

Variable morphotactics in a nutshell: the case of French pronominal affixes

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The goal of this talk

- ▶ Noncanonical morphotactics (Stump, 1993; Bonami and Stump, forthcoming; Crysmann and Bonami, 2012):
 - ▶ Positional disambiguation (Swahili)
 - ▶ Conditioned reordering (Fula)
 - ▶ Free reordering (Chintang)
 - ▶ Mobile stems (Italian)
 - ▶ Wackernagel affixes (Sorani Kurdish)
- ▶ Bonami and Crysmann (2013) presents an information-based theory of realizational morphology which aims at:
 - ▶ Limiting the amount of structure in morphological derivations
 - ▶ Accounting for the typology of deviationsby taking seriously the idea of a **template of positions**.
- ▶ Main focus: conjugation of contemporary informal Parisian French.
- ▶ We show how the theory readily accounts for multiple deviations in a single system, by simple accumulation of constraints.

Noncanonical morphotactic phenomena

Misaligned exponence

- ▶ In the canonical situation, exponents for different values of the same feature appear in the same position.
- ▶ However exceptions to this are common. For instance in Nepali (Bonami and Boyé, 2008):

	PRESENT	FUTURE
1	birsã-tʃ ^h a-aũ	birse-aũ-lā
2.LOW	birsã-tʃ ^h a-s	birse-lā-s
2.MID	birsã-tʃ ^h a	birse-lā
3.LOW	birsã-tʃ ^h a-au	birse-au-lā
3.MID	birsã-tʃ ^h a-n	birse-lā-n

Table: Masculine singular forms of the Nepali verb BIRSANU ‘forget’

Misaligned exponence

- ▶ If we assume 4 linear positions for tense and person, then each affix can be assigned to a fixed position.



	PRESENT	FUTURE
1	birsã-tʃ ^h a-aũ	birse-aũ-lā
2.LOW	birsã-tʃ ^h a-s	birse-lā-s
2.MID	birsã-tʃ ^h a	birse-lā
3.LOW	birsã-tʃ ^h a-au	birse-au-lā
3.MID	birsã-tʃ ^h a-n	birse-lā-n

Table: Masculine singular forms of the Nepali verb BIRSANU ‘forget’

Free placement

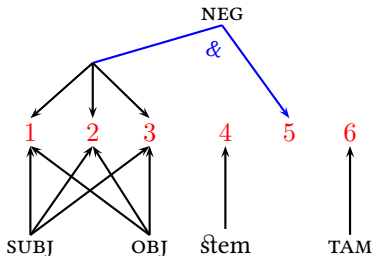
- ▶ Chintang verb prefixes (Bickel et al., 2007)
 - ▶ can be freely permuted
 - ▶ prefixes encode **subject** and **object** agreement, as well as **negation**
 - ▶ Suffixes in Chintang, however, are strictly ordered in position classes

u	kha	ma	cop	yokt	e	‘They didn’t see us.’
u	ma	kha	cop	yokt	e	‘They didn’t see us.’
kha	u	ma	cop	yokt	e	‘They didn’t see us.’
kha	ma	u	cop	yokt	e	‘They didn’t see us.’
ma	u	kha	cop	yokt	e	‘They didn’t see us.’
ma	kha	u	cop	yokt	e	‘They didn’t see us.’

Accounting for the Chintang data

u	kha	ma	cop	yokt	e	'They didn't see us.'
u	ma	kha	cop	yokt	e	'They didn't see us.'
kha	u	ma	cop	yokt	e	'They didn't see us.'
kha	ma	u	cop	yokt	e	'They didn't see us.'
ma	u	kha	cop	yokt	e	'They didn't see us.'
ma	kha	u	cop	yokt	e	'They didn't see us.'

- ▶ We allow some morphs to underspecify their position classes:
 - ▶ Here, three series of morphs are specified as prefixal but do not select for a specific position.



