A Feature-Geometric Approach to Amharic Verb Classes

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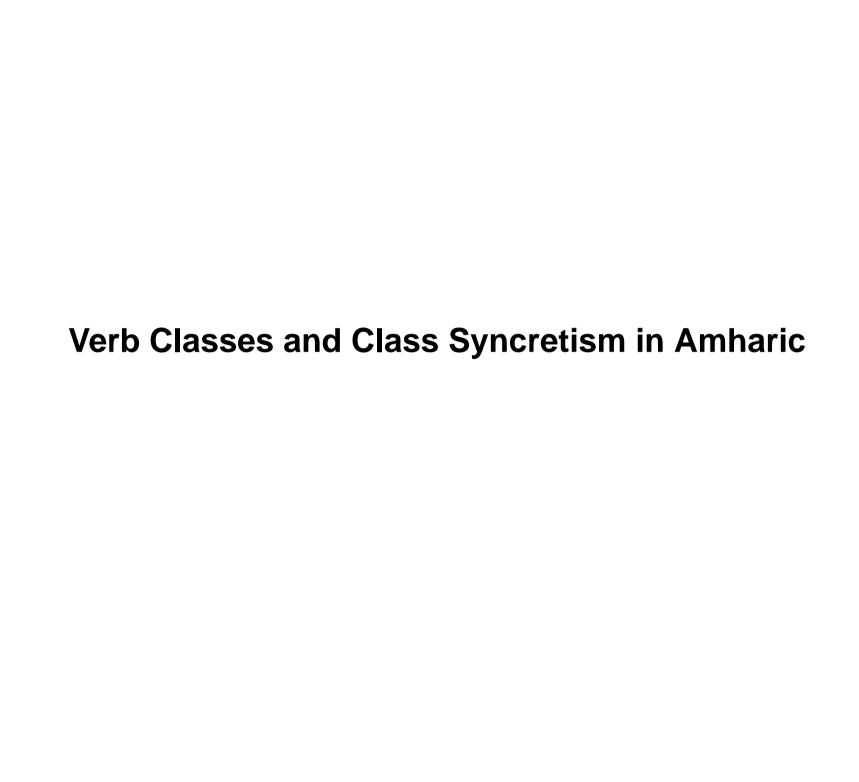
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Basic Ideas

- Amharic Verb Classes should be decomposed into more elementary, diacritic features
- These Features are organized in feature-geometric trees
- Feature Geometry accounts for coocurrence restrictions of diacritic features and class syncretisms

Overview

- Verb Classes and Class Syncretism in Amharic
- The Framework: Minimalist Distributed Morphology
- Decomposing Verb Classes
- The Feature Geometry of Verb Classes
- Class Syncretism as Impoverishment



Verb Classes for Tri-radicals

	Type A	Type B	Type C
Perfect	säbbär <mark>ä</mark>	fälläg <mark>ä</mark>	marräkä
Imperfect	yəsäbər	yəfälləg	yəmarrək
Participle	säbari	fällagi	maraki

Verb Classes for Quadri-radicals

	Type 1	Type 2
Perfect	mäsäkkär <mark>ä</mark>	däballäq <mark>ä</mark>
Imperfect	yəmäsäkkər	yədäballəq
Participle	mäskari	däbalaqi

Gemination in Tri-radicals (Affixes Removed)

	Type A	Type B	Type C
Perfect	sä <mark>bb</mark> är	fälläg	marräk
Imperfect	säbər	fälləg	marrək
Participle	säbar	fällag	marak

Gemination in Quadri-radicals (Affixes Removed)

	Type 1	Type 2
Perfect	mäsä <mark>kk</mark> är	däballäq
Imperfect	mäsä <mark>kk</mark> ər	däballəq
Participle	mäskar	däbalaq

Vowels in Tri-radicals (Affixes Removed)

	Type A	Type B	Type C
Perfect	säbbär	fälläg	marräk
Imperfect	säbər	fälləg	marrək
Participle	säbar	fällag	marak

Vowels in Quadri-radicals (Affixes Removed)

	Type 1	Type 2
Perfect	mäsäkkär	däballäq
Imperfect	mäsäkkər	däballəq
Participle	mäskar	däbalaq

Good Thing about Verb Classes

Given the radicals and the verb class, the stem can be derived by rule

Bad Thing about Verb Classes

Verb class membership cannot be reduced to independent properties of the root (verb)

