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1 Introduction

The Mouton interactive introduction to phonetics and phonology (henceforth MIIPP) is an informative and interesting interactive CD introduction to phonetics and phonology. It is compatible with both Macintosh (version 8.1 or higher) and Windows (NT 4.0 or higher, 95 or higher) operating systems. Ambitious in coverage and innovative in its multimedia presentation, the CD offers an engaging overview of a number of topics in phonetics and phonology, including articulatory phonetics, auditory phonetics, acoustics, segmental and prosodic phonology, and phonological theory. It is ideal for informal self-study or as an accompaniment to a formal undergraduate introductory course in phonetics and phonology, used in conjunction with a textbook or other materials.

MIIPP is broadly divided into two sections: one dealing with phonetics and the other covering phonology. An outline of the contents of MIIPP appears upon clicking the navigation button in the bottom right corner of the opening screen. The user is then free to click on any of the topics listed in the outline, prompting an illustrated description of the topic. The user can return to the previous screen by clicking on the back button at any time. Repeated clicking on the back button eventually returns the user to the navigation menu. The text discussions on each topic include ample key words which trigger either more detailed discussion or multimedia demonstrations upon activation. The user can also listen to the material on each screen by clicking on the listen button in the bottom right corner of each screen. The CD recognises the close relationship between different subdisciplines of phonetics and phonology, and more generally between phonetics and phonology, by linking material from different sections of the course through clickable keywords.

MIIPP makes clever and entertaining use of a number of multimedia materials, including recorded samples from various languages, pop-out windows, flashing text, animated diagrams and short films illustrating different aspects of articulation and audition. MIIPP also boasts numerous other features that increase its value as a self-study course. First, a series of graded tutorials enable the user to test her mastery of the course material. (Because the tutorials consist of multiple-choice questions, they are not designed to replace exercises for developing data analysis and problem-solving techniques.) Furthermore, the user can open a notepad for entering notes while working within the
program. This notepad can then be either printed or saved as a text file to be exported to another program. In addition, there is a bibliography button in the bottom right corner of every screen which, if clicked on, calls up further references on the topic of interest. Yet another useful feature is the searchable glossary of terms which is also accessible through a mouse click. Finally, the contributions of important scholars in the history of phonetics and phonology research are discussed in a glossary of names accessible by clicking any of the name links scattered throughout MIIPP.

2 Phonetics

The phonetics section is comprised of three subsections: one on articulatory phonetics, one dealing with auditory phonetics and the other on acoustic phonetics. The articulatory phonetics section discusses the major speech organs from the lungs up through the larynx and the supralaryngeal tract. There are three schematic diagrams of the larynx from different vantage points (anterior, sagittal and posterior), as well as a film illustrating actual vocal fold movement in human speech. Different airstream mechanisms are discussed on other screens, which also include animated figures illustrating the dynamics of the various airstream mechanisms. The screen dealing with clicks also includes recordings of clicks produced at several points of articulation. The section on segments includes charts with the sounds of the International Phonetic Alphabet. The symbols on the charts may be clicked on to play recorded samples of each of the sounds, accompanied by an animated figure producing the sound. The speed of animation can be adjusted using a bar at the bottom of the screen. (There is one typographical error in the consonant chart: the symbol for a voiced epiglottal fricative appears in the spot for the voiced pharyngeal fricative.) In addition, there are recorded samples of voiceless vowels in Japanese and nasalised vowels in French. The section devoted to suprasegmentals discusses loudness, pitch and length, and the relationship between these properties and stress. This section also covers secondary articulations such as palatalisation, velarisation, pharyngealisation and labialisation.

The auditory phonetics subsection of the phonetics half of the MIIPP covers the physiology of hearing and the mechanisms of speech perception. This latter section includes a nice introduction to auditory cues to segmental information, such as the importance of formant transitions in perceiving place of articulation, formant structure and voice onset time. One unfortunate aspect of the voice onset time audio demonstration, which plays a continuum of voice onset times associated with a bilabial plosive, is the failure to distinguish between positive and negative voice onset. Otherwise, the section on auditory phonetics provides an entertaining introduction to auditory phonetics, including a section on theories of speech perception, a topic that is often overlooked in basic phonetics courses.