Misaligned exponence+Free placement

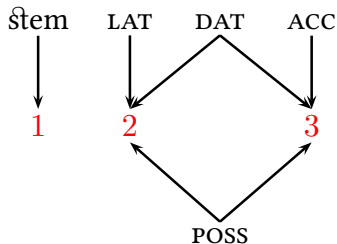
- ▶ Order of possessive and case markers in Mari (Luutonen, 1997)
 - ▶ Some case markers obligatorily follow the possessive marker (ACC)
 - ▶ Some case markers obligatorily precede the possessive marker (LAT)
 - ▶ Some cases (like DAT) permute freely with possessive marker

	NOPOSS		1PL.POSS
		POSS < CASE	CASE < POSS
NOM	pört		pört-na
ACC	pört-əm	pört-na-m	*
DAT	pört-lan	pört-na-lan	pört-lan-na
LAT	pört-eš	*	pört-eš-na

Accounting for the Mari situation

- ▶ We can redeploy the analytic tools used for misaligned exponence and free placement:
 - ▶ The stem goes in position **1**
 - ▶ The LAT marker goes in position **2**
 - ▶ The ACC marker goes in position **3**
 - ▶ Possessive markers are underspecified for position
 - ▶ The dative marker is likewise underspecified

	NOPOSS	1PL.POSS	
		POSS < CASE	CASE < POSS
NOM	pört		pört-na
ACC	pört-əm	pört-na-m	*
DAT	pört-lan	pört-na-lan	pört-lan-na
LAT	pört-eš	*	pört-eš-na



Conditional placement

- Swahili relative agreement markers are found in two positions, but the choice of the position is conditional (Stump, 1993):

(1) Tensed:

a. *a-na-ye-soma*

M/WA.S-PROG-M/WA.REL-read

‘(person) who is reading’

b. *a-na-cho-ki-soma*

M/WA.S-PROG-KI/VI.REL-KI/VI.O-read

‘(book) which he is reading’

(2) Untensed:

a. *a-soma-ye*

M/WA.S-read--M/WA.REL

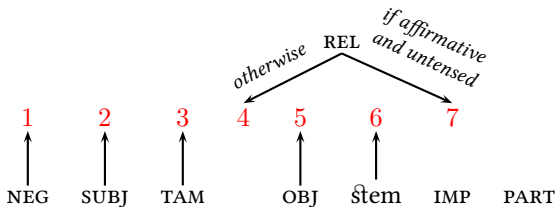
‘(person) who reads’

b. *a-ki-soma-cho*

M/WA.S-read-ki/vi.o-KI/VI.REL

‘(book) which he reads’

- Schematically:



Absolute and relative placement: Italian

- ▶ Italian pronominal affixes (Monachesi, 1999):

- ▶ Occur in a fixed order of 6 positions

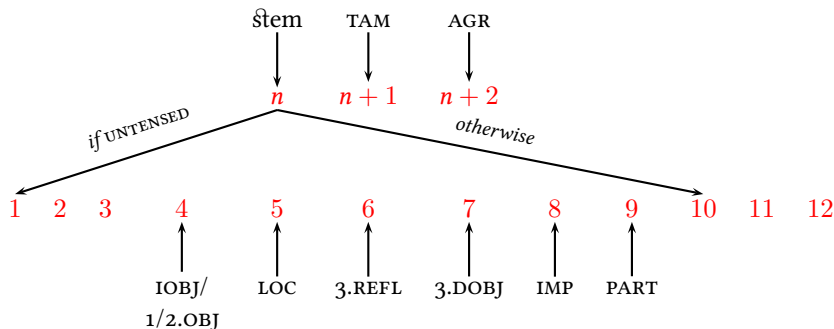
A	B	C	D	E	F
[<i>obj, 1sg</i>]:	[<i>loc</i>]:	[<i>obj, 3, refl</i>]:	[<i>d-obj, 3sg, m</i>]:	[<i>obj, imp</i>]:	[<i>part</i>]:
<i>mi</i>	<i>ci</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>ne</i>
...			...		

- ▶ Occur on either side of the stem depending on context
- ▶ Order within the cluster is the same on either side of the stem
- ▶ Other affixes (**TAM** and **agreement**) are always suffixed to the stem

<i>me lo da -te</i>	'You give <i>it</i> to <i>me</i> .'
<i>da -te me lo!</i>	'Give <i>it</i> to <i>me</i> !'
* <i>da -te lo me!</i>	
* <i>lo me da -te</i>	
* <i>te- da me lo!</i>	
* <i>me lo te- da.</i>	

Accounting for relative placement

- ▶ We submit that this is best accounted for by distinguishing two separate position indexing schemes:
 - ▶ *Absolute positioning* in named positions
 - ▶ *Relative positioning* at a specific distance from the stem
- ▶ The stem itself is then the element whose position varies in Italian.



