CONTENTS

Preface 5

1. Introduction 13
   1.1. Linguistics and Methodology 13
      1.1.1. Methodological vs. Substantive Aspects . 13
      1.1.2. The Analysis of a Methodological Principle 17
      1.1.3. Premises of the Analysis of a Methodological Principle 23
      1.1.4. The Necessity of Analyzing the Methodological Aspects of Linguistics 28
   1.2. The Contents and Organization of the Monograph 36

2. The Theory of Phonology 38
   2.1. General Remarks 38
   2.2. The Objects of Study of Transformational Generative Grammar 39
      2.2.1. A Grammar 39
      2.2.2. The General Theory 40
   2.3. The Structure of a Transformational Generative Grammar 40
   2.4. The Phonological Component 42
      2.4.1. The Main Contributions 42
      2.4.2. The Function of the Phonological Component 43
      2.4.3. The Structure of the Phonological Component 44
         2.4.3.1. The Original Version 45
            2.4.3.1.1. Phonetic Representations 45
            2.4.3.1.2. Lexical Representations 48

2.4.3.1.3. Phonological Representations . 56
2.4.3.1.4. The Naturalness Condition.... 58
2.4.3.1.5. Phonological Rules..... 60
2.4.3.1.6. Phonological Redundancy Rules 65
2.4.3.1.7. The Theory of Exceptions ... 66
2.4.3.1.8. Schematic Summary 67
2.4.3.2. The Markedness Version 67
2.4.3.2.1. Problematic Phonological Phenomena 69
2.4.3.2.2. Reasons for Failure of Original Version 70
2.4.3.2.3. The Notion of Markedness.... 72
2.4.4. Substantive Issues in Transformational Generative Phonology 74

3. The Notion 'Linguistically Significant Generalization' 76
3.1. General Remarks 76
3.2. The Methodological Function of the Notion 'Linguistically Significant Generalization' 76
3.2.1. A Typical Linguistic Argument..... 78
3.2.2. The Abstract Structure of the Linguistic Argument 81
3.3. The Content of the Notion 'Linguistically Significant Generalization' 87
3.3.1. A Generalization 87
3.3.2. The Notion 'Linguistically Significant'.... 89
3.3.2.1. 'Significant' vs. 'True' or 'Correct' 89
3.3.2.2. Linguistic Significance and Mentalism 93
3.3.2.3. Linguistically Relevant Data and Linguistically Significant Facts 95
3.3.2.4. Linguistic Significance and the Evaluation Measure..... 101
3.3.2.4.1. The Evaluation Measure and the Basic Pattern of Linguistic Argumentation 104

3.3.2.4.2. The Scope of the Evaluation Measure 107
3.3.2.4.3. Conditions of Adequacy for the Evaluation Measure 108
3.3.2.4.4. The Notion 'Degree of Linguistically Significant Generalization' 110
3.4. Summary of Conclusions 113

4. The Validation of Transformational Generative Phonology as a Mentalistic Theory 116
4.1. General Remarks 116
4.2. The Thesis of Mentalism 117
4.3. The Validation of Mentalistic Hypotheses 121
4.3.1. Introductory Remarks 121
4.3.2. Norms for Validating Empirical Theories 122
4.3.3. Modes of Validating Mentalistic Hypotheses 124
4.3.3.1. General Remarks 124
4.3.3.2. The 'How Else' Argument 125
4.3.3.3. Testing the Predictions of Grammars 127
4.3.3.4. Psycholinguistic Testing 131
4.3.3.5. Reference to Sustaining Evidence . 136
4.3.3.5.1. Historical Evidence for Rule Schemata 137
4.3.3.5.2. Intuitive Evidence and the Evaluation Measure 142
4.3.3.5.3. Psychological Evidence for Linguistic Universals 144
4.3.3.5.4. Metatheoretical Evidence for the Evaluation Measure 150
4.3.3.5.5. Neurophysiological Evidence for the Finiteness of a Grammar... 154
4.3.3.5.6. Diverse Kinds of Evidence for 'M-U' Decisions and Marking Rules... 157
4.3.3.5.6.1. Statistical Evidence 158
4.3.3.5.6.2. Historical and Sociological Evidence 159

4.3.3.5.6.3. Psychological and Neurophysiological Evidence 159
4.3.3.5.6.4. Articulatory and Perceptual Evidence 159
4.3.3.5.7. Merits of Coherence Norms for Validating Mentalistic Hypotheses... 160
4.4. Summary of Conclusions 164
4.5. Implications of Conclusions 166
4.5.1. The Evaluation Measure and the Notion 'Linguistically Significant Generalization' .. 166
4.5.2. Mentalistic Linguistics: A Future Prospect? 167

5. The Empirical Status of Transformational Generative Phonology as a Non-mentalistic Theory..... 171
5.1. General Remarks 171
5.1.1. A Non-mentalistic Theory 171
5.1.2. The Empirical Status of a Theory..... 174
5.2. The Testability of the Theory of Phonology... 176
5.2.1. The General Issue..... 176
5.2.2. The Availability of Evidence 177
5.2.2.1. General Remarks 177
5.2.2.2. The Evaluation Measure 178
5.2.2.2.1. The Issues 178
5.2.2.2.2. Motivation for Adopting an Evaluation Measure 179
5.2.2.2.3. Evidence for the Form of the Evaluation Measure 181
5.2.2.2.4. Summarizing Remarks 190
5.2.2.3. Phonetic Representations..... 191
5.2.2.3.1. The Issues 191
5.2.2.3.2. The Reference of Phonetic Representations 193
5.2.2.3.3. Evidence about Physical Phenomena 194

5.2.2.3.4. Evidence about Perceptual Phenomena 195
5.2.2.3.5. The Role of the Notion 'Systematic Considerations' 198
5.2.2.3.6. Summarizing Remarks 204
5.2.3. Blocking 205
5.2.3.1. General Remarks 205
5.2.3.2. Blocked Devices 205
5.2.3.2.1. The Principle of the Transformational Cycle 205
5.2.3.2.1.1. The Issues 205
5.2.3.2.1.2. Fineness of Stress Differentiation 208
5.2.3.2.1.3. Variability of Phrase-Internal Stress Relations 209
5.2.3.2.2. Linguistic Universals 212
5.2.3.2.2.1. The Non-mentalistic Notion 'Linguistic Universal' 212
5.2.3.2.2.2. Notions Blocking Claims about Linguistic Universals 213
5.2.3.2.3. The Theory of Exceptions 215
5.2.3.2.3.1. The Issue 215
5.2.3.2.3.2. First Set of Test Implications 216
5.2.3.2.3.3. Second Set of Test Implications 218
5.2.3.2.4. The Devices Accounting for Stress Phenomena 220
5.2.3.2.4.1. The Issue 220
5.2.3.2.4.2. The Strategy 221
5.2.3.2.4.3. The Notion 'Exception to a Rule' 224
5.2.3.2.4.4. The Conditions on the Abstractness of Lexical Representations 228

5.2.3.2.4.5. The Degree of Motivation for Blocking Lexical Representations 229
5.2.3.2.4.6. The Degree of Motivation for Additional Rules 233
5.2.3.2.4.7. Merits of the Alternative Strategies 235
5.2.3.2.4.8. Summarizing Remarks .. 240
5.2.3.3. Blocking Devices 241
5.2.3.3.1. General Remarks 241
5.2.3.3.2. Methodological Status of Blocking Devices 241
5.3. Summary of Conclusions 244
5.4. Implications of the Conclusions 247

Bibliography 249

Index 258