What is Morphology?

Second Edition

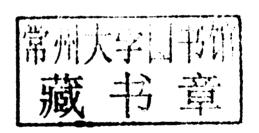
Mark Aronoff and Kirsten Fudeman

WILEY-BLACKWELL

What is Morphology?

Second Edition

Mark Aronoff and Kirsten Fudeman



This second edition first published 2011 © 2011 Mark Aronoff and Kirsten Fudeman

Edition history: Blackwell Publishing Ltd (1e, 2005)

Blackwell Publishing was acquired by John Wiley & Sons in February 2007. Blackwell's publishing program has been merged with Wiley's global Scientific, Technical, and Medical business to form Wiley-Blackwell.

Registered Office

John Wiley & Sons Ltd, The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, United Kingdom

Editorial Offices

350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148-5020, USA

9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ, UK

The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, UK

For details of our global editorial offices, for customer services, and for information about how to apply for permission to reuse the copyright material in this book please see our website at www.wiley.com/wiley-blackwell.

The right of Mark Aronoff and Kirsten Fudeman to be identified as the authors of this work has been asserted in accordance with the UK Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, except as permitted by the UK Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, without the prior permission of the publisher.

Wiley also publishes its books in a variety of electronic formats. Some content that appears in print may not be available in electronic books.

Designations used by companies to distinguish their products are often claimed as trademarks. All brand names and product names used in this book are trade names, service marks, trademarks or registered trademarks of their respective owners. The publisher is not associated with any product or vendor mentioned in this book. This publication is designed to provide accurate and authoritative information in regard to the subject matter covered. It is sold on the understanding that the publisher is not engaged in rendering professional services. If professional advice or other expert assistance is required, the services of a competent professional should be sought.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Aronoff, Mark.

What is morphology? / Mark Aronoff and Kirsten Fudeman. - 2nd ed.

p. cm. – (Fundamentals of linguistics)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-4051-9467-9 (pbk.: alk. paper) 1. Grammar, Comparative and general–Morphology. I. Fudeman, Kirsten Anne. II. Title.

P241.A699 2010

415'.9-dc22

2010016185

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Set in 10/12.5pt Palatino by SPi Publisher Services, Pondicherry, India Printed and Bound in Singapore by Fabulous Printers Pte Ltd

Preface

This little book is meant to introduce fundamental aspects of morphology to students with only a minimal background in linguistics. It presupposes only the very basic knowledge of phonetics, phonology, syntax, and semantics that an introductory course in linguistics provides. If, having worked through this book, a student has some understanding of the range of basic issues in morphological description and analysis; can appreciate what a good morphological description looks like, how a good morphological analysis works and what a good theory of morphology does; can actually do morphological analysis at an intermediate level; and most importantly understands that linguistic morphology can be rewarding; then the basic goal of the book will have been met.

The book departs from a trend common among current linguistics textbooks, even at the elementary level, which tend to be quite theoretical in orientation and even devoted to a single theory or set of related theories. We have chosen instead to concentrate on description, analysis, and the fundamental issues that face all theories of morphology. At the most basic level, we want to provide students with a grasp of how linguists think about and analyze the internal structure of complex words in a representative range of real languages. What are the fundamental problems, regardless of one's theoretical perspective? We therefore dwell for the most part on questions that have occupied morphologists since the beginnings of modern linguistics in the late nineteenth century, rather than on more detailed technical points of particular theories.

Of course, this means that we assume that there are general questions, but in morphology, at least, the early modern masters were grappling with many of the same questions that occupy us to this day. Descriptions and analyses that Baudouin de Courtenay wrote in the 1880s are not

merely understandable, but even interesting and enlightening to the modern morphologist. The same is true of the work of Edward Sapir and Roman Jakobson from the 1920s and 1930s. Yes, the terminology and theories are different, but the overall goals are much the same. That is not to say that no progress has been made, only that the basic issues about word-internal structure have remained stable for quite a long time.

