CHAPTER FIVE

'THIS' AND 'THAT'

5.1 Introduction

In the empirical chapters of this study I have endeavoured not only to examine areas which exemplify the methodological approach I described in Chapter Two, but also to address interesting aspects of English phonology.

In a monosystemic account of any language certain of the contrastive units have to be singled out on grounds of their idiosyncratic behaviour. One such item in a monosystemic account of English is /s/. On the basis of its phonetic exponents in citation form and spoken prose it seems reasonable to pair this item with /θ/. In the linguistic activities of reading aloud word-lists and texts one would expect speakers of many varieties of English to do a dental articulation with strictures of varying degrees of close and open approximation for both of these items. Indeed in phonetic/phonological treatments of English\(^{52}\) /θ/ and /s/ are always found togeth-

\(^{52}\)e.g. Sweet (1908), Jones (1956), Gimson (1980).
er. However, when one begins to examine their distribution certain peculiarities start to appear. In the search for minimal pairs, which contribute largely to the setting up of contrastive units in the first place, it is not an easy task to find many Θ/ţ pairs at all. Apart from the well-known examples of thigh/thy and ether/either the search is most profitable in many noun/verb pairs, e.g. mouth (n. & v.). However, once one imposes the constraint that minimal pairs be drawn from items belonging to the same syntactic category then the search for minimal pairs becomes fruitless. Perhaps the most striking anomaly is the complete absence of initial /ţ/ in anything other than grammatical items such as pronouns, determiners, conjunctions, etc.

The situation becomes even more complex once one leaves the data collected from word-list and text reading and begins to consider the sorts of patterns which appear in naturally occurring talk. Distributional anomalies are now joined by peculiarities in the different phonetic exponent of /Θ/ and /ţ/. The phonetic exponent in data from spoken prose is relatively untroubled, and it is on the basis of this exponent that /Θ/ and /ţ/ are paired off in the first place. In conversational material grammatical items with initial /ţ/ can display a range of articulatory and phonatory possibilities in an equally wide range of varieties of English, which in Lodge (1981 & 1984) are treated as cases of progressive harmony. Some examples taken from Lodge (1981) are presented in (52).
Patterns of the type observable in (52) are often dealt with in terms of assimilation\textsuperscript{53}. However, as an assimilation it is strange in English. First, the assimilation is progressive affecting the consonantal item at the beginning of a word. The only other place where comparable progressive assimilation happens is in a very limited set of lexical items with initial /θ/, which can take on, for instance, sibilance when preceded by an item ending in sibilance. Secondly, the nature of the assimilation is not comparable to any other progressive or regressive assimilation in English. The most frequent assimilation in English is that of place, whereas 'ø-harmony' (Lodge 1984) can in its most extreme case be an assimilation of all the features of the consonantal element at the end of the preceding item, as in the last example in (52).

Having established what I consider to be main peculiarities of the distribution and phonetic exponenty of /ð/, I will spend the rest of this chapter analysing some of my own data, attempting to account for patterns

\textsuperscript{53}I will deal in more detail with other works in 5.5.
in my impressionistic records akin to those taken from Lodge's work in (52). My analysis will be restricted to two grammatical items which I have chosen because they exhibit the possibility of having a period of syllable-initial dental approximation at various points in utterance. I will show that a non-conventional interpretation of the types of patterns which can be observed in my data lead me to propose a phonological statement in which /θ/ has no place. I will also address one process which appears in all accounts of non-citation form utterance: deletion, i.e. getting rid of something at a particular stage in derivation.

This particular empirical chapter has been placed last as I will require the phonological statements arrived at in the previous two chapters in order to provide an adequate account of the patterns I will be confronting in this chapter.

5.2 Data

The aim of the rest of this chapter will be to provide phonological statements for two grammatical items. As usual I have taken care to narrow my field of enquiry, and have chosen to examine two items which both belong to the syntactic category pronoun. The items will be glossed with that and this. The vast majority of the tokens in my material are THAT tokens and the analysis of THAT is based
on the impressionistic records of over 100 portions containing this item.

5.3 Pronominal THAT

The impressionistic records presented in (53) are of portions containing THAT. They illustrate well the large range of phonetic shapes observable.

(53)

a. (1.6) that was

b. (0.8) that was

c. (0.6) that's a (0.4)

d. what that's like

e. do that (1.0)

f. like that (6.0)

All of these portions, which I assume to contain pronominal THAT, have one thing in common: they all contain a non-rounded, relatively open vocalic portion. This is one pattern which I would want to abstract out as part of the phonological statement for THAT.

