Integrating segmental and suprasegmental phonology

It is widely assumed that phonological structure is organized into levels that reflect the size of phonological units. Larger units, such as syllables, feet, words, and phrases are found at higher levels, while lower levels are the domain of segments and the smaller entities of which they are constructed. This general outlook is entrenched in the consciousness of phonologists and phoneticians alike – for most of us, it is simply the way it is, and it is rarely questioned. A few proposals, however, have hinted at a greater degree of integration between segments and prosody. Some notable examples include Steriade's (1993) Aperture Theory, Golston & van der Hulst's (1999) view of linear ordering and phonotactics, Kehrein & Golston's (2004) prosodic theory of laryngeal contrasts, and Pöchtrager's (2006) proposal in which the lenis-fortis contrast is defined in terms of structural relations that hold between prosodic positions.

While each of the above-mentioned proposals addresses relatively small-scale empirical issues, the Onset Prominence framework (OP; Schwartz 2013 *et seq*.), in which segments and prosody are constructed from the same representational materials, offers a more comprehensive theory of the segment-prosody interface. Building prosodic structure from a hierarchy of phonetic events associated with a stop-vowel CV sequence, OP eliminates 'association lines' between segments and prosody (cf. Pöchtrager 2006), such that segments *are* prosodic structure. As a consequence, predictions for the behavior of larger prosodic units are made by the same principles that govern segmental phonology. In essence, this boils down to two types of phonotactic mechanism, one recursive that builds down, the other adjunctive that builds up (cf. van der Hulst 2010). These mechanisms interact with parameter settings for the affiliation of the Vocalic Onset node (VO) with regard to the consonant-vowel distinction, restricting the paths of phonological evolution in a way that can unify accounts of seemingly unrelated cross-linguistic phenomena.

This presentation will illustrate the OP perspective on two problems with the goal of showing how the framework is a theory of both prosodic and segmental phonology. In the first, we consider stress, showing why lexical stress is phonetically stronger then demarcative stress, and is typically accompanied by dramatic reduction of unstressed vowels, and why weight effects go hand in hand with vowel length contrasts. Both are a product of the recursive submersion mechanism (Schwartz 2016), which creates multiple prosodic levels for the realization of 'segmental' features. The other problem is the directionality of assimilation of laryngeal features. Wetzels and Mascaró's (2001) typology of assimilation reveals clear effects of obstruent manner in determining the direction of assimilation, and whether it is a process of voicing or devoicing. In traditional segmental accounts, effects of manner on the direction of assimilation must be stipulated. In the OP environment, manner-induced directionality effects on voice assimilation and devoicing fall out directly from the mechanisms governing the realization of laryngeal features in OP structural configurations. In both of these areas, it is shown how a phenomenon generally seen as prosodic (stress) is also segmental, and how a phenomenon generally seen as segmental (assimilation) is also prosodic.

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