One fundamental assumption that goes back to the beginnings of modern linguistics is that each language is a system where everything holds together ("la langue forme un système où tout se tient et a un plan d'une merveilleuse rigueur": Antoine Meillet). More recent linguists have stressed the importance of universal properties that all languages have in common over properties of individual languages, but not even the most radical universalists will deny the systematicity of individual human languages. It is therefore important, from the very beginning, that a student be presented, not just with fragmentary bits of data from many languages, as tends to happen with both morphology and phonology, but with something approaching the entire morphological system of a single language. To that end, we have divided each of the chapters of this book up into two parts. The first part is the conventional sort of material that one would find in any textbook. Here our focus is often on standard American English, although we present data from many other languages, as well. The second part describes in some detail part of the morphology of Kujamaat Jóola, a language spoken in Senegal. For each chapter, we have tried to select an aspect of Kujamaat Jóola morphology that is close to the topic of the chapter. By the end of the book, the student should have a reasonable grasp of the entire system of Kujamaat Jóola morphology and thus understand how, at least for one language, the whole of the morphology holds together. Of course, no one language can be representative of all the world's languages, and morphology is so varied that not even the most experienced analyst is ever completely prepared for what a new language may bring. But students certainly will benefit from a reasonably complete picture of how a single language works.

The Kujamaat Jóola material complements the material in the main portion of the chapter, but it is not meant to mirror it exactly. Our inclusion of particular Kujamaat Jóola topics was dictated in part by the data that were available to us. Our primary sources were J. David Sapir's *A Grammar of Diola-Fogny*, his 1967 revisions to the analysis of the Kujamaat Jóola verb (Thomas and Sapir 1967), and his unpublished

dictionary. In a number of cases, we have used the Kujamaat Jóola section of each chapter to delve into topics not treated in the main portion, or treated only superficially. Thus chapters 2 and 7 contain detailed examinations of Kujamaat Jóola noun classes and verb morphology, respectively, and in chapter 3 we address its rich interactions between vowel harmony and morphology.

We chose Kujamaat Jóola for this book because its morphology, though complex and sometimes unusual, is highly regular, which makes it an excellent teaching vehicle. Some might question this choice, preferring a language with a higher degree of morphological fusion. Such a language might have led to theoretical issues, for example, that we do not explore in any detail here. However, we felt that in a book of this type, aimed at the beginning or intermediate-level morphologist, Kujamaat Jóola was an ideal choice.

One value of presenting beginning students with the largely complete morphological description of a single language is that descriptive grammars (which more often than not concentrate on morphology and phonology) form a mainstay of linguistic research, not only at more advanced levels of study, but throughout a researcher's career. The ability to work through a descriptive grammar is not innate, as many of us assume, but an acquired skill that takes practice. The Kujamaat Jóola sections taken together comprise an almost complete descriptive morphology of that language, so that by the end of the book students will have had the experience of working through an elementary morphological description of one language and will be somewhat prepared to tackle more complete descriptions when the time comes.

This brings us to the topic of how we intend the Kujamaat Jóola sections of this book to be used. Because of their inherent complexity, it is crucial that the instructor not simply assign these sections as readings. Instead, each must be gone over carefully in class until the students have a good grasp of the material in it. Otherwise, students are not likely to extract full value from the Kujamaat Jóola sections. Although we feel that these sections will be both useful and rewarding, it is also the case that the main portions of the chapter are freestanding, and an instructor who prefers not to do some or all of the Kujamaat Jóola sections does not have to.

Each chapter closes with a set of problems that are cross-referenced with the text, and we expect that the solutions to these problems will be discussed in detail in class. Some simpler exercises are integrated into the text itself, with answers provided. We feel that some exercises,

particularly open-ended questions, are especially well suited to class discussion, and so instructors may decide not to assign them in written form. Most chapters also contain Kujamaat Jóola exercises designed to get students to apply the data we have provided creatively and analytically. Chapter 1 contains two sample problem sets with answers (section 1.5.3). We suggest that instructors assign these separately from the rest of the chapter reading and that they ask students to write them out as they would a regular assignment, without reading the explanation and analysis that go with them. Then students can check their work on their own. This should prepare them for doing some of the other analytical problems in the text.

Another feature of this book is a glossary. The terms in it appear in **bold** the first time they are used or explained in the text.

New to the second edition are suggestions for further reading at the end of each chapter. Some of these suggestions are classic treatments of morphological problems, and others represent more recent analyses. We have chosen a number of them because of the clear way in which they illustrate phenomena raised in the chapter. Finally, some of the suggested readings are short enough that instructors might want to assign them in an introduction to morphology class. Other, longer readings could be assigned in part or used by students as they work on morphological problems on their own, whether independently or as a class assignment. While not listed in the further reading for any of the chapters, another extremely useful reference work for students is Bauer's *A Glossary of Morphology* (2004).