Further examination of the records in (53) reveal that certain of the portions share other similarities. In (53a, d & e) the period of open vocalicity described above
is preceded by a period of dental open approximation which is accompanied by a vibrating glottis. The open vocalic stricture in (53a, b, c & e) is accompanied by creaky phonation. In (53a, b & e) the open vocalic portion is followed by glottal closure. The final two portions (53e & f) both have vocalic strictures considerably longer than those found in the other portions and in (53e) there is a central off-glide present before the onset of the glottal closure. Finally, the open vocalic stricture in (53f) is accompanied by a lowered velum.

I now have to show which of the features observed in my records are to be abstracted out in the form of a phonological statement for THAT. Of equal importance in this task will be to identify those aspects of articulatory and phonatory activity which, although co-temporal with features attributable to THAT, are to be considered exponents of other phonological elements. I have found it most convenient to present the data and arguments for each phonological element of THAT in turn.

5.3.1 THAT: a 'q-syllable'

The impressionistic records presented in (54) contain a representative sample of the range of possible ending types which I have identified.
In the first five examples, (54a-e) there is a period of glottal closure following the front open vocalic portion. In these examples with glottal closure the vocalic stricture is accompanied by creaky phonation. In fact these two observations make THAT a candidate as a monosyllabic glottal piece as described in the previous chapter. However, the endings observable in the remaining examples seem to question this assumption. In (54f-k) the vocalic portion is not checked by glottal closure, but by
a period of close approximation at the alveolar ridge, and this stricture is accompanied by an open glottis. Creaky phonation is only present in (54i-k), that is in those cases where a period of glottal closure precedes the vocalic portion. I would not want to assign this creaky phonation to the phonology of THAT. The creaky phonation in (54k) goes round with the glottal closure associated with but and that in (54i & j) goes round with the glottal closure which is arguably part of the exponency of doing a particular type of utterance beginning.

I propose to treat (54a-e) as having q as part of their phonological structure, having the exponency described in the previous chapter. The remaining examples (54f-k), leaving aside (54l) for the moment, are all checked by an alveolar approximation which expones the third person singular be, the glottis is open and there is no creaky phonation. Although it is relatively easy to see the patterns, it is not clear how one should deal with them at the phonological level. I will propose Z as the phonological exponent of this form of be. Formulaically then one could express the 'end' of THAT in (54a-e) as q and in (54f-k) as just Z, on the grounds that if the glottal closure and creaky phonation, which I have up until now associated with the exponents of piece-final q, are not present then q should not be present either. However, I would argue that examples (54f-k) are indeed qZ, and that it is the phonetic exponents of q which are different. The grounds for this proposal reside in the
state of the glottis accompanying the alveolar approximation, i.e. open. This variety of English, like many others, does a considerable amount of grammatical work with Z: possession, plurality, third person singular of be, etc. The phonetic correlates of Z only concern place and manner of articulation, and the state of glottis which ultimately accompanies the alveolar approximation is a correlate of the complex of which Z is a part. This accounts for the state of the glottis accompanying the alveolar approximation in the examples of other pronoun-copula pieces in (55).

(55)

a. she's uhm

b. she's a

c. if he's in

d. he's the

The vibrating glottis accompanying the alveolar approximation in (55) can be accounted for by proposing that the pronoun-copula pieces are V+Z, the voice correlating with V. Returning to THAT, one is only confronted with a problem of accounting for the state of the glottis if q is absent since one would then have V+Z. The continued presence of q accounts for the voicelessness observed. At the same time, retaining q does add to the articulatory and phonatory complexes over which this unit has to
generalise.

I now turn to (541). I unfortunately have only one example of this ending type, and so my comments as to its shape can only be speculative. This example exhibits none of the features observed elsewhere. There is no creaky phonation and the syllable is not checked by either glottal closure or alveolar approximation. The vocalic portion is very long and nasalised. My account of these observations is that this over-long, nasalised, unchecked vocalic portion is the phonetic product of two quite separate bits of phonology, one being the phonology of THAT itself, the other being that of coming to the end of a turn, indicated by the six-second period of silence which follows. I would want to attribute the features of over-length and nasalisation to turn-finality and it is the correlates of this finality which seem to 'override' those of q.

