A heterospective on homophonophobia

Daniel Harbour—Queen Mary, University of London

𝔚𝔒𝔗𝔐4, 𝔊𝔯𝔬𝔰𝔰𝔟𝔬𝔱𝔥𝔢𝔫—June 2008

(1) **Afro-Asiatic prefixal conjugation** $t \Leftrightarrow \{2, 3\text{FS}\}$ and $2\text{MS} = 3\text{FS}$.

	S	P
1	*'-aziz*	*n-aziz*
2M	***t-aziz***	***t-aziz-u***
2F	***t-aziz-i***	***t-aziz-u***
3M	*y-aziz*	*y-aziz-u*
3F	***t-aziz***	*y-aziz-u*

Modern Hebrew

(2) **Natural class** Proliferation of homophony, and the loss of natural classes, was a major shortcoming of Lexicalist morphology (Lieber 1992). Work in later theoretical frameworks (*e.g.*, Noyer 1992, Halle 1997 in Distributed Morphology, Halle and Marantz 1993) has seen such homophonic accounts as defective. Cf, No Blur Principle of Carstairs-McCarthy 1998, the Syncretism Principle of Alexiadou and Müller 2008:103, the approach of Cysouw 2003. Cp, Banksira 2000:246.

(3) **Heterospective**
   a. **Analytic.** The *t* of {2} and the *t* of {3FS} are separate vocabulary items. Evidence: nouns, adjectives, participles, the suffixal conjugation (i.e., much of the rest of the language).
   b. **Methodological: paradigms and homophonophobia.** The desire that paradigms decompose without homophony assumes that the paradigm is a legitimate unit of linguistic analysis. If, however, some morphemes recur not only across different tense/aspect paradigms, but also across participial, adjectival and nominal paradigms, then the notion of paradigm must either be enlarged to practically the whole inflectional system of a language (in which case, it is all but useless), or else it represents a possibly unnatural gerrymandering of the language's morphemes (cf, Halle and Marantz 1993:164–166 on Anderson's 1992 analysis of Potawatomi).

(4) **Homophone-free account** Of Modern Hebrew; based on Halle's (1997: 437–438) treatment of Egyptian Arabic: (a) vocabulary list, (b) prefix/suffix stipulation, (c) double prefix constraint, (d) fission, (e) impoverishment. Claim: we can strip away all but (a) and (e).

|	S	P
1	$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{author} & +\text{participant} \\ +\text{singular} & \pm\text{feminine} \end{bmatrix}$ *-aziz*	$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{author} & +\text{participant} \\ -\text{singular} & \pm\text{feminine} \end{bmatrix}$ *-aziz*
2M	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{author} & +\text{participant} \\ -\text{singular} & -\text{feminine} \end{bmatrix}$ *-aziz*	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{author} & +\text{participant} \\ -\text{singular} & -\text{feminine} \end{bmatrix}$ *-aziz*
2F	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{author} & +\text{participant} \\ -\text{singular} & +\text{feminine} \end{bmatrix}$ *-aziz*	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{author} & +\text{participant} \\ -\text{singular} & +\text{feminine} \end{bmatrix}$ *-aziz*
3M	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{author} & -\text{participant} \\ -\text{singular} & -\text{feminine} \end{bmatrix}$ *-aziz*	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{author} & -\text{participant} \\ -\text{singular} & -\text{feminine} \end{bmatrix}$ *-aziz*
3F	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{author} & -\text{participant} \\ -\text{singular} & +\text{feminine} \end{bmatrix}$ *-aziz*	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{author} & -\text{participant} \\ -\text{singular} & +\text{feminine} \end{bmatrix}$ *-aziz*

(5) **Vocabulary**

i	$\Leftrightarrow$	[−author +participant +feminine +singular]	*suffix*
n	$\Leftrightarrow$	[+author −singular]	*prefix*
y	$\Leftrightarrow$	[−participant]	*prefix*
u	$\Leftrightarrow$	[−singular]	*suffix*
'	$\Leftrightarrow$	[+author]	*prefix*
t	$\Leftrightarrow$	elsewhere	*prefix*