The morphotactics of French pronominal affixes

French pronominal affixes

- ▶ Cf. Morin (1979a,b, 1981); Stump (1981); Miller (1992); Auger (1995); Miller and Sag (1997); Abeillé et al. (1998); Bonami and Boyé (2007)
- ▶ Subject pronominal affixes:
 - ▶ Preverbal by default
 - ▶ Postverbal in an arbitrary collection of constructions, including:
 - ▶ Matrix interrogatives
 - ▶ Clauses starting with a handful of sentence adverbs (*jamais* ‘never’, *probablement* ‘probably’, *encore* ‘still’, etc.)
 - ▶ Quotative clauses
- ▶ Complement pronominal affixes:
 - ▶ Preverbal by default
 - ▶ Postverbal in the imperative in the absence of preverbal negative marker *ne*

Elle le prend.	*Elle prend le .	‘She takes it .’
* Le prends!	Prends- le !	‘Take it !’
Ne le prends pas.	*Ne prends- le pas	‘Do not take it !’
Le prends pas	Prends- le pas.	

French pronominal affixes: prefixal use

- ▶ In prefixal position, French pronominal affixes are organized in strictly ordered position classes:

PRESENT INDICATIVE		translation
il me les donne	*il les me donne	'He gives them to me.'
il m'en donne	*il en me donne	'He gives me some.'
il m'y envoie	*il y m' envoie	'He sends me there.'
il les leur donne	*il leur les donne	'He gives them to them.'
il les en blâme	*il en les blâme	'He blames them for it.'
il les y envoie	*il y les envoie	'He sends them there.'
il leur en parle	*il en leur parle	'He talks to them about it.'
il leur y parle	*il y leur parle	'He talks to them there.'
il y en mange	*il en y mange	(int.) 'He eats some there.'

Positional analysis

- ▶ This is standardly analyzed by positing 7 slots:

(3)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
SUBJ	NE	1/2/REFL	3.DOBJ	3.IOBJ	LOC	DE-X
<i>je</i>						
<i>tu</i>						
<i>il</i>						
<i>elle</i>		<i>me</i>				
<i>on</i>		<i>te</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>lui</i>		
<i>ce</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>leur</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>en</i>
<i>ça</i>		<i>nous</i>		<i>les</i>		
<i>nous</i>		<i>vous</i>				
<i>vous</i>						
<i>ils</i>						
<i>elles</i>						

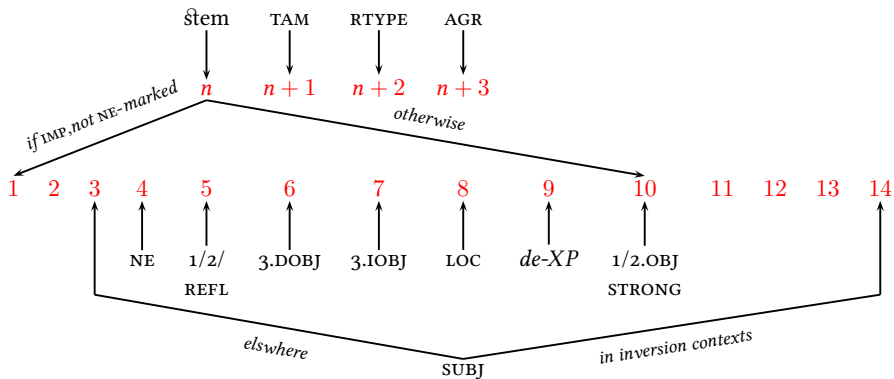
French pronominal affixes: suffixal use

Pedagogical and prescriptive grammars give the following distribution for suffixal use (in the imperative):

PRESENT INDICATIVE	POSITIVE IMPERATIVE	translation
il me les donne	donne- les-moi	'Give them to me.'
il m'en donne	donne- m'en	'Give me some.'
il m'y envoie	envoie- m'y	'Send me there.'
il les leur donne	donne- les-leur	'Give them to them.'
il les en blâme	blâme- les-en	'Blame them for it.'
il les y envoie	envoie- les-y	'Send them there.'
il leur en parle	parle- leur-en	'Talk to them about it.'
il leur y parle	parle- leur-y	'Talk to them there.'
il y en mange	manges- y-en	'Eat some there.'

Notice that there is no evidence for any mirroring effect: in the only case of a reversed order, the shapes are actually not the same.

The conservative French system



- ▶ But actually, morphotactic variation in this area is documented since the 17th century.
- ▶ In contemporary informal French, clear corpus evidence for variability, despite prescriptive pressures.