5.3.2 THAT: the vocalic portions and the vowel

In this section I will address that element of the phonological structure of THAT which generalises over certain aspects of tongue and lip configurations. I begin by presenting in (56) a representative sample of the range of vocalic portions associated with various THAT tokens.
The vocalic portions in (56) vary both with respect to tongue configuration and length. All the vocalic portions in (56) share neutral lip position, are relatively front and open. The records show that there are considerable differences in the length of the vocalic portions (compare (56a-c) with (56d-i)) and in the final two examples, (56h & i), there is a central off-glide prior to the onset of glottal closure. I consider the differences in length and quality to be the result of the different places in the rhythmic and interactional structure in which THAT finds itself. In those examples where the vocalic portion is noticeably longer, (56d-g), the length is an exponent of THAT being at ictus (cf. Chapter
Three), and in (56h & i) the change in tongue configuration prior to glottal closure is one of the exponents of turn-finality.

I propose the unit α to generalise over openness and frontness of the tongue, together with neutral lip position. It should be clear that much of what characterises the vocalic portions at the phonetic level have nothing to do with the phonological vowel, α, of THAT. The phonation type accompanying the vocalic stricture is in part an exponent of q, and differences in length and quality are attributable to rhythmic and interactional factors.

5.3.3 THA T: the beginnings and the onset

I now turn to what I consider to be the most interesting aspect of THAT's phonological structure: the onset. I will not be able to provide a complete statement of its exponomy until I have also examined the patterns in THIS tokens. I begin by presenting in (57) and (58) the two main beginning types I have identified.

(57)

a. say that (0.4)  
\[ \hat{s} \text{æ} \text{ɪ} \text{ð} \text{t} \text{æ} \cdot ? (0.4) \]

b. either that or  
\[ \text{æ} \text{ɪ} \text{ð} \text{æ} \text{ð} \text{æ} \cdot ? \text{x} \]

c. either that or  
\[ \text{æ} \text{ɪ} \text{ð} \text{æ} \text{ð} \text{æ} \cdot ? \text{x} \]

d. do that (1.0)  
\[ \hat{d} \text{æ} \text{o} \text{ð} \text{æ} \cdot \text{ð} ? (1.0) \]
e. do that

f. on that's what

g. on that as

h. on that out

i. and that would

j. seen that laying

k. less than that (0.6)

l. want that

m. what that's like

n. but that obviously

o. what that would (1.0)

p. about that before

q. at that (0.6)

r. like that again

s. like that

t. like that (0.6)

u. (0.8) that was

v. (0.7) that was

w. (0.1) that is

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In the examples in (57) one can see that the open vocalic portion is preceded by a period of dental approximation. This approximation is accompanied through some, if not all, of its duration by a vibrating glottis. The dental stricture is one of open approximation, (57a-e, j,
m-w), complete closure, (57k), or complete closure followed by open approximation, (57i, n, l). The dental approximation can also be accompanied through some, if not all, of its duration by a lowered soft palate, (57f-l). This lowered soft palate can also be seen to accompany the vocalic stricture prior to the dental approximation.

The portions represented in the records in (58) are different from those in (57) in that there is no dental approximation preceding the open vocalic stricture\(^{54}\).

On first examination it would seem that the presence or absence of dentality is arbitrary. Indeed it would remain so were I only able to rely on patterns observable in the records in (57) and (58). For example, dentality is present intervocally in (57a-e), but in (58a) there is no dental stricture between the two vocalic portions. Likewise, it appears to be arbitrary whether dentality follows glottal closure or not (compare (57o-t) with (58b-f)). However, once one has prior knowledge of certain aspects of the phonological structure of adjacent items, together with the syntactic and interactional structure, the presence or absence of dentality then becomes predictable in the majority of the tokens. Dentality is present when THAT is syntactically bound to the preceding item and the phonological structure of that item is such that it lacks consonantality, as defined in Chapter Four. This requires some clarification. The items preceding THAT in

\(^{54}\)Note that in (58c) it is the phonetics of the second THAT that are relevant.
(57a-e) are all vowel-final. In (57f-q) the items preceding THAT are examples of structures having n and q, but I would not propose that any had either final B or D, i.e. those items proposed in the previous chapter which generalised over place of articulation in terms of the active articulator.

