

## THE LOUD NOISE OF *n*

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(1) STRUCTURE OF PRESENTATION

1. Empty elements in classical generative phonology
2. Empty elements in non-linear phonology
3. Empty elements in Government phonology
4. Empty elements in post-government phonology (templates)
5. Templates, Roots
6. ***n***, French roots and Class (Gender)
7. ***n***, Yiddish roots and Class (Number)
8. ***n*** and Nessie

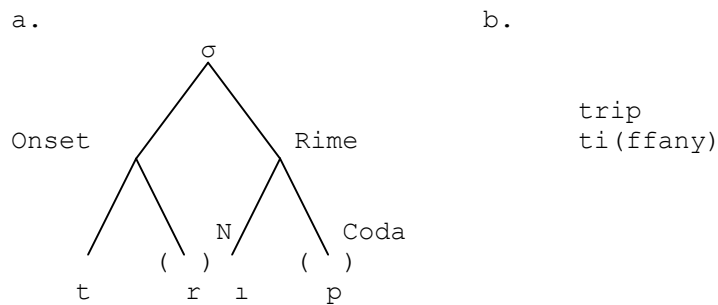
(2) EPENTHESIS IN HEBREW SEGHOLES (SPE VERSION)

géšer *bridge*, dégel *flag*, régel *leg*, méleKh *king*, péreg *poppy*, késef *money*

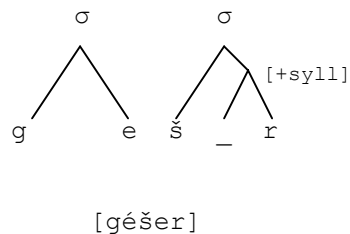
(3)  $\emptyset \rightarrow e / C \_ C\#$

(4) a. /gešør/      b. /geøšør/      c. /øgeøšørø/

(5) PIKE & PIKE (1948)



(6) EPENTHESIS IN HEBREW SEGHOLES (METRICAL VERSION)



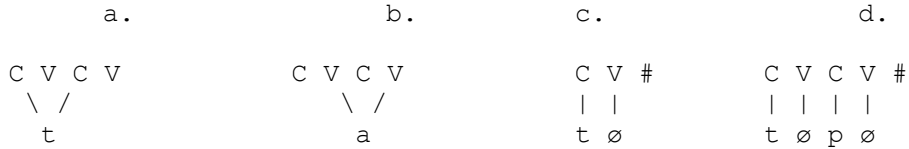
(7) NEZ PERCE (Aoki 1970)

- a. ?atxcaptksa "I shot it lengthwise"
- b. weleykipckse "I tie up (top of basket)"
- c. ?icapyo:ckt "strip of tanned hide"

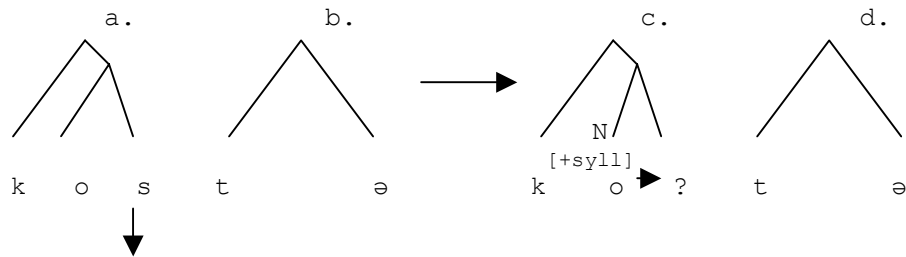
(8) KLV 1990

- a. claim: Semitic is CV... CVCVCVCVCVCV
- b. thus Classical Arabic ?istaktaba is: ?isøtakøtaba
- d. ø is licensed by a following vowel

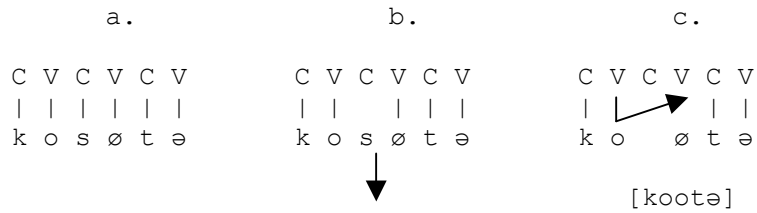
(9) EXTENSION TO ALL LANGUAGES



(10) COMPENSATORY LENGTHENING French: kostə > kōtə 'coast'



(11)



(12) INORDINATELY HIGH OCCURENCE OF [ø], [ɛ], [o], [ẽ] WORD FINALLY

(13)

[ø]	[ɛ]	[o]	[ẽ]
mouton [mutø] <i>sheep</i>	taquet [takɛ] <i>wedge</i>	badeau [bado] <i>loiterer</i>	rotin [rotẽ] <i>rattan</i>
flocon [flokø] <i>flake</i>	béret [berɛ] <i>beret</i>	ciseau [sizo] <i>scissors</i>	boudin [budẽ] <i>blood sausage</i>
perron [perø] <i>steps</i>	godet [godɛ] <i>tumbler</i>	sarrau [saro] <i>smock</i>	copain [kopẽ] <i>pal</i>
nylon [nilø] <i>nylon</i>	croquet [krokɛ] <i>croquet</i>	zéro [zero] <i>zero</i>	lapin [lapẽ] <i>rabbit</i>
bidon [bidø] <i>canteen</i>	clapet [klapɛ] <i>valve</i>	fuseau [füzo] <i>spindle</i>	rabbin [rabẽ] <i>rabbi</i>
haillon [ayø] <i>rag</i>	bidet [bidɛ] <i>bidet</i>	marteau [marto] <i>hammer</i>	supin [süpẽ] <i>supine</i>

(14) ALL MASCULINE

(15) A FEW NONSENSE WORDS

- a. roudon [rudø]
- b. lorquet [lorkɛ]
- c. mateau, matot or mato [mato]
- d. cottin [kotẽ]

(16) FRENCH SPEAKERS ON ABOVE NONSENSE WORDS : a) well-formed, b) nouns, c) masculine

(17) [ø], [ɛ], [o], [ẽ] APPEAR TO ASSIGN CATEGORIAL AND GENDER FEATURES. ARE THEY HEADS ?

- (18) RELUCTANCE OF TRADITIONAL MORPHOLOGISTS: 1. ALLEGED HEAD MAKES ZERO SEMANTIC CONTRIBUTION  
 2. REMOVING ALLEGED 'HEAD' FAILS TO YIELD A NOUN

(19)

- a. mouton [mutō] *sheep* taquet [takε] *wedge* badeau [bado] *loiterer* rotin [rotē] *rattan*  
 b. ~~mouton~~ [mutō] *sheep* ~~taquet~~ [takε] *wedge* ~~badeau~~ [bado] *loiterer* ~~rotin~~ [rotē] *rattan*

(20)

- \**moute*                      \**taque*                                      \**bade*                                      \**rote*

(21) √MUT, √TAK, √BAD, √ROT ?

(22) COMPARE WITH SEMITIC ROOTS: √QTL, √QWM, or √MSL

(23) ANOTHER SIMILAR SET

- on                                      -et                                      -ot, -eau, -o                                      -in

torchon [toršō] *towel*    motet [motε] *motet*    roseau [rozo] *reed*    crétin [kretē] *cretin*  
 nippon [nipō] *nippon*    loquet [lokε] *lock*    bateau [bato] *boat*    colin [kolē] *pollock*  
 piston [pistō] *piston*    sommet [somε] *summit*    tarot [taro] *tarot*    calin [kalē] *cuddle*  
 colon [kolō] *colonist*    crochet [krošɛ] *hook*    rideau [rido] *curtain*    moulin [mulē] *mill*  
 maçon [masō] *mason*    brochet [brošɛ] *pike*    château [šato] *castle*    gamin [gamē] *young child*

(24) THIS TIME, TRUNCATION YIELDS ATTESTED NOUNS

a.

with -on	without -on
torchon [toršō] <i>rag</i>	torche [torš] <i>torch</i>
nippon [nipō] <i>nippon</i>	nippe [nip] <i>old clothes</i>
piston [pistō] <i>piston</i>	piste [pist] <i>trail</i>
couillon [kuyō] <i> jerk</i>	couille [kuy] <i>testicle</i>
maçon [masō] <i>mason</i>	masse [mas] <i>mass</i>

b.

with -et	without -et
motet [motε] <i>motet</i>	motte [mote] <i>clump</i>
loquet [lokε] <i>lock</i>	loque [loke] <i>rag</i>
sommet [somε] <i>summit</i>	somme [some] <i>sum</i>
crochet [krošɛ] <i>hook</i>	croche [kroš] <i>8th note</i>
brochet [brošɛ] <i>pike</i>	broche [broš] <i>broach</i>

c.

with -eau/-ot/-o	without -eau/-ot/-o
roseau [rozo] <i>reed</i>	rose [roz] <i>rose</i>
bateau [bato] <i>boat</i>	batte [bat] <i>bat</i>
tarot [taro] <i>tarot</i>	tare [tar] <i>defect</i>
rideau [rido] <i>curtain</i>	ride [rid] <i>wrinkle</i>
château [šato] <i>castle</i>	chatte [šat] <i>she-cat</i>

d.

with -in	without -in
crétin [kretē] <i>cretin</i>	crête [kret] <i>crest</i>
colin [kolē] <i>pollock</i>	colle [kol] <i>glue</i>
calin [kalē] <i>cuddle</i>	cale [kal] <i>hold</i>
gourdin [gurdē] <i>cudgel</i>	gourde [gurd] <i>gourd</i>
gamin [gamē] <i>child</i>	gamme [gam] <i>scale</i>

(25) THE NOUNS DERIVED FROM TRUNCATION ARE ENTIRELY UNRELATED TO THE INPUT OF TRUNCATION, YET...

