

Floating- μ and Defective- \bullet Affixation in Anywa

Jochen Trommer
jtrommer@uni-leipzig.de

Department of Linguistics
University of Leipzig

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Samek-Lodovici's Insight (Samek-Lodovici 1992)

Length-Changing Morphology on Vs and Cs

may both derive from μ -affixation

Emphatic Adjectives in Shizuoka Japanese (Davis & Ueda 2002)

	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Emphatic Form</u>	
a.	hade	han de	'showy'
	ozoi	on zoi	'terrible'
	nagai	nan gai	'long'
b.	katai	katt ai	'har'
	osoi	oss oi	'slow'
	takai	takk ai	'high'
c.	zonzai	zo: n zai	'impolite'
	suppai	su: u ppai	'sour'
	okkanai	o: o kanai	'scary'

Davis & Ueda's Problem (Davis & Ueda 2002)

What if in language L:

Morphology₁ triggers length change of **Cs**

but

Morphology₂ triggers length change of **Vs**

?

Length-Changing Morphology in Anywa (Reh 1993)

	Short Root V	Long Root V
a. V-Shortening (Antipassive)	ɲ̄ar → ɲ̄ar-o, 'growl at sth.'	pu:r → pur-o, 'cultivate, hoe sth.'
b. C-Gemination (Plural)	gwək → gwək:-i, 'kudu'	aga:r → aga:r:-ɪ, 'hunting spear'
c. C-Gemination + V-Shortening (Inchoative)	mar → m̄ar:-o, 'be green, young'	dɪ:n → dɪn:-o, 'be narrow'
d. C-Gemination + V-Polarity (Frequentative)	ban → ba:n:-o, 'fold up'	ca:n → can:-o, 'tell'

(p. 225, 223, 105, 244, 245, 247, 248)

Claims of this Talk (for Anywa)

- Length change for Vs (shortening) derives from μ -affixation
- Length change for Cs (gemination) derives from \bullet -affixation
- More complex patterns (gemination + V-length polarity) derive from simultaneous affixation of both

($\bullet \approx$ a bare segmental root node)

Analysis in a Nutshell

	Short Root V	Long Root V
a. V-Shortening		
b. C-Gemination		
c. C-Gemination + V-Shortening		
d. C-Gemination + V-Polarity		

Roadmap for the Talk

① Background

Anywa

Theoretical Assumptions

② Length-Changing Morphology in Anywa

V-Shortening

Gemination

Gemination + V-Shortening

Gemination + V-Length Polarity

③ Compensatory (Non-)Lengthening

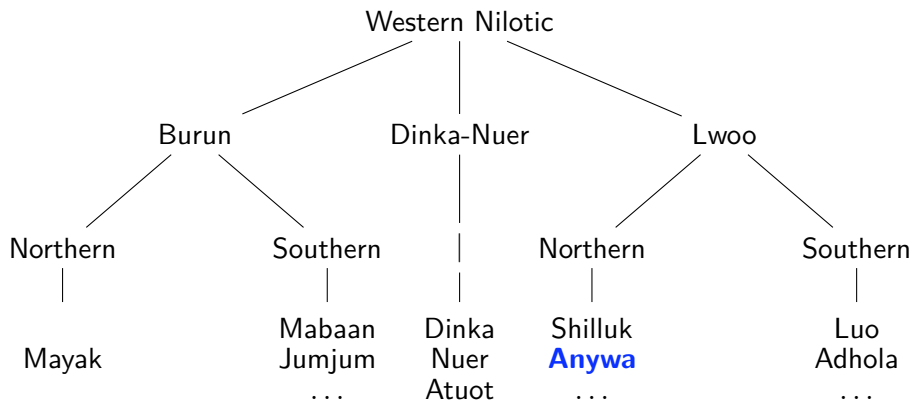
Background

Anywa

Anywa

- Western Nilotic language of the Northern Lwoo sub-branch
- spoken by roughly 100.000 speakers in Sudan and Ethiopia
- Rich non-concatenative morphology crowded on monosyllabic stems (tone, vowel quality, segmental features of Cs, length)
- All data in this talk from the detailed grammar of Reh (1993)

Western Nilotic Languages



Anywa



Anywa Phonology

- Complex two-tone system (systematically neglected here)
- Root-dominant [ATR]-harmony and [anterior] harmony for coronals
- Canonical shape of lexical roots: (C)VC
Canonical shape of suffixes: -(C)V or subsegmental