The requirement that THAT be syntactically bound to the preceding item accounts for the absence of dentality in the first three examples in (58). In (58a-c) the items preceding THAT would seem to meet the structural requirements in phonological terms in that they have no final C, but they are not syntactically bound\textsuperscript{55}. In (58a) the particle yeah is adjacent, but does not stand in any syntactic relationship to THAT. In (58c) the first THAT is a direct object of the verb in one clause, and the second the subject of the next clause. The situation in (58b) is a little more complex. Although the syntactic structure involved here appears to be parallel to that in (57n), there are a number of differences in the phonetics attendant upon 'but that' which indicate that the conjunctional in (58b) is disjunct from the following THAT token. In (57n) the portion of which 'but that' is a part exhibits a rhythmic continuity; in (58b) this is not the case. So, although the conjunctonal in (58b) is rhythmically integrated into what precedes it, the following portion

\textsuperscript{55}I am not sure what the exact nature of the syntactic relationships involved are, but containment within the same clause seems to be adequate for the material at hand.
containing THAT has a different rhythm. The phonetics of
the two 'but' tokens themselves are also different. The
conjunctival of (58b) is more prominent, the prominence
being brought about by a combination of loudness and
length. Finally, I would argue that this disjunction of
conjunctival and THAT in (58b) is made complete by the
absence of dentity.

The presence or absence of dentity, then, can
serve to bind or disjoin THAT with the previous item.
This is particularly striking in (58a), because although
the vocalic portions of two items are adjacent, the
phonetics of their abutment is void of anything which
could link them, such as the range of linkers discussed in
Chapter Three.

Finally, I would like to turn to two cases where I
can find no account of the presence or absence of dentity
other than variability. This is the case with the
prepositional phrase 'like that' and THAT post-pausally. It
may well be that in following an item with final C or
following a pause, the 'need' for the presence or absence
of dentity to bind or disjoin is minimal. What is
interesting about the variable behaviour in the 'like that'
portions is that it hints at LIKE's phonology. On the
basis of a number of portions in Chapter Four I proposed
that LIKE be Dq although the exponents of Dq finally in
the glottal piece might just be a glottal closure with no
oral stricture of complete closure. In (57r-t) and (58d-f) the vocalic portion of LIKE is only checked by glottal closure, an ending which 'looks' the same as that in, for example, (57o-q). However it is only the LIKE portions that admit of the variable presence and absence of dentality, therefore betraying the different phonological structure without looking phonetically different.

Although I have isolated two beginning types, and have been able to identify a number of patterns by making reference to various aspects of the syntactic and phonological structure of adjacent material I have not actually addressed the question of what the phonology of the onset of THAT should look like.

On the basis of the patterns observed in the records in (57) and (58) there would appear to be two phonological accounts:

(i) there is a phonological unit which generalises over dentality and voice. This unit is absent under certain circumstances.

(ii) there is a phonological unit which generalises over both types of beginning. This unit is always present.

I will adopt account (ii), but in order to justify my decision, and to provide an adequate exponomy statement I will have to examine data from a number of THIS tokens.

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5.4 Pronominal THIS

Certain aspects of the phonology of THIS are of little interest. All the tokens of THIS exhibit centralised half-close front vocalic portions which differ in length and quality in much the same ways as those observed with THAT. Following the vocalic portion there is a stricture of close approximation at the alveolar ridge; this stricture is always accompanied by an open glottis. What is of interest is the range of articulatory and phonatory possibilities which are present around the abutment of the preposition LIKE and THIS.

The records in (59) represent all of the like this tokens which I have in my material.

(59)

a. like this (0.5) | \[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{a} \\
\text{i} \\
\text{\textbackslash a} \\
\text{\textbackslash a} \\
\end{array} \]

b. like this | \[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{\textbackslash a} \\
\text{i} \\
\text{\textbackslash e} \\
\text{\textbackslash e} \\
\end{array} \]

c. like this (1.1) | \[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{\textbackslash a} \\
\text{i} \\
\text{\textbackslash k} \\
\text{\textbackslash g} \\
\text{\textbackslash s} \\
\end{array} \]

d. like this that's | \[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{\textbackslash a} \\
\text{i} \\
\text{\textbackslash k} \\
\text{\textbackslash g} \\
\text{\textbackslash a} \\
\text{\textbackslash s} \\
\text{\textbackslash e} \\
\end{array} \]

e. like this but | \[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{\textbackslash a} \\
\text{i} \\
\text{\textbackslash g} \\
\text{\textbackslash a} \\
\text{\textbackslash s} \\
\text{\textbackslash b} \\
\text{\textbackslash \textbackslash a} \\
\end{array} \]

In (59) one can observe a number of different articulatory and phonatory complexes between the two...
vocalic strictures of the *like this* portions. In (59a & b) there is a period of glottal closure; there is no oral stricture. In (59c) there is also a period of glottal closure, this accompanies a stricture of complete closure in the oral cavity at the soft palate. This is followed by dental approximation and a vibrating glottis. In (59d & e) no dentality is present, but there is a stricture of complete closure at the soft palate. In (59d) this complete closure is accompanied by glottal closure followed by a vibrating glottis; in (59e) the oral closure is only accompanied by voice, and there is no oral approximation co-temporal with glottal closure.

