

Contents

	Prologue	xiii
1	ON PSYCHOLOGICAL REALITY	
1.1	Language as a social and psychological entity	r
	Attitudes to the goal of psychological reality	7
	Reasons to adopt the goal of psychological reality	8
•	The concept of psychological reality	8
•	1.4.1 Degree of representationalism	g
	1.4.2 Accessibility	12
	1.4.3 Teleology and causality: acts, rules, derivations and causal	
	processes	15
1.5	Knowledge and behavior	17
-	1.5.1 Introduction	17
	1.5.2 Competence vs. performance: justification for a distinction	17
	1.5.3 Competence: ability, habituality and normativity	18
	1.5.4 Grammatical competence and communicative competence	20
	1.5.5 Knowledge and rules: conventionality and consciousness	22
	1.5.6 Competence and indeterminacy	25
1.6	Methodological pluralism	27
2	PHONOLOGY IN A MODEL OF COMMUNICATIVE	
_	COMPETENCE	
2. I	Phonology and phonetics	30
	General framework: communicative competence	32
	Speakers' phonological capacities	37
	Notes on speaker's competence and listener's competence	39
	2.4.1 One or two competences?	39
	2.4.2 The primacy of perception	40
	2.4.3 Speakers know more	42
	2.4.4 Different modes of listening	43
	Listening to sounds and listening to words	43
	Full comprehension of an utterance	45
3	PHONOLOGICAL FORMS AS PLANS FOR PHONETIC ACTS	
•	Justification for the notion of 'phonetic plan'	47
_	Phonetic plans of words vs. complete articulatory plans of	• •
-	utterances	48



vi	Contents	
3.3	The nature of phonetic plans	51
_	3.3.1 Word-form invariance	51
	3.3.2 Phoneticity	51
	Non-phonological features	52
	Boundaries	52
	3.3.3 Concreteness	53
	3.3.4 Reference to careful pronunciations	54
	Careful pronunciations vs. elaborated pronunciations	54
	Arguments for the primacy of careful pronunciations	56
	3.3.5 Categoricalness	57
3.4	The existence of alternative plans	60
3.5	The role of phonetic plans in speech production	62
3.6	The role of phonetic plans in speech perception	63
3.7	Appendix: the status of the segment	65
4	PHONETIC PLANS AND LEXICAL ENTRIES	
4.1	Introduction: phonetic plans vs. lexical representations	70
4.2	On lexical economy	71
	4.2.1 Economy as a metatheoretical evaluation criterion	72
	4.2.2 Memory storage and economy considerations	73
4.3	The phonological properties of lexical items	76
	4.3.1 Alternatives	76
	4.3.2 Vennemann's theory of the lexicon	76
	4.3.3. Stem and base form theory	78
	Methodological aspects	78
	Polymorphemic structures in the lexicon	78
	Input of morphological operations 1: structural arguments	80
	Input of morphological operations 2: substantive evidence	81
4.4	Non-phonological information in phonology	84
5	PHONEMIC CONTRASTS	
5.1	Introduction	88
5.2	Arguments in favor of surface phonemic contrasts	89
	5.2.1 Identity and similarity of phonological strings	89
	5.2.2 Correctness of phonological strings	94
	5.2.3 Perceptual equivalence and the reinterpretation of deviant	
	sounds	94
	5.2.4 Phonetic distinctness and surface symmetry	98
	5.2.5 Sharpening of minor allophones in lexical pronunciation	99
	5.2.6 Adaptation to secondary dialects	101
	5.2.7 Submorphemic conspiracies	102
	5.2.8 Inputs of morphological operations	103



