Yale

Late vocabulary insertion

Evidence from prosodically-conditioned root allomorphy in Blackfoot

Natalie Weber

YALE UNIVERSITY

where syntax and phonology meet (bcgl 14)

Dec 17, 2021

Blackfoot √ROOT allomorphy

Left edge

⟦**m**âː.kx̣ʷ.toː.t⟧

[√**m**aak–oht–oo]–t

[√arrange–put.TI–TI]–2SG.IMP

‘arrange it!’ [F&R308]

After prefix

⟦á.**j**âː.kx̣ʷ.toː.mą⟧

a–[√**y**aak–oht–oo]–m–a

IPFV–[√arrange–put.TI–TI]–IND–3

‘she is arranging it’ [F&R308]

⟦ ⟧ = phonetic transcription created from orthography

Blackfoot √ROOT allomorphy

Left edge		After prefix	UR	Gloss
[maːn-]	∼	[an-]	/maːn-/	‘new’
[maːk-]	∼	[jaːk-]	/{maːk-, jaːk-}/	‘arrange’
[aːm-]	∼	[jaːm-]	/jaːm-/	‘twisted’
*[m…]	∼	*[m…]		

(Halle and Marantz 1993; Mascaró 2007; Nevins 2011; Paster 2009; Paster:2009 2015: a.o.)

Root allomorphy

Left edge		After prefix	UR	Gloss
[ipotsim-]	~	[ipotsim-]	/ipomː-/	‘poison’
[pomː-]	~	[ipomː-]	/pomː-/	‘transfer (bundle)’
[pomː-]	~	[oxpomː-]	/{pomː-, oxpomː-}/	‘buy’
[oxpo-]	~	[oxpo-]	/oxpo-/	‘grease’
*[p…]	~	*[p…]		

Root allomorphy

Root-internal gemination (idiosyncratic and exceptional; ∼20 forms)

Left edge		After prefix	UR	Gloss
[kipita-]	∼	[ipːita-]	/{kipita-, pːita-}/	‘old woman’
[ponoka-]	∼	[inːoka-]	/{ponoka-, nːoka-}/	‘elk’

(Thomson 1978)

Timing of vocabulary insertion

How to determine when in the derivation VI occurs?

Sensitivity to syntactic contexts, phonological contexts, or both.

(Chomsky 1993; Embick and Noyer 2007; Halle and Marantz 1993; Harley and Noyer 2014)

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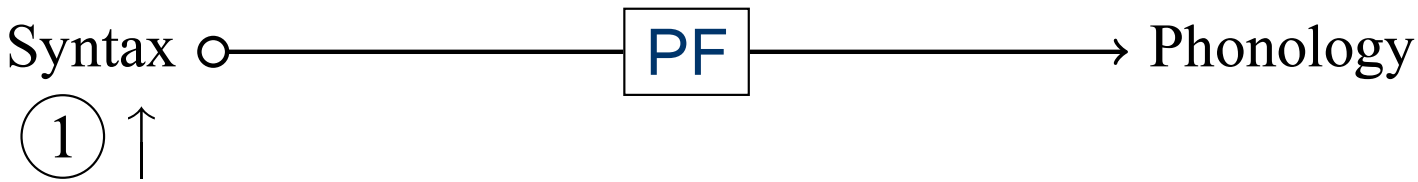

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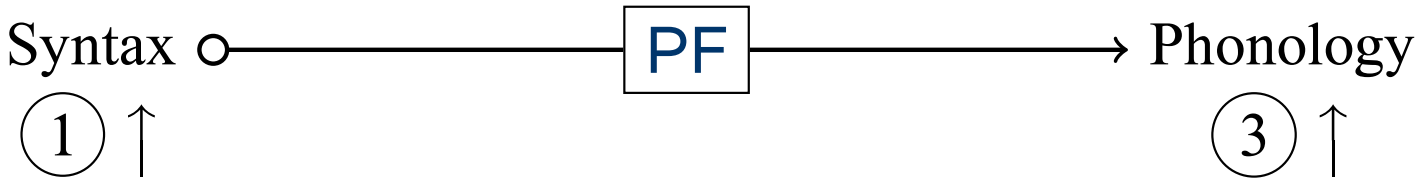

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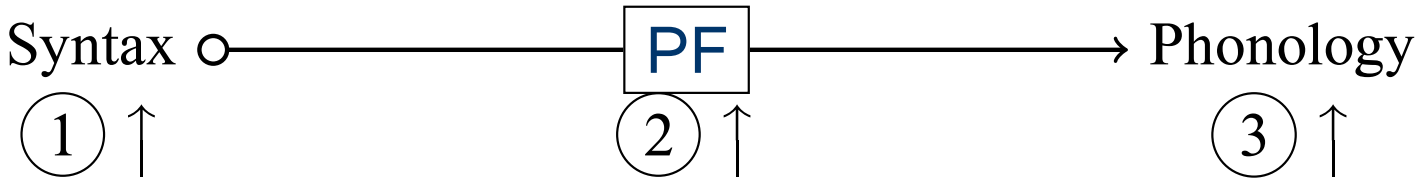


(Chomsky 1993; Embick and Noyer 2007; Halle and Marantz 1993; Harley and Noyer 2014)

Timing of vocabulary insertion

Left edge = syntactic or phonological element?

