if it happens postlexically. The solution is again to posit that resyllabification in those forms happens lexically rather than postlexically, and compensatory lengthening only applies to postlexical coda loss.

are three parallel phonological representations related to each other by constraints (or "constructions").[5]

(12) M-level phonological representation
⇕ M-W constructions
W-level phonological representation
⇕ W-P constructions
P-level phonological representation

I illustrate how this approach can handle a counterbleeding interaction between phonological rules. In Uighur, vowels raise in morpheme final open syllables (except word-finally):[6]

(13)	kala	'cow'	kali-ɣa	'cow-dat'
	tuxa	'chicken'	tuxi-dan	'chicken-abl'
	qazan	'pot'	qazin -i	'pot-possessive'
	bala	'child'	bali-si	'child-possessive'
	ana	'mother'	ani-lar	'mother-plural'

This alternation can be expressed as a cross-level correspondence as shown below (note that one needs to interpret the morpheme boundary symbol rather loosely):

(14) Level X: σ + σ
|
V
⇕
Level Y: σ
|
V
[+hi]

example:
X: qazan + i
⇕
Y: qazin + i

Another rule of Uighur phonology is that high vowels elide in two-sided open syllables between identical consonants.

(15) qazini + ni → qazinni 'pot-possessive-accusative'

This rule can also be stated as a cross-level constraint (ε denotes the empty string).

(16) Level X: V C_i V C_i V
|
hi
⇕
Level Y: ε

[5] Note that Lakoff's model is equivalent to the two-level model of Karttunen 1993: His cross-level mapping is Finite State, and any multi-level Finite State model is equivalent to a two level one, as shown by Johnson 1972. But Goldsmith's model cannot be reduced to two levels because of his "intralevel" rules. I will, therefore, continue to focus on the three level representation in this paper.

[6] The Uighur data come from my field work with Enver Yusuf, a native speaker of the Qashgar dialect.

The example in (17) shows that the two rules are in a counterbleeding relation. The elided high vowel still causes the preceding vowel (indicated by double underlining) to raise.

(17) qazan + i + ni → qazinni 'pot-possessive-acc'
cf. qazan + ni → qazanni 'pot-acc'

One way to capture this rule interaction is by assigning the two constructions two different levels. The form *qazinni* is then licensed as shown below.

(18)
M: qazan + i + ni
⇕
W: qazin + i + ni
⇕
P: qazin + ɛ + ni

I will now show that this analysis fails to account for the whole range of interactions between these two rules. Given the right morphological structure, raising can *feed* elision.

(19)

i)	qazan + i	→ qazini		
ii)	qazan + ni	→ qazanni		
iii)	qazan + i + ni	→ qazinni	(*qazanni)	elision counterbleeds raising
iv)	bala + lar	→ balilar	(*ballar)	raising counterfeeds elision
v)	bala + lar + i	→ balliri	(*baliliri)	raising feeds elision
vi)	bala + lar + ni	→ ballarni		raising feeds elision
vii)	bala + lar + i + ni	→ ballirini		raising feeds elision
viii)	ana + ni	→ anini	(*anni)	raising counterfeeds elision

This is the classic type of rule interaction paradox that motivates cyclic phonology. The three-level approach of Goldsmith 1993 and Lakoff 1993 spectacularly fail to account for these data. The reason is that the number of cycles (or levels) in those approaches is fixed. But the Uighur data crucially require the number of phonological cycles to depend on the morphological structure of the form.

(20)

if raising feeds elision			if raising counterfeeds elision		
M:	bala + lar + ni	bala + lar	M:	bala + lar + ni	bala + lar
W:	bali + lar + ni	bali + lar	W:	bali + lar + ni	bali + lar
P:	bal + lar + ni	*bal + lar	P:	*bali + lar + ni	bali + lar

A cyclic analysis is easily formulated. I assume that raising conterfeeds elision on the cycle.[7] If the form undergoes another cycle of phonology due to the presence of an additional suffix, then elision applies. To make this account work, we need to make the assumption that transition between levels is accompanied by fill-in of default features (Kiparsky 1993), so that the environment for elision will be met in the second cycle. An example of this is shown in (21).

