

Allomorphy

**an introduction to the phonology-
morphology interface**

5th Class: Allomorphy and Paradigm Uniformity

Paradigm Uniformity: the pressure for all forms of a certain paradigm to resemble one another.

This pressure has been claimed to interact with phonological well-formedness constraints, and so to be **active in the phonology** of languages.

Paradigm

“all of the forms of the inflection of a certain *lexeme*”

(Lexeme = our “concept”)

(We will loosely define Inflection as “the set of forms that the large majority of items of a given category **automatically** have”)

Paradigm Uniformity: an example

Modern Hebrew

<i>past</i>	<i>pres.part.</i>	<i>futur</i>	
širev	mešapev	ješapev	'improve'
kipel	mekapel	jekapel	'fold'
vitev	mevatev	jevatev	'give up'
bikef	mevakef	jevakef	'ask for'

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vitev	mevatev	jevatev	‘give up’
vikeš	mevakeš	jevakeš	‘ask for’

Speakers seem to want all occurrences that are inflectionally related to the concept root to be similar enough.

Paradigm Uniformity: an example

Modern Hebrew

This is relevant for a course on allomorphy, because the change seems to militate against having more than one allomorph in a paradigm.

kipel	mekapel	jekapel	told
vitev	mevatev	jevatev	'give up'
vikef	mevakef	jevakef	'ask for'

Speakers seem to want all occurrences that are inflectionally related to the concept root to be similar enough.

Analysis of a case of PU

Yiddish (from Albright 2010)

ʃtu**ʌ**m ‘storm’ ʃtu**ʌ**m-ij ‘stromy’

Analysis of a case of PU

Yiddish

ʃtu**v**ə**m** ‘storm’ ʃtu**v****m**-iʃ ‘stromy’
/ʃtu**v****m**/ /ʃtu**v****m**-iʃ/

***v**m(C)]_{syll}

[**v**m] is not a possible syllable-final cluster

[ʃtu**v**ə**m**]

[ʃtu**v****m**iʃ]

Analysis of a case of PU

Yiddish

‫שטורעם‬ ‘storm’ ‫שטורעם-יף‬ ‘stromy’

Infinitive	nem-ən	‫שטורעם-ען‬
1sg	nem	‫שטורעם‬
2sg	nem-st	‫שטורעם-סט‬
1/3pl	nem-ən	‫שטורעם-ען‬
3sg/2pl	nem-t	‫שטורעם-ט‬

Analysis of a case of PU

Yiddish

ʃtu**v**ə**m**

‘storm’

ʃtu**v****m**-if

‘stromy’

Infinitive nem-ən

1sg nem

2sg nem-st

1/3pl nem-ən

3sg/2pl nem-t

ʃtru**v**ə**m**-ən

ʃtu**v**ə**m**

ʃtru**v**ə**m**-st

ʃtu**v**ə**m**-ən

ʃtu**v**ə**m**-t

[ə]
insertion
follows
from
*[v̩m(C)]_{syll}

Analysis of a case of PU

Yiddish

ʃtu**və**m

‘storm’

ʃtu**vm**-if

‘stromy’

Infinitive nem-ən

1sg nem

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1/3pl nem-ən

3sg/2pl nem-t

ʃtru**və**m-ən

ʃtu**və**m

ʃtru**və**m-st

ʃtu**və**m-ən

ʃtu**və**m-t

[ə]

insertion

does not

follow

from

*[vm(C)]_{syll}

Analysis of a case of PU

The insight: [ə] is inserted everywhere in the paradigm because it has to be inserted **somewhere** in the paradigm

Infinitive	nem-ən	ʃtrʉvəṁ-ən
1sg	nem	ʃtrʉvəṁ
2sg	nem-st	ʃtrʉvəṁ-st
1/3pl	nem-ən	ʃtrʉvəṁ-ən
3sg/2pl	nem-t	ʃtrʉvəṁ-t

Analysis of a case of PU

/ʃtʌvʌt, st, ən, ø/ *vʌ]_syll	PU	DEP
a. [ʃtʌvʌ, ʃtʌvʌn]	*!	
 b. [ʃtʌvət, ʃtʌvətən]		*
c. [ʃtʌvət, ʃtʌvʌn]	*!	