(26) RETURN TO FIRST SET and IDENTIFICATION OF A FEMININE PROFILE

a.

FIRST SET	MINIMAL DIFFERENCE
<del>mouton</del> [mut]    voute [vut]    vault	
<del>saver</del> [sav]    bave [bav]    spit	
<del>flocen</del> [flok]    flaque [flak]    puddle	
<del>nylen</del> [nil]    ville [vil]    city	
<del>biden</del> [bid]    ride [rid]    wrinkle	
<del>haillen</del> [ay]    houille [uy]    coal	

b.

FIRST SET	MINIMAL DIFFERENCE
<del>taquet</del> [tak]    laque [lak]    lacker	
<del>béret</del> [ber]    terre [ter]    earth	
<del>gode</del> [god]    mode [mod]    fashion	
<del>croquet</del> [krok]    cloque [klok]    blister	
<del>clapet</del> [klap]    claque [klak]    slap	
<del>bide</del> [bid]    bride [brid]    bridle	

c.

FIRST SET	MINIMAL DIFFERENCE
<del>bad</del> <sup>eau</sup> [bad]	rade [rad] <i>harbor</i>
<del>cise</del> <sup>eau</sup> [siz]	bise [biz] <i>kiss</i>
<del>sar</del> <sup>reau</sup> [sar]	barre [bar] <i>bar</i>
<del>zère</del> [zer]	serre [ser] <i>greenhouse</i>
<del>fuse</del> <sup>eau</sup> [füz]	phase [faz] <i>phase</i>
<del>mar</del> <sup>teau</sup> [mart]	carte [kart] <i>card</i>

d.

FIRST SET	MINIMAL DIFFERENCE
<del>rot</del> <sup>in</sup> [rot]	route [rut] <i>road</i>
<del>boud</del> <sup>in</sup> [bud]	soude [sud] <i>soda</i>
<del>cop</del> <sup>ain</sup> [kop]	cape [kap] <i>cape</i>
<del>lap</del> <sup>in</sup> [lap]	lippe [lip] <i>lip</i>
<del>rabb</del> <sup>in</sup> [rab]	robe [rob] <i>robe</i>
<del>sup</del> <sup>in</sup> [süp]	soupe [sup] <i>soup</i>

(27) CLEARLY RELATED MASCULINES AND FEMININES

-eau, -ot,

without

with

1. plume <i>feather</i>	2. plumeau <i>duster</i>
5. terre <i>dirt</i>	6. terreau <i>soil</i>
9. corde <i>rope</i>	10. cordeau <i>string</i>
13. bille <i>log</i>	14. billot <i>wooden block</i>
17. carre <i>room</i>	18. carreau <i>square</i>
21. cache <i>hideout</i>	22. cachot <i>dungeon</i>
25. mante <i>mantle</i>	26. manteau <i>coat</i>
29. paille <i>straw</i>	30. paillot
33. balle <i>ball</i>	34. ballot <i>bundle</i>
37. farde <i>bag</i>	38. fardeau <i>burden</i>
41. cuisse <i>thigh</i>	42. cuissot <i>haunch</i>
45. poire <i>pear</i>	46. poireau <i>leek</i>
49. table <i>table</i>	50. tableau <i>board</i>
53. tourte <i>pie</i>	54. tourteau <i>cheesecake</i>
57. trousse <i>kit</i>	58. trousseau <i>trousseau</i>
61. tombe <i>tomb</i>	62. tombeau <i>grave</i>

without

with

3. tonne <i>big barrel</i>	4. tonneau <i>barrel</i>
7. barre <i>bar</i>	8. barreau <i>rung</i>
11. ronde <i>round</i>	12. rondeau <i>rondo</i>
15. bande <i>strip</i>	16. bandeau <i>headband</i>
19. cage <i>cage</i>	20. cageot <i>crate</i>
23. cave <i>cellar</i>	24. caveau <i>vault</i>
27. corne <i>horn</i>	28. corneau
31. troupe <i>troop</i>	32. troupeau <i>herd</i>
35. bourrique <i>donkey</i>	36. bourricot <i>burro</i>
39. chape <i>cope</i>	40. chapeau <i>hat</i>
43. côte <i>slope</i>	44. côteau <i>hillside</i>
47. carpe <i>carp</i>	48. carpeau <i>carp</i>
51. clope <i>cigarette</i>	52. clopeau <i>butt</i>
55. chèvre <i>goat</i>	56. chevreau <i>kid</i>
59. cape <i>cape</i>	60. capot <i>cover</i>

(28)

-on

without

with

1. chiffe <i>wet rag</i>	2. chiffon <i>rag</i>
3. capuche <i>hood</i>	4. capuchon <i>hood</i>
5. corde <i>rope</i>	6. cordon <i>cord</i>
7. pigne <i>pine cone</i>	8. pignon <i>pine nut</i>
9. biche <i>doe</i>	10. bichon <i>doe</i>
11. pince <i>plyers</i>	12. pinçon <i>pinch mark</i>
13. guide <i>reins</i>	14. guidon <i>handlebar</i>
15. carapace <i>shell</i>	16. carapçon <i>armour</i>
17. garce ! <i>bitch !</i>	18. garçon <i>boy</i>
19. souille <i>pigpen</i>	20. souillon <i>slob</i>
21. crampe <i>cramp</i>	22. crampon <i>stud</i>
23. veste <i>vest</i>	24. veston <i>coat</i>
25. carde <i>cardoan</i>	26. cardon <i>cardoan</i>
27. ceinture <i>belt</i>	28. ceinturon <i>belt</i>
29. manche <i>sleeve</i>	30. manchon <i>muff</i>

without

with

31. jupe <i>skirt</i>	32. jupon <i>petticoat</i>
33. balle <i>ball</i>	34. ballon <i>ball</i>
35. chaussure <i>footwear</i>	36. chausson <i>slipper</i>
37. glace <i>ice</i>	38. glaçon <i>icicle</i>
39. limace <i>slug</i>	40. limaçon <i>snail</i>
41. saucisse <i>sausage</i>	42. saucisson <i>sausage</i>
43. maille <i>mesh</i>	44. maillon <i>link</i>
45. jambe <i>leg</i>	46. jambon <i>ham</i>
47. pöelle <i>frying pan</i>	48. pöelon <i>casserole</i>
49. dinde <i>turkey</i>	50. dindon <i>turkey (cock)</i>
51. barbe <i>beard</i>	52. barbon <i>greybeard</i>
53. carafe <i>decanter</i>	54. carafon <i>jug</i>
55. carte <i>card</i>	56. carton <i>cardboard</i>
57. chaîne <i>chain</i>	58. chaînon <i>link</i>

(29)

-et

without

with

1. corne <i>horn</i>	2. cornet <i>ear trumpet</i>
3. mule <i>female mule</i>	4. mulet <i>male mule</i>
5. poigne <i>grip</i>	6. poignet <i>wrist</i>
7. pique <i>pike</i>	8. piquet <i>stake</i>
9. cure <i>cure</i>	10. curé <i>curate</i>
11. fosse <i>pit</i>	12. fossé <i>ditch</i>
13. bique <i>goat</i>	14. biquet <i>kid</i>
15. boule <i>ball</i>	16. boulet <i>cannonball</i>
17. poule <i>hen</i>	18. poulet <i>chicken</i>
19. beigne <i>doughnut</i>	20. beignet <i>doughnut</i>

without

with

21. cervelle <i>brain</i>	22. cervelet <i>cerebellum</i>
23. bourrique <i>donkey</i>	24. bourriquet <i>donkey</i>
25. feuille <i>leaf</i>	26. feuillet <i>page</i>
27. bassine <i>basin</i>	28. bassinnet <i>pelvis</i>
29. fleur <i>flower</i>	30. fleuret <i>foil</i>
31. huche <i>chest</i>	32. huchet <i>chest</i>
33. barbiche <i>goatee</i>	34. barbichet
35. plume <i>feather</i>	36. plumet <i>plume</i>
37. cabine <i>cabin</i>	38. cabinet <i>bathroom</i>