The section on acoustic phonetics is also well presented. It includes sections on the physics of speech, i.e. the source-filter theory, components of a sound wave and formant structure, as well as speech-measurement techniques. The section on spectrographic analysis includes a full-screen example of a spectrogram (both wideband and narrowband) on which numerous details about the signal (e.g. burst, formants, etc.) emerge upon clicking a button.
3 Phonology

The phonology section is divided into five subsections dealing with different areas of spoken (but not sign language) phonology: one on segmental phonology, one covering suprasegmental phonology, one on comparative phonology, one on English phonology and one on phonological frameworks. The section on phonology is admirable not only for its brief outline of contemporary views of phonology but also for situating phonology in a broader historical context. Like the phonetics half of the course, the phonology portion makes use of clever multimedia effects which contribute to a lively presentation.

The segmental phonology section spends considerable time discussing the phoneme, its history and its relevance in linguistic analysis. Also covered in the segmental phonology section is the notion of phonological feature, including various internal and external motivations for assuming features. SPE-based feature charts of the consonant and vowel charts are included, but with unary place of articulation features. A useful property of the feature chart for the consonants are the pop-up windows detailing articulatory correlates of the manner features.

The suprasegmental phonology section covers syllable structure, stress and tone, including intonational phonology. There are recorded examples of tonal contrasts in Mandarin Chinese, as well as connected speech samples from Laotian and Vietnamese. The comparative phonology section outlines some methods for evaluating segment inventories on a cross-linguistic basis. The phonology of English section begins with a map illustrating the distribution of English speakers throughout the world. By clicking on either the United States or England (accessed by clicking on Great Britain in the map on the introductory screen), details about the pronunciation of English spoken in the United States and RP English (England), respectively, can be accessed. Perhaps a future version of the software will have demonstrations of additional varieties of English to complement the illustrations of RP and General American English.

The pronunciation descriptions of English include both segmental and suprasegmental information. Samples of ‘The north wind and the sun’, as read by speakers of RP English, General American English and Australian English are included. Allophonic variation in the pronunciation of monophthongs, laterals, plosives and rhotics in RP and General American English is covered, including recorded samples illustrating the variation. The section on English phonology also addresses a number of other processes affecting segments in connected speech, e.g. vowel reduction, elision, liaison and assimilation. There is one screen in the section on RP intonation with an interesting discussion of how the outcome of football matches is entirely predictable based on the intonation of BBC announcers. The user can test her knowledge of the intonation characteristics of sports announcers in a short quiz in which the score of the second team is omitted so the reader can guess the outcome based on intonation alone.

The final section of the phonology portion of the course briefly outlines different phonological traditions and theoretical frameworks ranging from antiquity to the present day. Short biographies and pictures of key scholars behind each of the discussed frameworks are also accessible by clicking on their names. Many of the descriptions of the theories include animated diagrams in keeping with the overall interactive flavour of MIIPP. For example, the section
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on Optimality Theory includes a clever demonstration of a constraint tableau in which constraint violations are entered one by one upon clicking the button labelled eval.

4 Summary

In summary, The Mouton interactive introduction to phonetics and phonology provides a lively introduction to phonetics and phonology ideal for either individual use or use as a course supplement. Its impressive combination of text, graphic animation and accompanying sound ensure that it lives up to its billing as an interactive resource for anyone with even a passing interest in phonetics or phonology.

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Bachra takes a fresh look at the issue of phonotactic constraints in the consonantal verbal roots of the Semitic languages. This topic has received much previous attention, both descriptive and theoretical. The prevailing view is that consonant combinations in verbal roots are avoided when those consonants share major place of articulation features. For example, roots in Arabic containing both /b/ and /f/ are highly underrepresented, and these two consonants share [labial] place. In generative analyses, this constraint is considered to be an instantiation of the Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP), restricted to place of articulation features (e.g. McCarthy 1994). There are, of course, some complications. The constraint is partially sensitive to manner features, as combinations of coronal obstruents and coronal sonorants are permitted. In addition, the set of uvular, pharyngeal and laryngeal consonants is prohibited from co-occurring, indicating that shared place of articulation can be construed rather broadly. Finally, the constraint is gradient, rather than absolute. In many cases, consonant combinations that share place are found, but are just very infrequent.