Ideally, each class session will be divided into three parts, corresponding to the division of the chapters: exposition of new pedagogical material; detailed discussion of Kujamaat Jóola; and discussion of solutions for the homework problems of the day (we assume that problems will be assigned daily and that students' performance on them will comprise a good part of the basis of their grades in the course).

We close with a warning to both the instructor and the student: this book does not pretend to cover all of morphology, but rather only a number of general topics drawn from the breadth of the field that are of special interest to its authors. We have purposely not gone deeply into the aspects of morphology that interact most with other central areas of linguistics (phonology, semantics, and syntax), because that would require knowledge of these areas that beginning students might not have. Thus there is little discussion of clitics, for example. In this, the second edition, we have added more coverage of exciting new work

that uses experimental and computational methods, methods that are bound to be more central in the future, but we encourage instructors to supplement our text with current readings in this cutting-edge field. In closing, please permit us to remind the user that our ambitions in writing this volume are quite modest. We do not expect students who have worked through this book to have a full understanding, but to have developed a lasting taste for morphology that, with luck, will sustain them as it has us.

We owe a debt of thanks to the many people who helped us as we worked on this project. We are especially grateful to the various people who read drafts of the manuscript and made suggestions on how to make it better. These include Harald Baayen, Donald Lenfest, Lanko Marusic, and two anonymous Blackwell reviewers. We give special thanks to Phil Baldi and Barbara Bullock, who tested the original manuscript in a morphology class at the Pennsylvania State University, and to five anonymous student reviewers. Their comments were particularly thorough and helped us to improve this book on many different levels. Harald Baayen and some of our anonymous student reviewers also suggested a number of excellent exercises, which we incorporated into the current version. Peter Aronoff read the original manuscript over his winter break and still took a linguistics course the next semester. For their input and discussion, we thank Bill Ham, Alan Nussbaum, and Draga Zec. We are also grateful to Jane Kaplan, who shared her collection of language-related cartoon strips, advertisements, and other magazine and newspaper clippings with us.

J. David Sapir generously gave us permission to reproduce copious amounts of Kujamaat Jóola data from his published and unpublished work, and Eugene Nida allowed us to include exercises first published in his classic textbook on morphology. We are pleased that his exercises will be introduced to a new generation of students.

We are also grateful to the many people who wrote to us after using the first edition of this textbook. Many of them requested an answer key. The second edition indeed has one, available on the Wiley website at www.wiley.com/go/Aronoff. Jenny Mittelstaedt carefully prepared a list of questions and comments that enabled us to make a number of corrections and clarifications to the material presented here. Bill Ham also offered useful suggestions. Finally, reviews of the first edition in print and online by Barli Bram, Malcolm Finney, Margaret Sharp, John Stonham, Gregory Stump, and Jonathan White were enormously helpful to us in identifying elements of the book, small and large, that

needed to be revised or updated. In addition to the addition of suggestions for future reading and the expansion (and renaming) of chapter 8, "Morphological Productivity and the Mental Lexicon," this new edition has been thoroughly revised for style and clarity; it has been updated to reflect current research; its glossary and reference list have been expanded; and some exercises have been revised or added.

This book owes a great deal to the guidance and particularly the patience of the editors at Wiley-Blackwell over the years: Philip Carpenter, Sarah Coleman, Danielle Descoteaux, Tami Kaplan, Julia Kirk, Beth Remmes, and Steve Smith. Thanks also to our project manager, Fiona Sewell. Writing this book has been a joint effort, and we would like to emphasize that the order of the authors' names given on the title page is alphabetical.

Mark Aronoff [mar.kɛ.rə.nɑf] and Kirsten Fudeman [kɪər.stɪn.fjud.mɪn]

Acknowledgments

The authors and publisher wish to acknowledge the copyright material used in this book:

