



Argument

- If all phonological domains are cyclic, then all interactions of processes across domains must be compatible with the Cyclic Hypothesis... Some interactions are countercyclic, that is, incompatible with the Cyclic Hypothesis... Thus, some domains are not cyclically derived.

Cyclic Hypothesis

- (1) NO-COUNTERCYCLICITY: If there is a cyclic domain Di contained by a cyclic domain Di+x, phonological processes apply first to Di. From this follows: a. If a process P applies in a cyclic domain Di, it must transparently enable, block or influence (feed, bleed or shift) a process Q that applies in a cyclic domain Di+x. b. If a process Q applies in a cyclic domain Di, it cannot transparently enable, block or influence (thus must counterfeed, counterbleed or countershift) a process P that applies in a cyclic domain Di-x.

(2) [D[ABC];EF]j

- Crucial assumption: Cyclic domains are purely procedural and cannot be referred to by phonological rules/constraints.

Proposal

- Cyclic domains coexist with prosodic domains. Prosodic structures must obey Proper Bracketing (Nespor & Vogel 1986, Itô & Mester 1992). Optimality Theory with Strata (Bermúdez-Otero 1999, Kiparsky 2000).

Predicted Transparent Interactions

An interaction between P and Q can look countercyclic transparent if:

- There is a domain D that maps to a cyclic domain phi and to a prosodic domain pi. P applies at the same cycle as Q restricted to pi. Q cyclically feeds/bleeds/shifts Q.

Predicted Opaque Interactions

An interaction between P and Q can look countercyclic opaque if:

- There is a domain D that maps to a cyclic domain phi and to a prosodic domain pi. P applies restricted to pi in a cyclic domain that contains the domain in which Q applies. P cyclically counterfeeds/bleeds/shifts Q.

=> Given that I assume Stratal OT, pi must be equivalent to a stem level cycle, Q must be a word level process and P must be a phrase level process.

Excluded Interactions

- Missaligned pattern: the prosodic domain pi is at the relevant cycle and edge non-isomorphic with the edge of the cyclic domain phi (cf. Gleim & Rasin 2024). Opaque interactions that do not meet the criterion above, i.e. Interactions where either Q is a phrasal process, or P cannot be a phrasal process.

Countercyclic Process Interactions

Table with 4 columns: Language, P, Q, Interaction. Rows include C'Lela, Akan, Hijazi B.A., Icelandic, Chamorro, Kimatuumbi, Kashaya, Kinande, Hausa, Seenku, Eton.

- A sample of 11 languages with 13 interactions that are not conform with the cyclic hypothesis... 10 interactions are transparent and can be derived by Stratal OT with prosodic domains... Hijazi B. A. is not technically transparent, but its s interaction is a chainshift of the type that can be derived in parallel OT... Kimatuumbi Shortening can be reanalysed as a genuine stem level process (Gleim 2024), so its no tru case of.

Transparent: C'Lela

P: Final vowel Deletion in words.

(3) rémín g^Wèlè írù dá / rémín g^Wèlè í-rù dá / because goat DIM-his not 'because of his little goat'

Q: Final vowel preservation in phrases.

(4) àj mhívìkì?ù g^Wèlè / àj m-hívì-kì=?ù g^Wèlè / COMP 1SG-steal-PFV=3SG goat 'that I stole his goat'

Q bleeds (or blocks) P!

Only cyclic domains fail

Table for Cycle 1: Deletion. Columns: g^Wèlè, \*V#, MAX. Rows: a. g^Wèlè, b. g^Wèl.

(6) Cycle 2: Preservation impossible

Table for Cycle 2: Preservation impossible. Columns: g^Wèl, \*C#, \*V#, DEP, MAX. Rows: a. g^Wèl, b. g^Wèl, c. g^Wè.

Prosodic domains succeed

(7) Phrase level: deletion in phonological words

Table for Phrase level: deletion in phonological words. Columns: [[g^Wèlè]w[írù]w]phi, \*C]phi, \*V]w, MAX. Rows: a. [[g^Wèlè]w[írù]w]phi, b. [[g^Wèlè]w[írù]w]phi, c. [[g^Wèlè]w[ír]w]phi.

Opaque: Chamorro

P: Secondary stress on Primaes.

(8) bàpotníha / bapót-níha / 'their ship'

Q: Stress sensitive Umlaut

(9) i kèbblinmámi ~ i kòbbli-nmámi / i kóbbli-nmámi / 'our (exc.) money'

Q counterfeeds P.

(10) i pùlulónja / i pulónnun-ja / 'his trigger fish'

Only cyclic domains fail

Table for Chamorro interactions. Columns: Cycle 1, Cycle 2. Rows: pulónnun-ja, pùlunnúnja, pùlulónja, i=pùlulónja, ipilulónja.

Prosodic and cyclic domains succeed

Table for Prosodic and cyclic domains succeed. Columns: Stem level, Word level, Phrase level. Rows: pulónnun-ja, i [pulunnúnja]w, i [pululónja]w, i [pululónja]w.

Opaque: Impossible

P: iterative VH

(13) pʊtʊ-kʊ → putuku

Q: Non-itearive phrasal VH

(14) lʊtʊ mutʊ → lʊtʊ mutʊ

P counterfeeds Q

(15) lʊtʊ pʊtʊ-kʊ → lʊtʊ putuku

(16) Derivation of countercyclic counterfeeding fails

Table for Derivation of countercyclic counterfeeding fails. Columns: [lʊtʊ]w, [pʊtʊ-kʊ]w, VH-w, VH-phi, CRISP, EDGE, FAITH. Rows: a. [lʊtʊ]w[pʊtʊkʊ]w, b. [lʊtʊ]w[putuku]w, c. [lʊtʊ]w[putuku]w, d. [lʊtʊ]w[putuku]w.

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