Verb Classes cannot be reduced to semantic/phonological/syntactic factors

"There are three types of triradicals: type A, type B, and type C. These types are conditioned neither by the nature of the consonants nor by the meanings of the verb. Indeed, verbs in any of these types may be active, transitive, verbs of state and so on, and may consist of any kind of consonants. The types are therefore to be considered lexical items." (Leslau, 2000:57)

Class Syncretism in as-Stems

Basic Stem

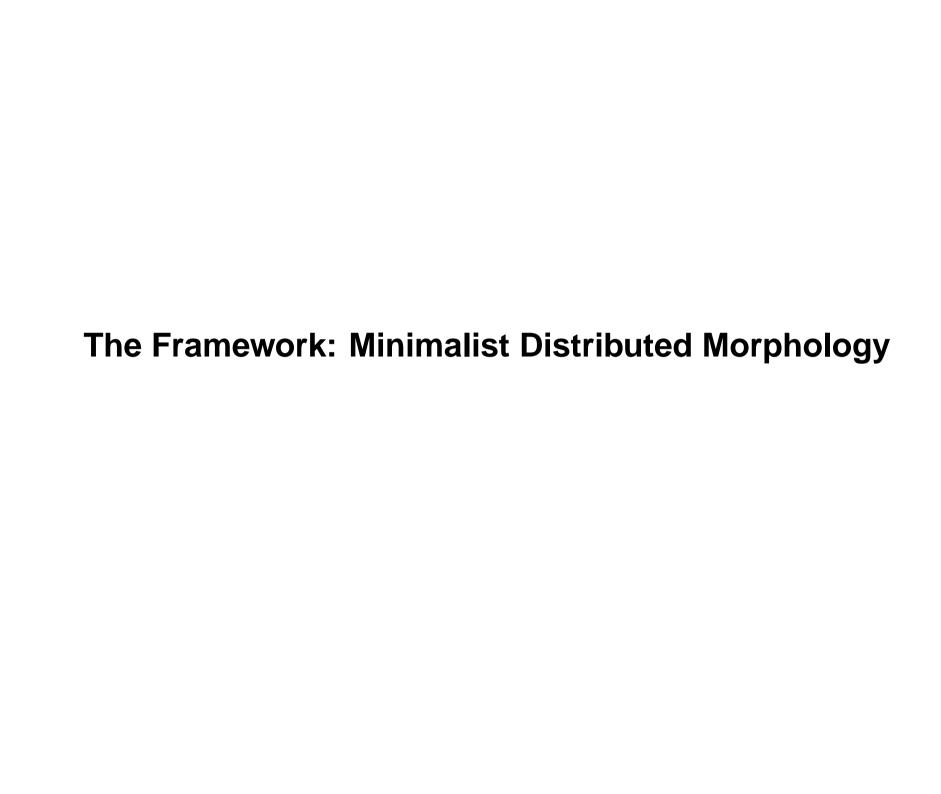
	Type A	Type B	Type C
Perfect	nä <mark>gg</mark> är	fälläg	marräk
Imperfect	nägər	fälləg	marrək
Participle	nägar	fällag	marak

as-Stem

	Type	A/B	Type C
Perfect	nä <mark>gg</mark> är	fälläg	marräk
Imperfect	nä <mark>gg</mark> ər	fälləg	marrək
Participle	nä <mark>gg</mark> ar	fällagi	marak

Definition of Class Syncretism

Words of an inflectional class X behave like words of a different class Y in a specific morphological context



Classical Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz, 1993)

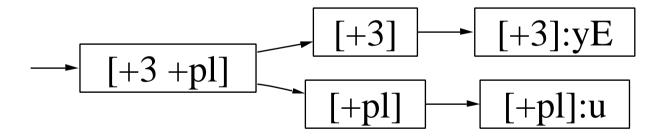
- Syntax operates on abstract items without phonological content
- Morphology interprets the output of Syntax
- Many types of morphological operations
 - Impoverishment: deletes morphosyntactic features
 - Fusion: fuses different lexical items into one
 - **Fission:** dissect one head into different separate heads
 - Vocabulary Insertion: inserts VIs into lexical items, restricted by Elsewhere Condition and Feature Hierarchies

Classical Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz, 1993)



Classical Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz, 1993)