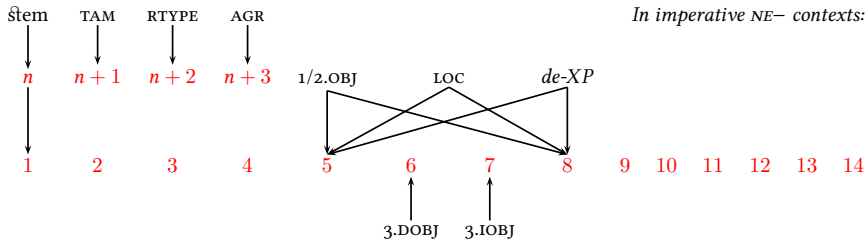
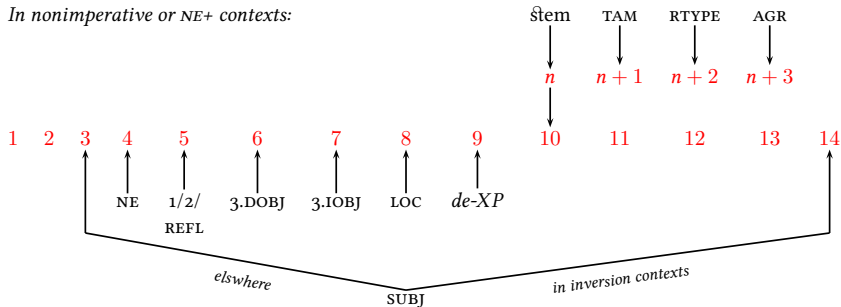
Suffixal use in informal Parisian French

- ▶ In contemporary informal Parisian French, there is clear overabundance.
 - ▶ Reduced 1SG and 2SG forms *me*, *te* are not used.
 - ▶ For most combinations of affixes, both orders are possible
 - ▶ In some cases there is a **perceivable sociolinguistic preference**.
 - ▶ Only one combination is **excluded**.

PRESENT INDICATIVE	POSITIVE IMPERATIVE		translation
il me les donne	<i>donne-les-moi</i>	<i>donne-moi-les</i>	'Give them to me.'
il m' en donne	<i>donne-m'en/-moi-z-en</i>	<i>donnes-en-moi</i>	'Give me some.'
il m'y envoie	<i>envoie-m'y/-moi-z-y</i>	<i>envoies-y-moi</i>	'Send me there.'
il les leur donne	<i>donne-les-leur</i>	*donne-leur-les	'Give them to them.'
il les en blâme	<i>blâme-les-en</i>	<i>blâmes-en-les</i>	'Blame them for it.'
il les y envoie	<i>envoie-les-y</i>	<i>envoies-y-les</i>	'Send them there.'
il leur en parle	<i>parle leur-z-en</i>	<i>parles-en-leur</i>	'Talk to them about it.'
il leur y parle	<i>parle leur-z-y</i>	<i>parles-y-leur</i>	'Talk to them there.'
il y en mange	?? <i>manges-y-z-en</i>	?? <i>manges-en-z-y</i>	(int.) 'Eat some there.'

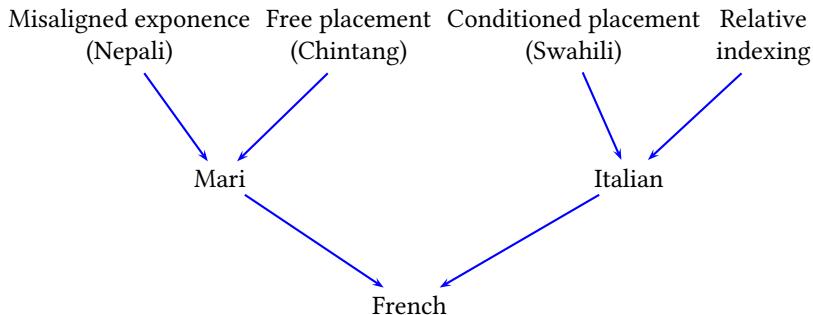
The informal Parisian French system

In nonimperative or NE+ contexts:



The informal Parisian French system

- ▶ This intricate system can be derived by redeploying previously used strategies:



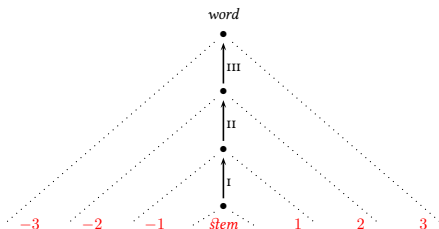
An HPSG approach to variable morphotactics

Taking the template seriously

- ▶ We have described different types of morphotactics in templatic terms.