Left edge

$_{CP}[$ **m**âː.kx̣^{w}.toː.t $]_{CP}$

[√**m**aak–oht–oo]–t
[√arrange–put.TI–TI]–2SG.IMP

‘arrange it!’ [F&R308]

After prefix

$_{CP}[$ á.**j**âː.kx̣^{w}.toː.mą̣ $]_{CP}$

a–[√**y**aak–oht–oo]–m–a
IPFV–[√arrange–put.TI–TI]–IND–3

‘she is arranging it’ [F&R308]

Bliss (2013) & Weber (2020) argue the verbal complex is a CP

Timing of vocabulary insertion

Left edge = syntactic or phonological element?

Left edge

PPh[mâː.kχ̣ʷ.toː.t]PPh

[√maak–oht–oo]–t

[√arrange–put.TI–TI]–2SG.IMP

‘arrange it!’

After prefix

PPh[á.jâː.kχ̣ʷ.toː.mą̊]PPh

a–[√yaak–oht–oo]–m–a

IPFV–[√arrange–put.TI–TI]–IND–3

‘she is arranging it’

Weber (2020) & Windsor (2017) argue the verbal complex is a PPh

Outline

Data sources

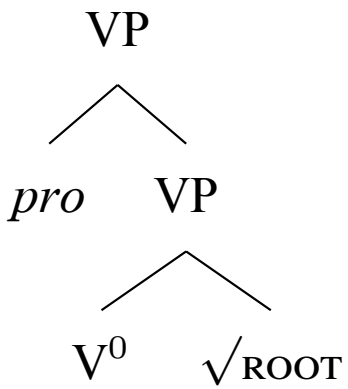
- Fieldwork with Totsinámm (Beatrice Bullshields; BB)
- Reference materials (for: morpheme alternations)
  - Grammar (Frantz 2017)
  - Dictionary (Frantz and Russell 2017; “F&R#”)
  - Blackfoot Words (Weber et al. n.d.)

⟦ ⟧ = phonetic transcription created from orthography

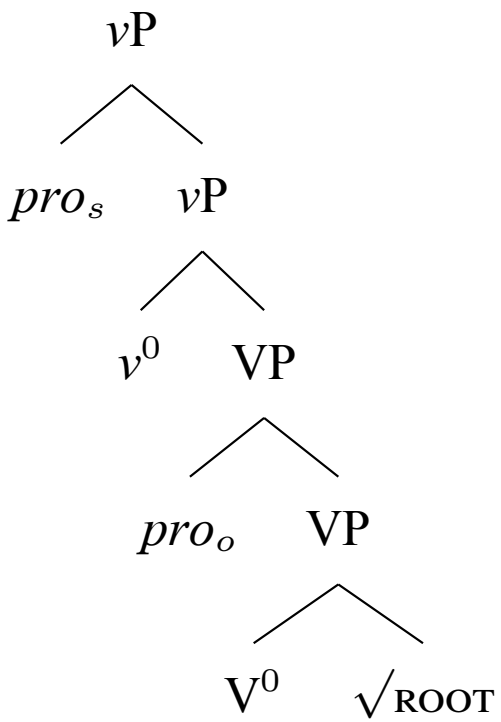
The vP/VP stem

The vP/VP shell

Intransitive



Transitive



(Chomsky 2000; Hale and Keyser 1993; Kratzer 1996; Marantz 1997)

Nominal classes: (in)animacy

Verbal heads are sensitive to grammatical animacy.

Animate		Inanimate	
mamíí-wa	‘fish’	aohkíí-yi	‘water’
mamíí-ksi	‘fish (pl.)’	aohkíí-stsi	‘waters’
atsís-a	‘pants (sg.)’	atsikín-i	‘shoe’
atsí-íksi	‘pants (pl.)’	atsikí-ístsi	‘shoes’

(Bliss 2013; Kim 2017; Wiltschko and Ritter 2015)

The intransitive VP stem

Single verbalizing head agrees with single nominal argument.

$[\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}\ \text{-V}^0\ ]_{\text{VP}}\ \text{-C}^0$

$[\sqrt{\text{maan}}\ \text{-ssi}\ ]_{\text{VP}}\ \text{-wa}$ ‘he (anim.) is young, he is new’ [word-AT1969-0537]

$[\sqrt{\text{maan}}\ \text{-ii}\ ]_{\text{VP}}\ \text{-wa}$ ‘it (inan.) is new’ [F&R143]

- $\text{V}^0 \longleftrightarrow$ /-sːi/ / [___ [+anim]
- $\text{V}^0 \longleftrightarrow$ /-iː/ / ___ [-anim]

(Déchaine and Weber 2015, 2018; Weber 2020)

The transitive vP stem

First verbalizing head agrees with internal argument.

