## Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Preface</strong></td>
<td>xv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>List of abbreviations and symbols</strong></td>
<td>xvii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1 Introduction</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 History of the notion</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Delimiting the notion of syncretism</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Scope of the investigation</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3.1 Typological methodology</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3.2 Selection of forms</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 Accidental versus systematic homophony</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5 Using this book</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5.1 Supporting materials</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5.2 Glossing conventions</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5.3 Structure of the book</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2 Characteristics of syncretism</strong></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Syncretic paradigms</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.1 Types</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.2 Implications</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 Domains of comparison</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.1 Morphological classes</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.2 Feature values</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 Morphological characteristics</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4 A typology of interpretations</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.1 Syncretism as neutralization</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.2 Syncretism as uninflectedness</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.3 Canonical syncretism</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5 Conclusion</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3 Cross-linguistic typology of features</strong></td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Case</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1.1 Introduction</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1.2 Types of case syncretism</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

© Cambridge University Press  www.cambridge.org
3.1.3 Conclusion 56
3.2 Person 57
3.2.1 Introduction 57
3.2.2 Patterns of syncretism 59
3.2.3 Directional effects 63
3.2.4 Diachrony 70
3.2.5 Summary 75
3.3 Person syncretism in two-place verbs 75
3.3.1 Introduction 75
3.3.2 Syncretism of subject person 76
3.3.3 Syncretism of object person 79
3.3.4 Other patterns 80
3.3.5 Summary 81
3.4 Gender 81
3.4.1 Introduction 81
3.4.2 Gender and number 82
3.4.2.1 Smaller systems 83
3.4.2.2 Larger systems 86
3.4.3 Syncretism restricted by target 90
3.4.4 Summary 91
3.5 Number 92
3.5.1 Introduction 92
3.5.2 Values 93
3.5.3 Directionality 94
3.5.4 Summary 95
3.6 Tense-aspect-mood 95
3.6.1 Introduction 95
3.6.2 Affix suppression 96
3.6.3 Syncretic affixes 100
3.6.4 Compound systems 101
3.6.5 Summary 103
3.7 Polarity effects 103
3.7.1 Introduction 103
3.7.2 Morphological systematicity 105
3.7.3 Semantic systematicity 108
3.7.4 Summary 111
3.8 The interaction of features 111
3.8.1 Introduction 111
3.8.2 Syncretisms and their contexts 112
3.8.3 Nominal feature interactions 113
3.8.4 Verbal feature interactions 119
3.8.4.1 Verbal paradigms 120
3.8.4.2 Exploring the verb data 121
3.8.5 Interpreting the generalisations 123
3.8.5.1 Number, case and gender on nominals 123
3.8.5.2 TAM and agreement on verbs 123
3.8.6 Summary 124
3.9 Conclusion 124

4 Formal representation 126
4.1 Introduction 126
4.2 Defining sets of values 126
4.2.1 Natural classes 126
4.2.2 Unnatural classes 131
4.2.3 A note on polarity effects 132
4.3 Symmetrical versus directional rules 133
4.3.1 Convergent bidirectional syncretism 136
4.3.2 Divergent bidirectional syncretism 139
4.3.3 Symmetrical versus directional rules: a summary 144
4.3.4 Ranked constraints as an alternative to directional syncretism 145
4.4 Possible constraints on syncretism 150
4.4.1 Variants on hierarchical structures 150
4.4.2 Carstairs (1987), Carstairs-McCarthy (1998a, b) 151
4.4.3 Impoverishment 160
4.4.4 Stump (2001) and Zwicky (2000) 163
4.5 Summary 166
4.5.1 Predictions and counter-examples 166
4.5.2 Towards a model of syncretism 169

5 Formal framework and case studies 171
5.1 Network Morphology and syncretism 172
5.1.1 Inferential-realizational theories and morphology 175
5.1.2 Default inheritance 177
5.1.3 Underspecification and semantic naturalness 180
5.1.4 Systematicity in Network Morphology 182
5.2 Case study 1: Dhaasanac 183
5.3 Case study 2: The Dalabon verbal system 186
5.3.1 The structure of the Dalabon intransitive paradigm 187
5.3.2 The Dalabon transitive paradigm and the inadequacy of underspecification 188
5.3.3 The Dalabon transitive paradigm: a generalized referral analysis 194
5.3.4 The verbal hierarchy 199
5.3.5 The shape of the verbal paradigm 200
5.3.6 Referral of 1  >  2sg to 3  >  2sg
5.3.7 Referral of 2  >  1 to 3  >  1
5.3.8 Dalabon: summing up

5.4 Case study 3: The Russian nominal system

5.4.1 Domains of syncretism
5.4.1.1 Phonologically determined ‘syncretism’
5.4.1.2 Lexically determined syncretism
5.4.1.3 Morphologically determined syncretism
5.4.1.4 Candidates for syntactically determined syncretism
5.4.2 Orthogonal specification of syncretism

5.5 Conclusion

6 Conclusion

6.1 Taking stock
6.2 Results
6.3 Consequences

Appendix 1: Case syncretism in the World Atlas of Language Structures sample
Appendix 2: Person syncretism in the World Atlas of Language Structures sample
Appendix 4: DATR fragment for Dhasaanac case study
Appendix 5: DATR fragment for Dalabon case study
Appendix 6: DATR fragment for Russian case study

References
Author index
Language index
Subject index