

Contents

<i>General preface</i>	xii
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xiii
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xv
1 Introduction	1
2 Morphologically conditioned phonology	9
2.1 Illustrative examples	10
2.2 Approaches to morphologically conditioned phonology	11
2.3 Phonological sensitivity to lexical class	13
2.3.1 Part of speech	13
2.3.2 Ideophones	15
2.3.3 Etymological classes	17
2.3.4 Arbitrary lexical classes: patterned exceptions	19
2.4 The root-affix distinction	21
2.4.1 Examples of root faithfulness	23
2.4.2 Counterexamples to the RAFM	25
2.5 Beyond roots: Morphological construction-specific phonology	29
2.5.1 Segment deletion	30
2.5.2 Gemination	32
2.5.3 Vowel lengthening	33
2.5.4 Truncation to a prosodic constituent	33
2.5.5 Ablaut and mutation	37
2.5.6 Dissimilation and “exchange” rules	39
2.5.7 Stress/pitch-accent (re)assignment	40
2.6 Substance of morphologically conditioned phonology	44
2.7 Generalizing over the morphological conditioning of phonology within a language	44
2.7.1 How many types of morphologically conditioned phonological patterns can there be in a language?	44
2.7.2 How different can morphologically conditioned patterns in the same language be from one another?	47
2.7.2.1 Noun privilege	50
2.7.2.2 Case study: Japanese	52

2.7.3	Interaction between morphologically conditioned patterns, in complex words	59
2.8	Summary	59
3	Process morphology	60
3.1	Three illustrative examples	60
3.2	Phonological substance of process morphology	62
3.2.1	Segment deletion: Lardil, Nanti, Hausa	63
3.2.2	Gemination	65
3.2.3	Vowel lengthening	66
3.2.4	Truncation to a prosodic constituent	68
3.2.5	Ablaut and mutation	70
3.2.6	Dissimilation and "exchange" rules	71
3.2.7	Stress/tone/pitch-accent (re)assignment	74
3.2.8	Summary	75
3.3	Morphological substance of process morphology	76
3.4	Distinguishing between morphologically conditioned phonology and process morphology	76
3.5	Theoretical approaches to process morphology	81
4	Prosodic templates	84
4.1	Units of templatic form	87
4.2	Isolated templaticity	88
4.2.1	English comparatives	88
4.2.2	Cupeño habilitatives	89
4.2.3	Noise words in Guarani	91
4.2.4	Hausa V-X → N compounds	93
4.3	Systematic stem templaticity	94
4.3.1	Root shape templaticity in Yowlumne	94
4.3.2	Tiene	97
4.4	Pervasive templaticity	99
4.4.1	Minimality in Lardil	100
4.4.2	Minimality in Japanese	101
4.5	The phonological analysis of templates	103
4.5.1	Root templaticity in Sierra Miwok	104
4.5.2	Illustration of emergent templates: Tiene	107
4.5.3	Generalized Template Theory and templatic size	109
4.6	Conclusion	112

5 Reduplication	114
5.1 Approaches to reduplication	114
5.2 The phonology of reduplication	116
5.2.1 Prosodic shape of reduplicant	116
5.2.2 A-templatic Reduplication	122
5.2.3 Phonological reduction of reduplicants	123
5.2.4 Locality and nonlocality in reduplication	126
5.2.5 Internal reduplication	128
5.2.5.1 Locality	129
5.2.6 The "overcopying" effect, or exfixation	129
5.3 Phonological identity effects in reduplication	132
5.3.1 Wilbur's Identity principle	132
5.3.2 Reduplicative opacity in BRCT	134
5.3.3 Opacity as a cyclic effect	136
5.3.4 Templatic backcopying	138
5.4 Phonological (compensatory) duplication	140
5.5 The morphology of reduplication	141
5.5.1 Root reduplication	143
5.5.2 Phrasal reduplication	149
5.6 The morphological nature of reduplication	150
5.6.1 Reduplication as concomitant of affixation	151
5.6.2 Synonym reduplication	153
5.6.3 Morphologically complex reduplicants	157
5.6.4 Echo reduplication and other types of morphologically fixed segmentism	158
5.7 Conclusion	163
6 Infixation	165
6.1 What kinds of things can infix?	166
6.2 Location of infixes	168
6.3 Internal (infixing) reduplication	170
6.3.1 Locality in internal reduplication	171
6.3.2 Hybrid infixes	174
6.4 The P » M approach to infixation in Optimality Theory	175
6.4.1 Prosodic vs. segmental factors in optimizing displacement	178
6.5 A lexical approach to infixation	181
6.5.1 Anti-optimizing infixation	182
6.6 Exfixation	183

