1. The fundamental glitch of Polish palatalizations is that: **the same** consonants are affected in **different ways** in front of **the same** vowel(s), mostly /ɛ/, when this /ɛ/ is an exponent of **different morpho-syntactic categories**.

Example:

\[ \text{woz-}u /\nu\mathring{o}zu/ \ 'cart, gen, sg.' \]

**BUT**

Palatalization 1: \[ \text{wozi-}e /\nu\mathring{o}ze/ \ 'cart, loc. sg.' \]

AND

Palatalization 2: \[ \text{woz-}eni-}e /\nu\mathring{o}zenie/ \ 'the act of carrying sth.' \]

**BUT**

\[ \text{woz-}em /\nu\mathring{o}zem/ \ 'cart, instr. sg.' \]


Example:

(Gussmann 1980) claims that Palatalization 1 involves the manipulation of the feature [back] and is triggered by all front vowels and Palatalization 2 is triggered by /j/ (**J-palatalization**). /j/ **never attested in the relevant items**.

3. Dressler (1985) and Gussmann (2007) propose an alternative solution: palatalizations are triggered by diacritics constituting the lexical representation of some affixes

Example: (Gussmann 2007: ch. 3)

Palatalization 1: /ζ/ \(\rightarrow\) /ɛ/ + /ɛ/\text{PR1}

Palatalization 2: /ζ/ \(\rightarrow\) /ɛ/ + /ɛp/\text{PR3}

Problem: diacritics are alien objects, whose distribution is arbitrary and whose only role is to ‘account for’ the palatalizations. It is not clear if they reduce abstractness (How is imaginary /j/ different from imaginary \text{PR1}?).
4. An alternative: **palatalizations are triggered by morpho-syntactic features**, the phonological identity of exponents is irrelevant for palatalizations or rather dependent on their occurrence. **Generalisations about palatalizations must be compatible with generalisations about the expanse of morpho-syntactic categories of case and number.**

5. The survey of automatic palatalizations found in Gussmann (2007: ch.3)

### Table 1. Automatic Palatalization Replacements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Palatalization Replacement</th>
<th>Contexts</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/d/→ /dź/</td>
<td>Polak /pɔlak/ - Polac-y /pɔlaɕɨ/ nag-i /najɨ/- nadz-y /nadzɨ/ much-a /muxa/ - musz-e /muʃe/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/z/→ /ź/</td>
<td>zadrada-a /zdrada/ - zadradz-on-y /zdradzɔni/ kos-a /kɔsa/- kosz-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ł/→ /ł/</td>
<td>/k/→ /ś/</td>
<td>nen(i)kus- /nɛnɨkus-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6. Some general observations concerning PRs:

a) there is no single PR that would replace a stem final segment A with a segment B and a segment B with another segment (A or other segment)

b) PRs which affect the same segments are triggered by disparate sets of affixes

c) no affix that triggers replacements of a stem-final segment A with a segment B and a segment C with a segment D triggers a replacement of B with C or A or/and D with A or C

7. To explain the generalisations in 6. I propose that PRs apply to strings in accordance with the Minimalist Hypothesis (Kaye 1992, 1995):

Processes apply whenever the conditions that trigger them are satisfied.

8. Generalisation (6a): under MH if A → B and B → C then the only attested change is A → C because MH forces feeding derivation

9. Generalisation (6b): under MH operations must take place whenever their conditions are met. If A → B and A → C in the same context, then we observe a conflict (mutual-bleeding)

10. Generalisation (6c): under MH affix A must not exist:

\[ \text{R(replacement)\text{,}A}: A \to B, C \to D \quad \text{R(replacement)\text{,}B}: D \to A, B \to C \]

However, affix an affix A’ may:
11. The Minimalist Hypothesis does not explain all the aspects of the generalisations in 6. but is fares much better than the classical SPE-type rule application.

