

The road or the door to exponence? Examining simultaneity at spell-out

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This talk explores simultaneity at 'spell-out', which broadly refers to the mapping of syntactic structure to a phonological representation. This mapping can be understood as the 'actuation' of phonology, providing phonological substance (i.e. Vocabulary Insertion within Distributed Morphology (DM) – Halle & Marantz 1993), phonological precedence (e.g. linearization, clitic alignment), and phonological constituency (e.g. prosodification *à la* Match Theory – Selkirk 2011). Additionally, a large cast of additional post-syntactic operations have been posited involving allomorphy, feature bundle manipulation (Fission, Fusion, Impoverishment, Enrichment), economy conditions (multiple copy resolution, deletion-under-identity e.g. Suspended Affixation), and even syntax-like operations involving terminal heads (DM's 'lowering', and its counterpart 'raising' in Harizanov & Gribanova 2018).

Mainstream DM assumes that post-syntactic operations are (i) serially ordered, and (ii) rule-based (e.g. Embick's 2015:217 - "I will draw on an example in which Fission is applied before Vocabulary Insertion"), made most explicit in Arregi & Nevins (2012). In this talk, I challenge these tenets by arguing that the null hypothesis within a non-lexicalist realizational model such as DM should be a parallel, constraint-based model which I call OT-DM (Trommer 2001 as predecessor). Under such a model, post-syntactic operations apply simultaneously. I explore a number of 'morphological conspiracies' (Trommer 2001, Dawson 2018, Foley to appear) which warrant this analytic move, focusing on a case study of clitics in the Nigerian language Degema from Rolle & Kari (2016) and Rolle (2019). In this model, spell-out is the optimal mapping between the syntactic module and the phonological module, and is not itself a separate module.

I will conclude this talk by discussing the prospects and problems of simultaneity in OT-DM, including the nascent debates emerging within generative/DM literature on serialism vs. parallelism in morphology (Haugen 2008, 2011, Embick 2010, Günes 2015, Arregi & Nevins 2017, Deal & Wolf 2017, Franks 2017, Kiparsky 2017, Sande 2017, Vergara & Lopez 2017, Abramovitz 2018, Guseva & Weisser 2018, among others).