1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7

- ▶ This is rather unusual: most generative approaches to morphology rely on stem-centric composition.



- ▶ If the template is a good descriptive tool, why should we forget about it when we write grammars?
- ▶ The following is an attempt to take the template seriously as a theoretical construct.

Realizational, template-based morphology

- ▶ We pursue the detailed formalization of a template-based approach.
- ▶ Crucial addition: possible underspecification of positions.
- ▶ Formalized in HPSG:
 - ▶ Easy to formulate precise claims on the morphology-syntax interface
 - ▶ Relaxation of strict ordering by underspecification of position
 - ▶ Realization rules are organized in inheritance hierarchies, allowing for the expression of generalizations over positions, shapes, or combinations of positions and shapes.
- ▶ No extrinsic ordering of rules: the only order is the surface order of exponents.
- ▶ The approach is otherwise very similar to Paradigm Function Morphology (Stump, 2001)
 - ▶ Fully lexicalist
 - ▶ Inferential and realisational
 - ▶ No ordering of morphosyntactic features
 - ▶ Conflict between rules resolved by Pāṇini's Principle

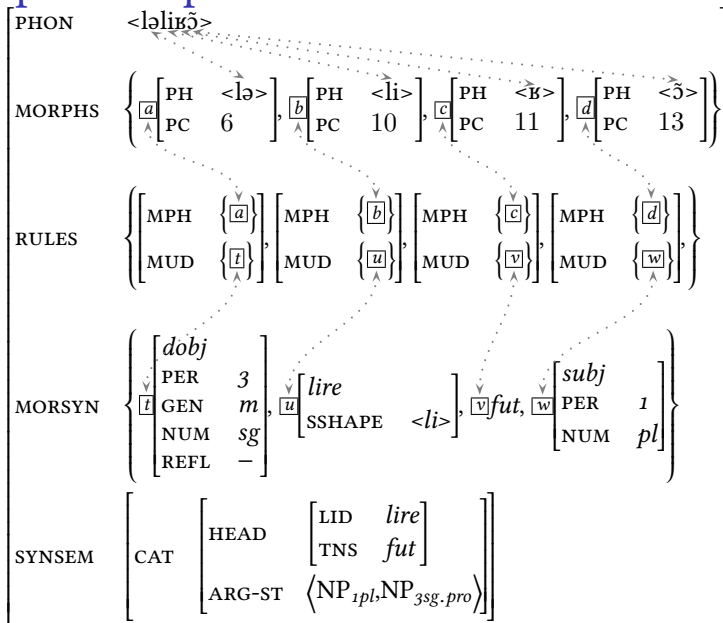
Realisation rules

- ▶ Realisation rules are triplets of
 - ▶ a description of a **set of morphs**
 - ▶ the **Morphosyntax Under Discussion (MUD)**, i.e. the morphosyntactic properties realized by the rule
 - ▶ a full description of **morphosyntactic property set**, including a specification of lexeme identity (*lid*)

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{MORPHS} \\ \text{MUD} \\ \text{MORSYN} \end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{PH} & \langle \text{lə} \rangle \\ \text{PC} & 6 \end{array} \right] \\ \boxed{1} \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{dobj} & \\ \text{PER} & 3 \\ \text{NUM} & \text{sg} \\ \text{REFL} & - \end{array} \right\} \\ \boxed{1} \cup \text{set} \end{array} \right. \right]$$

- ▶ A single rule may introduce more than one morph
- ▶ The MUD/MORSYN distinction implements an opposition between *realizing* and *being conditioned by* a feature (Carstairs, 1987)

A simple example



Word well-formedness

- ▶ A word is well-formed only if the set of rules licensing it exhausts its morphosyntactic description.

$$(4) \quad \textit{word} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{MORPHS} \quad \boxed{e_1} \cup \dots \cup \boxed{e_n} \\ \text{RULES} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{MORPH} & \boxed{e_1} \\ \text{MUD} & \boxed{m_1} \\ \text{MORSYN} & \boxed{0} \end{array} \right], \dots, \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{MORPH} & \boxed{e_n} \\ \text{MUD} & \boxed{m_n} \\ \text{MORSYN} & \boxed{0} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{MORSYN} \quad \boxed{0} (\boxed{m_1} \uplus \dots \uplus \boxed{m_n}) \end{array} \right]$$