(6) **Fixality and fission** Discontinuous agreement (3FS, 2P, 3P) as per my previous work: phi-features form a subtree in the syntax, person structurally higher than the other two.

$$\text{person} \atop | \atop \text{number/gender}$$
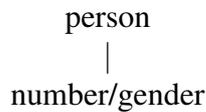
Realization by a singular morpheme results in a linear string: $x{\to}$V. Separate realization of person and number/gender results in non linearity:

$$x{\to}\text{V} \atop | \atop y$$
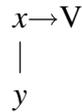
Harbour 2008 (2007:239–243 for illustration with respect to Classical Hebrew): such structures can only be successfully linearized as: $x{\to}\text{V}{\to}y$

(7) **Notation** To be understood as a syntactic structure, not a structureless feature bundle.

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{person} \\ \text{number/gender} \end{bmatrix}$$
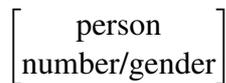
(8) **Elsewhere and ...** *Halle*: elsewhere forms features consume no features. *Alternative*: they consume all features. More in keeping with Halle's own assertion (p. 436) that where the vocabulary 'includes an "elsewhere" default entry, Fission comes to an end after a single iteration': if the elsewhere form consumes all remaining features, then there is nothing left to iterate on and so this stipulation follows automatically.

(9) **... double prefixes** 3MP [−au −part −sg −fem]: only [−part] (y) and [−sg] (u) are consumed. Why is the residue not realized by elsewhere (t), yielding, say, *t-y*-V-*u*. *Halle*: constraint 'Imperfective forms may have only one Prefix' (p. 437; no Afro-Asiatic language permits multiple agreement prefixes). *Alternative*: strengthen the claim that de-

faults consume all features to say that they cannot do this when some of the features have already been consumed (essentially, non-default insertion bleeds default insertion), then we avoid the double prefix problem. (In order for feminine *i* not to block *t*, therefore, it is necessary to make *t* default for person, not the whole phi-structure; there is no default for number, so zero results whenever *u* does not.)

(10) **Revised vocabulary**

$i \Leftrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{author} & +\text{participant} \\ +\text{singular} & +\text{feminine} \end{bmatrix}$

$n \Leftrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{author} \\ -\text{singular} \end{bmatrix}$

$\text{'} \Leftrightarrow [+\text{author}]$

$y \Leftrightarrow [-\text{participant}]$

$u \Leftrightarrow [-\text{singular}]$

$t \Leftrightarrow \textit{elsewhere (for person)}$

(11) **Observation** This yields the wrong result for 3FS. It receives [−participant] *y*, not person default *t*.

(12) **Impoverishment** $[-\text{participant}] \mapsto \emptyset$ / [＿＿ +feminine +singular]
(to bleed insertion of *y*)

(13)

	S	P
1	$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{author} & +\text{participant} \\ +\text{singular} & \pm\text{feminine} \end{bmatrix}$ *-aziz*	$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{author} & +\text{participant} \\ -\text{singular} & \pm\text{feminine} \end{bmatrix}$ *-aziz*
2M	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{author} & +\text{participant} \\ -\text{singular} & -\text{feminine} \end{bmatrix}$ *-aziz*	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{author} & +\text{participant} \\ -\text{singular} & -\text{feminine} \end{bmatrix}$ *-aziz*
2F	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{author} & +\text{participant} \\ -\text{singular} & +\text{feminine} \end{bmatrix}$ *-aziz*	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{author} & +\text{participant} \\ -\text{singular} & +\text{feminine} \end{bmatrix}$ *-aziz*
3M	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{author} & -\text{participant} \\ -\text{singular} & -\text{feminine} \end{bmatrix}$ *-aziz*	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{author} & -\text{participant} \\ -\text{singular} & -\text{feminine} \end{bmatrix}$ *-aziz*
3F	$\begin{bmatrix} & -\text{author} \\ -\text{singular} & +\text{feminine} \end{bmatrix}$ *-aziz*	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{author} & -\text{participant} \\ -\text{singular} & +\text{feminine} \end{bmatrix}$ *-aziz*

