

Null morphemes as overwritten elements: Some Issues

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Evidence for the null morpheme

- Every clause in Nuuchahnulth is headed by a second position auxiliary enclitic
- They encode subject agreement, tense, mood, evidentiality, and some adverbial meanings

Evidence for the null morpheme

(1) $yaya\acute{c}ap\grave{a}h$

$yaya\acute{c}ap=(m)a\grave{h}$

be.sore=REAL.1SG

'I hurt.'

(2) $qii\grave{a}\lambda ita\grave{h} yaya\acute{c}ap (\text{?uusaha} \text{ } \acute{c}i\acute{c}i\acute{c}i)$

$qii=!a\lambda=(m)it=(m)a\grave{h}$ $yaya\acute{c}ap (\text{?uusaha} \text{ } \acute{c}i\acute{c}i\acute{c}i)$

long.time=NEXT=PST=REAL.1SG be.sore (because tooth)

'I was sore for a long time on account of my tooth.'

Evidence for the null morpheme

- The subject-mood portmanteau is the only required element in the enclitic so I model it as the root to which other enclitics attach as prefixes and suffixes.
- The third-person neutral morpheme, however, is null.

Evidence for the null morpheme

Table 1: Template for clausal enclitics

morph	=ʔaaqλ	=!ap	=!aλ	=!at	=uk =ʔak	=(m)it	=ʔi·š =ma· =ħa· =∅ ...	=λa·	=ʔaaʎa	=ʔaʎ
meaning	FUT	CAUS	NOW	PASS	POSS	PST	subject-mood portmanteaus	also	HABIT	PL

Cases of null morpheme attachment.

- ① Null morpheme only and no other enclitics
 - Ⓐ Null morpheme on a verbal predicate
 - Ⓑ Null morpheme on a preceding adverb
- ② Null subject morpheme and enclitics to the left and/or right.
 - Ⓐ Enclitics only to the left (prefix attachment)
 - Ⓑ Enclitics only to the right (suffix attachment)
 - Ⓒ Enclitics to both left and right

(3) ʔuusumč[̣]iʔaλ ʔuʔuʔiih[̣]witas ʔiihtuup

ʔu-L.sumč[̣]-iλ=!aλ(=∅) ʔu-R.ʔiih[̣]-witas ʔiihtuup

X-train-PF=NOW(=NEUT.3) X-hunt-going.to whale

'They trained to go after whales.'

(4) ʔaanaḥaλʔaał waaḥit

ʔaanaḥi=!aλ(=∅)=ʔaał waaḥit

only-NOW(=NEUT.3)=HAB frog

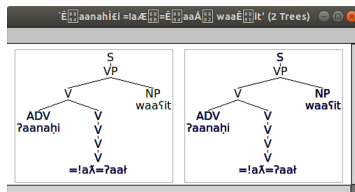
'Only a frog.'

```
%3D0 := neutral-mood-3-verb-lex &  
  [ STEM < “=0” >,  
    SYNSEM.LKEYS.KEYREL.PRED “_neutralmood_v_rel” ].
```

```
clitic-now-prefix :=  
%prefix (* =\!aλ) (=0 =\!aλ)  
clitic-now-lex-rule.
```

```
habitual-suffix2 :=  
%suffix (* =?aał) (=0 =?aał)  
habitual-lex-rule.
```


- Everything runs fine, except when there is both prefix and suffix attachment.
- The LKB parser inserts two \Rightarrow into the parse chart.



=!aλ=ʔaaf | 14 %3d0

S[84]	S[83]	VP[82]	V[81]	
V[80]	S[79]	S[78]	VP[77]	
V[76]	V[75]	V[74]	V[73]	V[72]
V[71]	V[70]	V[69]	V[68]	V[67]
V[65]	V[64]	V[63]	V[62]	S[59]
V[58]	V[57]	V[56]	V[55]	V[54]
S[53]	V[52]	V[51]	V[50]	V[49]
V[48]	S[47]	V[46]	V[45]	V[44]
V[43]	V[42]	S[41]	V[40]	V[39]
V[38]	V[37]	V[36]		
V[29]	V[28]			
VP[27]	V[26]			
V[21]	V[20]			
VP[19]	V[18]			
V-M[13]	V-M[25]	S[66]		
V-M[12]	V[24]	S[61]		
V[11]	V[23]	VP[60]		
V-M[10]	V[22]	NP[35]		
V-M[9]	V-M[17]	N[34]		
ADV[8]	V[16]	VP[33]		
	V[15]	V-M[32]		
	V[14]	VP-M[31]		
		NP[30]		
ʔaanahi	=!aλ=ʔaaf	waaʔit		

=!aλ=ʔaaf | 22 %3d0

S[84]	S[83]	VP[82]	V[81]	
V[80]	S[79]	S[78]	VP[77]	
V[76]	V[75]	V[74]	V[73]	V[72]
V[71]	V[70]	V[69]	V[68]	V[67]
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V[58]	V[57]	V[56]	V[55]	V[54]
S[53]	V[52]	V[51]	V[50]	V[49]
V[48]	S[47]	V[46]	V[45]	V[44]
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V[38]	V[37]	V[36]		
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	V[15]	V-M[32]		
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		NP[30]		
ʔaanahi	=!aλ=ʔaaf	waaʔit		

- Is this use of an overwritten null morpheme “supported”?
- Is there a way to enforce single-entry of overwritten morphemes into the parser?