Chapter 1 (pp. 1–7) provides a general introduction and overview of the book. The core of the book is a detailed statistical study of dictionary corpora from Modern Standard Arabic and Hebrew, and so it follows well-known previous work such as Greenberg (1950) and McCarthy (1994). The Hebrew corpus is based primarily on Modern Israeli Hebrew, but it also includes forms from Biblical Hebrew. Bachra’s approach is innovative in two respects. First, in addition to examining combinations of consonants that are avoided in verbal roots, he also systematically examines combinations of consonants that are preferred in verbal roots. Second, in addition to examining combinations of consonants classified by place of articulation features, he also systematically examines combinations of consonants classified by manner of articulation, regardless of place.

Chapter 2 (pp. 8–24) introduces Semitic verbal root morphology and the autosegmental analysis proposed by McCarthy (1979). The verbal roots are taken to be content morphemes that consist only of ordered consonant sequences. These consonant sequences are associated with syllable templates and interleaved with vowels to create surface root forms. The syllable templates and vowels are grammatical morphemes that signal tense, aspect, person, number and so forth, for all verbal roots. The phonotactic constraints that are examined in this book are constraints on possible consonant sequences that are common in the Semitic languages.

Chapter 3 (pp. 25–50) reviews previous studies on the co-occurrence restrictions in Semitic. Part of my own dissertation work was on these same constraints, and I found Bachra’s literature review to be quite thorough and
cogent. He discusses a wide range of papers, including older works of which I was unaware, as well as my own recent, unpublished work. His summary of my own work misses the mark in some respects, but also provided me with insightful criticism. I feel this chapter would be useful material for any scholar who is investigating the phonotactic constraints of Semitic verbs.

Chapter 4 (pp. 51–60) introduces the methodology used in the corpus study. Bachra’s study examines the frequency of occurrence and co-occurrence of verbal root consonants in the two corpora. He examines both co-occurrence restrictions and co-occurrence preferences. He also examines both constraints on combination and constraints on ordering. As a result, the amount of data analysed is tremendous. A large part of the book consists of data and results tables, organised into an appendix (pp. 197–325). The data analysis tests for statistically significant differences between the observed and expected rates of consonant co-occurrence. In order to have sufficient sample sizes for the statistical tests, Bachra primarily analyses consonants in groups such as Labial for place (e.g., Hebrew /b p m w/ and Arabic /b f m w/) and Nasal for manner (e.g., Hebrew and Arabic /m n/). The main result tables present the presence or absence of a statistically significant restriction or preference. Although the range of data analysed is broader than any previously published study, the analysis using consonant groups and the presentation of data based primarily on the criterion of statistical significance limits the usefulness of the findings. In particular, by starting with groups of consonants rather than individual consonants, it is not possible to find patterns that are subtler than the ones that are already well known. The works of Elmedlaoui (1995), Pierrehumbert (1993) and Yip (1989) suggest that some of these subtler patterns provide important insight into the nature of the co-occurrence constraints. Similarly, by presenting only the criterion of statistical significance, rather than the details of the observed and expected counts, the data patterns can only be discussed in categorical terms. Bachra does provide details of co-occurrence for individual consonants for some consonant combinations, but I would like to see them for all of the combinations.