Theoretical Assumptions

Theoretical Assumptions

- **Colored Containment:** (van Oostendorp 2006)
Underlying material (i.e. nodes and association lines) is never literally deleted, but retained in the output, and marked as phonetically invisible.
- **Visibility of Epenthesis:** (Zimmermann & Trommer 2011)
Epenthetic (colorless) material is phonetically visible.
- **Phonetic Connectedness:** (\approx Stray Erasure, Itô 1986)
Only the phonology which is dominated by a designated root node through an uninterrupted path of phonetically visible association lines is phonetically pronounced.
- **Doubling:** (cf. Doubling in Correspondence Theory, McCarthy & Prince 1995)
All markedness constraints are assumed to exist in two versions, one referring only to phonetically visible material, and one to all material in a given structure.

Representation of Association (Zimmermann & Trommer 2011)

Morphological association relations		Epenthetic association relations
phonetically visible:	phonetically invisible:	phonetically visible:
X Y	X ≠ Y	X ⋮ Y

Axiom of Phonetic Visibility (Zimmermann & Trommer 2011)

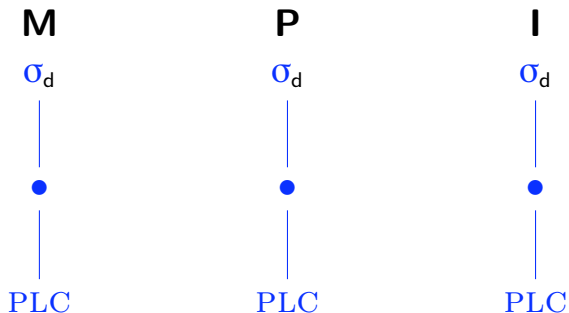
A phonological node is visible to phonetics (is in P)

if and only if

it is dominated by the designated ancestor node of the structure

through an uninterrupted path of phonetic association lines

Straight Realization of Morphological Material



Straight Non-Realization of Morphological Material

M σ_d 

PLC

P σ_d **I** σ_d 

PLC

Epanthesis

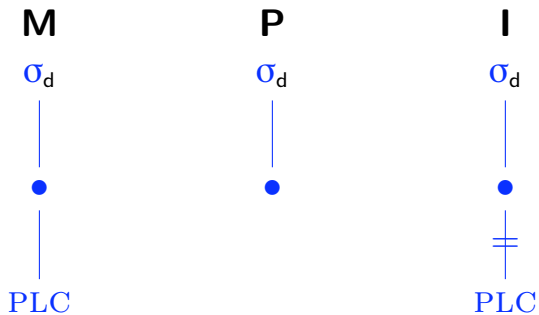
M σ_d **P** σ_d 

PLC

I σ_d 

PLC

Deletion



The Cloning Hypothesis

Every markedness constraint exists in 2 incarnations:

The **general clone** refers to all structure in I

The **phonetic clone** refers only to structure in P

(cf. Doubling in Correspondence Theory, McCarthy & Prince 1995)

The Cloning Hypothesis: An Example

$\text{SPEC}(\bullet, \text{PLC})$	\bullet \downarrow PLC	Assign * to every \bullet which does not dominate a PLC in I
$\text{SPEC}_P(\bullet, \text{PLC})$	\bullet \Downarrow PLC	Assign to every \bullet which does not dominate a PLC in P

(\approx HAVEPLACE of McCarthy 2008)

The Cloning Hypothesis: An Example

M	P	I	$\text{SPEC}_P(\bullet, \text{PLC})$	$\text{SPEC}_P(\bullet, \text{PLC})$
σ \downarrow \bullet \downarrow PLC	σ \downarrow \bullet \downarrow PLC	σ \downarrow \bullet \downarrow PLC	✓	✓
σ \downarrow \bullet	σ \downarrow \bullet \vdots PLC	σ \downarrow \bullet \vdots PLC	✓	✓
σ \downarrow \bullet \downarrow PLC	σ \downarrow \bullet	σ \downarrow \bullet \neq PLC	*	✓

More Constraints on Faith and Association (I)

$ASS(PL, \bullet)$	\bullet \uparrow PL	Assign * to every PLC which is not dominated by a \bullet in I
$ASS_P(PL, \bullet)$	\bullet $\uparrow\uparrow$ PL	Assign * to every PLC which is not dominated by a \bullet in P

More Constraints on Faith and Association (II)

MAX_{PL}	Assign * to every morphological PLC which is dominated by some higher node in M but not dominated by any higher node in P
DEP_{PL}	Assign * to every non-morphological PLC