- p. xx: The International Phonetic Alphabet. Courtesy of the International Phonetic Association (Department of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics, School of English, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Thessaloniki 54124, GREECE).
- p. 14: Digital DNA $^{\text{\tiny M}}$ advertisement. Copyright of Motorola, used by permission.
- p. 43: *Wizard of Id.* By permission of John L. Hart FLP, and Creators Syndicate, Inc. Creators Syndicate, 5777 W. Century Blvd., Suite 700, Los Angeles, CA 90045.
- pp. 52–3: Dinka data from Torben Andersen, 'Vowel quality alternation in Dinka verb inflection', *Phonology* 10 (1993): 1–42. By permission of Cambridge University Press.
- pp. 23–6, 58–67, 96–100, 131, 148–51, 182–7 and 219–20: Kujamaat Jóola data. From J. David Sapir, *A Grammar of Diola-Fogny* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965). By permission of Cambridge University Press.
- p. 98–100: Big–thin distinction in Kujamaat Jóola. From J. David Sapir, 'Big and thin: two Diola-Fogny meta-linguistic terms', *Language in Society* (1975) 4: 1–15. By permission of Cambridge University Press.

The publisher apologizes for any errors or omissions in the above list and would be grateful if notified of any corrections that should be incorporated in future reprints or editions of this book.

Abbreviations

```
adjective
A, adj
          absolutive
abs
acc
          accusative
          active
act
adv
          adverb
          agreement
agr
          animate
an
          antipassive
apass
          applicative
app
Ar.
          Arabic
          aspect
asp
C
          consonant
caus
          causative
cl
          noun class
          combining with a circumstantial topic
ct
d
          declarative
def
          definite
dem
          demonstrative
dim
          diminutive
dir
          directional
du
          dual
emph
          emphatic
          ergative
erg
excl
          exclusive
f
          feminine
foc
          focus
Fr.
          French
fut
          future
```

XVI ABBREVIATIONS

fv final vowel
gen genitive
hab habitual
imp imperfective
imper imperative
inan inanimate

inc dubitive-incompletive

inclusive incl indicative ind infinitive inf irr irrealis locative loc masculine m Mdk. Mandinka n, N noun

ne noun emphasis

neg negative
nom nominative
nonfut non-future
nonhum non-human
NP noun phrase

nts combining with a non-topical subject

obj object participle part particulizer partic passive pass perfective perf plural pl Port. Portuguese possessive poss present pres progressive prog

prtc particle
ps past subordinate
qm question marker
redup reduplicative

refl reflexive
rel relativizer
res resultative
sg singular

stat stative sub subject

subord subordinating morph

tns tense tri trial

v, V verb; vowel; theme vowel

VP verb phrase

Remarks on Transcription

Modern linguistics has been struggling with the problem of phonetic and phonological transcription since its inception. The International Phonetics Association was founded in 1886 with the goal of providing for linguistics a worldwide standard system for naming sounds, the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), akin to that universal standard language used in chemistry and physics since the mid-nineteenth century to name the elements and their compounds. But linguists have long resisted this standardization, especially for phonological transcription, much to the dismay of students over the generations. There are many reasons for this resistance. The phonological transcription of a language is often driven by the desire to develop a practical orthography, in which phonetic accuracy and consistency take a back seat to ease of use. Also, phonological theorists since the beginning of that field have enjoyed a love-hate relationship with phonetics, arguing over the true nature of the connection between a phoneme and its various phonetic realizations, leading them to downplay the importance of consistency for phonological transcription across languages, since each language has its own unique phonological system. Leonard Bloomfield, for example, one of the great linguists of the twentieth century, used the symbol U for schwa (IPA ə) in his Menomini grammar, largely for typographical convenience.

In this book, we have made a compromise. Wherever possible or practicable, we have used the IPA, a copy of which is included facing p. 1. We have deviated from the IPA chiefly in our representation of the English approximant rhotic, choosing to use instead the symbol <r> for simplicity. (For more on the International Phonetics Association and the International Phonetic Alphabet, visit the website of the Association at http://www.langsci.ucl.ac.uk/ipa/index.html.) But many languages

have well-established orthographies or systems of phonological transcription, which we have not disturbed. Most prominently, in transcribing Kujamaat Jóola, we have adopted wholesale the system used by J. David Sapir in the grammar from which our data and description are adapted. We have endeavored, though, in all cases where transcription departs from the IPA, to give the IPA equivalent for non-standard symbols.

This lack of consistency may be a little confusing for the student at first, but we hope that it will teach students to be careful, because the symbols used in phonological transcription may sometimes be used in arbitrary and even capricious ways, so that it is important to pay close attention to the phonetic description that accompanies the symbols at their introduction. Reading Bloomfield's Menomini grammar without knowing that U stands for schwa can lead to serious misunderstanding.