Chapters 5 (pp. 61–79) and 6 (pp. 80–111) present all of the combinations and orderings that significantly deviated from chance. Chapter 7 (pp. 112–134) takes a second pass through these patterns, providing generalisations and highlighting the patterns that the author feels are phonologically important. The large amount of data and large number of tables that are presented make these chapters difficult to digest, but Bachra does a good job of being well organised and as clear as possible. In the first pass, every significant result is mentioned, and this level of thoroughness makes it possible for the reader to consider the data and perhaps draw new and different conclusions. In the summary, more general patterns are mentioned. For example, Bachra replicates the previous studies on OCP-Place. The general prohibition against combining from groups that share place is valid for all places of articulation. Bachra also found some evidence of a prohibition against combining from groups that share manner features. In the study of manner effects, however, Bachra did not examine manner groups while controlling for whether the consonants shared place of articulation or not. As a result, it is not entirely clear whether the manner effect is the result of a separate OCP constraint on shared manner features that is independent of the place effect, or a further refinement of the place-based constraint as has been proposed by McCarthy (1994) and Yip (1989). OCP effects
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on voicing features have been documented by MacEachern (1999), so a manner-based OCP constraint is not out of the question.

Chapter 8 (pp. 135–182) contains several theoretical conclusions based on the study. Bachra concludes that the primary phonological pattern involves restrictions on feature co-occurrence. Cases of feature co-occurrence preference are far less systematic and appear to be accidental. Bachra also compares the co-occurrence patterns of Arabic and Hebrew. He finds, for the most part, that the patterns in the two languages are the same. Bachra states that his study supports the OCP-Place analysis of McCarthy (1994). Details of the co-occurrence patterns of the uvular stop /q/ lead Bachra to suggest that this segment should be considered [dorsal] and not [pharyngeal], confirming a proposal made by Kenstowicz (1994). The investigation of co-occurrence for manner features does not provide conclusive evidence in favour of an independent manner-based constraint, as mentioned above. The data are suggestive, however. For example, co-occurrence within the nasal class is restricted in both Arabic and Hebrew. Since the nasal class contains only /n/ and /m/, it is clear that this restriction cannot be accounted for by OCP-Place. An analogous manner-based constraint might also account for restrictions on co-occurrence for the glides and liquids. No evidence for a co-occurrence constraint for obstruent consonants was found. Therefore, Bachra proposes that the resonant consonants all share a Spontaneous Voicing node in their feature geometry, and that there is an OCP-Spontaneous Voicing constraint. The possibility of manner-based co-occurrence constraints certainly merits further research.

Bachra next discusses the gradient nature of the co-occurrence patterns. Following Bat-El (1994), he suggests that the presence of violations of OCP-Place may be due to the morphological process that creates denominal verbs. It is generally accepted that OCP-Place applies only within the verb roots, and not to nouns. So verb roots that are created from nouns would be based on consonant sequences that are not subject to OCP-Place. He found that about a third of the OCP-Place violations in Hebrew and Arabic come from denominal verbs. Unfortunately, Bachra does not also provide statistics on how many non-violating verbs are denominal verbs. So it is not clear whether the denominal verbs with OCP-Place violations are disproportionately frequent or not. Even if such forms are disproportionately frequent, that still leaves many OCP-Place violations among verbal roots. In addition, Frisch & Zawaydeh (2001) show that OCP-Place has an effect on well-formedness judgments for novel Arabic verbs. This suggests that the gradient co-occurrence patterns, regardless of their diachronic origin, are part of the synchronic phonological knowledge of Arabic speakers. The question of how these gradient patterns are grammatically represented and integrated with the rest of the phonological system is not addressed.

Overall, the book is stronger as a descriptive study than a theoretical one. Bachra supplies a large amount of detailed data that will be useful in identifying patterns in the verbal roots beyond the gross place-based restrictions that are already well known. In several cases, patterns that were observed are not given a phonological interpretation. For example, within the patterns based on manner, there is a preference for combinations involving two obstruents and one coronal sonorant. It is not immediately clear whether this preference is a distinct phonological pattern, or merely the consequence of the co-occurrence restrictions. Since combinations with two coronal sonorants are
underrepresented, we would expect forms with just one coronal sonorant to be overrepresented. Such questions stimulate future research, both descriptive and theoretical, and it is this potential that is the highlight of this book.

