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Non-concatenative allomorphy is generalized prosodic affixation: The case of Upriver Halkomelem☆

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Abstract

I argue that the continuative aspect in Upriver Halkomelem is marked by a morpheme consisting of a segmentally empty prosodic foot. Since there are different strategies to fill a prosodic foot with segmental material, such an analysis predicts the non-concatenative allomorphy between epenthesis, stress shift, vowel lengthening, and reduplication that we find in the continuative formation of Upriver Halkomelem. The analysis is situated in the line of research termed 'Generalized Nonlinear Affixation' by Bermúdez-Otero (2012) that strives to derive all instances of non-concatenative morphology without any additional assumptions simply from affixation of nonlinear phonological representations that are independently motivated.
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1. Introduction

The formation of the continuative verbal aspect in Upriver Halkomelem can be described as an instance of non-concatenative allomorphy, i.e. the phenomenon that different non-concatenative strategies mark one morpheme in different contexts. As can be seen in (1), the continuative form is derived from its non-continuative counterpart through either stress shift (1-a), vowel lengthening (1-b), insertion of *hɛ* (1-c), or reduplication (1-d).

(1) *Verbal aspect in Upriver Halkomelem* (Galloway, 1993)

	Non-Continuative		Continuative	
a.	tsʼɛtɛ́ˑm	'crawl'	tsʼɛ́təm	'crawling'
b.	ʔíməç	'walk'	ʔíˑməç	'walking'
c.	méqət	'swallow'	hémqət	'swallowing'
d.	qʼísət	'tie sth.'	qʼíqʼəsət	'tying sth.'

For one, the Upriver Halkomelem pattern is an example of the challenge that non-concatenative exponents pose for concatenative approaches to morphology: What is the phonological representation of a morpheme that manifests itself as stress shift? Secondly, the pattern is particularly interesting since it involves allomorphy between multiple non-concatenative exponents realizing a single morphological category. Is it possible that these different strategies result from a single morpheme representation? And what governs the choice between the different strategies to mark the continuative?

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I argue that the continuative morpheme in Upriver Halkomelem consists of a segmentally empty foot, henceforth a 'morphemic foot'. If such a morphemic foot is prefixed, it must not only be integrated into the prosodic structure of its base, but must be filled with segmental material as well due to standard markedness demands about prosodic well-formedness. A version of morpheme contiguity prefers that the morphemic foot is only filled with segmental material that is not affiliated with the base and epenthesis and reduplication are predicted to provide non-base material. Such an analysis is situated in the line of research termed 'Generalized Nonlinear Affixation' (GNA) by Bermúdez-Otero (2012) that strives to derive all instances of non-concatenative morphology without any additional assumptions simply from affixation of nonlinear phonological representations that are independently motivated (Lieber, 1992; Stonham, 1994; Akinlabi, 1996; Wolf, 2007; Finley, 2009; Saba Kirchner, 2010; Trommer, 2011; Bermúdez-Otero, 2012; Bye and Svenonius, 2012). A possible alternative view is the assumption that (non-concatenative) morphemes may lack any underlying phonological representation and that there is a constraint demanding that different morphological forms must be phonologically distinct (e.g. Kurisu, 2001). It is concluded in section 4 that such an approach to non-concatenative morphology suffers from a serious overgeneration problem and predicts unattested patterns of non-concatenative allomorphy.

The paper is structured as follows: I begin with some relevant background on Upriver Halkomelem phonology and especially its stress system in section 2.1. In section 2.2, I introduce my theoretical background assumptions. My analysis of the allomorphy in the continuative of Upriver Halkomelem is given in section 3. First, I draw the crucial generalizations about the contexts for the four continuative allomorphs in section 3.1 and present my analysis of stress overwriting in section 3.2 before I turn to the concrete analyses of the four continuative allomorphs in section 3.3. Section 4 discusses the further predictions of the proposed constraint system and the advantages of my GNA approach in contrast to alternative accounts. Section 5 broadens the picture of the allomorphy in the continuative and discusses further irregular continuative allomorphs. I conclude in section 6.

2. Empirical and theoretical background

2.1. Phonological facts about Upriver Halkomelem

Segmental inventory and syllable structure. Upriver Halkomelem is one of three dialects of Halkomelem, a Central Salishan language spoken in the south-eastern end of Vancouver island and in British Columbia that had no more than two speakers in 2004 (Brown, 2004:1). As nearly all Salishan languages, Upriver Halkomelem makes extensive use of non-concatenative morphology, especially reduplication, as has been noted in several papers on Salishan morphology (for an overview see e.g. Czaykowska-Higgins and Kinkade, 1998).

In contrast to the description in Galloway (1993), I use standard IPA notation throughout. In (2), the consonant and vowel inventory of Upriver Halkomelem is given together with Galloway's original notation in brackets if it differs from the IPA notation.

(2) *The inventory of Upriver Halkomelem*[1]

Consonants

	Lab.	Dental	Alveolar	Palat.	Velar	Uvular	Glott.
Stops	p p'		t t'		[k] k^w [k'] k'^w	q q^w q' q'^w	ʔ
Nasals		m					
Fric.		θ	s	ç (x^y)	x^w	χ (x̣) $χ^w$ ($x̣^w$)	h
Affric.		tθ' (θ')	ʦ (c) ʦ' (c')				
Lat. fric.			ɬ (ɬ)				
Lat. affric.			tɬ (ƛ)				
Appr.	w			j (y)			
Lat. appr.			l				

Vowels

i		u
ɛ	ə	o
	a	

[1] While translating all symbols into IPA, I relied on the phonetic description given in Galloway (1993) for the Upriver Halkomelem sounds and on the description given in Suttles (2004) for the sound system of Musqueam that belongs to the Downriver dialect group of Halkomelem. The sounds *k* and *k'* given in brackets are very rare and surface only in loanwords (Galloway, 1993:21+22).

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