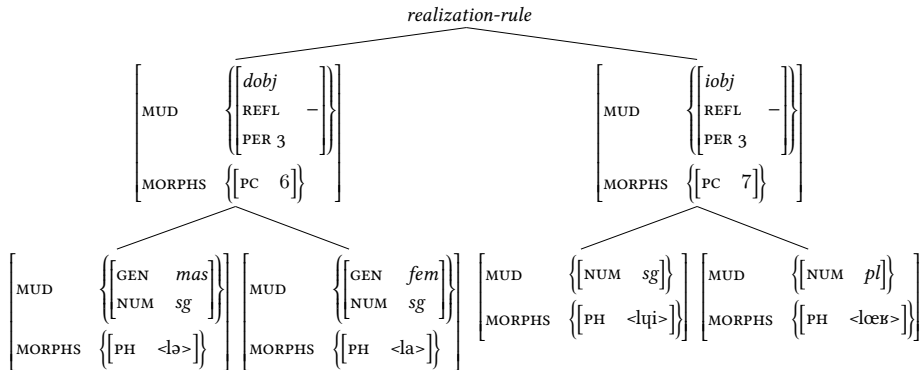
- ▶ The phonology of the word is the concatenation of the phonology of its morphs, respecting positional specifications

$$(5) \quad \textit{word} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{PHON} \quad \boxed{p_1} + \boxed{p_2} + \dots + \boxed{p_n} \\ \text{MORPHS} \quad \left\{ \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{PH} & \boxed{p_1} \\ \text{PC} & \boxed{i_1} \end{array} \right], \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{PH} & \boxed{p_1} \\ \text{PC} & \boxed{i_2} \end{array} \right], \dots, \left[\begin{array}{ll} \text{PH} & \boxed{p_n} \\ \text{PC} & \boxed{i_n} \end{array} \right] \right\} \end{array} \right]$$

where $\boxed{i_1} < \boxed{i_2} < \dots < \boxed{i_n}$

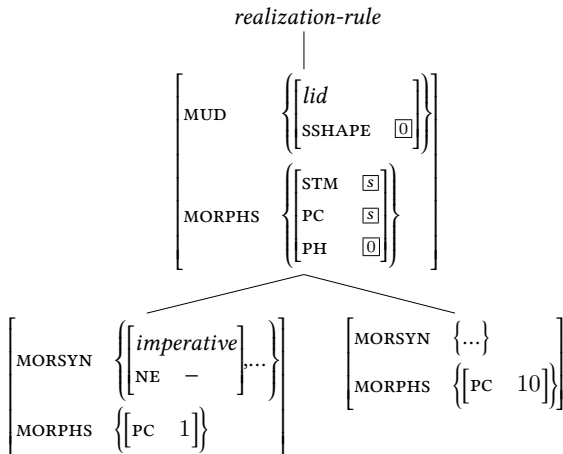
Inheritance hierarchy of rules

- ▶ Realization rules are organized in an inheritance hierarchy
 - ▶ Captures commonalities between rules
 - ▶ Avoidance of redundancy



Conditional placement

- ▶ Multiple rules (organized in a hierarchy) account for the conditional placement of the stem.

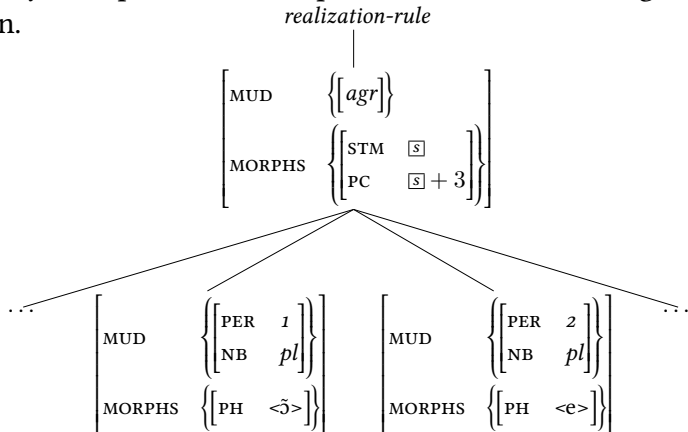


Relative placement

- ▶ We introduce a feature on morphs recording the position of the stem.

$$(6) \quad word \rightarrow \left[\text{MORPHS} \quad \left\{ \left[\text{STM} \begin{array}{|c|} \hline s \\ \hline \end{array} \right], \left[\text{STM} \begin{array}{|c|} \hline s \\ \hline \end{array} \right], \dots, \left[\text{STM} \begin{array}{|c|} \hline s \\ \hline \end{array} \right] \right\} \right]$$

- ▶ Rules may then place their morphs relative to this distinguished position.