REFERENCES


This volume is a welcome addition to the literature on Italian dialectology, specifically phonology, and to the wider discourse of phonological theory.* Originally intended as a companion volume to *Syntactic theory and the dialects of Italy* (Belletti 1993), this volume grew out of a project initiated by the editor in 1995. The contributions collected in this book display the enormous richness of Italy's complex linguistic situation, a complexity which arises from the interaction between Standard Italian and Italian dialects, as well as from influences from other minority languages spoken throughout the Italian peninsula. Standard Italian as a widely used national language is little over 100 years old. However, as Berruto (1993: 3) points out, ‘whether or not Italian is the national language of our country, maintaining that all Italians speak (only) Italian would be a serious misrepresentation of the facts’ (my translation). Italian dialects are classified geographically into three macro-categories: Northern (those above the La Spezia-Rimini isogloss), Tuscan and those of the Centre-South (which includes Sicily and Sardinia) (see Lepschy & Lepschy 1992, Sobrero 1993 and Maiden & Parry 1997 for detailed information pertaining to both Standard Italian and Italian dialects). As well as providing descriptive and theoretical accounts of aspects of Standard Italian phonology, the contributions in this volume cover a range of southern and northern dialects, including Friulian, a Tuscan variety (Pisan) and data from the Raeto-Romance of Eastern Switzerland. There are, however, no in-depth treatments of the dialects of Sicily or Sardinia. Theoretical frameworks include classical generative phonology, (early) Optimality Theory, derivational constraint and repair models, moraic phonology and feature-based models. The collection resembles a who's who of Italian phonology, in that it gathers together work from many important established and upcoming scholars in the field.

In the opening chapter, ‘Phonological theory and the dialects of Italy’, Repetti sets a clear agenda for the volume: to engage non-Italianists in the study of Italian and Italian dialects. Against a backdrop of increasing homogenisation, Repetti highlights the potential benefits related to the study of Italian and ‘the minor languages of Italy’ (as she more suitably terms Italian dialects, replacing the traditional loaded term). She describes Italy as a ‘remarkable laboratory for the study of synchronic and diachronic variation’ (p. 2) and notes that through the study of the Italian dialects, it may be possible to reach a better understanding of issues relating to language change as well as to gain insights into how language itself works.

* I would like to thank Sharon Hargus for her keen attention to detail on earlier drafts of this review.
Marco Baroni & Laura Vanelli’s paper, ‘The relationship between vowel length and consonantal voicing in Friulian’, begins with a survey of previous theoretical analyses of this relationship in an autosegmental framework, and concludes that these are unsatisfactory. The authors propose a rule-based account in a classical generative phonology framework. The two rules which are invoked are vowel lengthening, which lengthens a vowel before a voiced obstruent in a word-final stressed syllable, and final devoicing, which devoices all obstruents in word-final position. The authors must posit rule ordering to arrive at the desired outcomes. However, the authors then contradict their ordered rule analysis and seem to appeal for an integrated solution much like the autosegmental analyses which they had earlier critiqued. Puzzlingly, the authors state that ‘it would be better to relate both processes [vowel lengthening and final devoicing], to account for the fact that long vowels are found not simply before phonologically voiced consonants (voiceless on the surface form)’ (p. 28). This statement appears to be in conflict with the data presented, in which long vowels are only found before phonologically voiced consonants. The authors next report that the acoustic difference between final devoiced and voiceless consonants lies in the length of the preceding vowel. The authors note that an alternate analysis based on a type of syllable-isochrony principle could be invoked, but that this is unsatisfactory as it ignores the fact that vowel lengthening is related to the devoicing of the following consonant. In concluding, they suggest a functionalist approach to the problem which sees vowel lengthening in word-final position as the ‘main contrast-carrying feature’ (p. 37). This paper contains some interesting new data but is weakened by vacillation about the theoretical framework.

Andrea Calabrese’s paper, ‘The feature [Advanced Tongue Root] and vowel fronting in Romance’, examines the fronting of $u$ to $y$ in the southern Italian dialect of Altamura in relation to the feature of [ATR]. The analysis uses a ‘derivational constraint-and-repair model’ in order to arrive at an analysis which is ‘more efficient, simpler and more elegant’ (p. 71) than previous accounts. Calabrese motivates his recourse to the feature [ATR] by appealing to an impressive array of cross-linguistic data. His analysis is indeed elegant and this paper is one of the strongest contributions to phonological theory in the volume.