$[\,[\,\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}$	$\text{-V}^0\,]_{\text{VP}}$	$\text{-}v^0\,]_{v\text{P}}$	-C^0		
$[\,[\,\sqrt{}$issksk	-amm$\,]_{\text{VP}}$	-ii$\,]_{v\text{P}}$	-wa	‘he watched over her (anim.) ’	[F&R269]
$[\,[\,\sqrt{}$issksk	-a’t$\,]_{\text{VP}}$	-i$\,]_{v\text{P}}$	-wa	‘he watched it it (inan.) is new’	[F&R269]
$[\,[\,\sqrt{}$issksk	-a’t$\,]_{\text{VP}}$	-aki$\,]_{v\text{P}}$	-wa	‘he guarded (things’	[F&R269]

- $\text{V}^0 \longleftrightarrow$ /-amː/ / ___ [+anim]
- $\text{V}^0 \longleftrightarrow$ /-aʔt/

(DechaineWeber:2015; DechaineWeber:2018; Weber 2020)

The transitive vP stem

Second verbalizing head Agrees downward with nearest argument (Chomsky 2000). (Here = internal argument.)

$[\,[\,\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}$	$\text{-V}^0\,]_{\text{VP}}$	$\text{-}v^0\,]_{v\text{P}}$	-C^0		
$[\,[\,\sqrt{}$issksk	-amm$\,]_{\text{VP}}$	-ii$\,]_{v\text{P}}$	-wa	‘he watched over her (anim.) ’	[F&R269]
$[\,[\,\sqrt{}$issksk	-a’t$\,]_{\text{VP}}$	-i$\,]_{v\text{P}}$	-wa	‘he watched it it (inan.) is new’	[F&R269]
$[\,[\,\sqrt{}$issksk	-a’t$\,]_{\text{VP}}$	-aki$\,]_{v\text{P}}$	-wa	‘he guarded (things)’	[F&R269]

- $v^0 \longleftrightarrow$ /-ii/ / ___ [+D,+anim]
- $v^0 \longleftrightarrow$ /-i/ / ___ [+D,-anim]
- $v^0 \longleftrightarrow$ /-aki/ / ___ [-D]

The transitive vP stem

*v*P agrees with an intervening animate applicative argument rather than the inanimate object.

(1) isskská'ts**i**ma

[√issksk–a't–**i**]–m–a

[√duty–watch.V–3IN]–IND–3

'he watched **it**' [F&R269]

