Non-concatenative allomorphy as argument against paradigmatic REALIZE MORPHEME

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The phenomenon that different types of non-concatenative morphology can realize one and the same morpheme in different contexts (=non-concatenative allomorphy) is often taken as a main argument for an OT-constraint REALIZE MORPHEME. I will argue that a RM-based theory is neither necessary nor empirically adequate to account for instances of non-concatenative allomorphy.

Background: The original concept of REALIZE MORPHEME demands the mapping of each morpheme to some phonological element in the output (e.g. Samek-Lodovici (1992), Walker (2000)). In contrast, RM as deÞned in Kurisu (2001) is satisÞed if the output is phonologically different from its base: A morpheme could be realized by any conceivable operation the languages phonology provides. He discusses non-concatenative allomorphy as a strong argument for such an approach: e.g. in Saanich (1), a morpheme is realized through reduplication, inÞxation or metathesis -Ð whereas each of these allomorphs has its own (phonological) context.

(1) *Saanich continuative aspect* *Montler (1989)*

reduplication	q^{w}ə̲l’	“say”	q^{w}ə̲q^{w}əl’	“saying (sth.)”
infixation	weq̲əs	“yawn”	we̲ʔqəs	“yawning”
metathesis	sq’ə̲t	“tear it”	sə̲q’t	“tearing it”

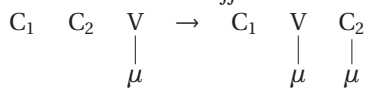
Problems: *First*, analysing metathesis as morphological exponent which falls out from low-ranked LIN predicts metathesis of two consonants as a possible morphological exponent: LIN does not differentiate between the kind of segments whose underlying order it preserves. This prediction is empirically wrong since metathesis in a morphological context always involves CV-reordering (cf. e.g. the survey in Hume (2001)). *Second*, I will show that any RM-based analysis must be empirically inadequate since general markedness constraints, crucial to exclude allomorphs in wrong contexts, mispredict phonological repair operations in phonologically licit structures. A ranking paradox in the analysis Kurisu (2001) gives for Saanich illustrates this point. Since any (non-concatenative) realization of a morpheme violates some faithfulness constraint, their ranking determines a preference order for different allomorphs Ð- in Saanich (following from Kurisus ranking (2)): /ʔ/-inÞx ≫ reduplication ≫ metathesis.

(2) RM ≫ *COMPLONS ≫ *COMPLCODA ≫ LIN ≫ INTEG ≫ CONTIG

A less preferred allomorph is only chosen if another allomorph’s realization would result in a marked structure; *COMPLCODA for example is necessary to exclude the /ʔ/-inÞx in stems with a closed Þrst syllable like reduplicating /q^{w}ə̲l’/ or metathesizing /sq’ə̲t/ (*/q^{w}ə̲ʔl’/ and */sq’ə̲ʔt/). But this high-ranked general markedness constraint mispredicts phonologically improving candidates not being considered by Kurisu to become optimal: a correct metathesis form /sə̲q’t/ for example looses against a reduplicating candidate /səq’ə̲t/. Reranking INTEG above *COMPLCODA would exclude this but would incorrectly prohibit reduplication in general.

Proposal: A survey of attested patterns of non-concatenative allomorphy shows that they are always analysable as affixation of some phonological structure (e.g. a single (abstract) feature for consonant mutation and insertion in Irish (Trommer (2009), Rice (1993)) or a mora resulting in nasal insertion, V-, or C-lengthening in Shizuoka Japanese (Davis and Ueda (2002))). I will show that the Salishan allomorphy Kurisu (2001) discusses can be reduced to affixation of a mora (Saanich, cf. Stonham (2007)) or a foot (Upriver Halkomelem).

(3) *Metathesis as mora affixation*



A language might provide different strategies to realize those morphemes in the output (e.g. metathesis might be one strategy to achieve prosodic weight, i.e. realize a morphemic mora, cf. e.g. Stonham (2007), Mc Carthy (2000), Buckley (2002)), but the number of potential allomorphs is quite smaller than in a RM-based theory and most important, no general markedness constraints are crucial for the exclusion of allomorphs but rather faithfulness constraints like MAX-μ/Ft. In addition, analysing metathesis as result of mora-affixation excludes CC-metathesis as possible morphological exponent since reordering of two consonants does not change the prosodic weight of a syllable.

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