Analysis of a case of PU

/ʃtʊvɪt, st, ən, ø/	*vɪt]_syll	PU	DEP
a. [ʃtʊvɪt, ʃtʊvɪtən]	*!		
 b. [ʃtʊvət, ʃtʊvətən]			*
c. [ʃtʊvət, ʃtʊvɪtən]		*!	

For any form that belongs to a paradigm, phonology **must** now “look” at all the other forms in that paradigm in order to produce that word.

Analysis of a case of PU

/ʃtʊvɪt, st, ən, ø/	*vɪt]_syll	PU	DEP
a. [ʃtʊvɪt, ʃtʊvɪtən]	*!		
☞ b. [ʃtʊvət, ʃtʊvətən]			*
c. [ʃtʊvət, ʃtʊvɪtən]		*!	

For any form that belongs to a paradigm, phonology

Or rather, **no form belonging to a paradigm is ever computed alone.**

What PU means

Admitting PU into the same system that derives phonology

=

A major departure from what phonology is supposed to do. Not only can it now evaluate groups of words, but also many individual words don't even have URs. A word like [ʃtuʌmən] does not have a UR...

Alternative view of PU

/ʃtʊv̥m+t,st,ən,ø/	*v̥m] _{syll}	PU	DEP
a. [ʃtʊv̥m, ʃtʊv̥mən]	*!		
 b. [ʃtʊv̥ət, ʃtʊv̥ətən]			*
c. [ʃtʊv̥ət, ʃtʊv̥mən]		*!	

Raffesiefen (2016): “phonotactic” processes (e.g. German final devoicing) are *never* affected by PU.

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So what we are stabilizing through Paradigm uniformity is **not the output**, but the UR that will be the input to the phonological computation.

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So what we are stabilizing through Paradigm uniformity is **not the output**, but the UR that will be the input to the phonological computation.

Indeed, we have assumed that allomorphy – two underlying representations – is generally dispreferred. Nobody cares about there being two surface representations (or phonology is out of work).

Alternative view of PU

Infinitive	ʃtruʋə̃m-ən
1sg	ʃtuʋə̃m
2sg	ʃtruʋə̃m-st
1/3pl	ʃtuʋə̃m-ən
3sg/2pl	ʃtuʋə̃m-t

Given these surface forms, we may assume that there is a requirement for all of them to come from a single UR. The UR must have /ə̃/, otherwise we would not derive [ʃtuʋə̃mən]

Alternative view of PU

Infinitive	ʃtrʊvǝm-ən
1sg	ʃtrʊvǝm
2sg	ʃtrʊvǝm-st
1/3pl	ʃtrʊvǝm-ən
3sg/2pl	ʃtrʊvǝm-t

But in fact the point is to **derive** [ʃtrʊvǝmən] from the fact that it appears in the same paradigm as [ʃtrʊvǝm].

PU: “Select the **underlying representation** such that all the surface forms in a paradigm are identical.”

Alternative view of PU

Given *[ʃtʊvɪm], and the solution [ʃtʊvəm]

Either /ʃtʊvəm/ or /ʃtʊvɪm/ are good for [ʃtʊvɪm].

But

/ʃtʊvɪm/ will give [ʃtʊvəɪm], [ʃtʊvɪmən]

/ʃtʊvəm/ will give [ʃtʊvəɪm], [ʃtʊvəɪmən]

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/ʃtʌvɪm/ will give [ʃtʌvəɪm], [ʃtʌvɪmən]

/ʃtʌvəm/ will give [ʃtʌvəm], [ʃtʌvəmən]

In other words, PU has nothing to say about well-formedness. It optimizes the **lexicon**.

Alternative view of PU

- PU cannot interact with well-formedness, because it does not optimize a specific form.
- This derives the correct result: while PU may stand in the way of processes, it is hard to find cases where PU **creates** an “phonotactically” illicit situation.