(14)

	S	P
1	' - *aziz*	n - *aziz*
2M	t - *aziz*	$\begin{bmatrix} t \\ u \end{bmatrix}$ *-aziz*
2F	$\begin{bmatrix} t \\ i \end{bmatrix}$ *-aziz*	$\begin{bmatrix} t \\ u \end{bmatrix}$ *-aziz*
3M	y - *aziz*	$\begin{bmatrix} y \\ u \end{bmatrix}$ *-aziz*
3F	t - *aziz*	$\begin{bmatrix} y \\ u \end{bmatrix}$ *-aziz*

$\mapsto$

	S	P
1	*'-aziz*	*n-aziz*
2M	**t**-*aziz*	**t**-*aziz-u*
2F	**t**-*aziz-i*	**t**-*aziz-u*
3M	*y-aziz*	*y-aziz-u*
3F	**t**-*aziz*	*y-aziz-u*

(15) **Commentary**

    a. Impoverishment, although indispensable to this account, is, in the wider scheme of things, unnecessary—just like fission, stipulation of prefixality versus suffixality, and the constraint against double prefixes.

    b. There is a more specific vocabulary item for the third person feminine singular, a second *t*, that blocks the general third person *y* (by Pāṇini's principle). This means that there two morphosyntactically distinct, but phonological homophonous *t*'s, contrary to traditional homophonophobia.

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(16) **Starting point** How is (3)FS generally expressed in Modern Hebrew?

(17)
'íš~*'išáh*	'man~woman'	*mélex*~*malkáh*	'king~queen'
talmíd~*talmidáh*	'student.M~F'	*yéled*~*yaldáh*	'boy~girl'
sus~*susáh*	'horse~mare'	*kélev*~*kalbáh*	'dog~bitch'

(18)
géver~*gvéret*	'man~lady'	*mxabér*~*mxabéret*	'author.M~F'
ben~*bat*	'son~daughter'	*mšarét*~*mšarétet*	'servant.M~F'
		pasál~*pasélet*	'sculptor.M~F'

(19) **Pauci-*t*?** Nouns in the *t*-group appear to be less frequent than those in the *h*-group. And, some examples in (18) are verbal participles. Further evidence: non-nouns [*t* (20), (21); *h* (22), (23)] and non-human denoting nouns [*t* (24); *h* (25)].

(20)
kotév~*kotévet*	'writing.M~F'	*mxabér*~*mxabéret*	'joining.M~F'
'oxél~*'oxélet*	'eating.M~F'	*mšarét*~*mšarétet*	'serving.M~F'
nixnás~*nixnéset*	'entering.M~F'	*mištoqéq*~*mištoqéqet*	'craving.M~F'

(21)
'ivrí~*'ivrít*	'Hebrew.M~F'	*'acbaní*~*'acbanít*	'nervous.M~F'
'araví~*'aravít*	'Arab.M~F'	*rexaní*~*rexanít*	'fragrant.M~F'
sfaradí~*sfaradít*	'Spanish.M~F'	*dorsaní*~*dorsanít*	'predatory.M~F'

(22)
gar~*garáh*	'living.M~F'	*mmulá'*~*mmula'áh*	'being filled.M~F'
šar~*šaráh*	'singing.M~F'	*mazmín*~*mazmináh*	'ordering.M~F'
nasóg~*nsogáh*	'retreating.M~F'	*mapíl*~*mapiláh*	'toppling.M~F'