12. Polish virile declensions: a more serious problem to MH

13. Summary of PRs found in Polish virile declensions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of replacements</th>
<th>Non-palatalized forms (nom. sg.)</th>
<th>Palatalized forms I (loc/voc. sg. -e /e/)</th>
<th>Palatalized forms II (nom/voc. pl. -i/y /i~i/)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PR1:</strong> /l/ → /lc/</td>
<td>pirat /piɾat/ ‘pirate’</td>
<td>piraci-e /piɾatʃe/</td>
<td>pirac-i /piɾaʨi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/ → /dz/</td>
<td>Szwed /ʃfed/ ‘Swedish’</td>
<td>Szwedzi-e /ʃfeʤe/</td>
<td>Szwedz-i /ʃfeʤi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/p/ → /p/</td>
<td>/ʃkan/ ‘dean’</td>
<td>/ʃkane/</td>
<td>/ʃkaɲ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/ → /bi/</td>
<td>premier /prɛmʲer/ ‘Prime Minister’</td>
<td>premierz-e /prɛmʲeʒe/</td>
<td>premierz-y /prɛmʲeʤi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/z/ → /ʒ/</td>
<td>bial-y /biʔi/ ‘white’</td>
<td>bial-i /bial/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/f/ → /fi/</td>
<td>yw-y /ʒiʔi/ ‘alive’</td>
<td>yw-i /ʒiʔi/ ‘alive’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/ → /ɲ/</td>
<td>chor-y /xɔɾi/ ‘sick’</td>
<td>chorz-y /xɔʂi/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/ → /mʲ/</td>
<td>/n/ → /ɲ/</td>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>/l/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **PR2:** /k/ → /kʃ/ | Greek /ɡɾeʔ/ ‘Greek’ | Grec-y /ɡɾetsi/ |
| /g/ → /dʒ/ | szpieg /ʃpʲeɡ/ ‘spy’ | szpiedz-y /ʃpʲedʒi/ |
| /x/ → /ʃ/ | mnich /mɲiʔ/ ‘monk’ | mniʃ-i /mɲiʃ-i/ / mɲici/ |
| | lep-k-i2 /lɛpʃi/ ‘sticky’ | lep-c-y /lepʃi/ |
| | dług-i /ʤuɲi/ ‘long’ | dłuż-y /ʤuɲi/ |

---

2 Polish velar plosives /k/ and /g/ are obligatorily realised as palato-velars /c/ and /ʃ/ before /i/. There are no reasons to claim that this realisation is morpho-phonological in nature.
14. In items such as *mnich /mɲix/ ‘monk’ and *głuch-y /gwuxi/ ‘deaf’ PR2 feeds PR6 so that /xl/ → /jl/ → /cl/.

15. If nominative and vocative plural virile desinence -i/y /i~/i/ is marked for PR1, PR2 and PR6, then, under MH, PR1 replacement of /l/ with /l/ would feed the PR6 replacement of /j/ with /zl/. The output predicted by MH is the ungrammatical */premjɛzi/ and */xɔzi/ and not the attested /prɛmɛzi/ and */xɔzi/.

I will show that the counter-feeding is only apparent if one assumes that palatalizations are triggered by morpho-syntactic features and if one makes some intuitively attractive assumptions about exponence.

16. Distributed Morphology: morphological processes apply to the same hierarchical structure as syntactic operations and obey very similar principles.

17. Phonological material is inserted into morpho-syntactic nodes only after all morphological operations have been performed (late insertion).

18. Vocabulary: set of rules relating grammatical features to with phonological material.

19. ‘Units’ of Vocabulary are known as Vocabulary Items:

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ \text{Morphological Features} \\
\{ \text{Syntactic Features} \\
\{ \text{Semantic Features} \\
\} \}
\end{align*}
\leftrightarrow
\text{/Phonological Features/}
\]

20. Underspecification: Vocabulary Items are preferably composed of fewer features than the morpho-syntactic nodes that they are inserted into. It is also often the case that more than one Vocabulary Item matches a given node.
21. Conflicts are resolved according to the Subset Principle (Halle 1997: 428):

‘The phonological exponent of a Vocabulary item is inserted into a morpheme in the terminal string if the item matches all or a subset of the grammatical features specified in the terminal morpheme. Insertion does not take place if the Vocabulary item contains features not present in the morpheme. Where several Vocabulary items meet the conditions for insertion, the item matching the greatest number of features specified in the terminal morpheme must be chosen.’

22. Fusion: an operation in which two morpho-syntactic nodes are conflated to form one node containing the sum of features associated with both nodes:

\[
\begin{align*}
\beta \\
\alpha & \beta [F_3, F_4] \\
\ldots & \alpha [F_1, F_2] \\
\gamma \\
\ldots & \gamma [F_1, F_2, F_3, F_4]
\end{align*}
\]

23. The empirical consequences of Fusion are observed in ‘fusion languages’ where more than one morpho-syntactic category is realised by one set of phonological features.