(30)

-in

without	with	without	with
1. <i>biffe infantry</i>	2. <i>biffin foot soldier</i>	9. <i>balade stroll</i>	10. <i>baladin wandering player</i>
3. <i>calotte skullcap</i>	4. <i>calotin churchy</i>	11. <i>colombe dove</i>	12. <i>colombin male pigeon</i>
5. <i>crotte dropping</i>	6. <i>crottin manure</i>	13. <i>frusque gear</i>	14. <i>frusquin junk</i>
7. <i>crêpe gum</i>	8. <i>crépin rubber</i>	15. <i>bouse dung</i>	16. <i>bousin dung beetle</i>

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(31) ELISION

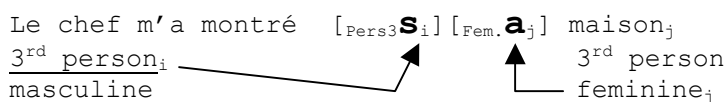
a.	b.	c.	d.
la > l'	la > la	lə > l'	lə > lə
BEFORE VOWEL INITIAL NOUN	BEFORE CONSONANT INITIAL NOUN	BEFORE VOWEL INITIAL NOUN	BEFORE CONSONANT INITIAL NOUN
l̥ > l'émission <i>show (radio, TV)</i>	la démission <i>resignation</i>	lə > l'étal <i>(market) stall</i>	lə métal <i>metal</i>
l̥ > l'acanthé <i>acanthus</i>	la bacchante <i>bacchanal</i>	lə > l'ami <i>friend</i>	lə tamis <i>sieve</i>
l̥ > l'île <i>island</i>	la bile <i>bile</i>	lə > l'ivoire <i>ivory</i>	lə ciboire <i>ciborium</i>
l̥ > l'auto <i>car</i>	la moto <i>motorbike</i>	lə > l'orage <i>storm</i>	lə forage <i>drilling</i>
l̥ > l'outré <i>goatskin</i>	la loutre <i>otter</i>	lə > l'automate <i>robot</i>	lə Potomac <i>Potomac</i>
l̥ > l'urée <i>urea</i>	la purée <i>purée</i>	lə > l'utile <i>useful (noun)</i>	lə futile <i>futile (noun)</i>

(32) RULE OF ELISION

V → ø / l\_# [NV...]

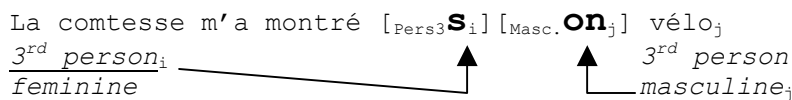
(33) FRENCH SINGULAR POSSESSIVES ARE MARKED FOR THE PERSON (BUT NOT THE GENDER) OF THE POSSESSOR AND AGREE WITH THE GENDER OF THEIR COMPLEMENT NP

a. Le chef m'a montré sa maison



The boss me has shown his house

b. La comtesse m'a montré son vélo



The countess me has shown her bike

FULL PARADIGM OF SINGULAR POSSESSOR AND SINGULAR POSSESSEE COMBINATIONS

(34)

	masculine possessee	feminine possessee
1 <sup>st</sup> person possessor	m-on [mõ]	m-a
2 <sup>nd</sup> person possessor	t-on [tõ]	t-a
3 <sup>rd</sup> person possessor	s-on [sõ]	s-a

(35) FEMININE POSSESSIVE BECOMES 'MASCULINE'<sup>1</sup> JUST WHERE FEMININE DEFINITE ARTICLE ELIDES

- a.                            la oto > lã oto > l'oto  
 b.     EXPECTED :    ma oto > mã oto > \*m'oto  
 c.     ACTUAL :                            ✓MON oto                            (cf. MON chapeau)

(36) ONLY IN THE CONTEXT OF A CONSONANT INITIAL NOUN, DOES THE POSSESSIVE APPEAR IN ITS CANONICAL FEMININE FORM, **ma**.

a.	b.	c.	d.	e.
	<i>mon</i>	<b><i>ma</i></b>	<i>mon</i>	<i>mon</i>
*m'émision	mon/ton/son émission	ma démission	mon/ton/son étal	mon/ton/son métal
*m'acanthé	mon/ton/son acanthe	ma bacchante	mon/ton/son ami	mon/ton/son tamis
*m'île	mon/ton/son île	ma bile	mon/ton/son ivoire	mon/ton/son ciboire
*m'auto	mon/ton/son auto	ma moto	mon/ton/son orage	mon/ton/son forage
*m'outré	mon/ton/son outre	ma loutre	mon/ton/son automate	mon/ton/son Potomac
*m'urée	mon/ton/son urée	ma purée	mon/ton/son urbanisme	mon/ton/son turban

(37) COMPARISON OF DEFINITE ARTICLE AND POSSESSIVE PARADIGMS

	masc.	fem.	pl.
possessive	m/t/son	m/t/sa	m/t/ses
definite article	l(ə)	la	les

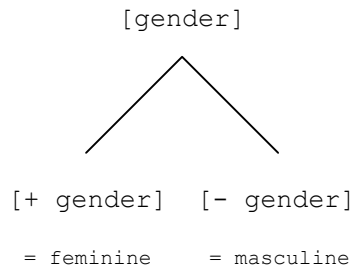
(38) IDENTICAL DISTRIBUTION OF CANONICAL FEMININE FORMS FOR BOTH

canonical Fem.	ma/ta/sa démission	la démission
non-canonical Fem.	mon/ton/son émission	l'émission
canonical Masc.	mon/ton/son ami	l'ami
canonical Masc.	mon/ton/son tamis	l(ə) tamis

<sup>1</sup>

i.        son émission est intéressante et curieuse  
 ii.      \*son émission est intéressant et curieux  
          'his/her show is interesting and strange'

(39) GENDER

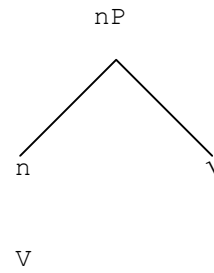


(40) ROOTS COMBINE WITH n OR v

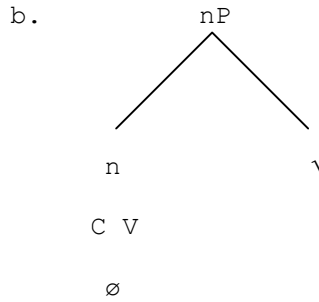
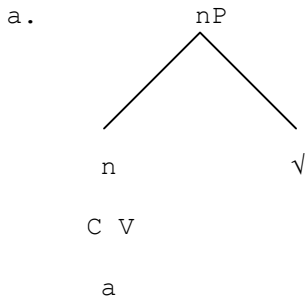
noun: [<sub>n</sub>n √]

verb: [<sub>v</sub>v √]

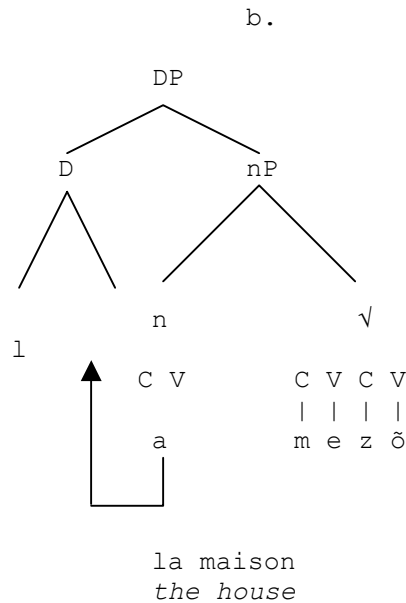
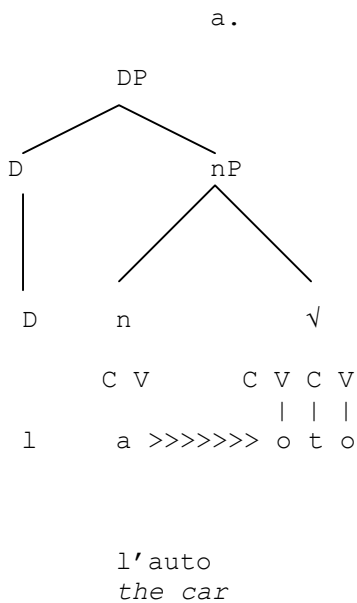
(41) SPELLOUT OF FUNCTIONAL CATEGORIES: A PIECE OF TEMPLATE