The most important portions with respect to arriving at a full expenency statement for the onset of THIS and THAT are (59d & e). In Chapter Four the phonology proposed for LIKE is CVDq. When final in a glottal piece the exponents of q are creaky phonation and possible glottal and oral closure. D has dorsality as its exponent. These phonetics can be observed in each of the records in (59). Now although D accounts for the dorsality in (59d & e), one must still account for the vibrating glottis accompanying this stricture. I consider this voice to be part of the expenency of the onset of THIS, and indeed one feature which all the beginnings of THAT and THIS tokens share is a vibrating glottis. The phonological item which I propose to account for these observations is a kind of minimal onset. This onset is minimal in that it has voice as its exponent. When required, this voice is 'carried'
by an apico-dental approximation, e.g. when there is no unit at the end of the previous item assigning a place of articulation.

5.5 Phonology of THAT and THIS

I will now draw together all the phonological elements which I have proposed, providing examples of the various structures. In (60) I present the phonological units proposed together with descriptions of the abstractions from the phonetic observations which these units represent.

(60)

H voice and dental approximation in the absence of consonantality
q  -  as in Chapter Four and voicelessness with Z
n  -  lowered soft palate
z  -  alveolar close approximation
s  -  voiceless alveolar close approximation
ː  -  close front non-rounded vocalicity
a  -  open front non-rounded vocalicity

Examples

(i)  hαq  (ii)  hαqz
(0.7)  ₑ  ♂  ï  ø  w  ø  z  (0.6)  ñ  s  ø  ?p (0.4)
(0.7) that was  (0.6) that's a (0.4)
The phonological formulae for THAT and THIS remain the same in each of the examples above, although one can see that the records show different phonetics. In many cases these differences in the phonetics are attributable to differences in the temporal phasing of the various articulatory and phonetic parameters which ultimately expone the phonological units. Comparison of (iii) and (iv), and of (vi) and (vii) illustrate this well. In (iii) and (iv) the parameters of nasality, oral closure and dentality are arranged differently over time. In (vi) and (vii) it is the parameters of dorsality, oral closure, glottal closure and voice which are differently aligned temporally. This is represented graphically in (61).
Not only do identical units in the phonology generalise over different phonetic complexes, but similar articulatory and phonatory complexes are generalised over by different elements in the phonology. Instances of voiceless alveolar close approximation exemplify this aspect of the statement well. Periods of voiceless alveolar close approximation are to be found in (ii), (vi) and (vii). From the phonetic point of view these three instances are very similar, however phonologically that present in (ii) is very different from that in (vi) and (vii). The approximation and its state of the glottis in
(ii) is a product of $q$ and $Z$, whereas in (vi) and (vii) similar features are treated solely as a product of $s$. These differences in the phonology reflect the different lexical and grammatical functions which the alveolar close approximations are fulfilling in each case.

5.6 $\mathbf{M}$ in a two-term system

In the construction of my phonological statement I have taken care while choosing the symbol for the onset of THAT and THIS that it should bear no resemblance to anything dental, and at the same time have glottal connotations. There are two main reasons for this. First, there are no good grounds for wanting to relate the onset of grammatical items such as THAT and THIS with the onset of lexical items such as 'thought', etc., since it is only under certain circumstances that they exhibit certain articulatory similarities. Secondly, the choice of $\mathbf{M}$ is designed to hint at another phonological element: $h$.

