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NETWORK MORPHOLOGY

Morphology is particularly challenging, because it is pervaded by irregularity and idiosyncrasy. This book is a study of word structure using a specific theoretical framework known as 'Network Morphology'. It describes the systems of rules which determine the structure of words by construing irregularity as a matter of degree, using examples from a diverse range of languages and phenomena to illustrate. Many languages share common word-building strategies, and many diverge in interesting ways. These strategies can be understood by distinguishing different notions of 'default'. The Network Morphology philosophy promotes the use of computational implementation to check theories. The accompanying website provides the computer-coded version of the Network Morphology model of word structure for readers to test, customize and develop. This book will be a valuable contribution to the fields of linguistic typology and morphology and will be welcomed by researchers and graduate students in these areas.

DUNSTAN BROWN is Senior Lecturer in Linguistics in the Surrey Morphology Group at the University of Surrey.

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A DEFAULTS-BASED THEORY OF WORD STRUCTURE

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For Rachel and Shirley

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Preface

The name Network Morphology denotes a way of conceptualizing a language's morphological system as the assemblage of facts gathered at nodes that are themselves linked together with other nodes all inhabiting the same network, as we will see in the following chapters. Network Morphology is also suggestive of the highly collaborative nature of this framework's origins and ongoing development. How this network of linguists and computational linguists took shape is the story behind the story of this book. On a day in February 1988 at the University of Sussex, Gerald Gazdar demonstrated to Grev Corbett the workings of DATR, a lexical knowledge representation language invented by Roger Evans and Gerald, which was later adopted as the formalism that underpins Network Morphology theories. Immediately Grev recognized DATR's expressiveness for describing distinctly morphological issues. The collaborative network had just begun to form, but what proved to be a crucial addition had to wait a further three years, when Grev met Norman Fraser, both a linguist and computational linguist with near native fluency in DATR. A series of DATR sessions yielded the first proto-Network Morphology paper which was read at the First International DATR conference in August 1991, and was on Russian nominal inflection. The theme of the paper was syncretism, one of several major areas of word structure which Network Morphology has been so extensively engaged in. Through this early work on Russian inflectional morphology, two other themes were to emerge: parsimonious representation of inflectional classes and gender assignment. An early paper on these topics is Corbett and Fraser (1993). Russian morphology seemed a good place to start to play with some of these ideas, and in September 1992 Dunstan Brown and Andrew Hippisley joined Grev and Norman as research fellows on two major grants, sponsored by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and Leverhulme Trust to develop a DATR-representation of fragments of Russian's inflectional and derivational systems. Alan Timberlake became involved to advise on morphophonological aspects; he also collaborated on one of the first morphophonological Network Morphology papers, Brown, Corbett,

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Fraser, Hippisley and Timberlake (1996). Soon after Dunstan and Andrew's arrival the name Network Morphology was given to the default inheritance and DATR-represented approach to word structure. The development of Network Morphology was supported by a further major grant from the ESRC in 1995, and the emergent framework started to yield analyses of other languages besides Russian such as Arapesh (Fraser and Corbett 1997), Polish (Brown 1998a) and Bininj Gun-wok (Evans, Brown and Corbett 1998). It also brought in Nick Evans, Marianne Mithun and Greg Stump, consultants on the project and wonderful support ever since.

