

snippets

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Special Issue on Non-local Contextual Allomorphy

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Non-local contextual allomorphy: Introduction to the special issue

Itamar Kastner · Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
Beata Moskal · Goethe-Universität Frankfurt

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In recent years, much work in morphology and its interfaces with syntax and phonology has been devoted to understanding what the locality domains for contextual allomorphy are. After Bobaljik's (2000) formalization of Spell-out proceeding from the inside outwards, Embick's (2010) influential proposal triggered a new wave of work based on the premise that allomorphy can only be conditioned between overt linearly adjacent elements. Developing the minimal conditions on allomorphy further, Bobaljik (2012) argued for structural rather than linear adjacency being the relevant factor (cf. the proposal of Adger et al. 2003 that also crucially relies on structural adjacency). The past few years in particular have seen an explosion of work that tests these claims, seeking to refine the theory of locality in allomorphy while trying to maintain its restrictiveness (a non-comprehensive list includes Marantz 2013, Gribanova 2015, Merchant 2015, Moskal 2015a, b, Grestenberger 2016, Moskal and Smith 2016, Kastner 2016, 2018, Oseki 2016, Svenonius 2016, Toosarvandani 2016, Bobaljik and Harley 2017, Božič 2017, Christopoulos and Petrosino 2017, Gribanova and Harizanov 2017, Kastner and Zu 2017, Ostrove 2018, Smith et al. 2018).

Despite all this recent work, it is still unclear what kinds of allomorphic interactions are possible across languages: can allomorphy be triggered across one intervening head, or more? Should locality be computed linearly or structurally? Do different domains apply to roots and to functional elements? Do different domains constrain syntactic and phonological triggers? These kinds of questions are currently being researched by linguists working on a variety of languages, but the entire field stands to benefit from knowing what the empirical state of affairs is, even if no single theory has been able to capture all of the data yet. To this end, we invited the community to submit short papers in which scholars can draw attention to surprising allomorphic interactions they are currently investigating. We are pleased to have accepted six submissions for inclusion in this special issue.

In her paper discussing Breton plural formation in the context of cardinal numbers, **De Belder** argues that a trigger and target of root allomorphy cannot be located in two different morphological words. She thus finds support for the position that root allomorphy is restricted to operate within the same complex head.

Introducing data from Passamaquoddy-Maliseet, **Bruening** presents a puzzle involving long-distance allomorphy. He sketches two analyses: one that gives up adjacency (be it linear or structural), and one that maintains adjacency but has to assume metathesized morphemes and early fusion.

Drawing on data from Nez Perce, **Deal** also focuses on a puzzle involving long-distance interactions between two heads. She points out that, in principle, such interactions can be seen in two ways: as allomorphy, but also as pre-syntactic bundling. She shows that, irrespective of which

view-point is adopted, the data discussed at hand violate both linear and structural adjacency.

Ganenkov turns to the empirical issue of the hypothesis, introduced by Bobaljik (2012), that ABA patterns do not exist. He discusses data from a number of Nakh-Daghestanian languages, arguing that these languages do show ABA patterns in some of their pronominal paradigms, counter to Bobaljik (2012) and in particular Smith et al. (2018).

Discussing data from Korean, **Lee and Amato** tackle the topic of this issue head-on. They argue for a hybrid type of locality constraint on allomorphy, which takes into account both linear and structural adjacency, with some allomorphy being subject to linear adjacency and other allomorphy being subject to structural adjacency.

Finally, **Wu** discusses data from Kannada, for which she argues that a more careful decomposition is in order than traditionally assumed. On the proposed decomposition, the data also show a pattern of allomorphy, where the trigger and the target are neither linearly nor structurally adjacent, arguing against any type of adjacency restriction in Kannada.

These contributions all challenge existing generalizations in one way or another, and we hope they will be useful for continued work on how the conditions on allomorphy should be relaxed while also maintaining restrictiveness.

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Itamar Kastner
itamar@itamarkast.net
 Department of English and American Studies
 Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
 Unter den Linden 6
 10099 Berlin
 Germany

Beata Moskal
moskal@em.uni-frankfurt.de
 Institut für Linguistik
 Goethe-Universität Frankfurt
 Norbert-Wollheim-Platz 1
 60629 Frankfurt am Main
 Germany