

Morpheme Order, Constituency, and Scope

The cyclic interleaving of affixation with phonological and semantic interpretation assumed in Lexical Phonology and Morphology and Stratal OT predicts the following well-established generalizations: (1) that affix order and morphological constituent structure mirror semantic scope (rather than being determined by phonology or by extrinsic morpheme order constraints), (2) that the pronunciation of derived words reflects the cyclically derived phonology of their bases, (3) that allomorph selection is local, (4) that allomorph selection is sensitive only inwardly to the base, and (5) that it may access the cyclically derived phonology of the base (never its underlying or output phonological representations). While these generalizations are on the whole robust, most of them also have clear exceptions. These have been taken as evidence for different morphological theories, notably Halle's non-interactionist view that all morphology precedes phonology and only phonology is cyclic/modular, and Wolf's Optimal Interleaving, which holds that phonology and morphology are interleaved in a single derivational chain governed by transderivational ordering constraints. I show that Stratal OT actually provides a natural account of the exceptions which is preferable on empirical and conceptual grounds. The main argument is based on the observation that counter-scopal affix ordering tends to be associated with other morphological and phonological anomalies, including outwardly sensitive and non-local affix selection, non-cyclicity or anticyclicity, exceptional long-distance application of phonological processes, and apparent level-ordering paradoxes. The novel approach I propose explains this syndrome, and is not only consistent with Stratal OT principles but dictated by them.