(42) SPELLOUT OF n (FRENCH): **a** is generated outside of DP



(43) VOWEL ELISION: ABSORPTION OF SPELLOUT OF n/NON-ABSORPTION OF SPELLOUT OF n



(44) FLOATING OBJECTS AND OCP EFFECTS

FLOATING HIGH TONE DOCKS ON TONELESS VOWEL

H	∅	H		H	H	H		H	H	H	
nku	GEN			kutuku				nku	GEN	kutuku	[ńkú kútúkú]
N'ku 's whisky											

(45)

FORMATION OF LH CONTOUR TONE

L	L	L	H		H	H	H		L	L{L<<<H}		H	H	H	
anası	GEN			kutuku				anası	GEN	kutuku	[ànàsı kútúkú]				
Anassé's whisky															

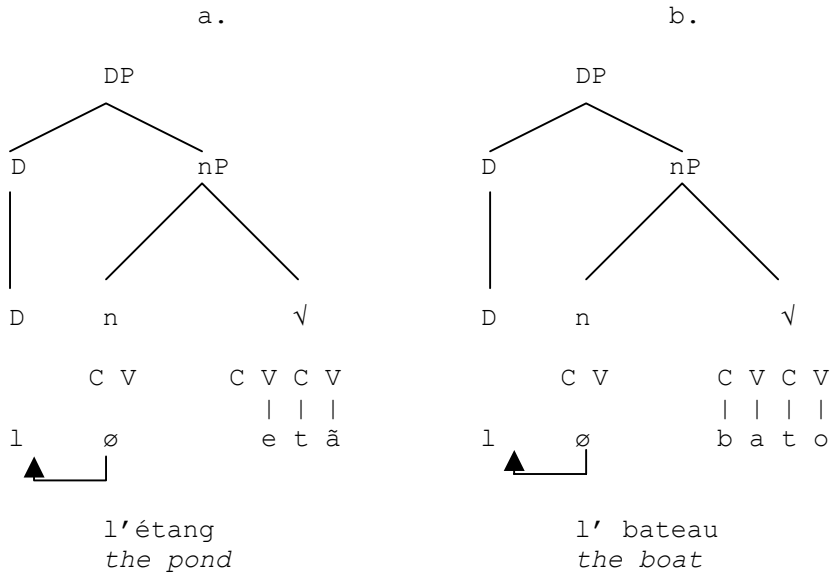
(46)

FLOATING TONE IS ABSORBED BY IDENTICAL TONE

L	H	H		H	H	H		L	[H<<<H]		H	H	H		
yapi	GEN			kutuku				yapi	GEN	kutuku	[yàpı kútúkú]				
Yapi's whisky															

In (a,b), the spellout of *n* is null, both nouns being masculine, a vowelless definite article results in both cases: *l'étang*, *l(e) bateau*.<sup>2</sup>

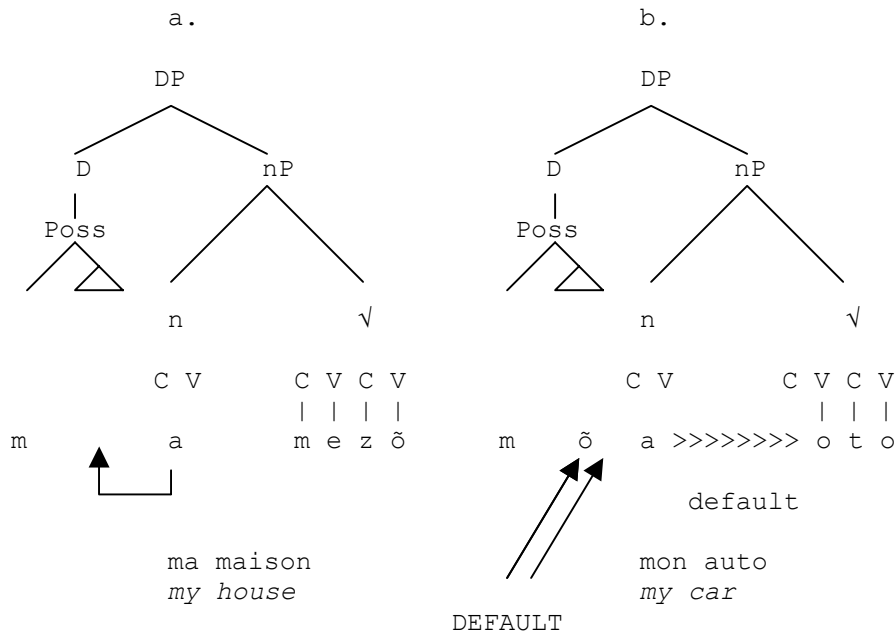
(47) TWO MASCULINE NOUNS



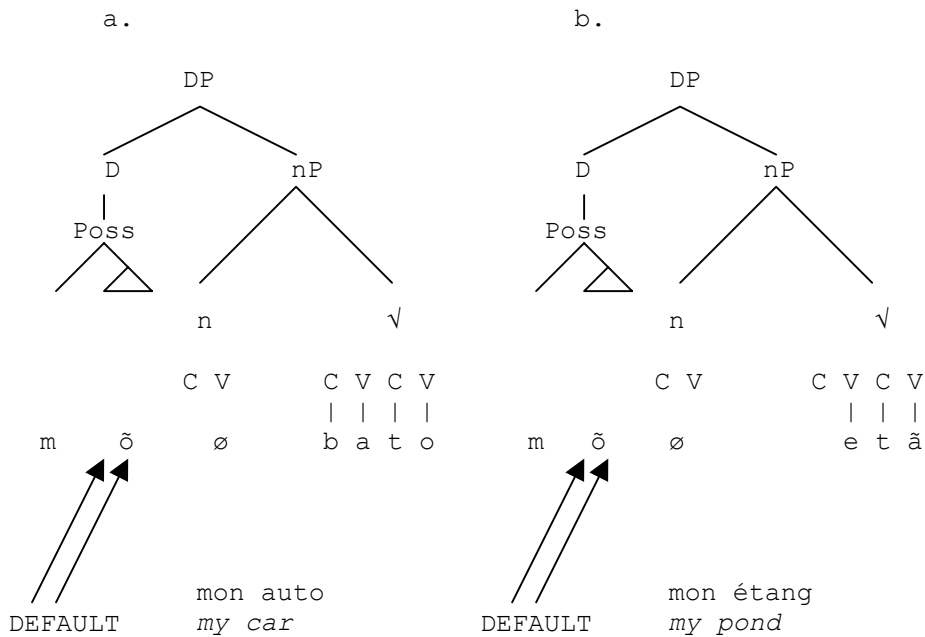
<sup>2</sup> Under specific conditions, a schwa vocalizes the definite article. The schwa is very unstable, cf. *J'ai vu l'bateau* "I saw the boat".



(48) FEMININE POSSESSIVES : INSERTION OF DEFAULT  $\tilde{o}$  WHEN **a** IS ABSORBED<sup>3</sup>



(49) MASCULINE POSSESSIVES AND INSERTION OF DEFAULT  $\tilde{o}$



<sup>3</sup> [ $\tilde{o}$ ], *on*, is the least specified of all pronominal exponents in French, cf. the fact that its distribution prominently includes the spellout of expletive subjects: *on a dit la vérité*.



(57) PERLMUTTER'S SOLUTION

	„TRUE“ PLURAL		SUPPLETION
a.	demb	c.	Khazer
b.	demb[ <sub>PL</sub> <b>en</b> ]	d.	Khazeyrim [+PLURAL]

(58) KhazérímleKh and dembleKh under Perlmutter's analysis

a.	Khazeyrim[ <sub>DIM</sub> <b>l</b> ][ <sub>PL</sub> eKh] [+PLURAL]	b.	demb[ <sub>DIM</sub> <b>l</b> ][ <sub>PL</sub> eKh]
----	---	----	---

Manipulation over time  
Alleged irregularity

One of the arguments put forth by Perlmutter in support of his suppletion analysis is the high level of irregularity of the alternations. Perlmutter's examples are given in ().