Free placement

- ▶ Free placement of morphs simply amounts to underspecified placement
 - ▶ Here: any position strictly higher than 4

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{MORSYN} \\ \text{MUD} \\ \text{MORPHS} \end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{imperative} \\ \text{NE} \quad - \end{array} \right], \dots \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{obj} \\ \text{PER} \quad 1 \\ \text{NUM} \quad \textit{sg} \end{array} \right] \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{PH} \quad \langle \textit{mwa} \rangle \\ \text{PC} \quad 4 + n \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\} \right]$$

Conclusion

Conclusion

- ▶ Main empirical claim: deviations from canonical morphotactics combine in a cumulative fashion
 - ▶ Mari: misaligned exponence + free placement
 - ▶ Italian: conditioned ordering + relative indexing
 - ▶ French: Italian + Mari
- ▶ Two theoretical constructs are crucial to our formal account:
 - ▶ Template with possible positional underspecification of morphs
 - ▶ Realization rules organized in an inheritance hierarchy
- ▶ Jointly these capture the conjunctive nature of constraint interaction in morphotactic systems.

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Does the conservative system exist?

- ▶ In fact it is unclear that the conservative system is anything but a prescriptive artefact.
 - ▶ Sequences such as *donne-m'en*, *envoie-m'y* have been debated since the 17th century, and are seldom used outside of edited text.

Il faut dire, menez y moy, & non pas, menez m'y, & au fingulier auffi, menez-y moy, & non pas, mene-m'y. Et cela à cause du mauvais & ridicule fon que fait, menez-m'y, & mene-m'y [...]

(Vaugelas, 1647, 95)

- ▶ Sequences such as *donne-moi-le*, although they have an informal character, have always been an alternative to *donne-le-moi*

*Si le monde nous le refuse, **donnons-nous-le** à nous-mêmes.*

Bossuet, *Premier sermon pour le dimanche des rameaux*, 1660

*Pas un nom dans l'assistance qui ne fût notoire à quelque titre, et quant à celui de l'auteur, acclamé et fêté par nous, **rappelez-vous-le** pour l'applaudir un jour sur la dernière scène fidèle à la poésie.*

S. Mallarmé, *La dernière mode*, 7e livraison, 12/6/1874

Suffixal use: the evidence

- ▶ Establishing the data is quite hard:
 - ▶ Strong prescriptive urge not to accept the dispreferred order
 - ▶ Imperatives with two pronouns are seldom found in corpora: hands-on interactions between the speakers are needed.
 - ▶ The only large enough relevant corpus (New and Spinelli, 2013) exhibits a 100:1 ratio between the two orders
 - ▶ This suggests that even elicitation in an ecological setting will only provide very few relevant examples
- ▶ Given this we may conclude that:
 - ▶ The positive grammaticality judgements above are not disputable, confirmed by hundreds of examples in various corpora.
 - ▶ The negative judgements are less firmly established
 - ▶ Documented as such in (Morin, 1979b; Auger, 1995); no evidence given to the contrary anywhere in the literature.
 - ▶ Not attested in available corpora, but the amount of relevant data precludes a firm conclusion
 - ▶ Congruent with the impressionistic judgements of various speakers of the relevant variety, but not tested systematically.

Comparison with a-morphous approaches

- ▶ In the present theory:
 - ▶ Position class templates are modeled directly
 - ▶ Morphs are represented explicitly in morphological derivations
 - ▶ Realization rules are morph licensing statements: they don't modify an input string.
 - ▶ Realization rules are not ordered: an unstructured set of rules jointly licenses a word under a condition of informational completeness.
 - ▶ Under strong lexicalist assumptions, syntactic rules have no access to morphological structure either.
- ▶ Thus arguably, although the theory uses reified morphs:
 - ▶ It presupposes *less* structure in morphological derivations than stem-centric approaches (no derivation tree).
 - ▶ It makes exactly the same predictions as a-morphous approaches on the inaccessibility of morphological boundaries to both inflection rules and syntax.
 - ▶ It avoids the use of empirically undermotivated theoretical devices such as rule blocks.