It is to the members of this network that we wish to express our gratitude, without whom the Network Morphology book would not have been possible. We would also like to thank the following for their careful reading of draft chapters, and whose insightful comments we have attempted to assimilate: Matthew Baerman, Patricia Cabredo Hofherr, Grev Corbett, Roger Evans and Greg Stump. Thanks are also due to Andrew Spencer for discussion of clitics and edge features, among many other things. We owe an intellectual debt to the champions of the lexeme-based approach to morphology, which Network Morphology unswervingly takes: Mark Aronoff, Stephen Anderson, Peter Matthews, Gregory Stump and Arnold Zwicky. We would like to thank the Cambridge Studies in Linguistics series editorial board both for their excellent comments and for their encouragement for the project; these have unquestionably improved the final product. For material support we would like to thank the ESRC (R000233633) and the Leverhulme Trust (F.242M) for bringing us to Grev and Norman, and for bringing us together, the ESRC (R000236063) for supporting the development of the theory, the British Council and German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) for supporting work on Russian verbal morphology, the British Council and Research Council of Norway who supported work on case exceptions in Russian, and the ESRC (R000237939) for supporting work on syncretism, which brought Matthew Baerman into the Network Morphology enterprise. The ESRC also supported projects on paradigms in use (RES-000–23–0082), deponency (RES-000–23–0375) and periphrasis (RES-062–23–0696) from which elements of the book have benefited. The Arts and Humanities Research Council is to be thanked for supporting projects on defectiveness (AH/D001579/1) and on languages of the Bougainville region (B/RG/AN4375/APN19365) on which Bill Palmer was the researcher. We thank Bill for answering our questions on Kokota during the writing of this monograph. The European Research Council is to be thanked for providing funding for the project on morphological complexity (ERC-2008-AdG-230268 MORPHOLOGY) during which part of the research

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for the book was carried out. We are grateful to the University of Kentucky's College of Arts & Sciences for a summer fellowship to employ our excellent proof reader, Amanda Barie, and to support Andrew Hippisley's visit to Surrey in May 2010. Thanks go to Penny Everson and Claire Turner for further editorial assistance. For their help with seeing the book through to publication we would like to thank Andrew Winnard and colleagues at Cambridge University Press, Sarah Green, Tom O'Reilly, and Kay McKechnie for copy-editing. We would also like to express our gratitude to Marina Chumakina for discussion of Archi-related issues. She and Alexander Krasovitsky also helped us with judgments on Russian-related matters, and Magda Fiałkowska is to be thanked for her intuitions on some of the Polish examples.

Brown is responsible for the writing of Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 8 and Hippisley for the writing of Chapters 1, 5, 6 and 7, but the ideas presented throughout the book and the theoretical underpinnings they share result from our joint thinking on these topics. Some chapters are developments from earlier published work. Much of Chapter 2 is new, but it draws on work from Brown (1998a, b), Brown's contribution to Evans, Brown and Corbett (2002) and Brown (2007). Chapter 3 draws in part on work carried out in Brown (1998b), but the presentation is new and the theoretical basis substantively revised in the light of recent developments. Sections of Chapter 4 are based on parts of Brown's contribution to Baerman, Brown and Corbett (2005), particularly the discussion of Dalabon and Dhaasanac. Parts of Chapter 5 were first published as Hippisley (2007), parts of Chapter 6 as Hippisley (2010a, b), and the ideas presented in Chapter 7 originate in Hippisley (1997, 1998, 2001). A full bibliography of Network Morphology style analyses can be found at www2.surrey.ac.uk/english/research/smg/webresources/network_morphology_bibliography.htm

Full Network Morphology theories of the various morphological analyses presented in the following chapters can be downloaded and tested using the book's accompanying website www.cambridge.org/Brown-Hippisley

Our final and deepest acknowledgement is to our wives, Rachel Hippisley and Shirley Kennedy. Thank you for your tireless, unending support.

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Abbreviations and Russian transcription system used

1. Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	agent
ABL	ablative
ABS	absolutive
ACC	accusative
ACT	active
ADIT	aditive
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
AGR	agreement
ALL	allative
AN	animate
ANTIP	antipassive
APPL	applicative
ART	article
AUG	augmentative
AUX	auxiliary
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
CISLOC	cislocative
COMP	complementizer
COMPAR	comparative degree
CONPOSS	consumable possession
CONT	continutive
COP	copula

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DAT	dative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DES	designative
DIS	disharmonic
DU	dual
EP	epenthetic
ERG	ergative
EXCL	exclusive
EXPR	expressive
F	feminine
(F)	inherent feminine
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GENPOSS	general possession
IMP	imperative
IMPF	imperfect
INAN	inanimate
INCL	inclusive
INDF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental
INTENS	intensifier
INTR	intransitive
IPFV	imperfective
LOC	locative
M	masculine
MEDIOPASS	mediopassive
N	neuter
(N)	inherent neuter
NARR	narrative
NEG	negation
NMLZ	nominalizer, nominalization
NMP	non-masculine-personal
NOM	nominative
NUM	number
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
P	patient