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7 See McCarthy 1993 for counterfeeding in Optimality Theory. The alternation he analyzes is almost identical to the one here. A brief summary of his analysis is that elision applies to vowels with linked [high], while raising produces placeless vowels. Therefore, the result of raising does not violate the constraint leading to elision, which explicitly mentions [high]. The placeless vowel acquires default [high], postlexically in McCarthy's analysis of Bedouin Hijazi Arabic, but between cycles in the Uighur analysis here.

(21) If the output of a cycle is qazRVni (RV = placeless V)
... the input to the next cycle is qazini (High vowel)

Example (22) shows how the cyclic analysis accounts for the apparent rule ordering paradox. The rightmost form in (22) undergoes a single phonological cycle, which explains why the high vowel surfaces.

(22)

		'pot-poss-acc'	'child-pl-acc'	'child-pl'
Cycle 1	input	qazan-i	bala-lar	bala-lar
	output	qazRVn-i	balRV-lar	balRV-lar
Cycle 2	input	qazini-ni	balilar-ni	—
	output	qazin-ni	ballar-ni	—
Surface		qazinni	ballarni	balilar

In order to account for the difference between *balilar* (*bala+lar*, 'child-pl') and *ballarni* (*bala+lar+ni*, 'child-pl-acc'), the number of phonological cycles must crucially depend on the number of suffixes. In *balilar*, only one affix is added. In the phonological cycle triggered by that affix, elision is bled by raising. In *balliri*, a further affix is added, and the form undergoes an additional cycle. Elision applies in this second cycle. The fatal flaw in the Harmonic Phonology approach is that every form undergoes the same number of applications of phonology, regardless of the morphological structure. Notice also that alignment does not give us a way to analyze these data noncyclically, since the accusative suffix *-ni* adds nothing to the environment for elision; all it does is cause an additional phonological cycle.

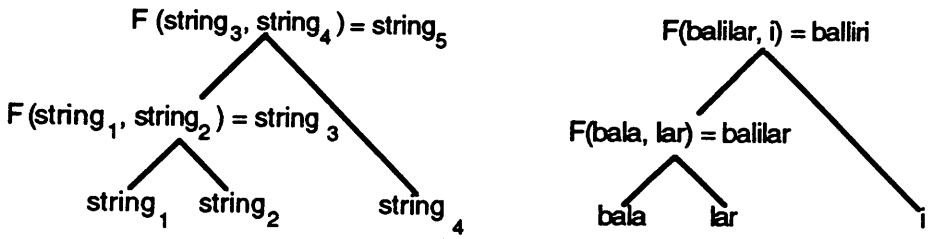
3. A new approach: Monotonic Cyclicity

We have seen that it is crucial for the number of phonological cycles to depend on morphological structure. Past nonderivational approaches fail to account for all cyclic effects because they assume a fixed number of levels of application for phonology. In this section, I propose a new, nonderivational, approach to the phonology-morphology interaction that does not face the same difficulty.

3.1 Overview

Following Sproat 1985, Inkelas 1989, and others, I assume a phonological constituent structure tree for morphologically complex words. In addition, I propose that each node of the tree is a phonological string, complete with segmental and metrical structure. Each node in such a tree is a function of the nodes it immediately dominates (except for terminal nodes, which are the underlying strings supplied by morphemes).

(23)