24. #(number) and Case Fusion in Polish

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Case} & \# [F_1, F_2, \ldots F_n] \\
n/a & # [+/ - \text{Pl}] \\
\sqrt{\text{ROOT}} & n_x/a_x \\
\text{n/a} & \text{Agr} [+/ - \text{Pl}, F_1, F_2, \ldots F_n]
\end{align*}
\]

Where: \(x = \text{MASculine PERSONal, Class 1}/\text{Class 2}/\text{Class 3}/\ldots/\text{Class } n\)

25. Impoverishment: a rule that deletes features from morpho-syntactic nodes:

\[
[+/ - F_1] \rightarrow \emptyset / n_xa_x^- [\_, (+/ - F_2, +/- F_3, \ldots +/- F_n)]
\]

Where: \(x = \text{MASculine, PERSONal, Class 1}/\text{Class 2}/\text{Class 3}/\ldots/\text{Class } n\)

26. Fusion and Impoverishment obey the Minimalist Hypothesis. The application of Palatalization Replacements in DM architecture, takes place in accordance with the Minimalist Hypothesis and Locality Principle:
27. Locality Principle:

A morpho-phonological replacement of the material in a terminal node \( \alpha \) triggered by a terminal node \( \beta \) may take place iff:

a) \( \beta \) c-commands \( \alpha \), and

b) there is no overtly realised terminal node between \( \alpha \) and \( \beta \)

28. The application of PR1 to a root \( \text{premier} /\text{prem}i\text{e}r/ \) ‘Prime Minister’

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Agr} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{Agr} \\
\downarrow \\
\sqrt{\text{ROOT}} \\
\downarrow \\
/\text{prem}i\text{er}/ \\
\downarrow \\
/\phi/ \\
\end{array}
\]

Where: \( x = \text{MASCULINE, ANIMATE, Class 1/Class 2/Class 3,\ldots/Class n} \)

29. There are three operations which delete features from morpho-syntactic representations:

a) Vocabulary Insertion replaces morpho-syntactic features with phonological features (Bobaljik’s 2000 ‘rewriting’)

b) Impoverishment: features deleted in the environment of other features or nodes

c) morpho-syntactic features (case and number) features that trigger Palatalization Replacements are deleted from the representations

In the last two cases the deleted features cannot be referred to in course of Vocabulary Insertion.

30. The data (largely based on Orzechowska 1998 and Kallas 1998):

31. Polish has basically four gender-animacy classes of nouns. Syntactically, the four groups are most readily distinguished by the realisation of the demonstrative pronoun:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Personal</th>
<th>Impersonal</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>ten premier</td>
<td>ten kot/dym</td>
<td>to koło</td>
<td>ta siostra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘this Prime Minister’</td>
<td>‘this cat/smoke’</td>
<td>‘this circle’</td>
<td>‘this sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>ci premierzy</td>
<td>te koty/dymy</td>
<td>te koła</td>
<td>te siostry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘these Prime Ministers’</td>
<td>‘these cats/smokes’</td>
<td>‘these circles’</td>
<td>‘these sisters’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

32. Each of the gender-animacy classes is subdivided into declension subclasses. MASCULINE PERSONAL class is divided into at least 9 subclasses.

33. Declensions of words premier /prɛmʲɛɾ/ ‘Prime Minister’, mnich /mnʲɪx/ ‘monk’, głupi-ec /gwupʲɛts/ ‘fool’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>Class 2</th>
<th>Class 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>premier-/ø/</td>
<td>premierz-/i/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>premier-/al/</td>
<td>premier-/uəf/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>premier-/ɔvʲi/</td>
<td>premier-/ɔm/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>premier-/al/</td>
<td>premier-/uəf/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>premierz-/ɛ/</td>
<td>premier-/ax/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>premier-/ɛm/</td>
<td>premier-/amʲi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocative</td>
<td>premierz-/ɛ/</td>
<td>premierz-/i/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Classes 1, 2 and 3 show PR1, PR2 and PR6 and PR7 palatalizations. Among these three Classes, PR1 in locative and vocative singular is attested only in Class 1. PR1, PR2 and PR6 (fed by PR2) are attested in nominative and vocative plural in Classes 1 and 2. PR7 is attested in Class 3, where n(ominal) head is realised as -(e)c (l(e)ts)/.

34. Declension of a word Belg /bɛłɡ/ ‘Belgian’

| Class 4 |
|---------|---------|
| **Singular** | **Plural** |
| Nominative | Belg-/ø/ | Belg-/ɔvʲɛ/ |
| Genitive | Belg-/al/ | Belg-/uəf/ |
| Dative | Belg-/ɔvʲi/ | Belg-/ɔm/ |
| Accusative | Belg-/al/ | Belg-/uəf/ |
| Locative | Belg-/al/ | Belg-/ax/ |
| Instrumental | Belg-i-/ɛm/ | Belg-/amʲi/ |
| Vocative | Belg-/u/ | Belg-/ɔvʲɛ/ |
Class 4 is different from Class 2 only in the nominative and vocative plural desinence -owie /ɔvʲə/. The relevant palatalizations are not observed in Class 4. Many stems from Class 2 may be classified as Class 4 stems (c.f. Norweg-zy~Norweg-owie ‘Norwegian, nom/voc. pl’).