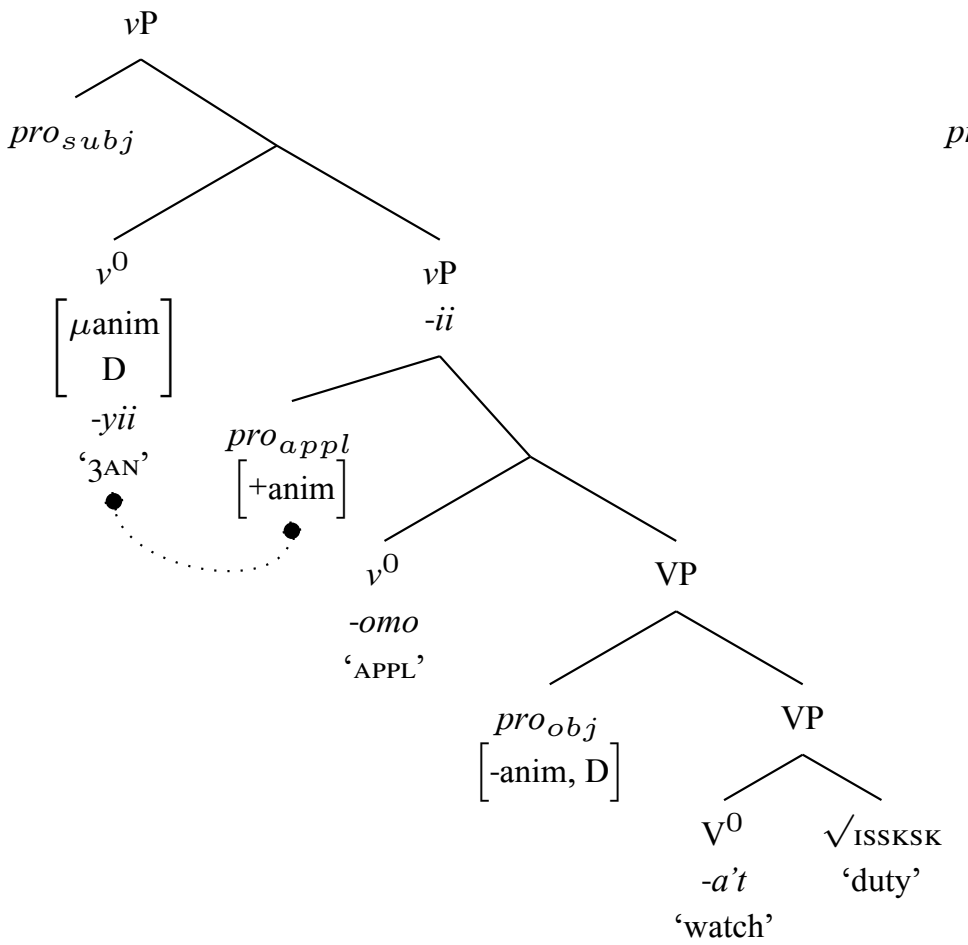
(2) isskská't**omoyii**wáyi

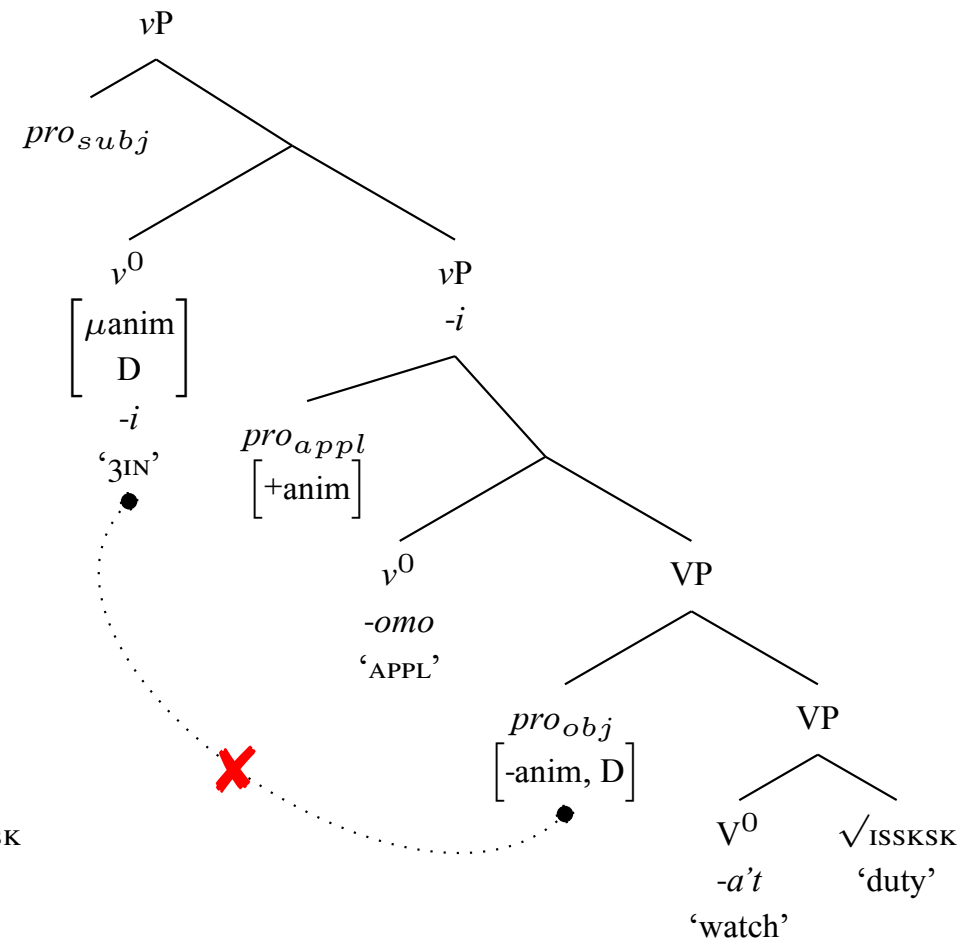
[√issksk–a't–**omo**–**yii**]–Ø–w=ayi

[√duty–watch.V–APPL.*v*–3AN]–IND–3=PRX.PL

'he watched over (**something**) for **him/her**' [F&R269]

The transitive vP stem





Prosodic structure

Syllable structure

Contrastive vowel length in open syllables.

CV	[ʔâː.k**o**.kaː]	‘he will rope’	(BB)
CVV	[ʔâː.k**oː**.kaː]	‘she will hold a Sundance’	(BB)
Cs	[o.**ks**.ká?.sɪt]	‘run!’	(BB)
Css	[mox^{w}.kín.**ʔsː**.tsɪs]	‘elbow’	(BB)

(Elfner 2006; Frantz 2017; Goad and Shimada 2014; Weber 2020)

Syllable structure

Vowel length neutralization before codas.

CVC	[só.**ka?**.si.m]	‘shirt, dress’	(BB)
	[**?ɪm**.mo.já:.n]	‘fur coat’	(BB)
CVVC	—	—	

Evidence that codas are moraic. Heavy syllables = CVV, CVC.

(Elfner 2006; Frantz 2017; Weber 2020)

Stress (pitch accent)

- Obligatory within the Prosodic Word
- Iambic feet: (σ 'σ)
- Initial syllable weight is "invisible" to stress → left unparsed
- Location determined by
  1. metrical properties (syllable weight)
  2. presence/absence of prefixes
     - absent: *stress 2nd σ if heavy, else stress 3rd σ*
     - present: *parse the first constituent as part of a foot* (*simplified*)

Prosodic structure

√MAAN AS STEM-INTERNAL ROOT

[maan-íí]-wa	maː.(**níː**).wa̱	*(máː).niː.wa̱	‘it is new’
[maan-á’pii]-wa	maː.(**ná?**).piː.wa̱	*(máː).na?.piː.wa̱	‘it was recent’
[maan-itápi]-iksi	maː.(ni.**tá**).pi.ksi̱	*(máː).ni.ta.pi.ksi̱	‘young people’

Prosodic structure

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[maan-íí]-wa	maː.(**níː**).wa̱	*(máː).niː.wa̱	‘it is new’
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[maan-itápi]-iksi	maː.(ni.**tá**).pi.ksi̱	*(máː).ni.ta.pi.ksi̱	‘young people’