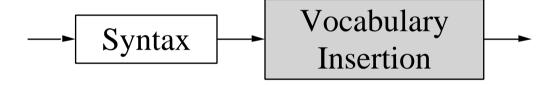
Syntax Fission Vocabulary Insertion



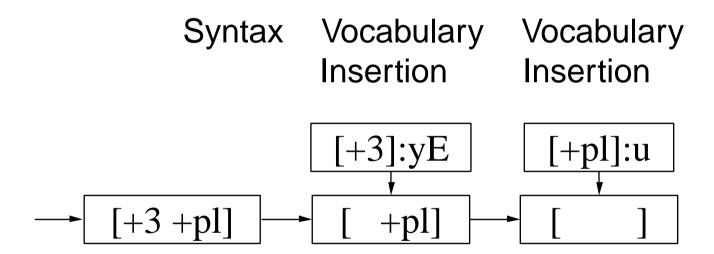
Minimalist Distributed Morphology (Trommer, 1999, 2003a,b)

- Syntax operates on abstract items without phonological content
- Morphology interprets the output of Syntax
- Many types of morphological operations
- Vocabulary Insertion:
 - inserts VIs into lexical items restricted by Elsewhere Condition
 - always feature-deleting
 - Impoverishment = zero-VI-insertion
 - Other operations reduced to impoverishment
- →cf. also Bonet (1991); Halle (1997); Nevins (2003)

Minimalist Distributed Morphology (Trommer, 1999, 2003a,b)



Minimalist Distributed Morphology (Trommer, 1999, 2003a,b)



Decomposing Verb Classes

Class Syncretism and Class Decomposition

Müller (2003a,b): Capture Class Syncretism by decomposing class features

	Class I = $[+\alpha + \beta]$	Class II = $[+\alpha - \beta]$
Class Preserving	$\lceil + \beta \rceil$	$\lceil -\beta \rceil$
Vocabulary Entries:	L P	L P
Class Syncretizing		
Vocabulary Entry:	[-	$\vdash \alpha$]

Verb Classes for Triradicals decomposed

	Type A	Type B	Type C
Perfect	säbbär <mark>ä</mark>	fälläg <mark>ä</mark>	marräkä
Imperfect	yəsäbər	yəfälləg	yəmarrək
Participle	säbari	fällagi	maraki

	Type A	Type B	Type C
Perfect	Gemination	Gemination	Gemination
1 011001	ä– ä	ä– ä	a – ä
Imperfect	No Gemination	Gemination	Gemination
	ä– ə	ä– ə	a – ə
Participle	No Gemination	Gemination	No Gemination
	ä– a	ä– a	a – a

Verb Classes for Quadriradicals decomposed

	Type 1	Type 2	
Perfect	mäsäkkär <mark>ä</mark>	däballäq <mark>ä</mark>	
Imperfect	yə mäsäkkər	yədäballəq	
Participle	mäskari	däbalaqi	

	Type 1	Type 2
Perfect	Gemination	Gemination
	ä– ä	a – ä
Imperfect	Gemination	Gemination
	ä – ə	a – ə
Participle	No Gemination	No Gemination
	ä– a	a – a

Gemination Classes

	Type A	Type B	Type 1	Type C/ Type 2		
Perfect	s bb r	f II g	m s kk r	m rr k		
Imperfect	sb r	f II g	m s kk r	m rr k		
Imperative	sb r	f II g	msk r	mr k		
Gerund	sb r	f II g	msk r	mr k		
Participle	sb r	fllg	msk r	mr k		
Verbal Noun	sb r	f II g	msk r	mr k		
Gemination						
Class	1	all	2			

Vowel Classes

	Type A	Type B/ Type 1	Type C/ Type 2
Perfect	ää	äää	äaä
Imperfect	ä ə	ääə	äаə
Imperative	эä	ä ə ə	äаə
Gerund	ä ə	äəə	äаə
Participle	ä a	äəa	äaa
Verbal Noun	әä	äəä	äaä
Vowel			
Class		ä	а

(Non-)Coocurrence of decomposed Classes

Gemination	Vowel Class				
Class	ä	а			
1	Type A				
All	Type B				
	Type 1	Type C Type 2			
4		Type 2			