	Contents	vii
	5.2.9 Indeterminacy of morphophonemic representations	103
	5.2.10 Historical change	104
	Preservation of contrasts	104
	The loss of non-distinctive features	105
	Transition of forms to new paradigms	105
	Allomorphy reduction	106
	5.2.11 The transfer of allophones to new positions	106
	5.2.12 Child language	100
	5.2.13 Pathological speech behavior	110
	Speech errors	110
	Aphasia	112
	Misperceptions	113
	5.2.14 Divergent properties of rule types	114
	5.2.15 Linguists' practice	114
5.3	Can one recognize the significance of surface contrasts without	·
	having surface forms?	115
6	PHONOTACTICS AND PHONOLOGICAL CORRECTNESS	
	Introduction	
	Phonological correctness	117
0.2	6.2.1 Independence of morphophonology	118
	6.2.2 Reference to careful pronunciations	
6 2	Behavioral evidence	120
0.3	6.3.1 The adaptation of deviant forms	120
	6.3.2 Reduction in fast speech	121
6.4	On capturing regularities	121
0.4	6.4.1 Conspiracies	121
	6.4.2 Conditions on syllable structure	
6 =	On some properties of phonotactic rules	123
0.3	6.5.1 Active filter function	124
	6.5.2 Domain of application	126
	o.j.z zomani oi application	120
7	MORPHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS AND	
	MORPHOPHONOLOGY	
•	Introduction	127
	Morphological operations: general properties	128
	Morphological operations: examples	130
7.4	The unity of morphological operations	136
	7.4.1 Function in speech act theory	137
	7.4.2 Behavioral unity	137



	Contents
V111	

	7.4.3 Applicability of morphophonological rules proper	139
	Derivation-specific ordering	139
	Applicational dependence	140
	Exceptionality of derivations with respect to rules	140
7.5	The place of morphophonology	142
	Complex morphological operations	143
7.7	Morpheme identity outside morphological operations	149
8	WORD FORMS AS PRIMES	
	A brief recapitulation	151
	Further arguments for word forms as primary units	152
	8.2.1 Syntactically 'free' forms	152
	8.2.2 Semantically 'free' forms	152
	8.2.3 Non-predictable features of meaning	153
	8.2.4 The dependence of morphs on the word form context	153
	8.2.5 Synchronic and diachronic variation and change	154
	8.2.6 Phonetic gestalts	155
	8.2.7 Intuitive plausibility	156
8 2	Refuting some counter-arguments	156
0.3	8.3.1 The definition of word forms	156
	8.3.2 The selection of lexical forms	157
	8.3.3 The internal structure of word forms	158
	8.3.4 The loss of generalizations	158
	8.3.5 Redundancy	158
	8.3.6 What the theory does not mean	15
	o.g.o what the theory assertions	•
-	MORPHEMES AND MORPHEME IDENTITY	
	The nature of morphemes	160
	The establishment of morpheme identity	16:
9.3	Morpheme identity as a basis for reinterpretation and construction	
	of forms	162
	Conditions on morpheme identity	163
9.5	More on morpheme identity: inter- and intra-individual variation	164
9.6	Further consequences	165
10	TYPOLOGY OF PHONOLOGICAL RULES	
10.1	Introduction	167
10.2	Functions of rules	167
10.3	Basic rule types	168
	10.3.1 Phonotactic rules	168
	10.3.2 Sharpening and elaboration rules	169
	10.2.2 Percentual redundancy rules	170



	Contents	1X
	10.3.4 Articulatory reduction rules	172
	10.3.5 Morphophonological rules proper	172
	10.3.6 Summary: rule types and grammatical functions	174
10.4	Properties of rules: introduction	175
10.5	Invariance and variation: obligatoriness/optionality	176
10.6	Use and validity of rules in normal regular speech	177
	10.6.1 Validity as a function of speech tempo	177
	10.6.2 Invocation in speech performance	178
10.7	Formal properties	179
·	10.7.1 Generality of rules with respect to the phonological	• •
	constitution of strings	179
	Context-sensitivity	179
	Conditioning	180
	Generality (freedom from exceptions)	182
	Transparency	183
	10.7.2 Relations between inputs and outputs	185
	Recoverability of inputs	185
	Segment inventories of inputs and outputs	186
	Requirement on feature specification changes	187
	Discreteness gradualness of change	188
	10.7.3 Application within derivations	190
	Stage of application within generative derivations	190
	Ordering within blocks of rules	190
	Applicational dependence between rules	191
	10.7.4 Domain of application	193
10.8	Extensions of rule applicability beyond normal use and standard	
	norms	194
	10.8.1 Productivity	195
	10.8.2 Nativization of loan words	195
	10.8.3 Transfer in foreign-language learning	197
	10.8.4 Overgeneralization in child language	200
	10.8.5 Linguistic games	201
	10.8.6 Psycholinguistic experiments	201
	10.8.7 Speech errors	202
	10.8.8 Aphasia	203
	10.8.9 Misperceptions	203
	10.8.10 Spelling mistakes	203
	10.8.11 Summary	204
	Degree of consciousness	204
10.10	Relations to universal tendencies	205
	10.10.1 Universality	205
	10.10.2 Naturalness	206