PU-optimizing allomorphy

Modern Hebrew (Bat El 2008)

sg

plural

pakíd

pkid-ím

‘clerk’

ʃaχén

ʃχen-ím

‘neighbor’

ʃafán

ʃfan-ím

‘rabbit’

but sa**pa**ʔ

sa**pa**ʔ-ím

‘barber’

Bat El: 1) Word=Foot (=2 vowels in MH)

2) PU_{syll.number}

PU-optimizing allomorphy

Since /a/-syncope is not general in Hebrew, the option must be lexically-stored

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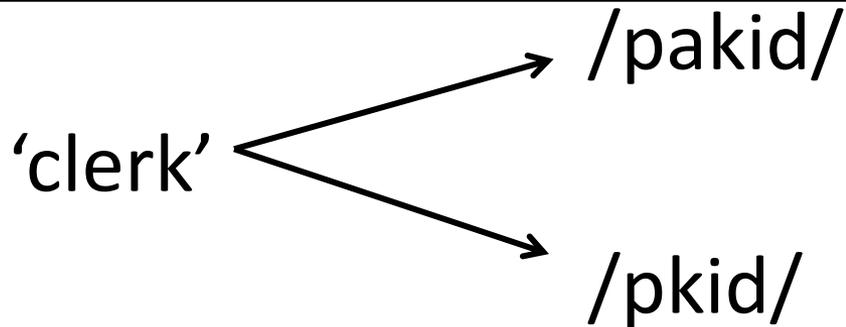
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Bat El: 1) Word=Foot (=2 vowels in MH)

2) PU_{syll.number}

PU-optimizing allomorphy

Since /a/-syncope is not general in Hebrew, the option must be lexically-stored



but



PU-optimizing allomorphy

/pakid, pkid/+/ø,im/	Max	PU _{syll}	2syll
☞ a. [pakid, pkidim]			
b. [pkid, pkidim]		*!	*
b. [pakid, pakidim]		*!	
c. [pkid, pakidim]		*!	

(Interpretation of Bat El 2008)

PU-optimizing allomorphy

/sapaβ/+/ø,im/	Max	PU _{syll}	2syll
a. [sapaβ, spaβim]	*!		*
b. [spaβ, spaβim]	*!*		**
 c. [sapaβ, sapaβim]		*	
d. [spaβ, sapaβim]	*!		

(Interpretation of Bat EI 2008)

General Remark

This is an interesting case: PU, a counter-allomorphy force, is aided by allomorphy...

It is a problem for the view I have proposed of PU as a non-phonological unification of the phonemic form: here it is really the outputs that are being uniformized...

General Objection

The first vowel of the alternating base syncopates before any stress-bearing suffix:

pakid 'clerk'

pkid-ut 'clerkhood, place od clerks'

pkid-on 'small clerk'

pkid mas 'tax clerk'

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pkid mas 'tax clerk'

(Unlike Yiddish [ʃtuɪm-ɪʃ] vs. [ʃtuɪɐm-ən])

General Objection

The first vowel of the alternating base syncopates before any stress-bearing suffix:

pakid ‘clerk’

pkid-ut ‘clerkhood, place od clerks’

pkid-on ‘small clerk’

pkid mas ‘tax clerk’

These cannot be viewed as part of the paradigm of the word “clerk”, because they are not automatic forms

Autosegmental Alternative

Does not need any fancy machinery in this case

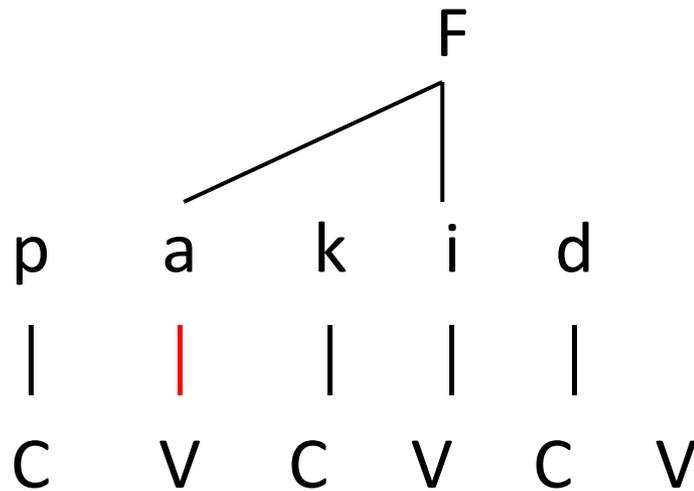
p	a	k	i	d	
C	V	C	V	C	V

VS.