Francesco D’Introno & Rosemary Weston, in ‘Vowel alternation, vowel/consonant assimilation and OCP effects in a Barese dialect’, examine the reduction, preservation or change (usually raising) of unstressed vowels in Coratino, an Apulian dialect of northern Bari. In their analysis, features are organised in dependency tiers (Mester 1986), with only positive values specified (Archangeli 1988). The variation in vowels and consonants flows from the repair of OCP violations, which results in either linking or delinking of features. Notably, OCP violations are registered between vowels and adjacent consonants under this analysis. While the analysis is in general quite robust, certain constructive criticisms come to mind. First, little or no explicit reference is made to underlying lexical stress patterns as having a possible bearing on the alternations under discussion. Second, prevocalic and postvocalic consonants appear to be indiscriminately invoked in the analysis and
discussion on OCP violations. This seems slightly ad hoc, as it is clear from many approaches to phonology that position in the syllable has some bearing on phonological processes. Third, the data cited are an indiscriminate mix of learned and common forms. Fourth, the fact that reduction to schwa and preservation of the vowel are in alternation for some forms (e.g. [lu'pina] ~ [lo'pina] ‘little wolf’; cf. [lu'pa] ‘wolf’) indicates that a restructuring may be currently underway in the phonological system in question. In my view, this point is underestimated by the authors, as can be seen by its relegation to a footnote.

John Hajek’s paper, ‘How many moras? Overlength and maximal moraicity in Italy’, challenges the prevailing consensus that there is a maximally binary length distinction in Italian and Italian dialects. Hajek notes that phonological analysis has been hidebound by a preoccupation with binarity ‘as the upper limit in phonological analysis and description [which] has discouraged Italian and moraic phonologists in general from looking for evidence of three-way length contrasts as well as the possibility of three moras per syllable’ (p. 130). Notably, in the context of this volume, Hajek’s analysis of Lombard and Friulian would directly impact on claims made in the papers by Baroni & Vanelli and Prieto i Vives. The three-way vowel length contrast which Hajek presents is further supported by analyses of consonant length which posit a three-way distinction (see de Dominicis 1990, Esposito & Truckenbrodt 1995). Characterised by meticulous cross-linguistic comparison, this contribution has the potential to prompt substantial rethinking in many areas of phonological theory.

Michele Loporcaro’s paper, ‘Stress stability under cliticization and the prosodic status of Romance clitics’, is an example of what rigorous scholarship can achieve. The most compelling aspect of this contribution is the deftness with which the author demolishes previous accounts of the prosodic status of clitics in Romance. This is done simply and effectively by appealing to a broad range of relevant data principally taken from Standard Italian, two dialects of Campania (Neapolitan and Stabiese), Algarès (a Catalan dialect spoken in Alghero, north-western Sardinia), Romanesco (the dialect of Rome), Friulian and the northern dialects of Coli and Piverone, as well as epigraphic evidence from Old Italian and Latin. The key issue hinges on whether clitics are incorporated into a postlexical phonological/prosodic word (PW) or whether they attach to the lexical prosodic word to form a superordinate domain such as clitic group or phonological phrase. Loporcaro demonstrates decisively that the diagnostics used by previous accounts are not valid and replaces these with a series of diagnostics which conclusively supports his position that clitics are incorporated into a postlexical PW. Although not framed within any one particular approach to phonology, this paper makes two important points. First, the uncritical acceptance and perpetuation of conventional analyses can lead to results which, while theoretically elegant, have little or no bearing on linguistic reality. Second, this paper gives life to Repetti’s opening sentiments and demonstrates just how the ‘remarkable laboratory for the study of synchronic and diachronic variation’ represented by Italian and Italian dialects can be harnessed effectively to produce analyses with both theoretical and empirical integrity.