The International Phonetic Alphabet

Revised to 2005

CONSONANTS (PULMONIC) © 2005 IPA Bilabial Labiodental Dental Alveolar Postalveolar Retroflex Palatal Velar Glottal Plosive k g ? t d c j q G Nasal m ŋ n N η n ŋ Trill Tap or Flap ſ t Fricative φβ θð Z çj h h Lateral 4 3 fricative Approximant щ t ŀ Lateral 1 approximant Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right represents a voiced consonant. Shaded areas denote articulations judged impossible CONSONANTS (NON-PULMONIC) **VOWELS** Front Central Close i . - w • u

Clicks		Voiced implosives		Ejectives	
0	Bilabial	6	Bilabial	,	Examples:
1	Dental	ď	Dental/alveolar	p'	Bilabial
!	(Post)alveolar	f	Palatal	ť'	Dental/alveolar
‡	Palatoalveolar	g	Velar	k'	Velar
li	Alveolar lateral	ď	Uvular	s'	Alveolar fricative

OTHER SYMBOLS

- M Voiceless labial-velar fricative C Z Alveolo-palatal fricatives J Voiced alveolar lateral flap W Voiced labial-velar approximant
- U Voiced labial-palatal approximant Simultaneous and X
- H Voiceless epiglottal fricative
- Yoiced epiglottal fricative

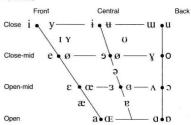
P Epiglottal plosive

Affricates and double articulations can be represented by two symbols joined by a tie bar if necessary.

kp ts

DIACRITICS Diacritics may be placed above a symbol with a descender, e.g. $\check{\eta}$

0	Voiceless I	n d	Breathy voiced b a	Dental t d
~	Voiced	§ ţ	_ Creaky voiced b a	Apical t d
h	Aspirated 1	t ^h d ^h	_ Linguolabial t d	Laminal t d
,	More rounded	3	w Labialized twdw	~ Nasalized $\widetilde{\widetilde{e}}$
c	Less rounded	Ş	j _{Palatalized} t ^j d ^j	n Nasal release d ⁿ
+	Advanced	ų	y Velarized ty dy	1 Lateral release d1
_	Retracted	ē	S Pharyngealized t S dS	No audible release d
	Centralized	ë	~ Velarized or pharyngealized 1	
×	Mid-centralized	ě	Raised e (1	= voiced alveolar fricative)
1	Syllabic	n	Lowered e (B	= voiced bilabial approximant)
•	Non-syllabic	ě	Advanced Tongue Root e	
ι	Rhoticity	ə-a-	Retracted Tongue Root &	



Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right represents a rounded vowel.

SUPRASEGMENTALS

1	Primary	stress			
1	Seconda			∫ən	
I	Long		ei		
•	Half-long	6	e'		
J	Extra-sh	ort	ĕ		
1	Minor (fo	ot) gro	up		
1	Major (in	tonatio	n) grou	qp	
	Syllable	oreak	Ji.	ækt	
_	Linking	absen	ce of a	break)	
TO	NES AND	WORE	ACCI	ENTS	
LEV	/EL	CONTOUR			
e or	Extra high	ě	or 1	Rising	
é i	High	ê	V	Falling	
ē	Mid	e ê e e e se	1	High rising	
è 4	Low	ĕ	1	Low	
ë ⅃	Extra	ê	7	Rising- falling	

Downstep

Global rise Global fall

Contents

Pr	eface		viii			
Αc	know	ledgments	xiv			
Αl	brevi	ations	xv			
Re	mark	s on Transcription	xviii			
Th	ie Inte	ernational Phonetic Alphabet	xx			
1	Thi	nking about Morphology and Morphological Analysis	1			
	1.1	What is Morphology?	1			
	1.2	Morphemes	2			
	1.3	Morphology in Action	4			
	1.4	Background and Beliefs	10			
	1.5	Introduction to Morphological Analysis	12			
	1.6	Summary	22			
	Introduction to Kujamaat Jóola Further Reading Exercises					
2	Wo	rds and Lexemes	33			
	2.1	What is a Word?	34			
	2.2	Empirical Tests for Wordhood	38			
	2.3	-	40			
	2.4	Inflection vs. Derivation	47			
	2.5	Two Approaches to Morphology:				
		Item-and-Arrangement, Item-and-Process	49			
	2.6	The Lexicon	54			