(59)

nes nisim	miracle	xeylek xalokim	piece
mes meysim	dead	xoydeš xadošim	month
xet xatoim	sin	seyder sdorim	Seder
rov rabonim	rabbi	šeygets škocim	petit voyou
nar naronim	fool	meylex mloxim	king
tnay tnoim	condition	amoret <sup>s</sup> amerat <sup>s</sup> im	ignorant
xeyder xadorim	religious school	roše rešoim	villain
receyex rocxim	murderer	novi neviim	prophet
benyoxed bneyyexidim	only son	mexalelziveg mexalelezivugim	adulterer
besmedreš botemedrošim	house of study	maxnesoyrex maxniseorxim	hospitable person

(60) ARGUMENT CAN BE TURNED ON ITS HEAD

- i. <im>, the stable part of the plurals of (), defines the domain of irregularity: irregularity is limited to the portion of the form preceding <im>.
- ii. amoret<sup>s</sup> and amerat<sup>s</sup> stand in a relation of mutual suppletion.

(61)

1.	máyKhl	mayKhólim	/mayKhol(əm)/	meal, food
2.	máymen	maymínim		believer
3.	máymér	maymórim		essay, dissertation
4.	méyven	mevínim		expert
5.	megúšém	megušómim		uncooth individual
6.	mátpeš	matpísim		printer
7.	mádreKh	madríKhim		guide, mentor
8.	médreš	medróšim		Midrash
9.	móyKhíeKh	moyKhíKhim		sermonizer
10.	músmeKh	musmóKhim		one who qualifies for serving as rabbi
10'	múKhrem	muKhrómim		excommunicated individual
11.	músef	musófim		Musaf
12.	múfleg	muflógim		person of exceptional quality
13.	múfker	mufkórim		rake (lifestyle)
14.	mútsleKh	mútslóKhim		one who succeeds
15.	móyker	moykírím		patron, sponsor, mécène
16.	mezúmen	mezumónim		cash
17.	mázek	mazíkím		smart kid
18.	meKhábel	meKhabólim		demon, hooligan
19.	meKhóykek	meKhóykekím		engraver
20.	meKhútn	meKhutónim		son-in-law or daughter-in-law's <u>father</u>
21.	máKhzer	maKhzóyrim		Machsor
22.	máKhmer	maKhmírím		strictly observant individual
23.	metúpl	metupólim		father of a many children
24.	metúref	meturófím		insane person
25.	mátef	matífím		preacher

26.	mätmen	matmóynim	treasure
27.	mízmer	mizmóyrim	hymn
28.	mítgànef	mítganóvim	accomplice in theft
29.	mítnitn	mítnitim	coaccused
30.	míKhšl	míKhšóylim	obstacle
31.	míKhtev	míKhtóvim	letter
32.	mín(h)eg	minhógim	custom
33.	mískhér	misKhórim	trade
34.	míet	miútím	minority
35.	míspér	mispórim	quorum
36.	míklet	míklótím	shelter
37.	míšmer	mišmórim	guard duty
38.	míšpet	mišpótím	judgement
39.	míškl	míkólim	mishkal
40.	meKhúbed	meKhubódim	respected individual
41.	máKhšer	maKhšírim	tool
42.	meKhášef	meKhášfim	sorcerer
43.	máleKh	malóKhim	angel
44.	málve	málvim	lender
45.	meláve	melávim	member of a funeral procession
46.	melúmed	melumódim	educated person
47.	mámzer	mamzéyrim	bastard
48.	menúvl	menuvólim	contemptible individual
49.	másped	maspídím	funeral speaker
50.	máytek	maytíkím	translator
51.	mefúlpl	mefulpólim	(one with a) fine mind
52.	mefúnek	mefunókím	gourmet
53.	mefúrsem	mefursómím	famous person
54.	mekúbl	mekubólim	cabbalist
55.	mekúrev	mekuróvim	close friend
56.	mékeKh	mekóKhim	price
57.	mekátreg	mekatréygim	accusator
58.	mákped	makpídím	meticulous person
59.	mákšn	maksóním	one who asks many questions
60.	merúbe	merubóim	square
61.	mérkeKh	merkóKhim	distance
62.	mažgíeKh	mažgíKhim	overseer
63.	mešúge	mešugóim	mentally sick individual
64.	mešúleKh	mešulóKhim	messenger
65.	mešúmed	mešumódim	apostate
66.	mešóy <sup>r</sup> er	mešóy <sup>r</sup> rim	member of a choir
67.	mešieKh	mešíKhim	messiah
68.	máskl	maskílím	Maskil
69.	másméd	masmídím	diligent person
70.	mísnáged	misnágdim	Misnagid
71.	míśásek	misáskim	/misasøk(im)/ member of a burial society
72.	mevákér	mevákrim	literary critic
73.	móyKhes	móKhsím	tax collector
74.	móyKher	móKhrím	peddler
75.	móyser	mósrím	informer
76.	móyfes	mófsím	miracle
77.	melámed	melámdím	elementary school teacher
78.	menádev	menádvím	donor
79.	menáker	menákrím	official in charge of cleaning meat
80.	mefáreš	mefórším	exegete
81.	mekóynen	mekóyn <sup>n</sup> ím	person in mourning
82.	mešámeš	mešámším	beadle
83.	mešóres	mešórsím	servant

(62)

- a. on the vowel projection, build a binary foot s w on the rightmost full vowel
- b. the vowel dominated by w is realized ə
- c. insert ə in context C\_C#
- d. a diphthong monophthongizes in closed syllable
- e. l, n and m becomes syllabic after ə; then, ə deletes

(63) PHONOLOGICAL DERIVATIONS

	/mayKhol/	/mayKholəm/	/moysər/	/moysrəm/
	$\begin{array}{c} \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ s \quad w \\ \text{mayKhol} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ s \quad w \\ \text{mayKholəm} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ s \quad w \\ \text{moysər} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ s \quad w \\ \text{moysrəm} \end{array}$
footing	mayKhol	mayKholəm	moysər	moysrəm
'ə'	↓		↓	
	ə	-	ə	-
monophth.	-	-	-	mosrim
syll				
l, n, m	mayKhł			
	[májKhł]	[mayKhóləm]	[móysər]	[móysrəm]

(64) ADJECTIVES DERIVED FROM THE STEM OF THE ALLEGEDLY SUPPLETIVE FORM

Singular	Plural	Gloss	Adjective
bátlen	batlónim	idle, impractical individual	batlóniš
gázlen	gazlónim	violent person	gazlóniš
giber	gibóyrim	hero	gibóyriš
Kháver	Khavéyrim	ami	Khavéyriš
Khámer	Khamóyrim	stupid person	Khamóyriš
Khákren	Khakrónim	quibbler	Khakróniš
Khóred	Kharéydim	strictly observant person	Kharéydiš
yóvn	yevónim	brute	yevóniš
yáKhšn	yaKhšónim	aristocrat	yaKhšóniš
yášren	yašrónim	straight person	yashróniš
máKhmer	maKhmirim	rigorous person	maKhmiriš
máleKh	malóKhim	angel	malóKhiš
mešieKH	mešíKhim	messiah	mešíKhiš
máskl	maskílim	Maskil	maskiliš
misnáged	misnágdim	Misnagid	misnágdiš
sávlen	savlónim	tolerant individual	savlóniš
sóyfer	sófrim	scribe	sófriš
páKhdn	paKhdónim	coward	paKhdóniš
píkeKh	píkKhim	smart person	píkKhiš
pórets	pritsim	lord	pritsiš
kádmn	kadmóynim	uralt	kadmóyniš
kápdn	kapdónim	fastidious person	kapdóniš
kátsev	katsóvim	butcher	katsóviš
rágzn	ragzónim	one who gets angry easily	ragzóniš
rátsKhn	ratsKhónim	killer	ratsKhóniš
šóyKhet	šóKhtim	ritual slaughterer	šóKhtiš
šútef	šútfim	partner	šútfiš
šátkn	šatkónim	taciturn person	šatkóniš

(65) GENDER

der zun 'son'	di tóKhter 'daughter'	dos kind ,child'
der góner 'ander'	di gandz 'goose'	dos gendzl 'gosling'

(66) GENDER

der móyeKh 'brain'	di léber 'liver'	dos oyg 'eye'
der step 'steppe'	di bar 'pear'	dos hemd 'shirt'

## (67) SPANISH PLURALS

Singular		Plural	
Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
el puerto 'the harbor'	la cama 'the bed'	los puertos 'the harbours'	las camas 'the beds'

## (68) YIDDISH PLURALS

der móyeKh/di móyKhes 'the brain/brains'	di kíške/di kíškes 'the intestine/intestines'	dos oyg/di óygn 'the eye/eyes'
der step/di stépn 'the steppe/steppes'	di bar/di bárn 'the pear/pears'	dos hemd/di hémder 'the shirt/shirts'

