

Contents

	<i>Preface</i>	<i>page</i> ix
	<i>Introduction</i>	1
PART I	PHONOLOGICAL STRUCTURE	5
	1 The structure of phonological segments	7
	1.1 Some basic assumptions	7
	1.2 Non-componentiality	9
	1.3 Minimal componentiality	11
	1.3.1 <i>Binary features</i>	11
	1.3.2 <i>Markedness and naturalness</i>	14
	1.3.3 <i>Rule naturalness</i>	17
	1.3.4 <i>Phonological scales</i>	19
	1.4 Scalar features: an alternative minimal theory	24
	1.5 Vowel components	28
	1.6 Multi-gestural representations	34
	1.6.1 <i>Arguments for greater componentiality</i>	37
	1.6.2 <i>Phonetic evidence for greater componentiality</i>	39
	2 The structure of phonological sequences	41
	2.1 Non-constituentiality	41
	2.1.1 <i>Introduction</i>	41
	2.1.2 <i>The status of syllabicity</i>	42
	2.1.3 <i>Recurrence, markedness and constituentiality</i>	45
	2.2 The syllable as a constituent	50
	2.2.1 <i>The syllable as a domain for sequential conditions</i>	50
	2.2.2 <i>The syllable as a domain for phonological processes</i>	53
	2.3 Syllable boundaries	58
	2.3.1 <i>Principles of syllabification</i>	59
	2.3.2 <i>Syllabification and morphology</i>	61
	2.3.3 <i>Ambisyllabicity and the foot</i>	64
	2.3.4 <i>Middle English Open Syllable Lengthening</i>	66
	2.4 The basic domain of syllabification	69
	2.4.1 <i>Words, formatives and morphemes</i>	69
	2.4.2 <i>Beyond the word</i>	70

vi *Contents*

2.5	Syllabification and stress placement	72
2.5.1	<i>The Main Stress Rule, weak clusters and syllabification</i>	72
2.5.2	<i>Evidence for pre-stress-assignment ambisyllabicity</i>	75
2.6	Preliminary remarks on the foot and the tone group	78
2.7	The nature of syllabicity, stressedness and tonicity: an informal outline	80
2.7.1	<i>The headedness of phonological constructions</i>	80
2.7.2	<i>The binary character of phonological constructions</i>	82
3	Dependency structures in phonology	85
3.1	Dependency and syntax	85
3.1.1	<i>Constituency and precedence</i>	85
3.1.2	<i>The notion 'head of a construction'</i>	86
3.1.3	<i>The dependency relation</i>	88
3.1.4	<i>Dependency trees</i>	90
3.1.5	<i>VP and subordinations</i>	91
3.2	The dependency structure of phonological sequences: a first approximation	96
3.2.1	<i>Syllabicity, stressedness and tonicity</i>	96
3.2.2	<i>Prominence, sonority and syllable structure</i>	97
3.2.3	<i>The configurational expression of phrasal categories and of relative prominence</i>	100
3.2.4	<i>Complex feet and complex rhymes</i>	102
3.2.5	<i>Layering of feet and tone groups</i>	103
3.3	Word structure vs. utterance structure	104
3.4	Remarks on the assignment of word structure	107
3.4.1	<i>Syllable-formation</i>	107
3.4.2	<i>Foot-formation</i>	110
3.4.3	<i>Group-formation</i>	116
3.4.4	<i>Iteration and cyclicity</i>	120
3.5	Word-utterance associations	122
3.6	Dependency within the segment	125
3.6.1	<i>Preponderance and dependency</i>	126
3.6.2	<i>Preponderance and prominence</i>	129
3.6.3	<i>Intrasegmental adjunctions: consonantal</i>	129
3.6.4	<i>Intrasegmental adjunctions: 'short' diphthongs</i>	134
3.7	Conclusion	136
	Overview of Part I	137
PART II	PHONOLOGICAL GESTURES AND THEIR STRUCTURE	139
	Introduction	141
II.1	Articulation vs. phonation	142
II.2	Phonation vs. initiation	145
II.3	The representation of the segment	148

4 The categorial gesture: phonation	151
4.1 The phonatory components	151
4.1.1 <i>Natural classes in the phonatory sub-gesture</i>	158
4.1.2 <i>/r/-types</i>	159
4.1.3 <i>Lateral consonants</i>	162
4.1.4 <i>Sibilants vs. other fricatives</i>	164
4.2 Phonological complexity in the phonatory sub-gesture	166
4.3 Hierarchies in the phonatory sub-gesture	171
4.4 Lenition processes	175
4.5 Syllable structure	177
4.5.1 <i>Strength hierarchies and syllable structure</i>	177
4.5.2 <i>Distinctive feature hierarchies and syllable structure</i>	178
4.5.3 <i>Dependency phonology and syllable structure</i>	180
4.6 Neutralisation and Old English [v]	182
5 The categorial gesture: initiation	185
5.1 Glottal stricture	187
5.1.1 <i>The dependency representation of glottal stricture</i>	188
5.1.2 <i>Glottal stops</i>	190
5.2 Voiceless sonorants	191
5.3 Aspiration	193
5.4 O -languages	195
5.5 Airstream mechanisms	199
5.5.1 <i>Pulmonic airstream mechanisms</i>	200
5.5.2 <i>Glottalic airstream mechanisms</i>	200
5.5.3 <i>Velaric airstream mechanisms</i>	203
6 The articulatory gesture	206
6.1 Vowels: the basic vocalic components	206
6.1.1 i and u	212
6.1.2 a	214
6.1.3 <i>Old Norse vowel mutation</i>	215
6.2 Central vowels	218
6.3 Back unrounded vowels	220
6.4 Vowels: a minimal phonemic set	224
6.5 Place of articulation: feature systems	228
6.6 Gravity, linguality and apicality	233
6.6.1 <i>Gravity</i>	233
6.6.2 <i>Linguality</i>	235
6.6.3 <i>Apicality</i>	235
6.7 The dependency representation of place	236
6.7.1 <i>Apicals and laminals</i>	238
6.7.2 <i>Dentals and alveolars</i>	240
6.7.3 <i>Uvulars and pharyngeals</i>	242
6.7.4 <i>Laterals</i>	245
6.8 Secondary and double articulation	246

viii *Contents*

6.8.1	<i>Secondary articulation</i>	246
6.8.2	<i>Double articulation</i>	248
6.9	The oro-nasal sub-gesture	250
PART III OVERVIEW		253
7	Dimensions of phonological representation	255
7.1	Intragestural relationships	255
7.2	Gestures and the segment	258
7.3	Complex segments and intrasegmental adjunction	263
7.3.1	<i>Complex segments</i>	263
7.3.2	<i>Long vowels and diphthongs</i>	266
7.4	Intergestural relationships	268
7.5	The tonological gesture	270
7.6	Associations between gestures and segments	274
7.7	Afterthoughts on lexical <i>vs.</i> utterance structure	279
8	Conclusions and consequences	281
8.1	Structural analogy	283
8.2	Realisation and neutralisation	288
8.3	Epilogue on concreteness	291
	<i>References</i>	297
	<i>Index</i>	307