(23)
gadól~*gdoláh*	'big.M~F'	*kaxól*~*kxuláh*	'blue.M~F'
katán~*ktanáh*	'small.M~F'	*kal*~*kaláh*	'simple.M~F'
'aróx~*'arukáh*	'long.M~F'	*'axarón*~*'axaronáh*	'last.M~F'

(24)
któvet	'address'	*xilufít*	'amoeba'	*ršut*	'permit'
'igéret	'letter'	*mxonít*	'car'	*sxirút*	'rent'
sipóret	'fiction'	*xlalít*	'spaceship'	*yfefút*	'beauty'
réšet	'net'	*rištít*	'retina'	*'acbanút*	'nervousness'

(25)
hatxaláh	'beginning'	*braxáh*	'blessing'
ršimáh	'list'	*'adamáh*	'earth'
miláh	'word'	*'avodáh*	'work'
gizráh	'conjugation'	*loxmáh*	'warfare'

(26) **Allomorphy** The nouns in (24) and (25) are particularly revealing of the distribution of *t* versus *h*. The suffix *h* only occurs in stressed final syllables with the vowel *a* (which one can regard as epenthetic, or as part of the underlying templatic vocalism). Otherwise, if the final syllable is unstressed, or if the last vowel is not *a* but *i* or *u*, *t*

occurs, as in (25). (Note: I'm glossing over binyan-cum-root related complexities.)

(27) **Complementary distribution**   Evidence that we are dealing with allomorphs of a single affix, *t*~*h*: *h* becomes *t* in the construct form. If *h* must be word final, then the emergence of *t* here is automatic: it realizes feminine singular where *h* cannot.

(28) *'išáh*~*'iští*   'wife~my wife'   *ršimáh*~*ršimatí*   'list~my list'
     yaldáh~*yaldatí* 'girl~my girl'   *miláh*~*milatí*   'word~my word'
     susáh~*susatí*   'mare~my mare'   *'avodáh*~*'avodatí* 'work~my work'

(29) *malkàt ha'árec*   *'èšet xáyil*   *'avodàt báyit*
     queen the land   woman valor   work   home
     'queen of the land'   'woman of valor'   'homework'

(30) **Possible further evidence**   Third feminine singular past tense of *h*-final verbs. Ordinarily—that is, for non-*h*-final verbs—the third feminine singular past involves *h*-suffixation. For *h*-final verbs, a non-final *t* emerges. (Hard to say which *h* is *t*-ifying; evidence in the classical language that it is the feminine.)

(31) *pagáš*~*pagšáh*   'he~she met'   *sipér*~*sipráh*   'he~she told'
     katáv~*katváh*   'he~she wrote'   *hilbíš*~*hilbíšah*   'he~she dressed'
     nixnás~*nixnsáh* 'he~she entered'   *hitraxec*~*hitraxcáh* 'he~she washed'

(32) *ban(t)áh*   '(s)he built'   *šin(t)áh*   '(s)he altered'
     ra'(t)áh   '(s)he saw'   *hiqn(t)ah*   '(s)he sold'
     nehen(t)áh '(s)he enjoyed'   *hizdah(t)áh* '(s)he identified him/herself'

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(33) **Impoverishment-free**   We can now offer an analysis without recourse to impoverishment.

(34) **New vocabulary**

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{author} & +\text{participant} \\ & +\text{singular} \end{bmatrix} \Leftrightarrow \text{'}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{author} & +\text{participant} \\ & -\text{singular} \end{bmatrix} \Leftrightarrow n$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{author} & +\text{participant} \end{bmatrix} \Leftrightarrow t$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{author} & -\text{participant} \end{bmatrix} \Leftrightarrow y$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} & -\text{singular} & \end{bmatrix} \Leftrightarrow u$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{singular} & +\text{feminine} \end{bmatrix} \Leftrightarrow i \text{ in the context of } [-\text{author} +\text{part}]$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{singular} & +\text{feminine} \end{bmatrix} \Leftrightarrow \begin{cases} h \text{ in the context of } C\acute{a}\_\# \\ t \end{cases}$$

(35) **Observation**   The 3FS allomorph is *t* as non-word-finality, amongst other things, precludes *h*. This is where impoverishment was invoked. So, the allomorphs and allomorphy conditions already independently motivated immediately deliver the correct distribution for *t* without the need for morphological operations to create a natural class of {2, 3FS}.