6.7	Edge-proximity in infixation	186
6.8	Conclusion	188
7	Interleaving: The phonological interpretation of morphologically complex words	189
7.1	Cyclicality	190
7.1.1	Turkish syllabification	190
7.1.2	Indonesian stress	193
7.1.3	Cyclic nasal harmony in Sundanese	195
7.1.4	Cyclic mutation in Cibemba causative stems	197
7.2	Layering	199
7.2.1	Finnish	200
7.2.2	Hausa	201
7.2.3	Reduplication	203
7.2.4	Ndebele reduplication	204
7.3	Interleaving, morphological reorderability, and level ordering theory	208
7.3.1	Malayalam	209
7.3.2	Turkish	213
7.3.2.1	Stress-neutral suffixation	214
7.3.2.2	Prestressing suffixes	216
7.3.2.3	Sezer stems	219
7.3.2.4	Compounding	222
7.4	Non-interleaving approaches to interleaving effects	224
7.4.1	Indexed Constraint Theory	225
7.5	Bracket Erasure	227
7.5.1	Access to internal roots and stems	230
7.5.1.1	Tone assignment in Tura: evidence for internal stem visibility	230
7.5.1.2	Musqueam stress assignment	232
7.5.2	Root reduplication	234
7.5.2.1	Morpheme Integrity in Kinande reduplication	237
7.5.2.2	Morphological access	238
7.5.3	Morphological selection for stem-internal affixes	239
8	Morphologically derived environment effects	242
8.1	A common type of morphologically derived environment effect	242
8.2	Which phonological patterns are subject to morphologically derived environment effects?	244

8.2.1	The Alternation Condition, or the role of lexical contrast	245
8.2.2	Comparative Markedness	247
8.3	Phonologically derived environment effects	250
8.4	A broader range of morphologically derived environment effects	253
8.4.1	Tohono O'odham	253
8.4.2	Turkish minimality	255
8.4.3	Japanese minimality	256
8.4.4	Interim summary	257
8.5	Cophonological approaches to NDEB effects	260
8.5.1	Turkish minimality	261
8.5.2	Tohono O'odham stress	262
8.5.3	Interim summary	263
8.6	Is NDEB a valid cross-linguistic generalization?	266
8.6.1	Turkish minimality revisited	266
8.6.2	Japanese minimality revisited	267
8.6.3	Finnish (Anttila 2006)	268
8.7	Derived environment effects: a distinct phenomenon, or just morphologically conditioned phonology?	269
8.8	Case study: Turkish velar deletion	270
8.8.1	The part of speech condition	271
8.8.2	Suffix-initial velars	273
8.8.3	Lexical exceptions	274
8.8.4	Phonologically derived environments	275
8.9	Morphologically derived environment effects in the context of morphologically conditioned phonology	279
9	When phonology interferes with morphology	281
9.1	Suppletive allomorphy	282
9.1.1	Phonologically optimizing allomorphy	282
9.1.2	Phonologically non-optimizing allomorphy	284
9.1.3	Syllable-counting allomorphy	285
9.1.4	Opaquely conditioned allomorphy	287
9.2	Phonologically conditioned morphological gaps (ineffability)	289
9.2.1	Phonological selectional requirements on affixation	290
9.2.2	Phonological output conditions	290
9.2.2.1	Norwegian imperatives	292

9.2.2.2	Turkish prosodic minimality	292
9.2.2.3	Finnish case and possessive suffixes	293
9.2.3	Ineffability in morphological context	296
9.2.4	Ineffability in lexical contrast: The role of determinacy	299
9.3	Haplology effects	300
9.3.1	Suppletive allomorphy	302
9.3.2	RMC in morphological context	302
9.3.3	Implications of the RMC for a theory of the phonology-morphology interface	304
9.3.4	A continuum of phonological similarity	305
9.4	Morphological order	306
9.4.1	Coordinate compounding	307
9.4.2	Mobile affixes	309
9.4.3	Local affix ordering	311
9.4.4	Global affix ordering: Pulaar	312
9.4.5	Summary	314
9.5	Conclusion	315
10	Nonparallelism between phonological and morphological structure	316
10.1	The prosodic hierarchy	317
10.2	Compounding: One prosodic domain or two?	319
10.2.1	Indonesian	319
10.2.2	Japanese	320
10.2.3	Malayalam	322
10.2.4	Interim summary	325
10.2.5	Cohering vs. noncohering affixes	326
10.3	Affix clusters forming prosodic domains	328
10.3.1	Nimboran	328
10.3.2	Athapaskan	331
10.3.3	Internal access: Prosodic Roots, Stems, and Words	333
10.3.4	Exfixation	334
10.4	Conclusion	336
11	Paradigmatic effects	338
11.1	Interleaving as paradigmatic correspondence: Base-Identity	338
11.1.1	Sundanese	339
11.1.2	English flapping and aspiration	340

11.1.3 Cibemba	342
11.1.4 Jita	343
11.2 Divergences between interleaving and Paradigm Uniformity	346
11.2.1 Spanish diminutives	348
11.2.2 Romanian	349
11.2.3 English stress	351
11.3 Summary: Paradigm constraints vs. interleaving	353
11.4 Anti-homophony	355
11.4.1 Avoidance of affix deletion	356
11.4.2 Avoidance of affix conflation	360
11.4.3 Dissimilation triggered to avoid affix homophony	361
11.4.4 Stem alternations blocked to avoid homophony	363
11.4.5 Stem alternations triggered by anti-homophony	365
11.4.6 Anti-homophony in morphophonological context	367
11.5 Lexical distinctiveness	370
11.6 Summary	371
12 Conclusion	373
<i>References</i>	375
<i>Index of languages</i>	409
<i>Index of authors</i>	412
<i>Index of subjects</i>	418