## (69) YIDDISH DETERMINERS

	MASC.	NEUT.	FEM.	PL.
NOM.	der	dos	di	di
ACC.	dem	dos	di	di
DAT.	dem	dem	der	di

## (70) DEMONSTRATIVES

mir óbm gikóyft **dí** óyto  
 we 've bought this car  
 'we bought this car'

## (71) DEFINITE ARTICLES

mir óbm gikóyft d<sup>(a)</sup> óyto/s  
 we 've bought the car/s  
 'we bought the car'

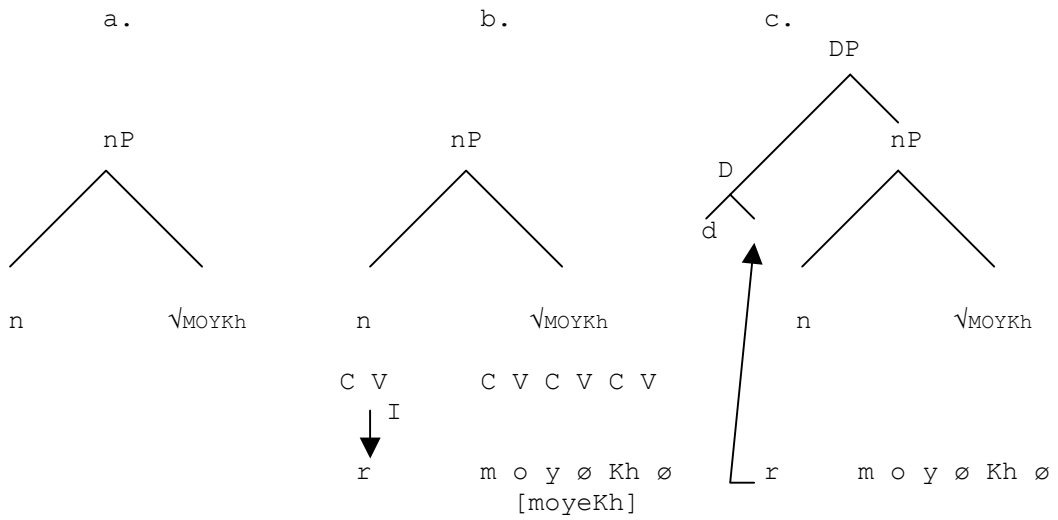
## (72) TABLE OF DETERMINERS

	MASC.	NEUT.	FEM.	PL.
NOM.	dér/d <sup>f</sup>	dós/d <sup>s</sup>	dí/d <sup>(a)</sup>	dí/d <sup>(a)</sup>
ACC.	dém/d <sup>m</sup>	dós/d <sup>s</sup>	dí/d <sup>(a)</sup>	dí/d <sup>(a)</sup>
DAT.	dém/d <sup>m</sup>	dém/d <sup>m</sup>	dér/d <sup>f</sup>	dí/d <sup>(a)</sup>

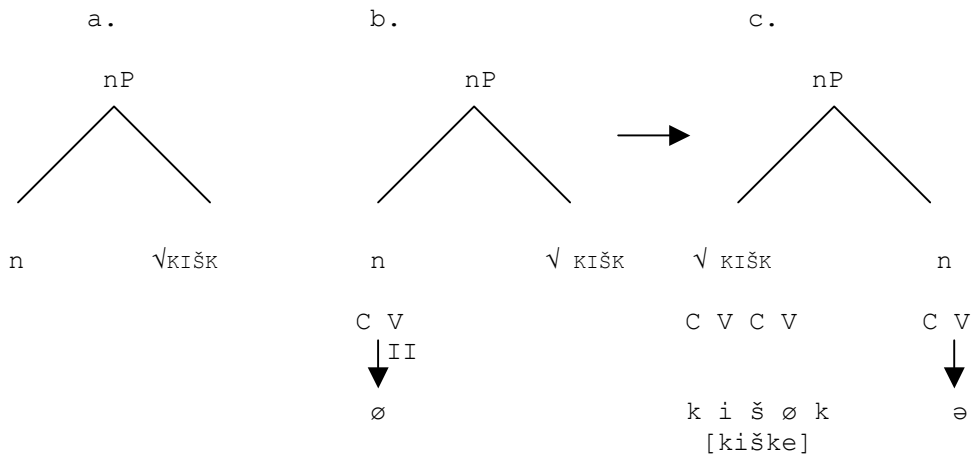
## (73) YIDDISH AS A CLASS SYSTEM

Class	Type	Exponent		Dat
		Nom	Acc	
I	Singular	-r,	-m,	-m
II	Feminine	-ø,	-ø,	-r
III	Neuter	-s,	-s,	-m
IV	Plural	-ø,	-ø,	-ø

(74) A MASCULINE NOUN

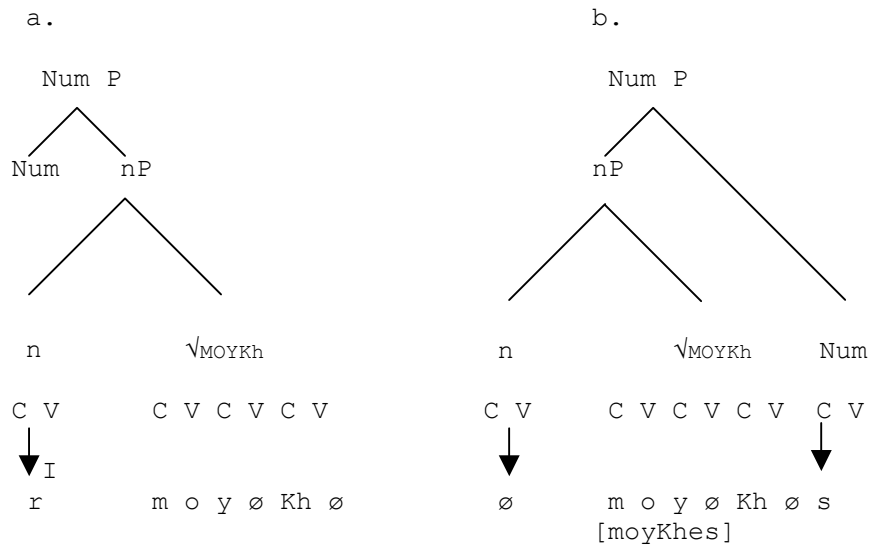


(75) A FEMININE NOUN



The noun is not feminine because it ends in an unstressed vowel; rather, it ends in an unstressed vowel BECAUSE it is feminine