√MAAN AS STEM-EXTERNAL PREFIX

máán-[o’t-oo]-wa	*maː.(nó?).toː.wa̱	(**máː**).no?.toː.wa̱	‘she recently arrived’
áak-[an-ii]-wa	*aː.ka.(níː).wa̱	(**âː**).ka.niː.wa̱	‘it will be new’

Mismatches between syntactic and prosodic structure

(3) ⟦so.(ki.nís)⟧
[√sok–in–Ø]–ísa
[√good–by.hand.V–*v*]–2SG:3.IMP
'doctor him!' [F&R257]

(4) ⟦(ni.tsí).tsi.nɔ:.ks.ka?.si̥⟧
nit–ítsin–a–[√oksk–a'si]
1–among–IPFV–[√run–V]
'I joined in the run' [F&R120]

Interim summary

- Independent syntactic and prosodic structures.
  - Established via independent {syntactic / phonological} evidence.
  - Mismatches between edges and constituents.
- Stem and suffixes form a stress domain
- Prefixes have different stress computation

Q: is root allomorphy determined by syntactic or prosodic structure?

Root allomorphy

No effect of syntactic features

(5) ⟦**âːkxk**aná?psːik⟧

aak–[**ohk**an–a'p/ssi]–Ø–yi=aawa

FUT–[**all**–be/AI]–IND–3PL=PRX.PL

'they will gather for a sporting event!' [F&R164] **[+tense]**

(6) ⟦**stám**x^{w}**k**ánɛːsapa?kotsːtoːtaːwa̧⟧

stam–√**ohk**an–a–[√**s**apa'kot–sstoo]–t–Ø=aawa

just–√all–IPFV–[√stack–put.TI]–2SG.IMP–CMD=PRX.PL

'stack all of them (e.g. chairs)! [F&R164] **[-tense]**

(7) cf. ⟦**k**aná?psːik⟧

[**k**an–a'p/ssi]–k–Ø

[**all**–be/AI]–2PL.IMP–CMD

'you (pl.) gather for an event!' [F&R164] (Weber n.d.)

Vocabulary Insertion is the input to the phonological grammar

Left edge	After prefix	UR	Gloss
[**m**aːk]	[**j**aːk]	/{**m**aːk, **j**aːk}/	‘arrange’
[pomː]	[**ox**pomː]	/{pomː, **ox**pomː}/	‘buy’
[kipita]	[**i**pːita]	/{kipita, pːita}/	‘aged’
[pomː]	[**i**pomː]	/pomː/	‘transfer’
[iːp]	[**j**iːp]	/**j**iːp/	‘decrease’
[iːtsːk]	[iːtsːk]	/iːtsːk/	‘scuffle’
[**m**aːn]	[an]	**m**aːn	‘recent’

Exponents undergo further morphophonological processes (epenthesis, deletion, etc.)

Vocabulary Insertion is the input to the phonological grammar

Left Edge

⟦**n**a꞉mitápi꞉wa̧⟧

[√**n**aam–itap–ii]–Ø–wa

[√alone–√person–V]–IND–3

'he is on his own'

After C

⟦ʔâ꞉k**s**amitapi꞉wa̧⟧

aak–[√**j**aam–itap–ii]–Ø–wa

FUT–[√alone–√person–V]–IND–3

'he will be on his own'

After V

⟦ʔáka꞉**j**â꞉mitapi꞉wa̧⟧

akaa–[√**j**aam–itap/ii]–Ø–wa

PRF–[√alone–√person–V]–IND–3

'he is completely on his own'

Vocabulary Insertion is not sensitive to syllable structure

Left edge	After C	~ After V	UR	Gloss
[**m**aːk]	[**j**aːk]	~ [**j**aːk]	/{**m**aːk, **j**aːk}/	‘arrange’
[pomː]	[**ox**pomː]	~ [**ox**pomː]	/{pomː, **ox**pomː}/	‘buy’
[kipita]	[**i**pːita]	~ [**i**pːita]	/{kipita, pːita}/	‘aged’
[pomː]	[**i**pomː]	~ [**i**pomː]	/pomː/	‘transfer’
[iːp]	[**j**iːp]	~ [**j**iːp]	/**j**iːp/	‘decrease’
[iːtsːk]	[iːtsːk]	~ [iːtsːk]	/iːtsːk/	‘scuffle’
[**m**aːn]	[an]	~ [an]	**m**aːn	‘recent’

Vocabulary Insertion is not sensitive to syllable structure

Table 1: Segments allowed at left edge of roots in two positions

	p	k	m	n	j	w	iː	oː	ɛː	ɔː	aː	i	o	a
Left edge	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
After prefix	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	✓
					[-cont]		[-cons]							

(**Mester:1994**; **Kager:1996**; **Tranel:1996**; **Tranel1996revisited**; Mascaró 2007)

Vocabulary Insertion is not sensitive to syllable structure

Left edge

⟦pʊm.máːt⟧

[√pomm–aa]–t–Ø

[√buy–V]–2SG.IMP–CMD

‘buy!’

