

**GSAS Universals Workshop**

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**Friday, December 1, 3:30-5:00 PM**

**Boylston Hall 105**

**The Ins and Outs of Allomorphy in Turoyo (Neo-Aramaic)**

The possible environments for suppletive allomorphy (e.g., English oxen/\*oxes ) across languages and the nature/existence of phonological alternations triggered in specific morphological environments (e.g., leaves/\*leafs) have long been under scrutiny and debate (e.g., Bobaljik 2000, 2012, Chung 2009, Embick 2010, Radkevich 2010, Bye & Svenonius 2012, Gribanova 2015, Bobaljik & Harley 2017). I take up a puzzling set of data in the Neo-Aramaic language Turoyo (Jastrow 1985) displaying (i) suppletive allomorphy that seems to be "outwardly" sensitive to phonology (and is distinctly non-optimizing in that this allomorphy results in a phonotactic violation), and (ii) a morphophonological alternation that seems to be "inwardly" sensitive to morphosyntactic features (and has no plausible phonological trigger). What I will argue is that in modeling this pattern, any theory of allomorphy has to give up (at least) one of two constraints: It either must be that allomorphy can be inwardly and outwardly sensitive to both morphosyntactic features and phonological form, or it must be that the triggers of allomorphy are not restricted to being within the same head or even the same phrase as the allomorph. I will show that there are independent empirical facts in Turoyo that support the latter analysis, and that there are theoretical problems with implementing the former.