

Principles of Linearization and Subtractive Morphology

The paper applies the non-linear representation of precedence relations proposed by Raimy (2000) to *subtractive morphology*. Subtractive morphology is realised through the non-pronunciation of some segments present in the underlying form of a string. It is a productive morphological process claimed to take effect in many languages. It is to be differentiated from *truncation* which involves the stray erasure of some segments following templatic restrictions on forms as in the case of hypocristics.

We propose a survey of the different cases of subtractive morphology. The literature on the subject being filled with misunderstandings, unconvincing claims and controversial propositions, we take position in many cases by rejecting the possibility that the available data exhibits a real case of subtraction. For the cases remaining, we submit the process to an analysis in Raimy's framework. In order to do so, we assume the version of the anchor points proposed by Yu (2003) and further developed by Fitzpatrick (to appear) as well as the notions *immediately preceding* and *immediately following*.

More precisely, we take a close look at the case of Tohono O'odham, where the perfective form of the verbs is formed by subtracting the final consonant of a stem.¹ When the segment immediately preceding the last consonant and the END node are selected as anchor points, the phenomenon can easily be accounted for. An example can be found in figure (1).

Furthermore, linearization follows several principles in the present framework. Fitzpatrick (to appear) suggests that the choice between two of these principles, *Non-stem* and *Completeness*, is of an empirical nature. On one hand, completeness relies on the comparison of different possible linearizations and finally opts for the one which preserves the maximal amount of links and segments present in its input. The principle takes effect every time a choice between different links is possible. In such cases, the backward-pointing links or the links which provide a more complete spell-out are favoured. These backward-pointing links are identified through a verification of the output tape. On the other hand, non-stem² selects the links that are leading to affixal material over the ones that lead to root segments whenever a crossroad is met. If the two alternatives seem extensionally equivalent in most of the present literature, *subtractive morphology* points, in our opinion, towards the non-stem principle. The process involves forward-pointing links, or jumping-links, which would not be selected under the assumptions of completeness. If the latter principle was to be chosen, the observed forms would never surface. For this reason we prefer non-stem over it.

Finally, when applied to Tohono O'odham, the analysis provides solutions to long-standing questions without relying on any subtraction-specific tools and might ultimately bear on the treatment of certain cases of metathesis.

¹A very small subset of the verb-stems contain vowel-final stems which remain unchanged in the language, these have been treated as lexicalised in the past and we consider them as such.

²The term recency is used in Raimy and elsewhere in the literature; we simply use the term non-stem to address the issue raised by Fitzpatrick.

Data

(1) START → g → o → l → o → n → END

	Imperfective	Perfective		
	gólon	gólo	‘rake’	Tohono O’odham (Papago)
	hi:nk	hi:n	‘bark’	from Bye (to appear)
(2)	giʔipig	giʔipi	‘remove fat from animal carcass’	
	nákog	náko	‘endure’	
	hiomun	hiomu	‘pare’	

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