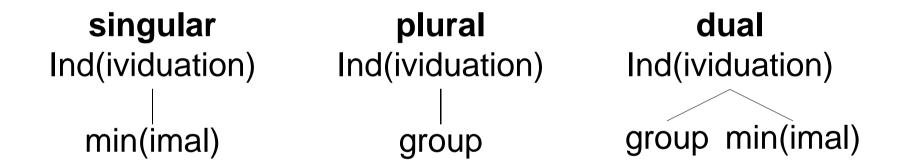
(Non-)Coocurrence of Classes and Radical Number

Vowel	Radical Number					
Class	3 4					
ä	Type A	Type 1				
	Type B	Турст				
а	Type C	Type 2				

Gemination	Radical Number			
Class	3	4		
1	Type A			
All	Type B			
2		Type 1		
_	Type C	Type 2		

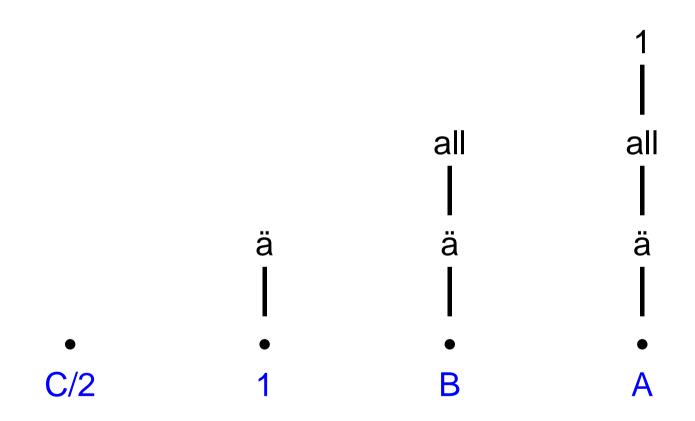
The Feature Geometry of Verb Classes

Feature Geometry in Morphosyntax (Number, Harley and Ritter, 2003)

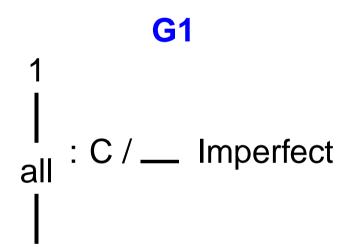


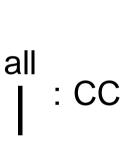
→cf. also Bonet (1991); Nevins (2003); Trommer (2003a)

Distinguishing Verb Classes Geometrically



Gemination Patterns by Vocabulary Items





G3

(Im)Perfect : CC

G5 Default : C

Vowel Patterns by Vocabulary Items



Deriving Type-B Stems

		G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	V1	V2	
				all			ä∙		
				CC			ä CC		Perfect
all	Vb			Vb			V b		
				all			ä∙		
ä				all CC			ä CC		Imperfect
Ī									
	Vb			Vb			V b		
•				all			ä∙		
				CC			ä CC		Participle
	Vb			Vb			V b		

Deriving Type-C Stems

		G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	V1	V2	
	V b				CC V b			a CC V b	Perfect
•	V b				CC V b			a CC V b	Imperfect
	V b					C V b		a C V b	Participle

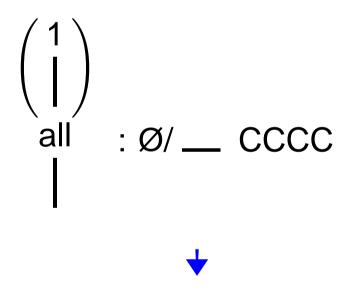
Deriving Type-A Stems

		G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	V1	V2	
1			1 all				ä∙		
 all	V b				CC V b	_	ä CC V b		Perfect
		1 all					ä∙		
ä		С					ä C		Imperfect
	Vb	Vb		_			Vb		
•			1 all				ä•		
						С	ä C		Participle
	Vb					Vb	Vb		

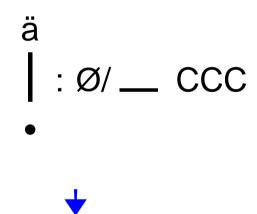
Explaining Coocurrence Restrictions on Vowel and Gemination Classes

→ All Restrictions follow directly from the assumed Geometry and Standard Restrictions on Geometrical Trees

Explaining Coocurrence Restrictions on Classes and Radical Number



Quadriradical A/B → 1



Triradical 1 → C/2



Class Syncretism in as-Stems (repeated)

