Parameters of allomorphy and infixation Laura Kalin

What is parameterized at the morphology-phonology interface, and what is universal? I answer this question by investigating crosslinguistic interactions between infixation on the one hand and three types of allomorphy—suppletive allomorphy (*go/went*), morphophonological allomorphy (*leaf/leaves*), and surface allomorphy (*dog[z]/cat[s]*)—on the other hand. Some morpho(phono)logical theories take the relative ordering of infixation and allomorphy to essentially be parameterized (e.g., Wolf 2008), while others take them to occur simultaneously (e.g., McCarthy and Prince 1993a,b) or in a fixed universal order (e.g., Embick 2010, Bye and Svenonius 2012). While much literature has established the behavior of each of these phenomena independently of the others (see, e.g., Moravcsik 1977, Carstairs 1987, 1990, Bobaljik 2000, Paster 2006, Yu 2007), I aim to show that a consistent and illuminating picture emerges from examining cases where they overlap.

From a crosslinguistic survey of over forty cases of infixation interacting with with one or more types of allomorphy, I propose four (to my knowledge) novel empirical generalizations:

(i) Infixes never supplete based on their surface (infixed) environment.

(ii) In contrast, infixes undergo surface and morphophonological allomorphy exclusively in their surface environment.

(iii) When a morpheme has multiple allomorphs, at least one of which is infixal, all the allomorphs orient with respect to the same edge of the stem.

(iv) Suppletive and morphophonological allomorphy in the stem of infixation (the string that an infix appears inside) is unaffected by the infix.

Building off of these generalizations, I argue that the basic grammatical architecture of the morphology-phonology interface is universal: exponents are chosen cyclically starting from the most deeply embedded node, and exponent choice precedes infixation. Parameterization still has a role to play within this basic architecture, for example, in determining how/whether complex words are formed in a language, and in regulating exponent-specific effects.