Beyond ‘double contact’: Arguments for a new prosodic type in sign languages

THE PROBLEM
Current phonological models do not adequately account for all features of signs with two distinct syllables that repeat in two locations.

SUMMARY POINTS
1. Within an entire lexicon, there are more types of signs that repeat in two locations than only ‘double contact’
2. Taken as a group, these signs have 2 types of unpredictable phonological information that should be included in a phonological representation:
   a. syllable level: movement type, direction of path
   b. word level: axis & directionalities of sub-locations (not all locations)

What about the locations of each repeated syllable? (i.e., “sub-locations”) Is the placement of sub-locations within a location predictable?

1. Axis of sub-locations are largely, but not fully predictable on the basis of location
2. Directionality of sub-locations are also mostly predictable, but with some exceptions

IMPLEMENTATION
- Dependency Model (DPM) has high flexibility, while still capturing phonological generalizations
- Manner features on a separate tier dictate how core articulatory movements (changes in location, handshape, &/or orientation) are realized
- Borrow idea from Prosodic Model: specify how many X-slots per manner feature, e.g., (— —)
- Displaced iteration: licenses two syllables (4 X-slots) on the timing tier; requires specifying syllable type (core articulatory movement), plus axis & directionalities unless predictable within the language; result is an identical syllable repeated in two sub-locations within the same phonological location

REFERENCES: