

Power of direction in Precedence-based (morpho-)phonology:

ABA in Terek Kumyk

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Allomorphy of PL

Partial nominal paradigms

	NOM	ACC	LOC
<i>ata-lar</i> ‘fathers’	<i>ata-lar</i>	<i>ata-la-ni</i>	<i>ata-lar-da</i>
<i>or</i> ‘top’	<i>or</i>	<i>or-nu</i>	<i>or-da</i>
<i>bar-ir</i> ‘coming.FUT’	<i>bar-ir</i>	<i>bar-ir-ni</i>	<i>bar-ir-da</i>

- It is not ban on clusters: r-final stems (*or* ‘top’) do not show the same alternation
- It is not stem-affix distinction: productive FUT nominalization (*bar-ir* ‘future coming’) does not show the same alternation
- The pattern cannot be encoded into Vocabulary Insertion
- Case containment (Caha 2009; McFadden 2018): no feature is found nominative and locative in exclusion of accusative
- Morphosyntactically, this is an ABA pattern, which are banned (Bobaljik 2012)

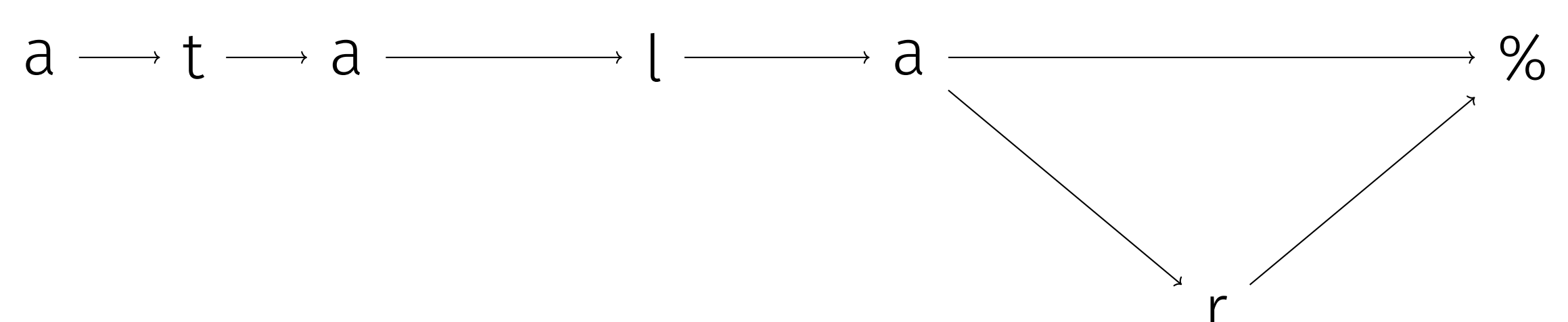
The framework

I propose: a phonological, item-and-arrangement solution:

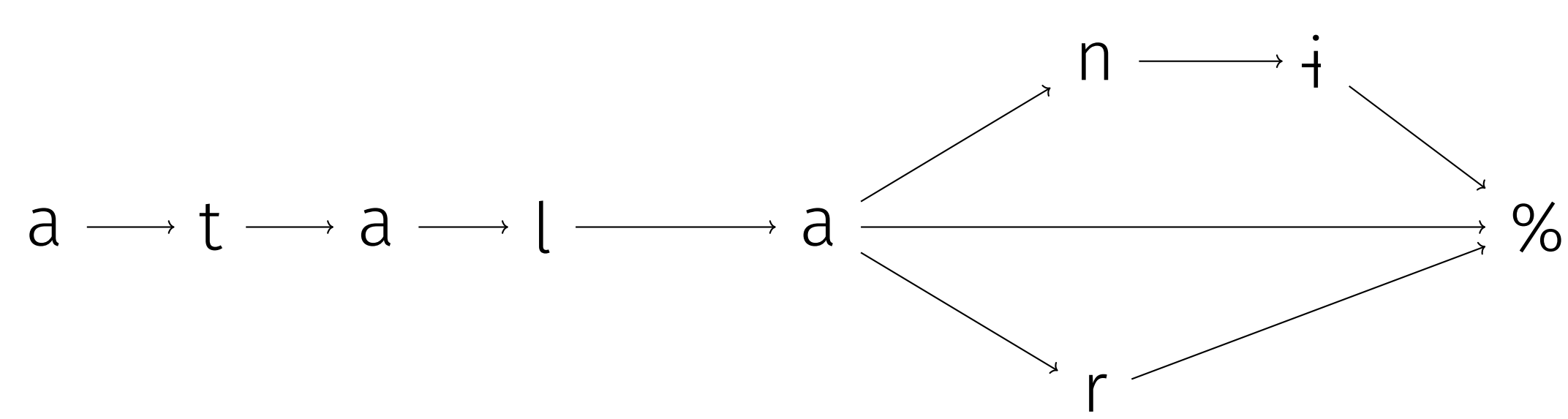
- Framework: Precedence-Based Phonology (Raimy 2012; Papillon 2020)
- Phonological representations are directed graphs (core relation = precedence)
- Affix attachment is mediated by sticky ends (Samuels 2009), which specify what kind of a segment the affix attaches to

Shape of the plural

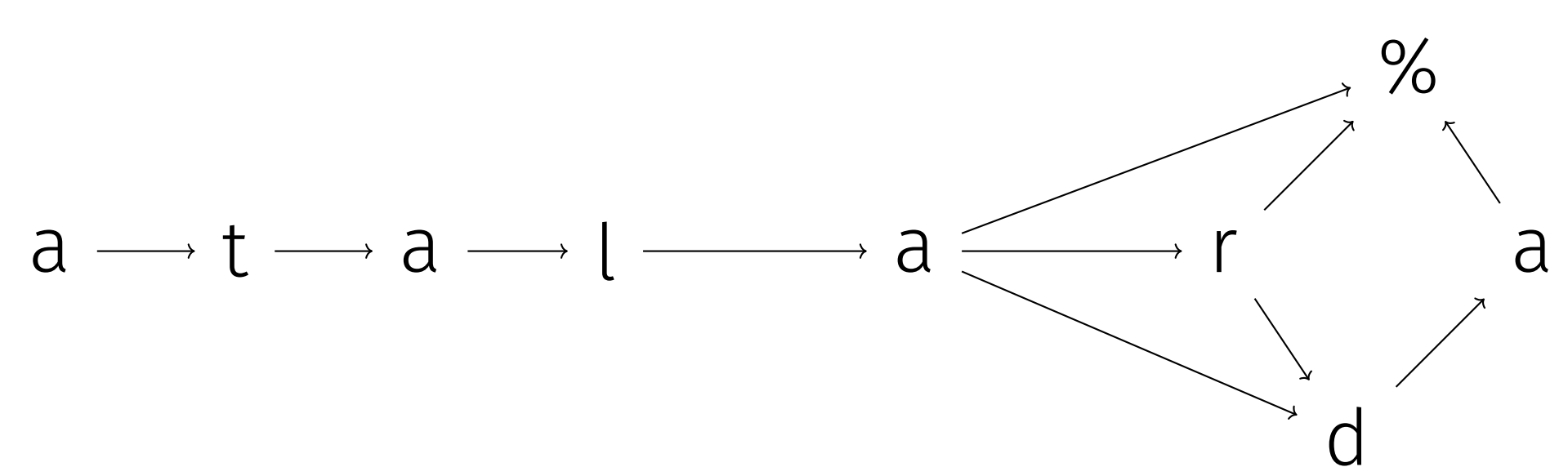
The core idea: there are two paths to the end symbol – this underlies the alternations of the affix