	~
v	Contents
х	Contients

0.11	Diachronic properties	208
0.12	Summary	210
10.13	Appendix 1: survey of properties of phonological rules	212
10.14	Appendix 2: classification of some specific rules	214
	THE CHILD'S ACQUISITION OF PHONOLOGY	
	Introduction	215
	Levels of representation in adult phonology	215
11.3	Levels of representation in child phonology	216
	11.3.1 The relationship between adult norms and the forms to	
	which the child is actually exposed	217
	11.3.2 The relationship between the adult's spoken forms and the	
	child's perceived forms	217
	11.3.3 The relationship between the child's perceived forms and the	
	child's phonetic plans	218
	11.3.4 The relationship between the child's phonetic intentions and	
	his actually produced forms	219
	11.3.5 Representations and rules in young children's phonological	
	competence	219
11.4	The development into adult competence	220
11.5	On children's perceptual accuracy	222
12	ON THE FALLACY OF REGARDING MORPHEMES AS	
	PHONOLOGICAL INVARIANTS	
12.1	Morphemes as phonological invariants	223
12.2	The abstractness controversy in generative phonology	226
	12.2.1 Naturalness conditions	227
	12.2.2 The alternation condition	228
	12.2.3 The revised alternation condition	229
	12.2.4 The surface allomorphy condition	229
	12.2.5 'Homing in' from concrete allomorphs	230
	12.2.6 The surface phonotactics condition	232
	12.2.7 Conclusion	233
12.3	Arguments against morphemes as phonological forms	234
	12.3.1 Arguments for the primary significance of word forms and	
	phonemic contrasts	234
	12.3.2 Unsupported implications for language ontogenesis	235
	Change of strategy	235
	The representation of marginal changes as basic	238
	12.3.3 Demand for excessive computing	240
	12.3.4 Morphemes as grammatical non-phonological units	241
	12.3.5 Category mistake: relations represented as 'things'	241
	- · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	-



	Contents	хi
	12.3.6 Ontological eliminability	244
	12.3.7 Introspective inaccessibility	244
	12.3.8 Practical inapplicability	247
	12.3.9 General lack of plausible and intelligible interpretations	247
12.4	Some abstract interpretations of the notion of 'morpheme-invariant	
	form'	249
	12.4.1 Morphemes as values	249
	12.4.2 Morphemes as functional information	250
	12.4.3 Morphemes as 'as-if' representations	251
12.5	Can the generative 'morpheme theory' be justified by reference to	
	elegance, simplicity, coherence, etc.?	253
	12.5.1 Pragmatic success	253
	12.5.2 Coherence and explicitness	254
	12.5.3 Simplicity and elegance	254
12.6	Conclusion	255
13	THE CONCRETENESS AND NON-AUTONOMY OF	
	PHONOLOGY	
13.1	On the insufficiency of structuralist phonology	257
	13.1.1 Relationship between phonology and phonetics	257
	13.1.2 The concept of rule	258
	13.1.3 Autonomous phonology	258
13.2	The concreteness and non-autonomy of phonology	259
13.3	On some classical arguments against structuralist phonology	260
	13.3.1 The superfluousness of a phonemic level in a maximally	
	general phonology	260
	13.3.2 The impossibility of a phonemic level in a significant	
	phonology	261
	13.3.3 The non-transitivity of free variation	264
	13.3.4 Conclusion	266
	EPILOGUE	268
	Bibliography (and citation index)	270