MAX_{PL}^{\bullet}	Assign * to every ordered pair (PLC, \bullet) in P which is associated in M, but not in P
DEP_{PL}^{\bullet}	Assign * to every ordered pair (PLC, \bullet) in P which is associated in P, but not in M

More Constraints on Faith and Association (III)

${}_{PLC}^*C_{PLC}$	Assign * to every C which is associated to more than one PLC
${}_{\bullet}^*PLC_{\bullet}$	Assign * to every PLC which is associated to more than one •

$(C =_{\text{abbr}} a [+cons] \bullet)$

Length-Changing Morphology in Anywa

Key Ideas of the Analysis

- **Maraudage:**
Floating material supersedes underlyingly associated material to satisfy general ASSOCIATE constraints
- **Derived-Environment Effects:**
Affix material can only be associated to tautomorphemic material if it is also associated to heteromorphemic material

Length-Changing Morphology in Anywa

	V Shortening	V-Length Polarity	–
C-Gemination	Inchoative	Frequentative	Plural -C _I
–	Antipassive	–	

Length-Changing Morphology in Anywa: Representations

a. C

b. μ c. $\begin{array}{c} \mu \\ C \end{array}$ d. $\begin{array}{c} \mu \\ | \\ C \end{array}$

Length-Changing Morphology in Anywa

(1)

	V Shortening	V-Length Polarity	–
C-Gemination	μ C	μ C	C
–	μ	–	

V-Shortening

Antipassive: Vowel Shortening without Gemination

a. **V:** ⇒ **V**

ri:w ⇒ riw 'to lay sth. crosswise'

ma:t ⇒ ma_ɪt 'drink sth.'

b. **V** ⇒ **V**

cam ⇒ ca_ɪm 'eat sth.'

ɲɔl ⇒ ɲɔl 'cut sth. off'

(In addition, in antipassives, base Vs get [+ATR])

Antipassive V-Shortening: Constraints

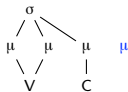
σ
 \uparrow
 μ

Assign * to every μ which is not dominated by a σ in I

$*\sigma_{4\mu}$

Assign * to every σ which dominates more than 3 μ s in P

Antipassive: Shortening of Long Vs



Input:

	$\sigma \uparrow \mu$	$*\sigma_{4\mu}$	$*C_{\mu}$	$\odot \bullet \odot$	MAX μ_C	$\mu_C \downarrow \bullet$	$\mu \downarrow \bullet$
ESP a.							*
e.			*!				*
f.		*!					*

Antipassive V-Shortening: Constraints

$*C_{\mu}$ Assign * to every C which dominates more than 1 μ in I

$*\bullet_{\odot}$ Assign * to every \bullet which is dominated by more than 1 \odot in I

($\odot =_{\text{abbr}}$ ancestor node $=_{\text{abbr}}$ node which is not dominated by any other node)

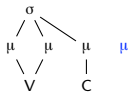
Antipassive V-Shortening: Constraints

MAX
 μ_C Assign * to every μ_C in I
 which is not in P

μ_C
 \Downarrow
 \bullet Assign * to every μ_C in I
 which does not dominate a \bullet in P

($\mu_C =_{\text{abbr}}$ a μ which dominates a C)

Antipassive: Shortening of Long Vs



	$\sigma \uparrow \mu$	$*\sigma_{-4\mu}$	$*\mu C_{\mu}$	$\odot \bullet \odot$	MAX μ_c	$\mu_c \downarrow \bullet$	$\mu \downarrow \bullet$
a.							*
b.					*!	*	
c.				*!			
d.			*!				

No Phonetic Changes with Short Vs



	$\sigma \uparrow \mu$	$*\sigma_{4\mu}$	$*\mu C_{\mu}$	$*\odot \bullet \ominus$	MAX μ_C	$\mu_C \downarrow \bullet$	$\mu \downarrow \bullet$
ESP a.							*
b.			*!				
c.	*!						*

Underlying Logic

Maraudage:

A morphologically associated node N is deassociated
to enable association of a concurring floating node

Gemination

Gemination without Change of Vowel Length (Plural -CI)

Singular

Plural

ruot_̄

ruot_̄i

‘king(s)’

t̄im

t̄im:i

‘jungle(s)’

gwεk

gwεk:i

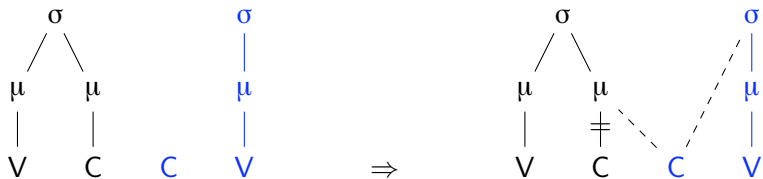
‘kudu(s)’

aga:r

aga:r:i

‘hunting spears(s)’

Gemination by • -Affixation



Main Ingredients of the Analysis

- **PLC Maraudage:**

The floating C steals the PLC node of the base-final C

⇒ Deletion of stem-final C

- **Derived-Environment Gemination:**

The floating C must associate to the C-mora of the base to serve as an onset of the following V

⇒ Gemination of affix-initial C

PLC Maraudage: Constraints

CODACONDITION

Assign * to every consonantal PLC which is dominated by a C in non-prominent position (a word-internal coda) in I

*PLC_⊙

Assign * to every PLC which is dominated by more than one ⊙ in I

●
↓
PLC

Assign * to every ● which does not dominate a PLC in I

●
⇓
PLC

Assign * to every ● which does not dominate a PLC in P

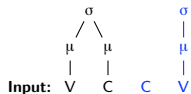
Derived-Environment Gemination: Constraints

DE_C^g Assign * to every morphological consonant which is linked epenthetically to a σ of the same color and is not linked phonetically to a σ of a different color

DE_μ^c Assign * to every morphological μ which is linked epenthetically to a C • of the same color and is not linked phonetically to a C • of a different color

(cf. ALTERNATION in van Oostendorp 2007)

Derived-Environment Gemination: Evaluation



	ONS	DE _C ^σ	DE _μ ^C	*C:	μ _C ↓ ●	MAX C
ESP a.				*		*
b.		*!			*	*
c.					*	*

Gemination + V-Shortening

Inchoative: Gemination + V-Shortening

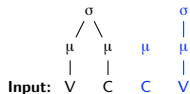
Basic Verb

Inchoative

diːɲ	'be narrow'	diɲːo	'become narrow'
bɑːr	'be long,tall'	bɑɲːo	'become long,tall'
kwaːr	'be red'	kwɑɲːo	'become red'

(Additionally, In inchoatives, Vs of base roots get [+ATR] and final Cs nasal)

Inchoative with Short Root Vs: Gemination Only



	σ \uparrow μ	$*\sigma_{4\mu}$	$*\mu C_{\mu}$	ONS	$DE_{\sigma C}^{\sigma}$	DE_{μ}^C	*C:	MAX μ_C	μ_C \downarrow ●
ES ² a.									
b.									
c.									
d.									

Gemination + V-Length Polarity

Frequentative: Gemination + V-Length Polarity

a. **V:C** ⇒ **VC:**

ca:n ⇒ can:ɔ 'tell'

ka:t ⇒ kat:ɔ 'weave basket'

b. **VC** ⇒ **V:C:**

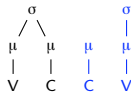
ŋɔl ⇒ ŋɔ:l:ɔ 'cut'

buŋ ⇒ bu:ŋ:o 'cover tightly'

(In addition, in frequentatives, base Cs get partially nasal)

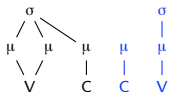
Gemination + V-Polarity: Basic Analysis

- Affix C and μ are morphologically associated:



- The affix- μ associates to the base- σ leading again to shortening of long base vowels
- Due to ${}_{\mu}^*C_{\mu}$ and association to the homomorphic μ affix C cannot associate to the coda- μ of the base
- This leaves the coda- μ of the base free to associate to the base V

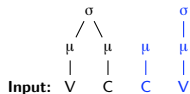
Frequentative: Gemination + Shortening of Long Vs



Input:

	$\sigma \uparrow \mu$	$*\sigma_{4\mu}$	$*V_{3\mu}$	$*C_{\mu}$	ONS	DE_C^σ	DE_μ^C	*C:	MAX μ_C	$\mu_C \downarrow \bullet$
								*		*
								*	*!	*
								*		
	*!								*	

Frequentative: Gemination + Lengthening of Short Vs



	$\sigma \uparrow \mu$	$*\sigma_{4\mu}$	$*V_{3\mu}$	$*C_{\mu}$	ONS	DE_C^σ	DE_μ^C	*C:	MAX μ_c	$\mu_c \downarrow \bullet$
a.								*		
b.								*		*!
c.								*		*
e.	*!								*	*

Compensatory (Non-)Lengthening

Compensatory (Non-)Lengthening: Basic Observations

In Anywa:

- Only μ s which are morphologically associated to a \bullet associate phonetically to a (possibly different) \bullet
- A μ which is morphologically associated to \bullet X can only associate to \bullet Y if X is deleted

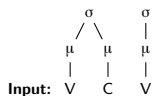
Compens. Lengthening with Intervocalic Dorsal Deletion

Singular Plural

kac kaɪ:-ε 'harvest(s)'

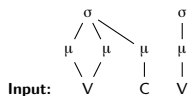
dək dəɪ:-e 'pot(s)'

Compensatory Lengthening under Coda-C Deletion



	$\sigma \uparrow \mu$	$*\sigma_{4\mu}$	$*V_{3\mu}$	$*C_{1\mu}$	$*\odot \bullet \odot$	MAX μ_c	$\mu_c \downarrow \bullet$	DEP $_{\mu}^{\bullet}$
$\begin{array}{cc} \sigma & \sigma \\ / \quad \backslash & \\ \mu & \mu & \mu \\ \quad / \quad \neq & \\ \text{a. } V & C & V \end{array}$								*
$\begin{array}{cc} \sigma & \sigma \\ / \quad \backslash & \\ \mu & \mu & \mu \\ \quad \neq & \\ \text{b. } V & C & V \end{array}$							*!	

No Compensatory Lengthening for Long Root Vs



	$\sigma \uparrow$ μ	$*\sigma_{4\mu}$	$*V_{3\mu}$	$*C_{\mu}$	$\odot \bullet \odot$	MAX μ_c	$\mu_c \downarrow$ \bullet	DEP μ \bullet
a.			*!					*
b.							*	

No Compensatory Lengthening under Resyllabification

Singular Plural

gwaŋ gwaŋ-ε 'wildcat(s)'

kəp kəp-ε 'sheath(es)'

atut atut-e 'neighbor(s)'

Crucial Constraint

 $*_{n|o}\mu$

Assign $*$ to every μ which is associated to a nucleus V and an onset C in I

No Compensatory Lengthening with Resyllabification



Input: V C V

	$\sigma \uparrow \mu$	$*\sigma_{4\mu}$	ONS	$*\mu\sigma$	*C:	MAX μ_c	$\mu_c \downarrow \bullet$	$\mu \downarrow \bullet$
a. $\begin{array}{c} \sigma \quad \sigma \\ \diagdown \quad \diagup \\ \mu \quad \mu \quad \mu \\ \quad \# \quad \\ V \quad C \quad V \end{array}$							*	
b. $\begin{array}{c} \sigma \quad \sigma \\ \diagdown \quad \diagup \\ \mu \quad \mu \quad \mu \\ \quad \# \quad \\ V \quad C \quad V \end{array}$				*!				
c. $\begin{array}{c} \sigma \quad \sigma \\ \diagdown \quad \diagup \\ \mu \quad \mu \quad \mu \\ \quad \quad \\ V \quad C \quad V \end{array}$					*!			
d. $\begin{array}{c} \sigma \quad \sigma \\ \diagdown \quad \diagup \\ \mu \quad \mu \quad \mu \\ \quad \quad \\ V \quad C \quad V \end{array}$				*!				

Compens. Lengthening in Morphological Gemination

Compensatory Lengthening is blocked if the coda- μ of the base reassociates to the (onset C) of the affix

Otherwise Compensatory Lengthening takes place

Compens. Lengthening in Morphological Gemination

	Short Root V	Long Root V
a. C-Gemination		
b. C-Gemination + V-Shortening		
c. C-Gemination + V-Polarity		

Coda μ \leftrightarrow Onset C
No Compens. Length.

Compens. Length.

Summary

- Vowel length alternations in Anywa are triggered directly by μ -affixation
- Consonant length alternations are triggered indirectly by \bullet -affixation
- Partial interaction of both processes via μ s and Compensatory Lengthening

Consequences

- Predictions of the Constraint Ranking:
 - ▶ Anywa cannot have morphological V-lengthening
 - ▶ Anywa cannot have V-length polarity without gemination

- μ s are always involved in length-changing morphology, but are not always its underlying triggers

- Compensatory lengthening is triggered by the requirement to reassociate *previously* associated μ s, not to associate *any* μ

References

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Overview

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 - Anywa
 - Theoretical Assumptions
- ② Length-Changing Morphology in Anywa
 - V-Shortening
 - Gemination
 - Gemination + V-Shortening
 - Gemination + V-Length Polarity
- ③ Compensatory (Non-)Lengthening