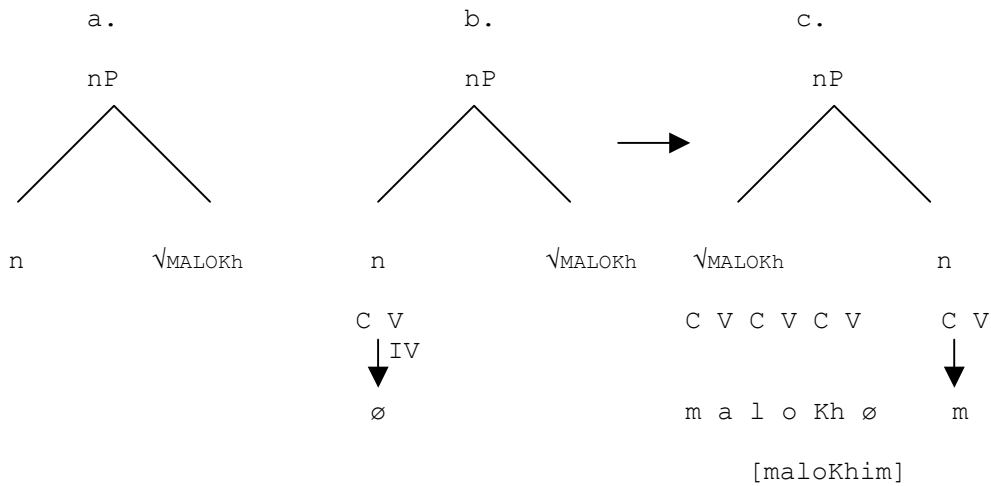
(76) THE PLURAL OF A MASCULINE NOUN



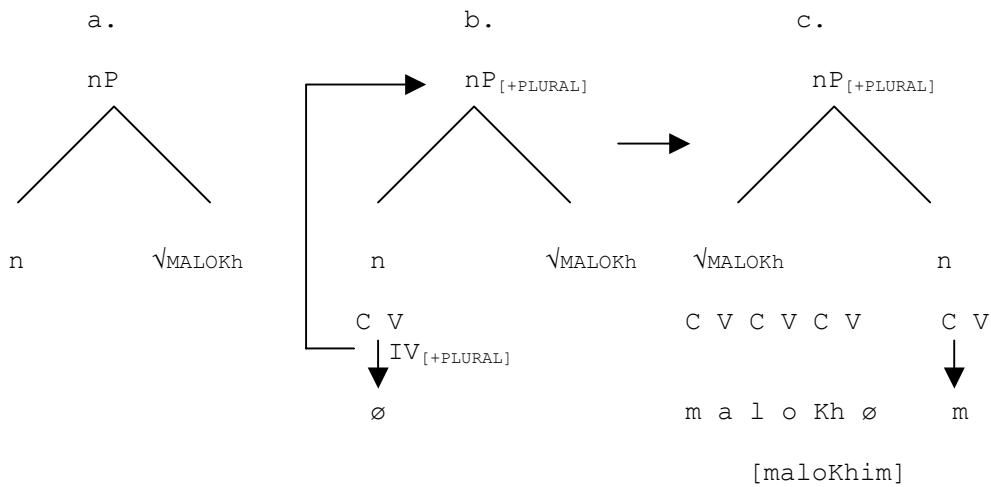
(77) SOME FEMININE NOUNS

di <b>starizne</b> JL	old junk	der <b>staruKh</b> /es JL	old man
di <b>stremenye</b> JL	stirrup	der <b>stremen</b> /es	étrier
di <b>studye</b> JL	studio	der <b>studyo</b> /s JL	studio
di <b>stuardke</b> JL	stewardess	der <b>stuard</b> /n	steward
di <b>studentke</b> JL	female student	der <b>student</b> /n JL	student
di <b>spetske</b> JL	female operator (slang)	der <b>spets</b> /n JL	operator (slang)
di <b>stilistik</b> JL	stylistics	der <b>stil</b> /n JL	style
di <b>straže</b> JL	guard	der <b>strož</b> /strežer	watchman
		der <b>stražnik</b> /es JL	gendarme
di <b>strašidle</b> JL	scarecrow	der <b>straš</b> /n	scarecrow
di <b>stromplye</b>	stalactite	dos <b>strempl</b> /eKh	stalactite
di <b>spulke</b> JL	spool	der <b>spul</b> /n	spool
di <b>spirtovke</b> JL	alcohol lamp, stove	der <b>spirt</b> /ø	alcohol

(78) ANOTHER SOURCE FOR PLURALS



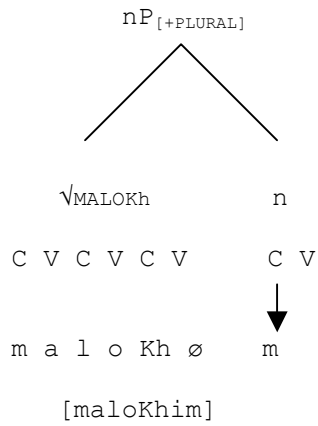
(79) WHAT MAKES IT PLURAL ?



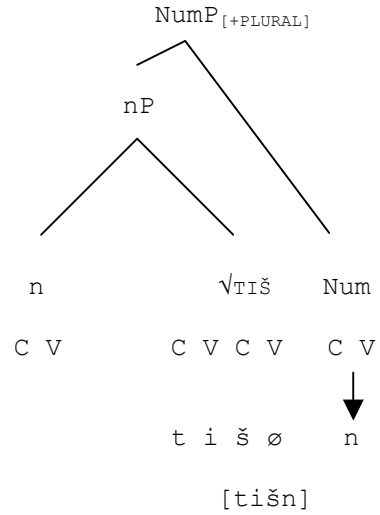


(80) COMPARISON OF A 'CLASS' PLURAL AND A PLURAL INVOLVING THE Num HEAD

a.

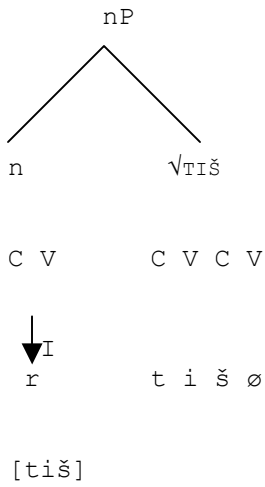


b.

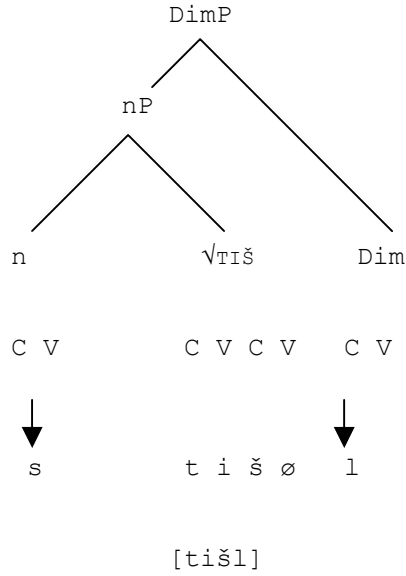


(81)

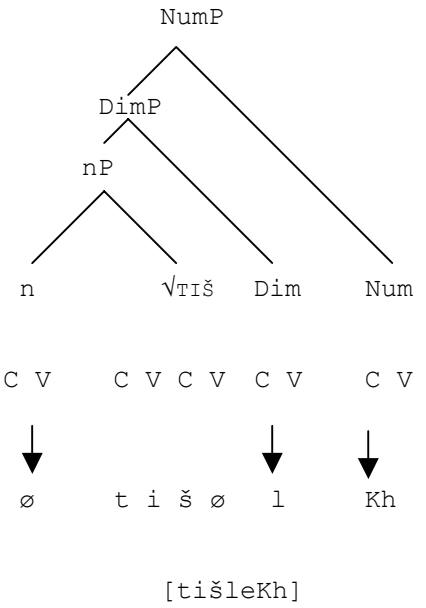
a.



b.



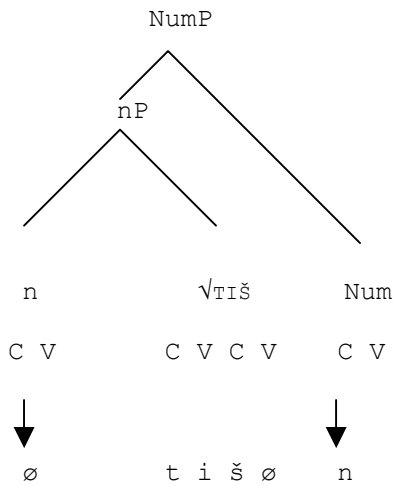
c.



(82) DIM does not take NumP as a complement: \*tišnl, \*tišnlex

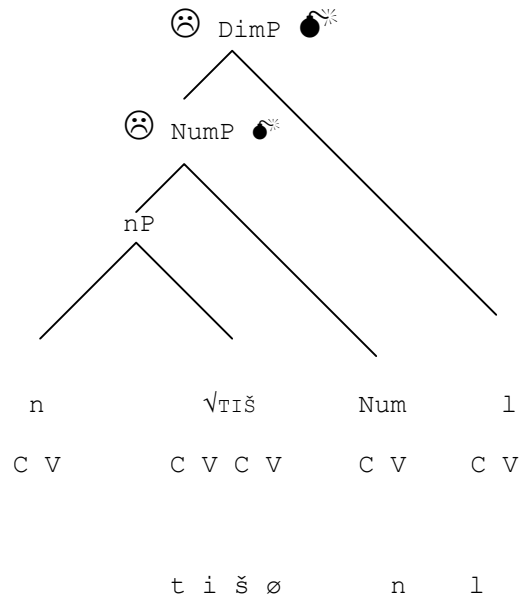
(83)

a.



[tišn]

b.



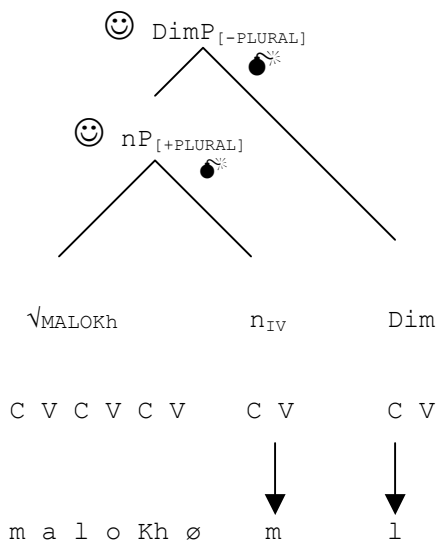
\*[tišnl]

Rhetorical question: why not maloKhiml ?