After C

⟦ʔâː.kxʷ.pʊm.máː.wa̧⟧

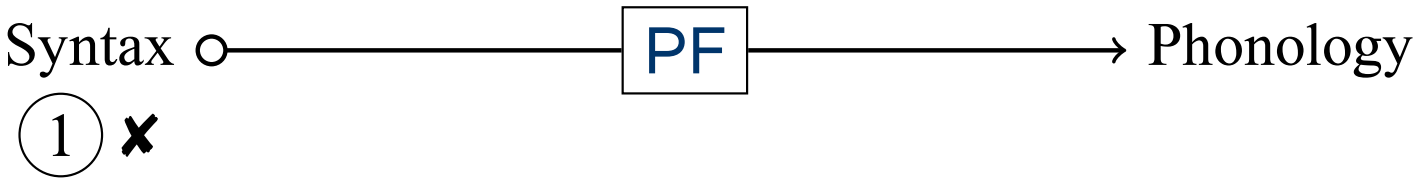
aak–[√ohpomm–aa]–Ø–wa

FUT–[√buy–V]–IND–3

‘she will buy’

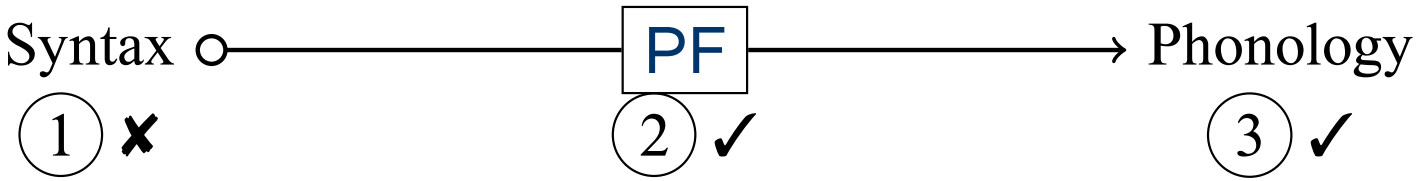
Vocabulary insertion

Vocabulary insertion



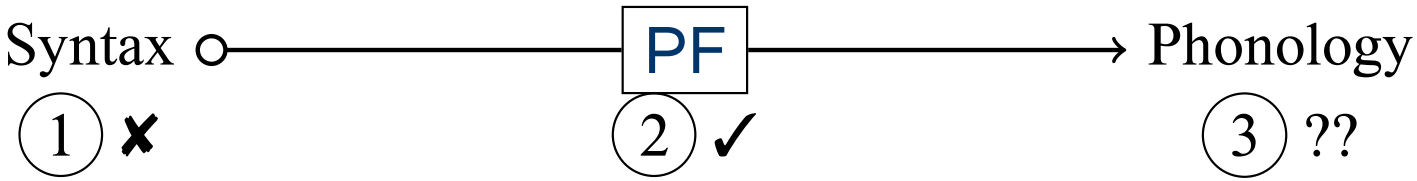
1. No effect of syntactic features

Vocabulary insertion



1. No effect of syntactic features
2. VI is the input to the phonological grammar

Vocabulary insertion



1. No effect of syntactic features
2. VI is the input to the phonological grammar
3. VI is not sensitive to syllable structure

Summary

Summary

- Root allomorphy in Blackfoot: competition for Vocabulary Insertion
- VI not sensitive to syntactic structure
- VI *is* sensitive to boundaries which are identical to morpho-syntactic boundaries
- ...but is phonologically optimizing
- ...and occurs before syllabification

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Stem-internal syntax

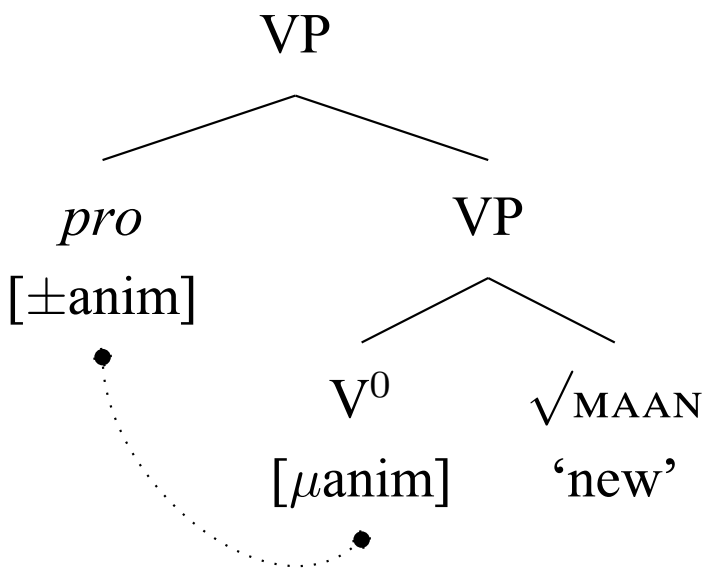
The intransitive VP stem

One nominal argument = one verbalizing suffix

(8) ⟦maːnsːíwa̰⟧
[√maan–ssi]–Ø–wa
[√new–V]–IND–3
'he is young, he is new'
[word-AT1969-0537]

(9) ⟦maːníːwa̰⟧
[√maan–ii]–Ø–wa
[√new–V]–IND–3
'it is new' [F&R143]