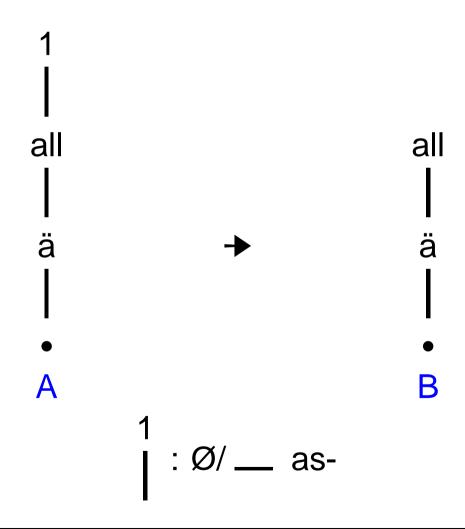
Basic Stem

	Type A	Type B	Type 1	Type C
Perfect	nä <mark>gg</mark> är	fä <mark>ll</mark> äg	mänäzzär	marräk
Imperfect	nägər	fälləg	mänäzzər	marrək
Participle	nägar	fällag	mänzar	marak

as-Stem

	Type A/B		Type 1	Type C
Perfect	nä <mark>gg</mark> är	fälläg	mänäzzär	marräk
Imperfect	nä <mark>gg</mark> ər	fälləg	mänäzzər	marrək
Participle	näggar	fä <mark>ll</mark> agi	mänzar	marak

Class Syncretism in as-Stems by Impoverishment



Class Syncretism in at-Stems

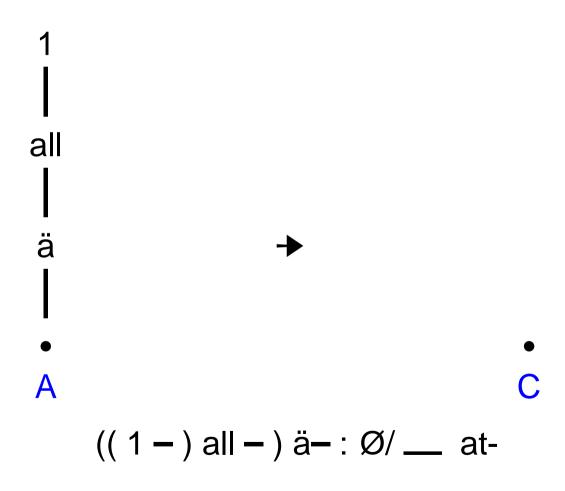
Basic Stem

	Type A	Type B	Type 1	Type C
Perfect	näggär	fälläg	mänäzzär	marräk
Imperfect	nägər	fälləg	mänäzzər	marrək
Participle	nägar	fäll ag	mänzar	marak

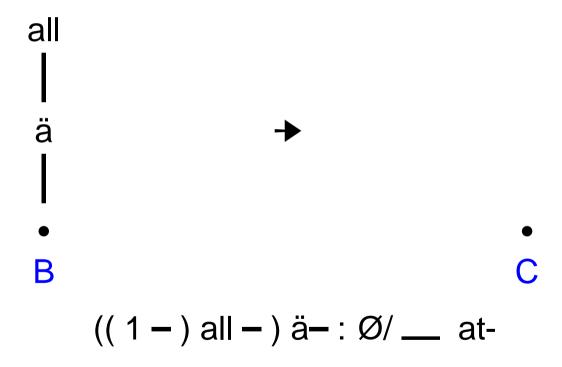
at-Stem

	Type A/B		Type 1	Type C
Perfect	naggär	f <mark>all</mark> äg	män <mark>azz</mark> är	marräk
Imperfect	naggər	f <mark>all</mark> əg	män <mark>azz</mark> ər	marrək
Participle	n <mark>ag</mark> ar	f <mark>al</mark> agi	män <mark>az</mark> ar	marak

Class Syncretism in at-Stems by Impoverishment (I)



Class Syncretism in at-Stems by Impoverishment (II)