(36) **Evaluation: parsimony**   Even with impoverishment, one still needs an exponent of the feminine that alternates between *t* and *h* (for, *e.g.*, the construct state). So, the impoverishment-based account requires everything that the allomorphy-based account does. However, the allomorphy-based account eschews impoverishment.

(37) **Paradigms?**   Only the view that the prefixal conjugation constitutes a separate paradigmatic domain from the various verbal, nominal and adjectival forms considered above could justify eschewing $t{\sim}h$. However, that would be to divide the prefixal conjugation from the suffixal, the *benoni*, adjectives and nouns—quite arbitrary. Or else, claim that all are separate: but then we have massive duplication of vocabulary between all. Moreover, the idea of not dividing the prefixal paradigm off from other parts of the language receives strong support from other Afro-Asiatic languages.

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(38) **One way ahead**   A simpleminded case for not regarding the prefixal and suffixal conjugations as morphologically unrelated domains: those Afro-Asiatic languages where transparadigmatic syncretisms are prevalent. *E.g.*, Ḥarsūsi (Simeone-Senelle 1997:404, with minor alteration to orthography, citing Johnstone 1977):

a. third person feminine *t*
b. second person feminine singular ^{i}
c. gender-sensitive plural suffixes *m* and *n*
d. first person plural *n*
e. dual *ō* (phonologically conditioned as *i* after *k*)

All shared across both paradigms (though, obviously, there are also a variety of opacifying complications, including the suffixal third person feminine plural; on suffixal [+participant] *k* the discussion of Tigrinya below).

(39)

	S	D	P
1	'-lōbd	'-lbd-ō	**n**-lōbd
2M	t-lōbd	t-lbd-ō	t-lōbd-**m**
2F	t-lōbd-^{i}	t-lbd-ō	t-lōbd-**n**
3M	y-lōbd	y-lbd-ō	y-lōbd-**m**
3F	**t**-lōbd	**t**-lbd-ō	**t**-lōbd-**n**

	S	D	P
1	ktōb-k	ktōb-k-**i**	ktōb-**n**
2M	ktōb-k	ktōb-k-**i**	ktōb-k-**m**
2F	ktōb-k-^{i}	ktōb-k-**i**	ktōb-k-**n**
3M	ktōb-∅	ktb-∅-**ō**	ktōb-∅-**m**
3F	ktb-**ōt**	ktb-**t**-**ō**	ktōb-∅

(40) **Cherry picking**   This approach, if it is not to cherry pick, must analyze all person-number-gender combinations across multiple languages.

(41) **Alternative**   Continue to concentrate on the expression of the feminine singular. Begin with languages closely related to Modern Hebrew and then gradually progressing to more distant relatives.

(42) **Classical Hebrew I**   All the alternations and exponents argued for for Modern Hebrew carry over to Classical Hebrew. However, the language presents two further arguments for $t{\sim}h$. 3FS in the suffixal conjugation emerges as *t* in the presence of object clitics, where it is, of course, non-final. (Forms not given are unattested; Kautzsch 1910:513.)

qṭaaláah	'she killed'	
qṭaalát̲nii	'she killed me'	
qṭaalát̲kaa	'she killed you.MS'	
qṭaaláat̲ek̲	'she killed you.FS'	

qṭaalát̲huu/ttuu 'she killed him'
qṭaaláttaah 'she killed her'
qṭaalát̲nuu 'she killed us'
qṭaaláat̲am 'she killed them.M'