I propose that $h$ and $\mathbf{M}$ constitute a two-term system operating at the onset of grammatical items, $h$ being the term found at the beginning of items such as her, him, etc. Like $\mathbf{M}$, $h$ is a minimal onset having voicelessness as its exponent. The justification for this proposal is as follows. The way I have accounted for the beginnings of two pronominal items has been to propose a unit having minimally voice as its exponent. A number of other
determiners and pronouns have periods of voicelessness accompanying their vocalic strictures prior to the onset of vocal cord vibration\footnote{See examples (24a, b, j, k & l) in Chapter Three, p. 101.}. The exponents of \textit{h} and \textit{M}, then, are opposed at the glottis. They are two terms representing minimal consonantality, and it just happens that \textit{M} also requires an oral stricture should this consonantality need to be carried. Further justification for the proposal of this system is provided by the patterns in Chapter Three. Here the main object was to provide phonological statements for three prepositional items, but as always this could only be done by providing at least partial analyses of adjacent material. Part of this was the proposal of the item \textit{F}, whose exponent was a stricture of close/open approximation somewhere in the vocal tract. In the appropriate rhythmic and syntactic structure this item was absent, symbolised by \textit{F}. One can now see that \textit{F} is no more than a superordinate term for the system comprising \textit{h} and \textit{M}.

5.7 Other analyses of \textit{M}

Observations similar to those I have been making regarding the beginnings of THAT and THIS, have been made in a number of other works: Hubbell (1972), Zwicky (1970, 1972a & b), Shockey (1974), Clements (1982), Lodge (1981,
1984). As one would expect from my proposals and discussion up to this point the ways in which these observations have been accounted for in other works is different. Other accounts are similar in that they all begin with the phonetics or the phonology of the citation form and change it using the processes of deletion and assimilation. In part the accounts differ because of the data being used. Zwicky (1970, 326) considers the absence of dentality in THAT to be anomalous, whereas in Shockey's material from New York English she observes the absence of dentality in contexts akin to those I have identified.

The major differences in other works concern the characterisation of the onset of items such as THAT and the rules proposed to change it. For Zwicky and Shockey the onset of THAT is [θ], i.e. a period of voiced dental close approximation. I have dealt with the weaknesses of manipulating strings of phonetic segments in Chapter One and need discuss them no further.

Clements' (1982) approach to 'θ - assimilation' requires a little more careful examination to see how it is flawed. Clements' takes a number of examples from Shockey (1974), part of which I reproduce in (62).

(62) a. course they [s:]  
     b. broads that [z:]  
     c. seen the [n:]  

Clements' accounts for the long consonantal portions
in terms of deletion together with a lengthening of the consonant at the end of the previous item. The problem with this analysis is that although the examples presented in (62) provide evidence to support Clements' proposals regarding compensatory lengthening, compensatory lengthening does not account for a whole range of other examples of which those in (62) would be a part. The examples in question would be those I present in (59d & e), for although there is a relatively long period of complete closure at the soft palate, the vibrating glottis accompanying part of this closure could not be accounted for, since in Clements' analysis $\delta$ and therefore all of its exponents would be absent.

Lodge (1981 & 1984) offers the most abstract account. Lodge (1984), in which conversational material from a number of varieties is being examined, requires the onset of items such as THAT to have a feature matrix which is underspecified with respect to manner of articulation. This underspecification reflects the particular assimilatory behaviour which he observes. However, Lodge's account shares with all others a unit which is voiced, dental, symbolised with $\delta$ and paired with $\theta$, and as in other monosystemic accounts $\delta$ would be the item which generalises over voiced dental approximation in other places in the lexis. Lodge (1981) proposes that 'because of the assimilation of all its features except for voice, $\delta$ can be represented as $z|V|$ in the base form' (1981; 29-30). However, although this proposal is
very similar to my own, Lodge's analysis is still committed to \( \& \), an item which is paired with \( \Theta \).

5.8 Discussion

In this chapter I have looked at an area of English phonology which exhibits peculiar behaviour if treated monosystemically. By examining a large number of analytically equivalent tokens of THAT and THIS, I was less prejudiced towards treating the dental approximation which turned up in a number of the tokens as being a prior stage in a derivation to those tokens which did not exhibit any such approximation. The phonological account is different in that it does not generalise over articulatory and phonatory complexes in the conventional way. The parallels I was able to draw with patterns at the beginnings of other determiners and pronominal items in 5.6 were only possible because I did not force myself into a type of categorisation which makes phonological entities look like time-spliced phonetic complexes, i.e. by assigning place and manner of articulation labels, together with a state of the glottis. In general phonetic terms [h] and [\( \& \)] do not share a great deal which would lead one to want to relate them, and it is not until one considers the whole range of phonetic complexes, of which [\( \& \)] is a part, and
includes the grammatical relationships involved that one can arrive at the sort of phonological statement which I have proposed here.