

## DIRECTIONALITY AND EXCEPTION-FEATURES IN GENERATIVE PHONOLOGY

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Recently, phonologists have been increasing their efforts to endow (parts of) grammars with a directionality (uni-, bi-, or multi-; cf. Eliasson (1978)); concomitantly, generative phonologists of widely varying persuasions all seem to be intensifying their attempts to eliminate exception-features (cf. Chomsky and Halle (1968, passim)) from their descriptions of languages. The present paper, however, adduces evidence which, we believe, shows both of these goals to be fundamentally misguided and worthy of speedy abandonment--at least in a competence-oriented model of phonology.

In demonstrating this, we will start with a more general perspective and show that: (1) so-called "Standard" Generative Phonology is essentially non-directional, despite the claims of Eliasson and the occasional practice of Chomsky and Halle themselves, and (2) the elimination of exception-features is undesirable because it removes a theoretical device that plays the indispensable role of distinguishing what is exceptional and ad hoc from what is not. We will then conclude with a more concrete example which shows that the newly proposed theory of "Upside-Down" Phonology--which attempts, essentially, to achieve both of the above-mentioned goals simultaneously--is, in fact, unworkable in principle: reversing what is commonly taken to be the directionality of SGP (viz., from underlying to surface representation) does not allow one to dispense with exception-features, in either synchronic or diachronic phonology. The fact that both directions of derivation require the same kind of mechanisms for handling exceptions thus leads inescapably to the conclusion that generative phonology actually is non-directional--a significant finding.

#### References

- Chomsky, N. and M. Halle (1968): The sound pattern of English, New York: Harper and Row.
- Eliasson, S. (1978): "Directionality in lexical signs and grammars: remarks on the emergence of a theoretical concept", SL 32, 50-62.
- Leben, W. R. and Robinson, O. W. (1977): "'Upside-down' phonology", Lg. 53, 1-20.