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PASS	passive
PAUC	paucal
PER	person
PERS	personal
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
PF	perfect
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PPLE	participle
PRED	predicative
PRF	perfect
PREP	prepositional case (Russian)
pro	pronoun
PRS	present
PST	Past
PTCP	participle
REFL	reflexive
SBJ	subject
SBJV	subjunctive
SG	singular
ST	stative
SUFF	suffix
TAM	tense, aspect, mood
THEME	theme vowel
TRANS	translative
TR	transitive
VOC	vocative

2. Russian transcription

Many of our language examples are taken from Russian; it is therefore important to be clear on the transcription standard that we adopt, which differs significantly from the transliteration used in many expositions of Russian linguistics. We are grateful to Alan Timberlake for his guidance on this issue in the early years of the Network Morphology enterprise. What follows is based on our discussions with Alan and his comments published in Timberlake (1993: 828–32; 2004: ch. 2).

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Consonants

In Russian the set of paired palatalized (soft) and unpalatalized (hard) consonants are distinguished by the diacritic ′ (acute) which marks the soft member of the pair. For example in the minimal pair *l´uk* 'hatchway' and *luk* 'onion' the first example is in the soft consonant. The diacritic is used for phonemic contrast.

However, Russian has a rule of palatalization before /e/:

(1) C → C′ before /e/ (where C is not an affricate or palatoalveolar).

Any C palatalized by this rule is not marked with a diacritic. For example, *zakon* 'law' has prepositional singular in /e/, which is transcribed as *zakone*.

Russian has another rule that palatalizes all velars occurring before the high front vowel /i/.

(2) K → K′ before /i/ (where K is a velar).

The velars /k/, /g/ and /x/ are hard unless they feed the rule in (2). Softened velars are therefore *not* transcribed with the diacritic ′. For example the noun *ručka* 'handle' forms its genitive singular with the exponent /i/, transcribed as *ručki* with no diacritic.

Finally, the glide /j/, a soft consonant with no hard counterpart, is never marked with the acute; and the unvoiced alveopalatal affricate /č/, also soft without hard counterpart, is always (redundantly) transcribed with the acute. Consonants preceding the glide /j/ assimilate in softening automatically, and so they do not carry the diacritic in this context.

Vowels

Russian has five vowel phonemes, if we ignore reduced vowels not under stress. These are /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/ and /u/, and are transcribed as such. The /i/ phoneme has the centralized allophone /ɨ/ which is standardly transliterated as *y*, as in *Bratja Karamazovy* 'The Brothers Karamazov'. Centralization is due to the rule in (3).

(3) [i] → [ɨ] after a hard consonant.

The /i/ is used for the non-centralized allophone as the basic alternant. No symbol is made available for the centralized allophone, since it would be redundant due to (3). The acute used to denote soft consonants implies the [i] allophone, and lack of acute the [ɨ]. So *sir* 'cheese' is with [ɨ] but *s´irij* 'orphaned' is sequentially with [i] and [ɨ]. In transliteration the two words would be respectively *syr* and *siryj*.

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Examples

Cyrillic	Gloss	Transliteration	Transcription	Rationale
играть	'play'	igrat´	igrat´	[i] is default for /i/
книги	'books'	knigi	kn´igi	/n´/ underlyingly soft; rule (2) applies to /g/
комнате	'room' (prep sg)	komnate	komnate	rule (1)
лиса	'fox'	lisa	l´isa	first C underlyingly soft
пью	'drink' (first sg)	p´ju	p´ju	/j/ indicated by ь grapheme in Cyrillic; preceding C underlyingly soft, e.g. infinitive p´it´
сыграть	'play' (perf)	sygrat´	sigrat´	rule (3)

Example sentences taken from works of literature, or other standard sources, are transliterated rather than transcribed. So (4) is an extract from Leskov's *Zaxudalyj rod* 'A Family in Decline', used in Chapter 1.

(4) knjažn-a reši-l-a ostavi-t´ mater-in dom
princess(F)-SG decide-PST-SG.F leave-INF mother-ADJ.SG.M house
'The princess decided to leave her mother's house'

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