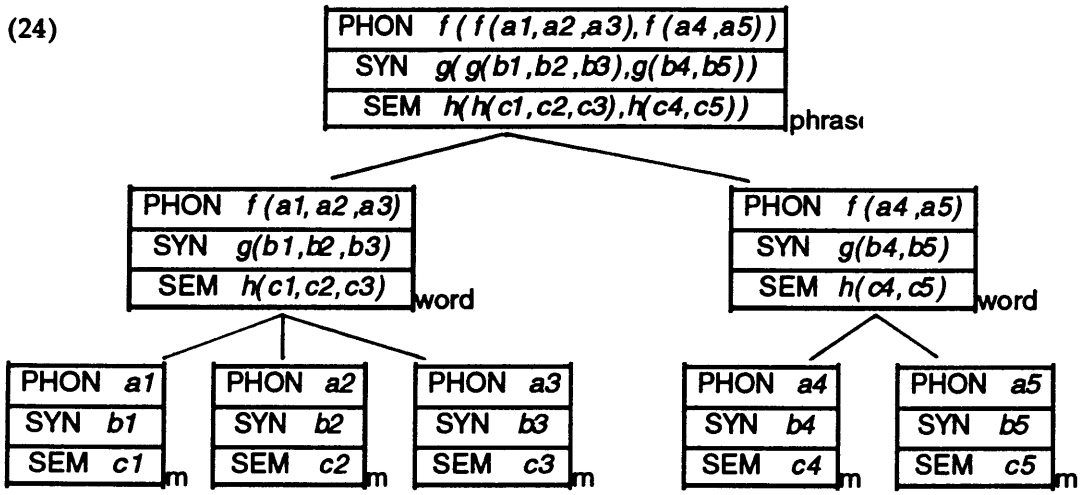


It follows from this representation that any branching structure will potentially exhibit cyclic effects, since the output of one instance of the phonological mapping is input to another instance in branching structures.

3.2 Analogy with Phrase Structure Grammars

In unification based theories of syntax (e.g., Gazdar et al 1985, Pollard and Sag 1992, Fillmore and Kay 1993) it is assumed that each node of the (syntactic) phrase structure tree is a feature structure. To determine the mother node in such a tree, it is necessary and sufficient to know the daughter nodes' feature structures, and the phrase structure rule (or construction) that combines them. It is tacitly assumed in most unification based theories that the feature structures associated with nodes in the constituent structure carry phonological, as well as syntactic and semantic information. This assumption is made explicit in Bird 1990, as shown below in example (24) (figure 1-21 from Bird 1990):

(24)



The main purpose of this paper is to derive cyclic phonological effects from such a representation,[8] and to argue for the superiority of this approach over past accounts of cyclic phonology.

3.3 Some details of Monotonic Cyclicity

Following Inkelas 1990 and others, I represent affixes as partial constituent strucuture trees. Given my assumptions concerning the correlates of each node of the tree, this gives rise to the representation in (25), where the suffix string is a constant, and the host string is not specified (although there may be requirements imposed on it).

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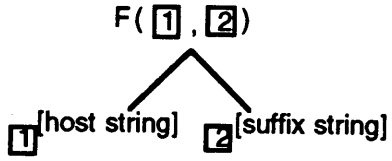
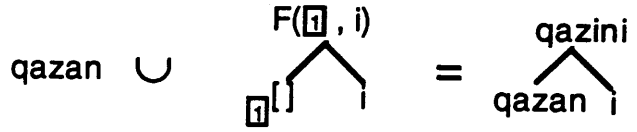
8 Bird's figure incorporates certain assumptions that are not necessary for my arguments here. In particular, the theory I am proposing here is consistent with multiplanar representations (e.g., Sadock 1991, Inkelas 1990).

(25) Proposed representation of affixes



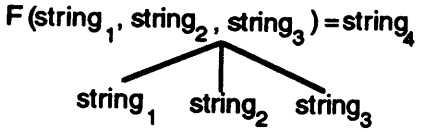
Affixation can now be seen as the unification of a host (which may itself be morphologically complex) with the host string position in (25). I take for granted the existence of a theory of morphology that builds the proper constituent structure tree.

(26) Affixation is unification



This approach derives not only cyclicity, but, provided flat structures are allowed, noncyclicity as well (cf. Mohanan and Mohanan 1984, Halle and Mohanan 1985, Mohanan 1986, where (non)cyclicity is stipulated for individual affixes or phonological levels).

(27)



Since no proper subset of the daughter strings in (27) forms an exlusive phonological domain, no cyclic effects are observed (Cole and Coleman 1993 derive cyclic versus noncylic domains in the same way).

I now briefly present a case that crucially requires noncyclicity as well as cyclicity. Some speakers of Turkish impose a disyllabic minimal size condition on derived forms (Itô and Hankamer 1989, Orgun and Inkelas 1992).