s	a	p	a	v	
C	V	C	V	C	V

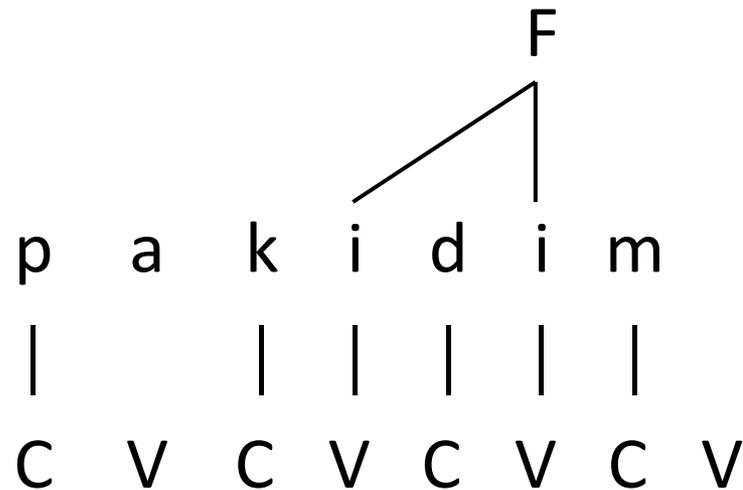
Autosegmental Alternative

Vowel retained when in “foot”;



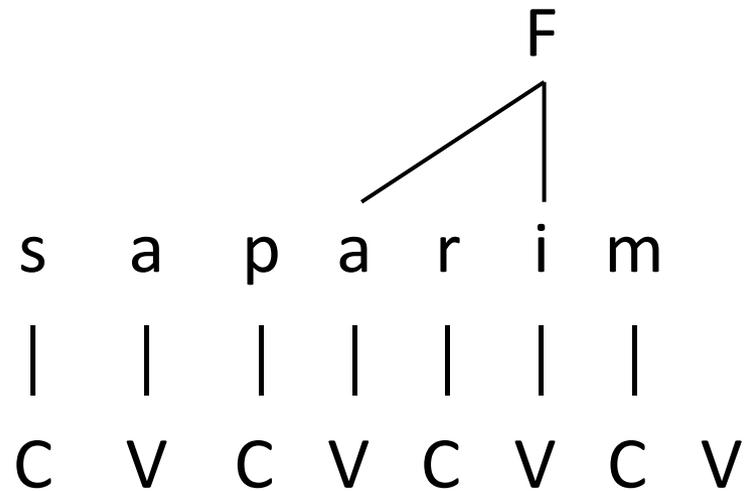
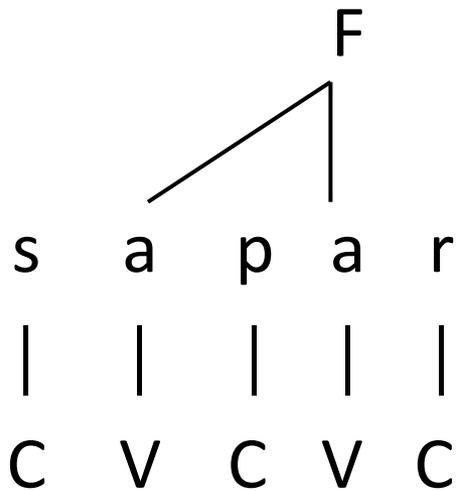
Autosegmental Alternative

Vowel not retained when outside “foot”



Autosegmental Alternative

Lexically-associated vowel not susceptible to “footing” considerations



Interim Summary

Paradigm Uniformity

- does not optimize surface forms
- uniformizes the UR such that the surface forms are maximally similar.
- is an anti-allomorphy force that works within paradigms.

Other alternatives

The two cases we've discussed at length – Yiddish and Hebrew – there seems to be a **base** and a derivative.

Thus, they can be explained by assuming a two-domain structure, whereby the form of the base is set, and thus the suffix cannot alter it.

Derivational Alternative to PU

In Yiddish, one first derives

/ʃtuvm/ => [ʃtuvm̩]

And then one is stuck with the [ə].