In ‘Phonological dissimilation and clitic morphology in Italo-Romance’, Martin Maiden discusses cases of phonological dissimilation in Italo-Romance
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with a focus on the almost completely banned sequence [l-l-] in clitic morphology – for instance in Standard Italian we have lo dico ‘I say it’ and le parlo ‘I talk to her’ but instead of the expected le lo dico we find glielo dico [jɛlo diko] ‘I say it to her’. Maiden characterises dissimilation as a ‘cinderella in historical phonology’ (p. 169) and suggests that dissimilation has been underestimated by many scholars of phonology. Maiden provides a wealth of data taken from a very broad selection of Italian dialects, concluding that dissimilation is not a synchronic phonological process, but occurs diachronically where a system offers more than one possible realisation of a form.

Jean-Pierre Montreuil’s paper, ‘Sonority and derived clusters in Raeto-Romance and Gallo-Italic’, constitutes a valuable contribution to the already ample literature on sonority and its effect on phonotactics. However, in the context of this volume, this paper is significant, as the data it contains reveal the stunning diversity to be found within Romance. Whereas the more familiar varieties of Romance (French, Italian, Spanish) are not particularly noted for their challenging consonant clusters, this paper discusses five dialects from Northern Italy and Eastern Switzerland (respectively Comelicano, Lombardo, Piemontese, Romagnolo and Bravuogn Surmiran) which ‘display unusual sequences of consonants in word-initial position’ (p. 211). Montreuil limits his discussion to derived clusters which arise from the deletion of unstressed vowels. After a detailed examination of the various conditions in the five varieties under consideration, Montreuil analyses the initial consonant in derived clusters like [bke] as extrasyllabic and adjoined to the PW. Montreuil uses the concept of sonority differential as a primary tool for ‘useful classifications and accurate characterization’ (p. 235) of the phonotactics of derived clusters. Adopting an optimality-theoretic analysis, Montreuil shows how the interaction between sonority parameterisation and constraint reranking selects optimal candidates accounting for the unusual initial derived consonant clusters in the selected Gallo-Italic or Raeto-Romance varieties.

Pilar Prieto i Vives, in ‘Vowel lengthening in Milanese’, discusses vowel-length contrasts in Milanese which parallel the content of Baroni & Vanelli’s contribution on Friulian. According to the author, long vowels in Milanese, as in Friulian, appear in final stressed syllables closed by an underlying voiced consonant (but see the comments above in relation to Hajek’s paper). Unlike Friulian, where devoicing is obligatory, this final consonant may optionally devoice in Milanese. Prieto i Vives offers an optimality-theoretic analysis of vowel lengthening in Milanese utilising the well-known constraints Ft-Bin, HNuc and Fill. On closer scrutiny, like the earlier analyses that Prieto i Vives critiques, this new analysis is also unsatisfactory. One problem is a lack of coherence between text and tableaux. On a number of occasions, forms discussed in the text are different from those presented in the tableaux. (For instance, in tableau (25) the form [’(nœːv)] is evaluated as the winning candidate, but on reading the related text it seems this should be [’(nœː)jv].) Second, it is unusual that in the evaluation of HNuc consonantal material is considered. Third, a significant flaw in the analysis arises from the selective inclusion of constraints. Certain tableaux lack one of the three constraints, and when the missing third constraint is added, the proposed analysis crumbles. Another difficulty arises from contradictions within the analysis. According to the author, ‘only voiced consonants will be able to license a moraic unit’ (p. 267). However, in tableau (27) the optimal candidate [’(myf)] appears
to satisfy Ft-Bin by having a voiceless consonant license the second mora. A
final difficulty for the proposed analysis appears in the final paragraph before the
conclusion (p. 269). At this point, the author turns to certain recalcitrant data
which cannot be accounted for. The solution proposed is to introduce a series
of lexical markings to account for these data. This is a costly and cumbersome
strategy which weakens the analysis. While the data presented in this paper are
of interest, particularly in their relationship with the Friulian case earlier in the
volume, the analysis will require substantial reworking.