(43) **Classical Hebrew II**   Consider again the suffixal conjugation of feminine singular *h*-final verbs, *e.g.*, *baant̲áah* 'she built' (Modern *bantáh*). Recall, from (32), that *t* might be identified either as the root-final *h* or as feminine *h*. In Classical Hebrew, object clitics allow one to distinguish these: root-final *h* vanishes before clitics (*e.g.*, *'aaśáah+nii* ↦ *'aaśáa∅nii*, **'aaśáat̲nii* 'he did + me'), but feminine *h* does not (43). Thus, *t* of

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baanṯáah 'she built' may be identified as an infixed feminine *t~h* (infixation is independently attested in the language; Kautzsch 1910:149).

(44) **Similar to Classical Hebrew** That language's closest relatives (Phoenician and the Eastern Canaanite tongues; Segert 1997:182–183) and, in more attenuated form, distant Soqoṭri (Simeone-Senelle 1997:403–404). These are likely independent developments and it seems probable that alternating *t~h* in the verbal domain is an innovation.

(45) **Classical Hebrew III** and a variety of Arabic dialects: in the prefixal conjugation, third person feminine *t* is not confined to the singular:

	S	P
1	*'-aqṭil*	*n-aqṭil*
2M	***t**-aqṭil*	*t-aqṭil-u*
2F	***t**-aqṭil-i*	*t-aqṭel-naah*
3M	*y-aqṭil*	*y-aqṭil-u*
3F	***t**-aqṭil*	*t-aqṭel-naah*

Suggestion: *t*'s differ in the two languages, the classical one being unspecified for number. One might, in consequence, regard the nominal/adjectival/participial feminine plural ending *oṯ* as containing the feminine *t* in the classical language. This would give the order *noun-number-gender*, cf, Taraldsen's abstract.

(46) **Aramaic** Third feminine singular is uniformly *t* in both conjugations (Biblical Aramaic, Rosenthal 1961:60):

	S	P
1	*'e-ktuḇ*	*ni-ktuḇ*
2M	*ti-ktuḇ*	*ti-ktḇ-uun*
2F	*ti-ktḇ-iin*	*ti-ktḇ-aan*
3M	*yi-ktuḇ*	*yi-ktḇ-uun*
3F	***ti**-ktuḇ*	*yi-ktḇ-aan*

	S	P
1	*kiṯb-eeṯ*	*kṯáḇ-naa'*
2M	*kṯaḇ-t*	*kṯaḇ-teen*
2F	*kṯáḇ-tii*	*kṯaḇ-tuun*
3M	*kṯaḇ*	*kṯáḇ-uu*
3F	*kiṯb-aṯ*	*kṯáḇ-aah*

Note also, *t~h* as in absolute versus construct states such as 'good.FS', *ṭaaḇaah~ṭaaḇaṯ*, and in indefinite versus definite feminine singulars, such as *ḥaakmaah~ḥaakmṯaa'* 'some~the wisdom' (Rosenthal 1961:23, 27).

(47) **Similar to Aramaic** Non-alternating *t* both prefixally and suffixally is the majority pattern across Afro-Asiatic (sometimes with minor vocalic or allophonic variation): Neo-Aramaic (Jastrow 1997:346–347), Classical Arabic (Fischer 1997:207), Maltese and Gulf, Yemenite, Tunisian, Moroccan, Cairene and Baghdadi Arabic (Kaye and Rosenhouse 1997:292–293), Geʿez (Gragg 1997:252), Tigrinya (Kogan 1997:438), Tigré (Raz 1997:452), Amharic and Argobba (Hudson 1997:470–471), Harari (Wagner 1997:497), the Silte group (Gutt 1997:521–523), and Gafat (Hetzron 1997:545).