The intransitive VP stem



(Siddiqi:2009; DiSciullo:2005; Borer:2013vol3; Marantz 1997)

The transitive vP stem

(10)

ɪspín:i	ámo	po:kâ:
[√ssp–inn–**ii**]–Ø–wa	amo	pookaa
[√high–by.hand.*v*–3AN]–IND–3	DEM	child.AN

'he lifted that child' (BB)

(11)

ɪspín:imą̊	ámo	siná:kja?tsɪs
[√ssp–inn–**i**]–m–a	amo	sinaakia'tsis
[√high–by.hand.*v*–TI]–IND–3	DEM	book.IN

'he lifted that book' (BB)

(12)

ɪspín:aki	(po:kɛ́:ks	/	siná:kja?tsi:ˢts)
[√ssp–inn–**aki**]–Ø–wa	pookaa–iksi	/	sinaakia'tsis–istsi
[√high–by.hand.*v*–AI]–IND–3	child–AN.PL	/	book–IN.PL

'he lifted (s.t./s.o.)' (BB)

(Weber 2020: 217)

The transitive vP stem

(13) ⟦ɪskskʌ́mːɪs⟧

[√issksk–amm–ii]–Ø–w=ayi
[√duty–watch.V–3AN]–IND–3=PRX.PL

'he watched over her' [F&R269]

(14) ⟦ɪskská?tsɪmą̣⟧

[√issksk–a't–i]–m–a
[√duty–watch.V–3AN]–IND–3

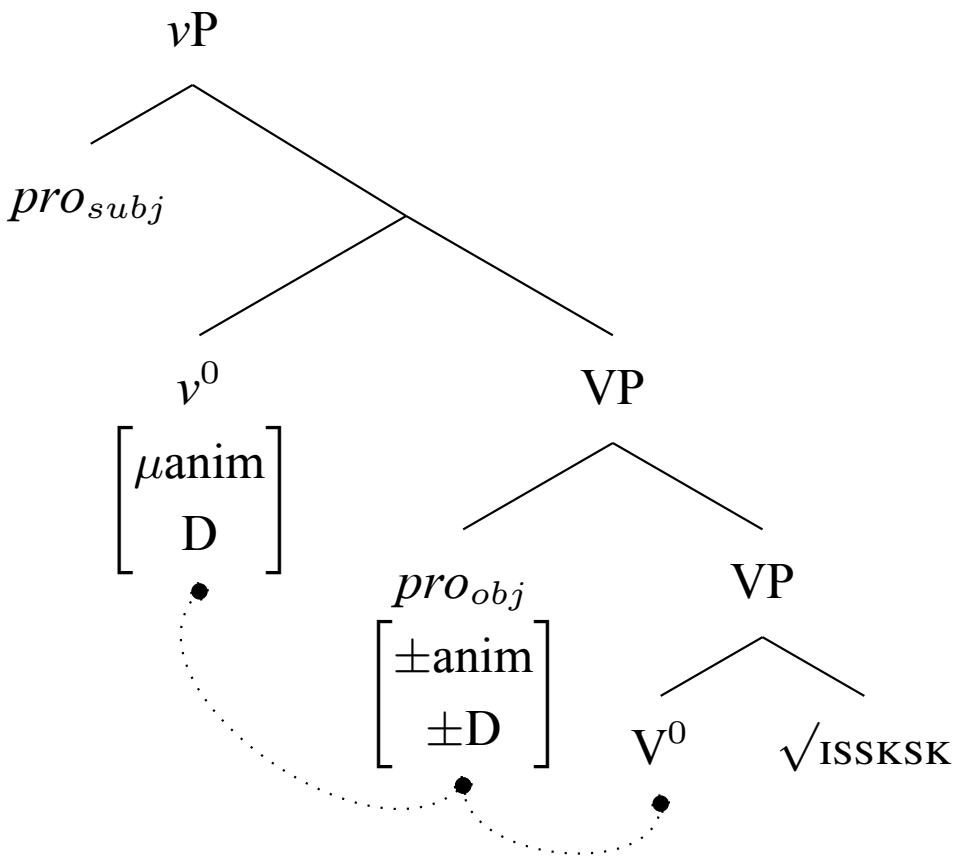
'he watched it' [F&R269]

(15) ⟦ɪskská?takiwą̣⟧

[√issksk–a't–aki]–Ø–wa
[√duty–watch.V–3AN]–IND–3

'he guarded' [F&R269]