Repetti’s chapter, ‘Uneven or moraic trochees? Evidence from Emilian and
Romagnol dialects’, also provides an optimality-theoretic analysis in its dis-
cussion of uneven and moraic trochees in various Emilian and Romagnol dialects
of Northern Italy. Repetti posits that for some words a disyllabic foot (uneven
trochee) is lexically specified. Repetti maintains that ‘the metrical template is a
means of encoding information contained in the original Latin form’ (p. 284).
In practice, the template appears to mark words diacritically which do not
undergo epenthesis or anaptyxis. One question which arises from this analysis
is why the template is posited only for certain forms. Another problem with
Repetti’s analysis is that it is occasionally unclear how the candidates for
evaluation were chosen. For example, on my analysis of /ferm/ (tableau (7),
p. 276), if [ferm] were included in the candidate set, it would be the winner.

This volume contains three contributions which refer to the phenomenon of
raddoppiamento sintattico (RS). RS is a favourite preoccupation of many
Romance linguists, and in the last three decades a sanitised version has been
appropriated by many scholars to motivate different theoretical notions (Absal-
on & Hajek 1997: 160).

Barbara E. Bullock’s paper, ‘Consonant gemination in Neapolitan’, attempts
to account for RS after a small set of function words in Neapolitan by positing
a distinction between function words which parse as a foot, and are thus
minimally bimoraic, and those which are parsed directly into a PW as syllables.
This is nothing more than a variation of the older strong vs. weak monosyllable
argument (see Loporcaro 1997: 3 for a summary), which has been roundly
criticised by a number of scholars (Bertinetto 1985, Marotta 1986, Loporcaro
whom figures in Bullock’s bibliography. The argument is circular: the function
words in question are parsed into feet because they trigger RS and because they
trigger RS they are parsed into feet. Using the notion of double prosody,
Bullock attempts to analyse the RS-triggering function words as light syllables
which are parsed as heavy. Unfortunately, this analysis applies abstract
phonological properties in a way which conflicts with the facts, like earlier
attempts to attribute underlying stress to all RS triggers, including unstressed
monosyllables and the final unstressed syllable of the small set of RS-triggering
paroxytones (see Bertinetto 1985, Loporcaro 1997: 3–9).

In ‘Stress and schwa in Faeatar’, Naomi Nagy’s description of the facts of RS
is inaccurate and her analysis is weakened by a degree of confusion. Nagy states
that ‘like many southern Italian dialects, Faeatar exhibits a process of word-
initial consonant lengthening following a word-final stressed vowel’ (p. 243).
However, turning to Loporcaro (1997), the most detailed description of RS to
date, which is absent from Nagy’s bibliography, we find that for southern
Italian dialects ‘the stress conditioning which is responsible for RS in Italian
[i.e. a final stressed vowel] is completely lacking’ (1997: 101; my translation).
According to Loporcaro, RS in these varieties is limited to trigger words whose Latin etyma had a final consonant. Although Nagy claims that her data support her position, this cannot be the case, as the vowel-final trigger words chosen are almost exclusively words which cannot bear stress. These include articles, prepositions, possessive adjectives and demonstratives. She also cites data from neighbouring towns/cities which do not show stress-conditioned RS, although these are cited as if they do. Notably, these data and Nagy’s own support Loporcaro’s position.

The articles by Bullock and Nagy display some lack of familiarity with the seminal (Italian) research on RS. Giovanna Marotta’s paper, ‘Oxytone infinitives in the dialect of Pisa’, by contrast, is contextualised within the broader literature on RS and provides a wide-ranging discussion which gives equal weight to data which support and contradict the various points covered. The principal point relates to the prosodic status of truncated infinitives in the dialects of Tuscany, with particular reference to Pisan. Marotta discusses the interaction between these truncated infinitives and RS, their implication for prosodic structure (degenerate feet, catalexis) and makes a case for ternary feet in Pisan with a relaxation of the foot parameter to allow for right and left-headed projections. Marotta raises challenging questions which have implications for theories of metrical structure.

Despite the imperfections described above, this volume remains a stunning showcase of the linguistic variety and diversity of the dialects of Italy. It is also a testament to the theoretical enterprise of the scholars working on these languages. The various papers cover many significant approaches to phonological theory, with some contributions sure to provoke reflection and debate. As someone already dedicated to the study of Italian and Italian dialects, I felt more energised than ever on reading this volume. I fully commend this collection of papers to all scholars of phonological theory, be they Italianists or not.

**References**


