

## Templaticity as a continuum in phonological systems

Sharon Inkelas, University of California, Berkeley

Templaticity in adult phonological systems is a matter of degree. The canonical templates to which most students of phonology and morphology are exposed are characterized as pervasive, imposed over a large subsystem of the morphology (e.g. Arabic verb stems; McCarthy 1981) and stated in categorical terms (e.g. “is exactly iambic”, “is minimally bimoraic”). The canonical template is purely prosodic, without segmental content. In practice, however, languages with templatic morphology tend to use it in very restricted fashion – for habitative (but not other) verbs in Cupeño (Hill 1970, Crowhurst 1994), for noise words in Guarani (Langdon 1994), for some but not all suffixes in Yowlumne (Newman 1944, Archangeli 1991) and Samoan (Zuraw et al. 2014), etc. Canonical templaticity seems not to be a whole-language strategy. Moreover, many templates come with parochial segmental requirements (e.g. Hyman & Inkelas 1997 on Tiene), and many templatic systems admit exceptions (e.g. Itô 1990 on Japanese). Recent developments in quantitative phonotactic analysis suggest that the templates which have figured in previous discussion may be the tip of the iceberg. In many languages it is demonstrably the case that certain phonotactic configurations are more common than others. For example, Frisch et al. (2004) showed a statistically significant tendency towards dispersion (in consonant space) among the consonants of Arabic roots. Phonotactic investigations of Hungarian (Grimes 2009), Muna (Coetzee & Pater 2008), Mende (Shih & Inkelas to appear) and many others have offered further support for gradient phonotactic patterns; well-represented patterns can serve as the basis for analogical extension to new forms. Considering the possibility that gradient phonotactics is covert templaticity, the number and variety of templatic effects increases by many orders of magnitude. In order to compare templatic effects in adult systems to the often quirky and individual-specific templates attested in child phonology (e.g. Vihman & Croft 2007), it may be desirable to move beyond the canonical effects and adopt a large-tent approach to templatic effects in adult phonology.