The transitive vP stem



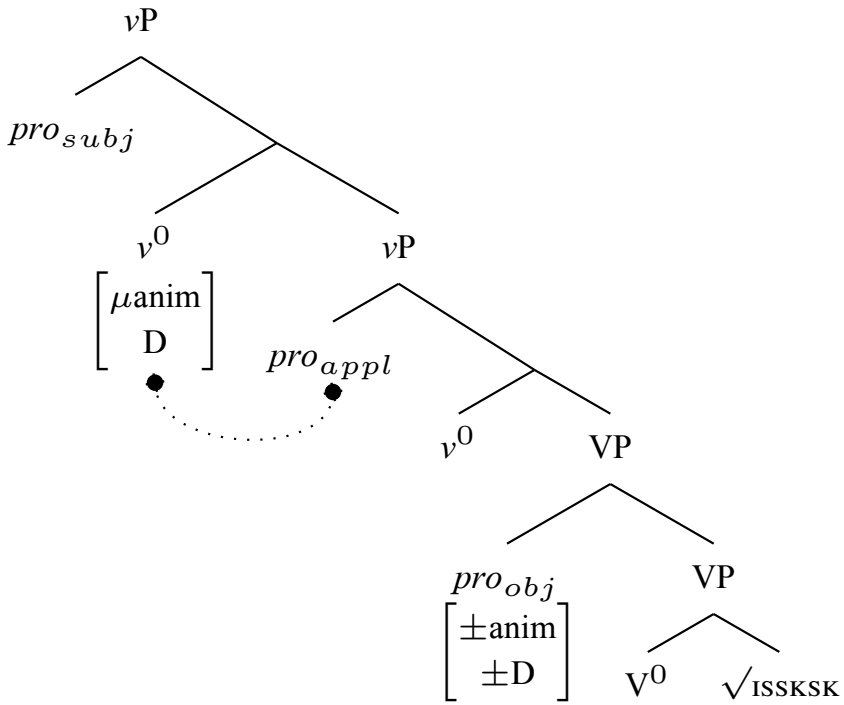
[FIXME: There may actually be an I-Asp position between these two heads.] [FIXME: I am simplifying the theme marker here]

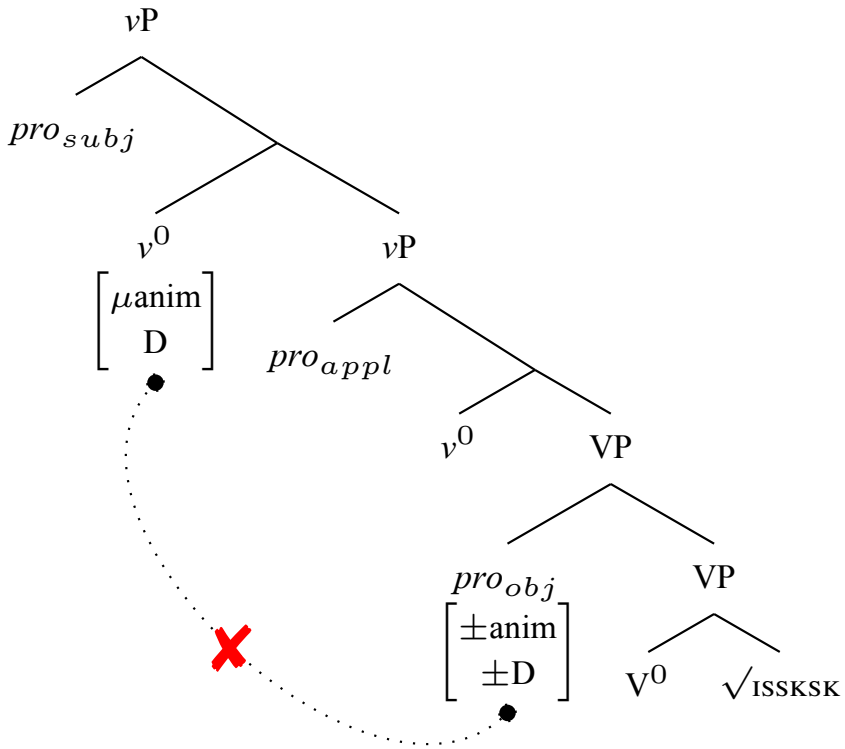
The transitive vP stem

[FIXME: Also vP ellipsis data that DPs move out.]

The transitive vP stem

Analysis: Agreement obeys locality; cannot bypass the applicative argument to agree with the internal object.





Remainder of the verbal complex

[FIXME: There are suffixes which are clausal heads and maybe clitics, and prefixes which are a mixed bag of things.]

Prosodic structure

Disyllabic stems, stress

- For disyllabic verbs, prominence falls on the second syllable, regardless of syllable weight.

Monosyllabic verbs

Prominence falls on the single heavy syllable

‘enter!’	[(**píː.t**)]	(**Ḿ**)

Disyllabic verbs

Prominence falls on 2nd syllable, regardless of 1st syllable weight.

‘drink!’	[sɪ.(**mí**).t]	L (**Ĺ**)
‘sit!’	[a.(**píː.t**)]	L (**Ḿ**)
‘s/he ate’	[iː.(**jí**)]	H (**Ĺ**)
‘s/he roped’	[iː.(**káː**)]	H (**Ḿ**)

Prosodic structure

Three syllables or longer verbs

- Prominence falls on 2nd syllable if heavy, else the 3rd syllable.
- 1st syllable weight has no effect.

‘speech, talk’	[a.(**nís**).sɪ.n]	L (**Ĥ**) L
‘travelling’	[aʔ.(**póxʷ**).sɪ.n]	H (**Ĥ**) L
‘tell a story!’	[a.(tˢɪ.**ní**).kɪ.t]	L (L **Ĺ**) L
‘take!’	[maʔ.(ta.**kí**).t]	H (L **Ĺ**)