(28)

*ye-n	'eat-pass'	yut-ul	'swallow-pass'
*do-m	'my (musical note) do'	sol-üm	'my (musical note) sol'

The forms on the left hand side are ungrammatical due to prosodic minimality rather than pragmatic anomaly, as illustrated by the grammaticality of the semantically similar disyllabic forms on the right hand side.

Some, but not all, minimality violations may be repaired by adding further suffixes.

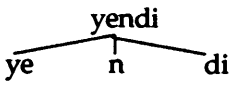
(29)

ye-n-ir	'eat-pass-imprf'	*do-m-u	'my (musical note) do-acc'
ye-n-di	'eat-pass-past'	*do-m-dan	'my (musical note) do-abl'

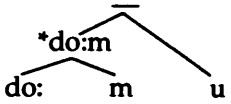
The analysis I offer is as follows: Root, passive, and aspect morphemes form a flat structure, giving rise to noncyclic phonology (no intermediate stem is subject to minimality), whereas root, possessive, and case morphemes form a branching structure, which gives rise to cyclic phonology (the root and possessive combination is subject to minimality, which it violates). The contrast between cyclic and noncyclic application

of the minimal size condition results in the appearance of repair for only some minimality violations.

(30) Flat structure = noncyclicity



Branching structure = cyclicity[9]



Thus, the model I propose derives both cyclic and noncyclic phonology without stipulation. Furthermore, it does so without adding any complexity to the theory of grammar: All the intermediate phonological strings in the representations I propose are phonological correlates of morphological or syntactic constituents that we need independent of phonological reasons. Therefore, this approach does not derive monotonicity by simply multipying phonological representations to include all intermediate forms (as it may at first appear to), but rather uses independently required syntactic and morphological structure to encode phonological information. This approach is in fact a virtual necessity once we realize that a theory of grammar will have to include not just phonology, but morphology, syntax, etc. as well. Consider the two- and three-level models of Karttunen, Lakoff, and Goldsmith. The input to the phonological mapping in those models includes morphological and syntactic information (encoded as SPE-style morpheme boundary symbols). But this presupposes that the morphosyntactic and phonological modules are temporally ordered with respect to each other, such that the input to the phonological module is a complete morphosyntactic structure. This is blatantly against the desire for nonderivationalism.[10] The model I propose, however, does not commit us to any particular order of operations, and is thus a truly nonderivational one.

4. Conclusions

- Cyclic effects in phonology cannot be reduced to alignment, or the interaction between a fixed number of parallel representations. The number of applications of phonology must depend on the morphological structure.
- Cyclicity is not inconsistent with nonderivational phonology. In fact, given a theory of phonology that does not shortsightedly ignore morphology and syntax, cyclic effects in phonology are inevitable.
- Although Goldsmith 1993 and Lakoff 1993 claim that their theories are cognitively real, it is not clear what kind of cognitive evidence there is for their intermediate representations. By contrast, all intermediate representations in the theory I am proposing correspond to some well defined morphological constituent, and, as such, their cognitive reality is unchallenged.

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9 The node that is indicated as **do:m* in this tree is understood to be undefined. This result can be achieved elegantly in Optimality Theory: Given the relevant constraint set, the optimal parse for the input *do: + m* is the "null parse" (see McCarthy and Prince 1993).

10 Notice in this connection the following comment from Goldsmith (p. 21)

> ... an implausible metaphor: ... finally string all the words together, only after which do we reach a point where the postlexical rules get a chance to apply.

But in Goldsmith's model, it is not only postlexical rules, but all of phonology has to wait until we "finally string all the words together"! In the same vein, Lakoff writes (p. 117):

> Speakers process from left to right, not from top to bottom.

But surely Lakoff does not believe that people do not start speaking until they have a complete sentence in their mind. Yet this is exactly what his model entails!

Acknowledgements

Many thanks to Cleo Condoravdi, Charles Fillmore, Larry Hyman Sharon Inkelas, Paul Kay, Jean-Pierre Koenig, Christopher Manning, Cheryl Zoll, and the NELS 24 audience, as well as the attendees of a phonology workshop at Stanford on 12/7/1993, where I presented a version of this paper, for comments and questions.

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