(48) **Suffixal *t*** In the suffixal conjugation of some Semitic languages, *t* has an even wider distribution than it has in the prefixal conjugation, extending to first person singular as well as all second persons. See Aramaic above, or Classical Hebrew (Kautzsch 1910:511):

	S	P
1	*qaaṭál-tii*	*qaaṭál-nuu*
2M	*qaaṭál-taa*	*qṭál-tem*
2F	*qaaṭál-t*	*qṭál-ten*
3M	*qaaṭál*	*qaaṭl-úu*
3F	*qaaṭl-áah*	*qaaṭl-úu*

(49) **Impoverishment fights back?**   So heterogenous a distribution as {1S, 2, 3FS} can only be captured by positing *t* as a single default vocabulary item, or *t* as realization of natural class (in which case, impoverishment, or similar, must act on {1S, 2, 3FS}), or there are homophonous *t*'s.

(50) **Suffixal *k***   Compare the paradigms of Aramaic with those of Tigrinya (Kogan 1997:438, but using 'e' for schwa; the same purpose is served by several other languages including Ge'ez, Tigré, various Modern South Arabian dialects, *e.g.* (39), and the Yemenite Arabic of Al-Maḥall):

	S	P			S	P
1	*'e-nägger*	*ne-nägger*		1	*nägär-ku*	*nägär-na*
2M	*te-nägger*	*te-nägr-u*		2M	*nägär-ka*	*nägär-kum*
2F	*te-nägr-i*	*te-nägr-a*		2F	*nägär-ki*	*nägär-ken*
3M	*ye-nägger*	*ye-nägr-u*		3M	*nägär-ä*	*nägär-u*
3F	*te-nägger*	*ye-nägr-a*		3F	*nägär-ät*	*nägär-a*

(51) **Diachrony**   Akkadian (Buccellati 1997:83) attests a set of subject suffixes with *k* for first person singular and *t* for second person. (These remain in some later pronominal systems; *e.g.*, Hebrew *'anoxi* 'I' and *'ata/'at/'atem/'aten* 'you.M/F.S/P'). However, the various Afro-Asiatic languages appear to have been under considerable internal pressure to reinterpret these as realizations of [+participant], destroying the transparent relation with the pronouns. In some languages, *k* gave way to *t*, in others the reverse. However, all of this happened without affecting either prefixal (second person / third feminine singular) *t* or suffixal (feminine singular) *t*.

(52) **Moral I**   There must have existed a stage of development in some Afro-Asiatic in which first person *k* extended into second person *t*. However, it did so without affecting the feminine *t*. If the two *t*'s were homophones, then it is entirely plausible for one to be thus affected while the other remains stable. If, however, we strive to eliminate homophony then we predict covariation of the two *t*'s.

(53) **Moral II**   As feminine verbal *t* developed into *h* in Hebrew, Phoenician, the Eastern Canaanite languages, and Soqoṭri, it did so without affecting the second person feminine singular. This is particularly surprising for Hebrew, where the existence of voweled texts makes it clear that the second person feminine singular involves a word-final *t* (48)—the exact conditions for *h* if we were dealing with one and the same morpheme. Rather, we are compelled to conclude that, at the stage when third person feminine *t* became *h*, second person feminine *t* remained immune from the transition because these were merely homophones.

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(54) **Conclusion I: paradigms**   For linguists who believe in paradigms, not as neat devices for organizing data on the page, but as fundamental units of Universal Grammar and the human mind, the claim above that exponents can be constant across nominal, adjectival,

and verbal domains must be troubling. However, amongst the Afro-Asiatic languages, there is a compelling case for not regarding the prefixal and suffixal paradigms as separate, analytically autonomous from each other, nor for regarding the finite verbs as analytically autonomous from participles, adjectives, and nouns. When one does, the need to account, via impoverishment or other means, for such irregular patterns of apparent syncretism as {2, 3FS} dissolves into straightforward cases of distinct realization masked only, in some of the family, by easily detectable allomorphic overlay.

(55) **Conclusion II: homophonophobia**   Excising homophones can lead to linguistically and historically unnatural analyses. Moreover, the attempt to do so can sometimes require more machinery (*e.g.*, impoverishment) to create natural classes that homophonic analyses need.

