

Pavel Iosad

Laryngeal phonology in Plougrescant Breton: sandhi, mutation and contrast

This paper presents an (in-progress) account of laryngeal phonology in a dialect of Breton. It is argued that despite the existence of both "voicing" and "devoicing" processes, binary [voice] is not needed to account for the data; instead, I argue for a distinction between a ban on a feature and a ban on contrast (essentially on the feature node). It is argued that laryngeal features are contrastive only in certain positions in Breton, namely word-initially and before a stressed vowel. Otherwise, laryngeal properties of obstruents are contingent on, among other things, the length of the preceding vowel. It is argued that apparent pre-sonorant voicing in sandhi is a matter of phonetic implementation rather than spread of [(+)voice]. I also propose a new interpretation of devoicing sandhi, unifying it with both the so-called "failure of mutation" and lexical phonological processes.