

Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	9
<i>Preface</i>	11
I. SUBSTANTIVE COMPLEXITY	15
1. Introduction	15
2. The Element Theory in Government Phonology	16
2.1. Representing vowels	18
2.2. Representing consonants	22
2.2.1. Place	23
2.2.2. Manner	25
2.2.3. Source.....	28
3. Complexity and syllabification	31
4. Substantive complexity effects in Irish	33
4.1. Features vs. elements in vocalic alternations	33
4.2. Substantive conditions on Irish epenthesis	40
4.3. Segmental inventories and complexity	48
5. Initial consonant mutations in Welsh	55
5.1. Introduction	55
5.2. Soft Mutation.....	60
5.3. Aspirate Mutation.....	62
5.4. Nasal Mutation	63
5.5. Hard Mutation	64
5.6. Representing Welsh consonants.....	64
5.7. A new analysis of Welsh mutations	70
5.8. The morphophonology of mutations	77
6. Summary and conclusions	82
II. FORMAL COMPLEXITY	85
1. Introduction	85
2. Syllabification	86
2.1. Basic facts	86
2.2. Government	89
2.3. Licensing	91

3. Syllable markedness as a scale of formal complexity	93
3.1. Syllable markedness	94
3.2. Problems with parameters	96
3.3. Syllabic complexity is scalar	100
4. The licensing properties of different nuclear types	105
4.1. The schwa vowel in Dutch	105
4.2. Light and heavy clusters	111
4.3. The word-final context and the scale of licensers	114
4.4. Licensing properties of nuclei in Polish	117
5. The right edge of the word in Malayalam	119
5.1. The no-coda hypothesis	120
5.2. Basic facts of clustering in Malayalam	124
5.3. Licensing properties: full vowels vs. empty nuclei	129
5.4. A typology of licensing discrepancies	131
5.5. Melodic restrictions on final onsets	134
5.6. Conclusion	138
6. Empty nuclei and complex clusters	142
6.1. Sources of empty nuclei and licensing mechanisms in standard GP	145
6.2. Principles and parameters in conflict – towards a solution	153
6.3. Licensing of clusters without licensing of empty positions	156
7. Polish as a CV language?	161
7.1. Introduction	161
7.2. Branching onsets in Polish	165
7.2.1. Proper Government across branching onsets	166
7.2.2. Government Licensing	167
7.2.3. BrO vs. ONO in verbal prefixation in Polish	169
7.2.4. The morphophonology of the prefixed forms	172
7.2.5. Word-final contexts	176
7.2.6. Morphophonology vs. RIO at the right edge	177
7.2.7. Substantive restrictions on final RIO	181
7.3. Branching rhymes lost	186
7.4. Morphophonology and phonotactic paradoxes at the right edge	193
7.5. Conclusion	198
8. Summary and conclusions	198

III. THE PHONOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF WORDS	203
1. Introduction	203
1.1. Theoretical assumptions	205
2. Lexicon optimisation	208
2.1. Elimination of liquid diphthongs in Slavic	208
2.2. Distribution of licensing in the phonological word.....	214
2.3. Late Common Slavic prosody	216
2.4. Elimination of RT clusters – a foot-based analysis.....	221
2.5. Irish metathesis as a stress related phenomenon	229
2.6. Modern Bulgarian əɾ / rə shifts – a case for phonologically grounded Optimality?	241
2.7. A typology of expected liquid metathesis	249
2.8. The non-exceptionality of TURT in Slavic.....	253
2.9. Jers and clusters in the history of Slavic	261
2.10. The phonological conditions on liquid metathesis – conclusions...	268
3. Clustering at word edges	272
3.1. Introduction	272
3.2. Branching rhymes revisited.....	273
3.3. Branching rhymes CV-lised	276
3.3.1. Epenthesis and compensatory lengthening	276
3.3.2. The double licensing of LIO?	280
3.3.3. More on Dutch schwa	286
3.4. The magic of the left edge.....	290
3.4.1. The left edge of the word in Polish	293
3.5. Magic: left, right and centre	303
3.6. Conclusions	319
4. Chapter summary	320
<i>Conclusion</i>	323
<i>References</i>	325