(56) **Conclusion III: methodology**   When to excise homophony, and when to use impoverishment? Metasyncretism (Bobaljik 2001, Frampton 2002, Harley 2008) or, as above, crosslinguistic cognates and parallel/divergent evolution. But the historical evidence only helps us in hindsight, of course. If we only had synchronic data to hand, homophonophobia as a methodological principle might well lead us astray.

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(57) **Impoverishment**   Ironically, the *locus classicus* of impoverishment (Bonet's 1991 treatment of Spanish *se lo*) does not meet the criteria established above.

   a.   Bonet criticizes Perlmutter's (1971) rewrite rule rendition by rightly remarking the rule could randomly rewrite dative *le* to any syllable of the language: why should it rewrite to another clitic *se*?

   b.   Perlmutter could counter that it could. What evidence is there that this *se* isn't just a random syllable? Or, more sophisticatedly, one might say that 3DAT is realized in *le* only when it is directly adjacent to whatever position attracts the clitics. Suppose this is a Cl^0, as on Sportiche's (1996) analysis: then [3DAT Cl^0] is pronounced *le*, but [3DAT 3MS.ACC Cl^0] cannot be *le lo*. If we are clever, like Bonet, then we can set our vocabulary items up in such a way that, where *le* is blocked, the next best match is reflexive *se*. This gets the right effect, but without impoverishment.

(58) **Note**   I suggested something like this to Andrew when he was writing Nevins 2007. However, at that time, I suggested, for simplicity, that *le* required adjacency to the verb. Nevins 2007 correctly observes that infinitives, imperatives, gerundives argue against this: e.g., *dá-se/*le-lo* (give him it). The current formulation in terms of Cl^0 is unperturbed by such evidence.

(59) **Parallel evolution, divergent evolution**   Manzini and Savoia (2005) show that 3DAT is not transparently realized in a wide variety of Italian dialects. Some revert to the reflexive, as in Spanish; others to the locative, others to the partitive. This clearly undermines the allomorphy-based and homophony-based solutions: if some many dialects have divergently evolved with respect to vocabulary items and phonemes, why should they retain allomorphy or homophony in just this case?

(60) **Impoverishment**   A superior solution, in that it affects features prior to vocabulary insert. So, it is immune from the fate of particular phonemes or vocabulary items. So, Bonet is to some extent vindicated: impoverishment is the best of the three contenders.

(61) **The deeper issue**   However, the real question is: why should all these dialects impoverish the dative clitic just in the *le lo* configuration? Why don't some dialects impover-

ish something else, or nothing at all? Why is such impoverishment apparently restricted to dative-accusative dialects and absent from accusative-dative ones?

(62) **Some directions for solutions?**

    a. **Nevins 2007.** An OCP effect: 3DAT 3ACC is double [−participant]. However (a) the assumption that 3ACC has even a negative person specification does not enjoy universal assent (*e.g.*, Adger and Harbour 2007), and (b) diverting from dative to reflexive wouldn't help: the reflexive *qua* direct object induces PCC effects and so must be specified for person (cf, Kayne 2000).

    b. **Halle 2005** argues that the various repairs to velar softening attested crosslinguistically (*e.g.*, *k→s/c/š/č*) tell us that the repair should be separated from the mechanism and circumstances according to which velars are softened. This may lead us to regard the question of which clitic stands in for the dative as separate from why the dative needs a stand in. However, that question remains unanswered.

    c. **Syntax.** Maybe the behavior of datives differs syntactically according to what else is present. In that case, impoverishment would be unnecessary here, but the syntax remains to be clarified.

(63) **Impoverishment** The foregoing may sound like an attack on impoverishment. I therefore draw attention to the fact that the original motivation for such an operation (Hale 1973) relied on metaparadigmatic effects, recently revisited in Nevins 2008.

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