In Modern Hebrew, one first fixes a syllable number in the base: /pakid/ = 2

And then one must attempt to maintain it

/pakidim/ => [pkidim] (though why a?)

Derivational Alternative to PU

- If the base-faithfulness view is available, why would anybody need PU at all?

Derivational Alternative to PU

- If the base-faithfulness view is available, why would anybody need PU at all? Is there **any** proof that paradigms are evaluated as sets?
- This *has* been claimed.

Paradigms evaluated as whole

Lebanese Arabic (Haddad & Wiltshire 2014)

He told me	ħike:-li
He told you _{ms}	ħike:-lak
He told you _{fm}	ħike:-lik
He told him	ħike:-lo
He told her	ħike:-la
He told us	ħike:-lɪna
He told you _{pl}	ħike:-lkun
He told them	ħike:-lun

Paradigms evaluated as whole

Lebanese Arabic (Haddad & Wiltshire 2014)

He told me	ħike:-l-i
He told you _{ms}	ħike:-l-ak
He told you _{fm}	ħike:-l-ik
He told him	ħike:-l-o
He told her	ħike:-l-a
He told us	ħike:-l-na
He told you _{pl}	ħike:-l-kun
He told them	ħike:-l-un

Dative=/l/

Paradigms evaluated as whole

Lebanese Arabic (Haddad & Wiltshire 2014)

'tell'

'answer'

He told me	ħike:-l-i	radda-ll-i
He told you _{ms}	ħike:-l-ak	radda-ll-ak
He told you _{fm}	ħike:-l-ik	radda-ll-ik
He told him	ħike:-l-o	radda-ll-o
He told her	ħike:-l-a	radda-ll-a
He told us	ħike:-l-na	radda-l-na
He told you _{pl}	ħike:-l-kun	radda-l-kun
He told them	ħike:-l-un	radda-ll-un

Dative=/l/ or /ll/?

Paradigms evaluated as whole

In Lebanese, stress falls on the rightmost of the last three heavy syllables (= closed or with long vowel)

He told me	ħike:-I-i	radda-II-i
He told you _{ms}	ħike:-I-ak	radda-II-ak
He told you _{fm}	ħike:-I-ik	radda-II-ik
He told him	ħike:-I-o	radda-II-o
He told her	ħike:-I-a	radda-II-a
He told us	ħike:-I-na	radda-I-na
He told you _{pl}	ħike:-I-kun	radda-I-kun
He told them	ħike:-I-un	radda-II-un

Dative=/I/ or /II/?

Paradigms evaluated as whole

In Lebanese, stress falls on the rightmost of the last three heavy syllables (= closed or with long vowel)

He told me	ħiké:-l-i	rádda-l-i	raddá-ll-i
He told you _{ms}	ħiké:-l-ak	rádda-l-ak	raddá-ll-ak
He told you _{fm}	ħiké:-l-ik	rádda-l-ik	raddá-ll-ik
He told him	ħiké:-l-o	rádda-l-o	raddá-ll-o
He told her	ħiké:-l-a	rádda-l-a	raddá-ll-a
He told us	ħiké:-l-na	raddá-l-na	raddá-l-na
He told you _{pl}	ħiké:-l-kun	raddá-l-kun	raddá-l-kun
He told them	ħiké:-l-un	rádda-l-un	raddá-ll-un

Paradigms evaluated as whole

In Lebanese, stress falls on the rightmost of the last three heavy syllables (= closed or with long vowel)

He told me	ħiké:-l-i	radda-l-i	radda-ll-i
He told you _{ms}	ħiké:-l-ak	radda-l-ak	radda-ll-ak
He told you _{fm}	ħiké:-l-ik	radda-l-ik	radda-ll-ik
He told him	ħiké:-l-o	radda-l-o	radda-ll-o
He told her	ħiké:-l-a	radda-l-a	radda-ll-a
He told us	ħiké:-l-na	radda-l-na	radda-l-na
He told you _{pl}	ħiké:-l-kun	radda-l-kun	radda-l-kun
He told them	ħiké:-l-un	radda-l-un	radda-ll-un

Dative=/l/ or /ll/, whichever uniformizes the paradigm for stress! No base!