(84) DimP takes nP as a complement, but DimP is intrinsically [-PLURAL] by virtue of being Class III (cf. *dos tišl*) and, in this particular case its complement nP has an inherited [+PLURAL] feature by virtue of the root having directly merged with Class IV.

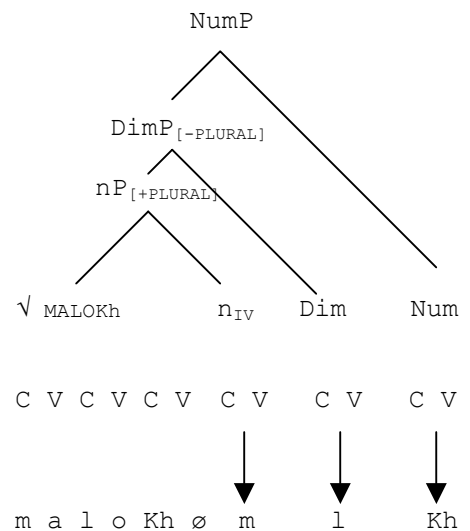
(85) DIMINUTIVE OF CLASS IV PLURAL

a.



\*[maloKhiml]

b.



[maloKhimleKh]

(86) +er PLURALS

THEY BEHAVE LIKE +im PLURALS W. RESPECT TO DIMINUTIVE FORMATION, cf. KhazéyrimleKh)

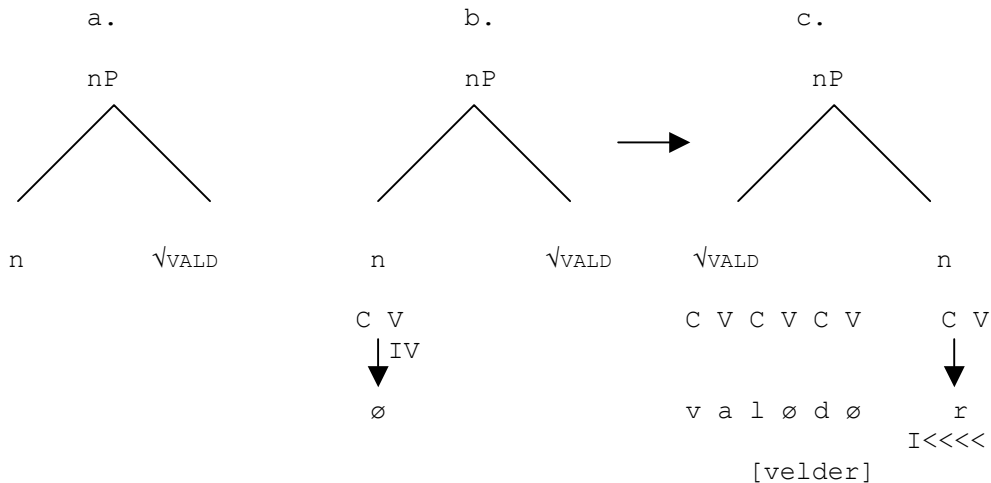
	+er PLURAL (ALWAYS W. UMLAUT)	DIMINUTIVE
kind	kinder ,child'	kinderleKh
buKh	biKher ,book'	biKherleKh
dos ort	erter ,endroit'	erterleKh
der bal	beler `ball (dance)'	belerleKh
der boyKh	bayKher ,belly'	bayKherleKh
der boym	baymer ,tree'	baymerleKh
der bayn	bayner ,bone'	baynerleKh
di broyz	brayzer ,brewery'	brayzerleKh
der got	geter ,god'	
der gayst	gayster ,spirit'	
der glok	gleker/n/glek ,bell'	
der daKh	deKher ,roof'	
der drong	drenger/es/en ,stick'	
der haldz	heldzer ,neck'	
dos holts	heltser ,wood'	
der hon	hener ,rooster'	
der vald	velder ,forest'	
der ton	tener ,sound, musical note'	
der man	mener `man vs. woman'	
der man	manen ,husband'	
der man	layt ,human being'	
der sod	seder ,orchard'	
dos štik	štiker `piece (of something)'	štikerleKh

(87) + ∅ PLURALS

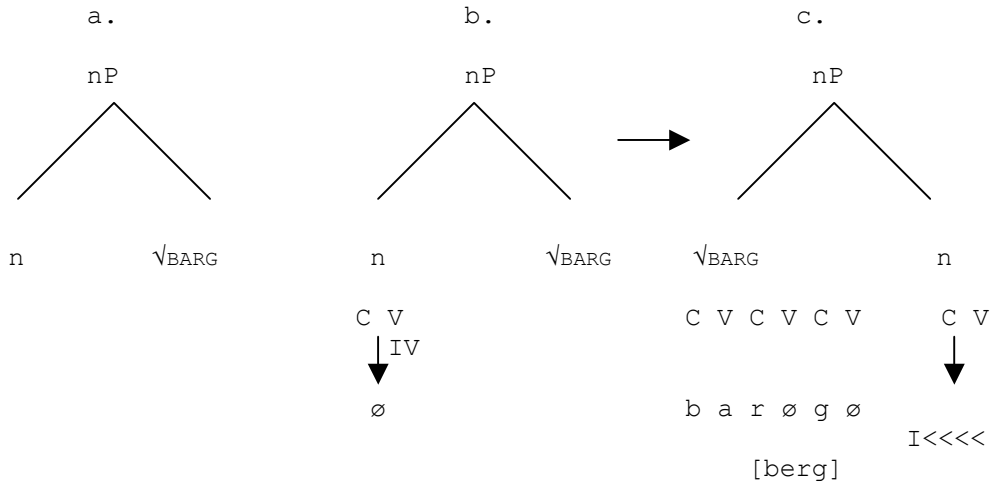
(THEY BEHAVE LIKE +im PLURALS W. RESPECT TO DIMINUTIVE FORMATION, cf. KhazéyrimleKh)

	∅ PLURALS (ALWAYS W. UMLAUT)	DIMINUTIVE
bord	berd `beard'	berdleKh
toKhter	teKhter `daughter'	teKhterleKh
baršt	beršt `beet soup'	berštleKh
barg	berg `mountain'	
krom	krem `(small) business'	kremleKh
hunt	hint `dog'	
volf	velf `wolf'	
zak	zek `sack'	
fus	fis `foot'	
tsop	tsep `braid'	
šuKh	šikh `shoe'	šikhleKh

(88)



(89)

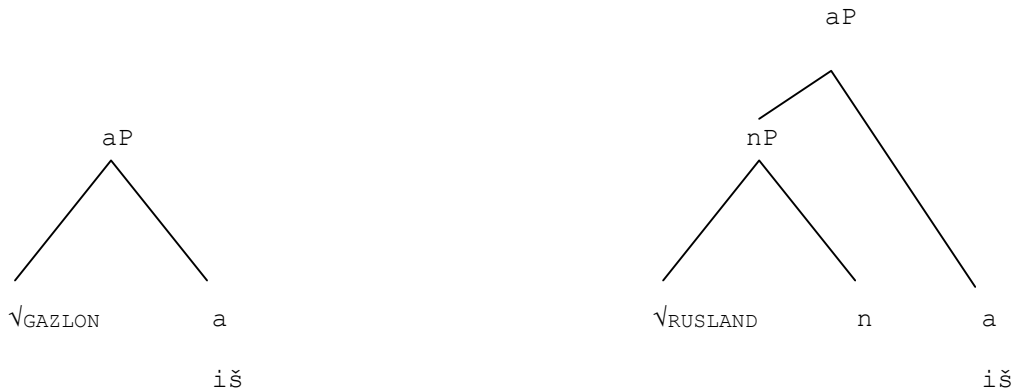


(90) VARIABLE UMLAUT GERMAN Busch/Büsch-e/busch-ig vs. Tag/Tag-e/täg-ig

(91) VARIABLE UMLAUT in YIDDISH

gázlen	gazlónim	violent person	WITHOUT	gazlóniš	* gazleniš
rúsland		Russia	WITH	rúslendiš	* ruslandiš

(92)



(93)

iberkérn	invert, overthrow
iberkér+er+ <b>iš</b>	seeditious
imperial+ist+ <b>iš</b>	imperialistic
hult+áy	immorality
hult+áy+ <b>iš</b>	immoral
hor	hair
špaltén	split
horšpalt+er	one who...
horšpalt+er+ <b>iš</b>	

(94) Hebrew nouns that have not preserved the original Hebrew gender in plural

tóes	teúsim	mistake
máyKh1	máyKhólim	meal, food
táKhles	taKhléysim	serious or practical matter
táles	taléysim	talith
šábes	šábósim	Sabbath



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