Impossible combinations

- ▶ A single feature cooccurrence restriction accounts for the impossibility of

- (7)
- | | | |
|----|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| a. | * Il me lui présente. | ‘He introduces me to her.’ |
| b. | * Il me te présente. | ‘He introduces me to you.’ |
| c. | * Présente moi lui. | ‘Introduce me to her.’ |
| d. | * Présente moi toi. | ‘Introduce yourself to me.’ |

$$(8) \left[\text{MORSYN} \left\{ \left[\text{dat} \right], \dots \right\} \right] \rightarrow \neg \left[\text{MORSYN} \left\{ \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{acc} \\ 1 \vee 2 \vee \text{refl} \end{array} \right], \dots \right\} \right]$$

- ▶ This is exactly as stipulative as placing the relevant exponents in the same rule block
- ▶ In any case, this is only a placeholder for an analysis taking into account periphrastic alternatives

- (9)
- | | | |
|----|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| a. | Il lui présente Paul | ‘He introduces Paul to her.’ |
| b. | * Il présente Paul à elle | |

Morphs with phonologically constrained distribution

- ▶ Well-known observations:
 - ▶ Suffixal *me* and *te* are licensed only when immediately followed by *y* or *en*.
 - ▶ Pronouns *y* and *en* take different shapes depending on whether or not they are preceded by a vowel-final morph in the same word.
 - ▶ Pronoun *les* takes a special shape when followed by a vowel-initial morph in the same word.
- ▶ All these observations can easily be modeled within the assumptions of contextualized declarative phonology (Walther, 1999; Crysmann, 2002)

$$\text{word} \rightarrow \left[\text{PHON} \left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \text{PREV} & \# \\ \text{SELF} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{NEXT} & \boxed{2} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \text{PREV} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{SELF} & \boxed{2} \\ \text{NEXT} & \boxed{3} \end{bmatrix}, \dots, \begin{bmatrix} \text{PREV} & \boxed{n-1} \\ \text{SELF} & \boxed{n} \\ \text{NEXT} & \# \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \right]$$

Morphs with phonologically constrained distribution

- ▶ Suffixal *me* vs. *moi*:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{STM} \quad \boxed{s} \\ \text{PC} \quad \boxed{s} + \mathfrak{Z} + n \\ \text{PH} \quad \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{SELF} \quad m \\ \text{NEXT} \quad \text{vow} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right] \text{ vs. } \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{STM} \quad \boxed{s} \\ \text{PC} \quad \boxed{s} + \mathfrak{Z} + n \\ \text{PH} \quad \left\langle \left[\text{SELF} \quad m \right], \left[\text{SELF} \quad w \right], \left[\text{SELF} \quad a \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

- ▶ *y* vs. *z-y*:

$$\left[\text{PH} \quad \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{SELF} \quad y \\ \text{PREV} \quad \neg \text{vow} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \right] \text{ vs. } \left[\text{PH} \quad \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{SELF} \quad z \\ \text{PREV} \quad \text{vow} \end{array} \right], \left[\text{SELF} \quad y \right] \right\rangle \right]$$

- ▶ This predicts correctly *envoies-y-moi*, *envoie-m'y*, *envoie-moi-z-y*,
**envoie-m-z-y*, **envoie-moi-y*

Mari: the full data

- ▶ When plural markers are taken into account, surprising ordering possibilities arise.

	ABSOLUTE		1SG POSS		
	SG	PL	SG	PL	
NOM	pört	pört-βlak	pört-em	pört-βlak-em pört-em-βlak	
ACC	pört-əm	pört-βlak-əm	pört-em-əm	pört-βlak-em-əm pört-em-βlak-əm	
DAT	pört-lan	pört-βlak-lan	pört-em-lan	pört-βlak-em-lan pört-em-βlak-lan pört-lan-em	pört-βlak-lan-em
LAT	pört-eš	pört-βlak-eš	pört-eš-em	pört-βlak-eš-em pört-em-βlak-eš	

The full Mari data: Analysis

- ▶ This situation can be modeled easily if one assumes a position for POSS to the left of the plural marker that is unavailable in the singular
- ▶ All the right ordering possibilities then follow without further stipulation.