Paradigms evaluated as whole

As a result of a problem raised in the 1/2pl, the entire paradigm is changed: real **paradigm** uniformity.

He told me	ħiké:-l-i	radda-l-i	radda-ll-i
He told you _{ms}	ħiké:-l-ak	radda-l-ak	radda-ll-ak
He told you _{fm}	ħiké:-l-ik	radda-l-ik	radda-ll-ik
He told him	ħiké:-l-o	radda-l-o	radda-ll-o
He told her	ħiké:-l-a	radda-l-a	radda-ll-a
He told us	ħiké:-l-na	radda-l-na ☹️	radda-l-na
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He told them	ħiké:-l-un	radda-l-un	radda-ll-un

Dative=/l/ or /ll/, whichever uniformizes the paradigm for stress! No base!

Paradigms evaluated as whole

Lebanese Arabic (Haddad & Wiltshire 2014)

'gave'		he gave+dative	+accusative
ʒib-t	me	ʒab-l-i	ʒa:b-ni
ʒib-t	you _{ms}	ʒab-l-ak	ʒa:b-ak
ʒib-ti	you _{fm}	ʒab-l-ik	ʒa:b-ik
ʒa:b	him	ʒab-l-o	ʒa:b-o
ʒa:b-at	her	ʒab-l-a	ʒa:b-a
ʒib-na	us	ʒab-l-na	ʒa:b-na
ʒib-tu	you _{pl}	ʒab-l-kun	ʒa:b-kun
ʒa:b-u	them	ʒab-l-un	ʒa:b-un

Paradigms evaluated as whole

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'gave'		he gave+dative	+accusative
ʒib-t	me	ʒab-l-i	ʒa:b-ni
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ʒa:b	him	ʒab-l-o	ʒa:b-o
ʒa:b-at	her	ʒab-l-a	ʒa:b-a
ʒib-na	us	ʒab-il-na	ʒa:b-na
ʒib-tu	you _{pl}	ʒab-il-kun	ʒa:b-kun
ʒa:b-u	them	ʒab-l-un	ʒa:b-un

i is epenthesis, *CCC

Paradigms evaluated as whole

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ʒib-ti	you _{fm}	ʒab-l-ik	ʒa:b-ik
ʒa:b	him	ʒab-l-o	ʒa:b-o
ʒa:b-at	her	ʒab-l-a	ʒa:b-a
ʒib-na	us	ʒab-il-na	ʒa:b-na
ʒib-tu	you _{pl}	ʒab-il-kun	ʒa:b-kun
ʒa:b-u	them	ʒab-l-un	ʒa:b-un

'He gave' = /ʒa:b/ or /ʒab/?

Paradigms evaluated as whole

The configuration $C\acute{V}:CVCCVC$ is problematic according to H&W. Vowel must shorten.

'gave'		he gave+dativ	☹	+accusative
3ib-t	me	3ab-l-i	3a:b-l-i	3a:b-ni
3ib-t	you _{ms}	3ab-l-ak	3a:b-l-ak	3a:b-ak
3ib-ti	you _{fm}	3ab-l-ik	3ab-l-ik	3a:b-ik
3a:b	him	3ab-l-o	3a:b-l-o	3a:b-o
3a:b-at	her	3ab-l-a	3a:b-l-a	3a:b-a
3ib-na	us	3ab-il-na	3a:b-il-na ☹	3a:b-na
3ib-tu	you _{pl}	3ab-il-kun	3a:b-il-kun	3a:b-kun
3a:b-u	them	3ab-l-un	3a:b-l-un	3a:b-un

Paradigms evaluated as whole

As a result of a problem raised in the 1/2pl, the entire paradigm is changed: real **paradigm** uniformity.