Shape of the plural accusative



Shape of the plural locative



Deriving attachment

- The difference between the accusative and the locative is the edge from *r* to the affix
- My proposal: search for sticky ends is parameterized for direction
- Accusative searches left-to-right, finds the <a, % > and stops
- Locative searches right-to-left and finds <a, % > and <r, % >

How linearization works

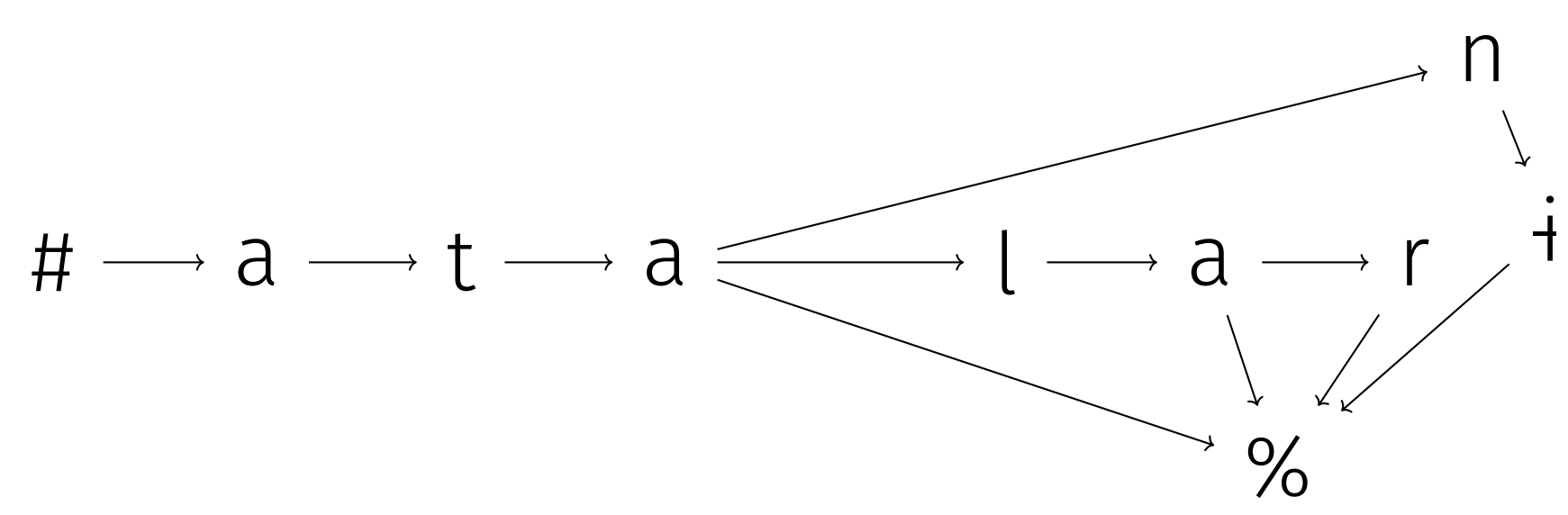
- To be pronounced, a multiprecedence structure must be linearized
- The core idea: the more segments pronounced, the better
- Match-Extend (Papillon 2021) does not seem to work properly on proposed graph for locative due to multiple attachment sites
- Ad hoc solution: in case of multiple attachment sites, linearize the stem and try again

An alternative non-solution

- The following can be said: locative (being a preposition) is higher in syntax than accusative
- Due to cyclicity, locative attaches to a linearized form, while accusative doesn’t
- This is non-viable due to possessive forms: *ata-lar-im-ni* ‘father-PL-1SG-ACC’

A problem for direction

A left-to-right searching affix should attach to the stem’s final segment only (since it is the first segment with an edge to %)



Possible solutions:

- Only the latest added edges are visible (cf. edge stacks of Raimy 1999)
- Multiple attachments are banned and cause linearization

Summarizing

- There is *ABA in Terek Kumyk nominal paradigm
- My proposal: it arises due to form of plural affix + case markers’ directionality of sticky ends

References

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