Class Syncretism in tä-Stems

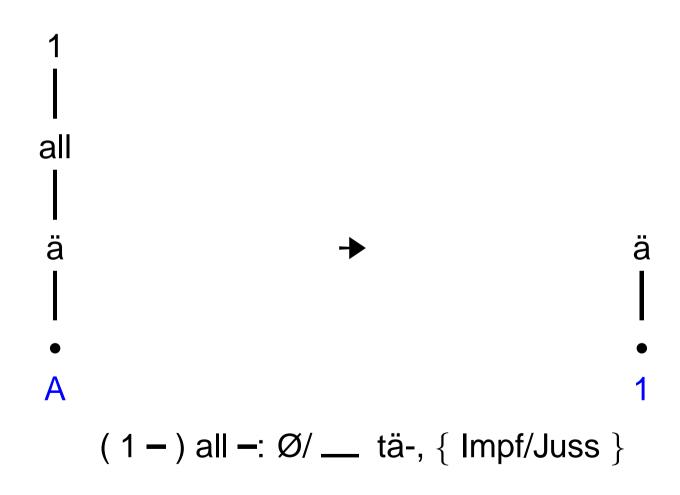
Basic Stem

	Type A	Type B	Type 1	Type C
Perfect	näggär	fälläg	mäsäkkär	marräk
Imperfect	nägər	fälləg	mäs <mark>äkk</mark> ər	marrək
Jussive	səgär	fälləg	mäs <mark>k</mark> ər	marək
Participle	nägar	fällag	mäskar	marak

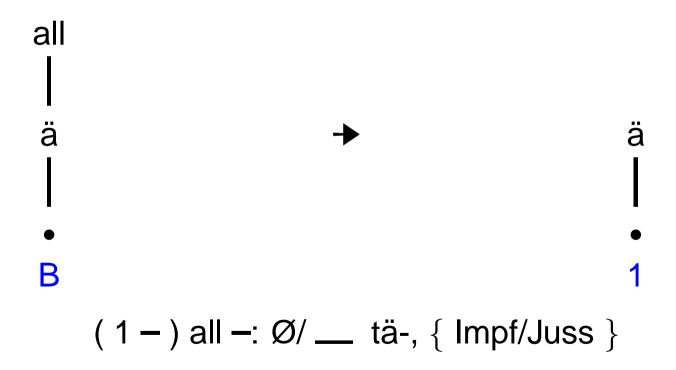
tä-Stem

	Type A	Type B	Type 1	Type C
Perfect	säbbär	fälläg	mäsäkkär	marräk
Imperfect	säbbär	f <mark>äll</mark> äg	mäs <mark>äkk</mark> är	marräk
Jussive	sä <mark>b</mark> är	fä <mark>l</mark> äg	mäs <mark>k</mark> är	maräk
Participle	säbari	fällag	mäskar	maraki

Class Syncretism in tä-Stems by Impoverishment (I)



Class Syncretism in tä-Stems by Impoverishment (II)



Class Syncretism in Reduplicated Stems

Basic Stem

	Type A	Type B	Type C
Perfect	säbbärä	fällägä	marräkä
Imperfect	yəsäbər	yəfälləg	yəmarrək
Participle	säbari	fällagi	maraki

Reduplicated Stem

	Type A	Type B	Type C
Perfect	sä <mark>ba</mark> bbärä	fälallägä	märarräkä
Imperfect	yəsä <mark>babb</mark> ər	yəfä <mark>la</mark> lləg	yəmärarrək
Participle	sä <mark>ba</mark> bari	fälalagi	märaraki

Class Syncretism in Reduplicated Stems

→parallel to at-Stems!

Summary: Class Syncretisms

A B 1 C	
A → B	(as-)
A → 1	
B → 1	(tä-)
A → C	
B → C	(at-)
1 → C	

Excluded: $B \rightarrow A$, $1 \rightarrow A$, $1 \rightarrow B$, $C \rightarrow A$, $C \rightarrow B$, $1 \rightarrow C$



The Feature-Geometric Analysis accounts for ...

- Possible Verb Classes
- Coocurrence Restrictions for different Radical Numbers
- Restrictions on Possible Class Syncretisms

Problems for a Paradigm-Based Account

- Verbs of different classes form different paradigms
 - → Attraction between classes crosses paradigms
- No Account for the Asymmetries in Class Syncretism
- Account for Restrictions on Possible Verb Classes?

Definitions of Paradigm (McCarthy, 2003:5)

McCarthy (2003:5): " . . . an inflectional paradigm contains all and only the words based on a single lexeme"

Steriade (1999:1) "

A paradigm is a set of words sharing a morpheme . . . or a set of phrases sharing a word . . . "

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