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3ib-t	me	3ab-l-i	3a:b-l-i	3a:b-ni
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3ib-ti	you _{fm}	3ab-l-ik	3ab-l-ik	3a:b-ik
3a:b	him	3ab-l-o	3a:b-l-o	3a:b-o
3a:b-at	her	3ab-l-a	3a:b-l-a	3a:b-a
3ib-na	us	3ab-il-na	3a:b-il-na	3a:b-na
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3a:b-u	them	3ab-l-un	3a:b-l-un	3a:b-un

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ʒib-t	you _{ms}	ʒab-l-ak	ʒa:b-l-ak	ʒa:b-ak
ʒib-ti	you _{fm}	ʒab-l-ik	ʒab-l-ik	ʒa:b-ik
ʒa:b	him	ʒab-l-o	ʒa:b-l-o	ʒa:b-o
ʒa:b-at	her	ʒab-l-a	ʒa:b-l-a	ʒa:b-a
ʒib-na	us	ʒab-il-na	ʒa:b-il-na	ʒa:b-na
ʒib-tu	you _{pl}	ʒab-il-kun	ʒa:b-il-kun ☹	ʒa:b-kun
ʒa:b-u	them	ʒab-l-un	ʒa:b-l-un	ʒa:b-un

(Problem doesn't arise in accusative, no CC-initial suffix.)

Alternatives?

- There might be autosegmental alternatives to this analysis. It is especially unclear what the problem is with CV:CVCCVC which is solved by shortening the vowel...
- The point here has been to illustrate what a PU effect would be that cannot be substituted by a two-step view.

To summarize

Paradigm Uniformity is the force whereby related surface forms become identical in some respect.

I have tried to argue that while PU is real, what is uniformized is not the surface forms really, but the UR. If this is correct, then PU is lexicon optimization, rather than the processing of a UR into a realization.

To summarize

This might be a welcome result, since performance-wise, it is unclear how the processing of one word can really be done while keeping in mind all the forms in the paradigm.

Allomorphy

Summary of the course

Very brief Course summary

- Sometimes, two realizations corresponding to the same linguistic information in different environments cannot immediately be derived from a single representation.
- In such cases, it is necessary to add information in order to describe **what the speaker knows**.

Course summary

- Autosegmental analyses tend to enrich the representation in order to arrive at a single UR.
- Allomorphic analyses accept the existence of two minimally different URs (e.g. /de/ dez/) and concentrate on their selection.

Course summary

- Because of the minimality of the difference, the analysis looks like it is repeating redundant information.
- But it remains to be proved whether this redundancy does not in fact reflect a redundancy in the speaker's knowledge

Course summary

- PU effects suggest that items that share meaning-form pairing are somehow related. This association might be taken to argue that the first /de/ of /de/ and /dez/ is the same in some cognitive sense.

Course summary

- It is clear that at least in some cases, a single UR is not an attractive option.
- The question is raised then whether the choice between the two allomorphs is made in the same module that computes well-formedness.

Course summary

- Although this leads to phonology as much more than a blind filter, there have been cases that argue that this is unavoidable (Surmiran).
- ...and the entire debate has consequences for a modular view of language – phonology is now choosing allomorphs, not just interpreting sequences of phonemes etc...

Course summary

- In this course, I hope to have shown
 - 1) The basic assumptions of phonological theory
 - 2) That allomorphy is crucial for many fundamental aspects of our linguistic model, to wit storage, representation, intermodular communication and the role of each module.

Classic puzzle

- I would like to end with a classic puzzle from language change.
- We have been assuming that there is no storage of two bases when they are identical, e.g. *play, played* [pleɪ, pleɪ-d].
- In other words, there is no UR /pleɪd/, only /pleɪ/+/d/.

Classic puzzle

- However, we know that morphologically-complex words, when they are frequent enough, resist change.
- For instance, one may suppose that the [t] at the end of forms like [fɛlt] was originally regular /d/ that underwent devoicing. At that point, speakers did not store a /t/, because phonology gave it to them /fɛl+d/=> [fɛlt]

Classic puzzle

- Then English lost devoicing. Why didn't the /d/ return? If today this form still has the [t], it means that even when it was perfectly predicatable, it was stored...
- Much of our discussion revolved around the necessity of storing allomorphs or not. It seems however that forms are sometimes stored even if that is not necessary...

Classic puzzle

- What are the consequences for a theory of allomorphy then? Or can we just say that this is irrelevant?

Classic puzzle

- What are the consequences for a theory of allomorphy then? Or can we just say that this is irrelevant?

...to be continued...