According to Class 4 is declined an open class of surnames, e.g. Kustosz-u ‘surname, loc/voc. sg.’, Nowak-u ‘surname, loc/voc. sg.’ but Kustoszowie ‘the Kustosz’s, nom/voc. pl.’, Nowakowie ‘the Nowak’s, nom/voc. pl’ etc.

35. A declension of a word mer /mɛr/ ‘mayor’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Class 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>mer-ɨ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>mer-ɨl/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>mer-ɔvʲɨl/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>mer-ɨl/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>mer-ɨɛl/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>mer-ɛml/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocative</td>
<td>mer-ɨɛl/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Class 5 is different from Class 1 in the nominative and vocative plural -owie /ɔvʲɛl/. Many stems may function as both Class 1 or Class 5 stems, c.f. muszkieterz-y~muszkieter-owie ‘musketeer, nom/voc. pl.’

Many surnames decline according to Class 5, e.g. Barani-e ‘surname, loc/voc. sg.’ but Baranowie ‘the Baran’s, nom/voc. pl.’, etc.

36. Declensions of words drań /drap/ ‘scumbag’ and kibic /ˈkɪbɪts/ ‘spectator’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Class 6</th>
<th>Class 7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>drań-ɨ/</td>
<td>drań-ɛl/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>drań-ɨl/</td>
<td>drań-ɛl/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>drań-ɔvʲɨl/</td>
<td>drań-ɔm/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>drań-ɨl/</td>
<td>drań-ɛl/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>drań-ɡɛl/</td>
<td>drań-ɛl/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>drań-ɛml/</td>
<td>drań-ɛl/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocative</td>
<td>drań-ɡɛl/</td>
<td>drań-ɛl/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Class 6 is different from Classes 1-5 is having a nominative and vocative plural in -e ɛl/ and genitive and accusative plural in -ɨf ɨ-ɨl. Like drań decline a highly productive group of nouns derived by means of an agentive nominal head -arz ɨaɾ/ e.g. pilk-arz-e ‘football players, nom/voc. pl.’

Class 7 is different from Class 6 in having the regular genitive and accusative ending -ów ɨuf/. Stems created with use of the agentive nominal head -owicz ɨʊɨf/ decline like kibic.

There are many nouns which can optionally form part of Class 6 or 7. Drań is one of them (drań-ɨ~drań-ðəw).
37. Declensions of *krakowi-an-in* /krakɔˈwaiɲ/ ‘inhabitant of Krakow’ and *dominik-an-in* /dɔmɪˈnikaɲ/ ‘member of the Order of Preachers’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 8</th>
<th>Class 9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nouns in Classes 8 and 9 have a structure which is different from the other Classes. The nominal head *-an- /an/ is added to the root that undergoes PR1. In the singular an ‘intermorph’ *-in- /in/ separates *-an- /an/ from the Agr node. In the plural the head *-an- /an/ itself undergoes PR1 in locative and vocative singular and nominative and vocative plural (like class 1).

Additionally Class 8 has a special genitive and accusative zero ending.

38. Data for adjectives: declension of the words *bial-y* /bʲawi/ ‘white’, *dlug-i* /dѡuˈi/ ‘long’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Singular</strong></th>
<th><strong>Plural</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>bial-ị; dług-ị</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>bial-ẹgọ; dług-ẹgọ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>bial-ẹmu; dług-ẹmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>bial-ẹgọ; dług-ẹgọ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>bial-ịn; dług-ịn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>bial-ịm; dług-ịm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocative</td>
<td>bial-ị; dług-ị</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Masculine personal declension of adjectives shows a lot of syncretism (only 6 exponents for 14 cases).
39. Case decomposition:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CONFIGURATIONAL</th>
<th>OBJECT OF A VERB</th>
<th>OBJECT OF A PREPOSITION</th>
<th>SISTER TO A HEAD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocative</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CONF(IGURATIONAL):** cases with value ‘+’ may be assigned to Nominal Phrases solely on the basis of their position in the structure

**O(BJECT OF A) V(ERB):** cases with value ‘+’ are assigned to NPs by verbs (inherently) or by V-heads (configurationally)

**O(BJECT OF A) P(REPOSITION):** cases with value ‘+’ are assigned to NPs in PPs which are adjuncts

**S(ISTER TO A) H(EAD):** cases with value ‘+’ are assigned to NPs configurationally on the basis of being a sister of V (accusative) or N (genitive)

40. Vocabulary Items for Polish virile nouns:

\[
\begin{align*}
\{[+\text{CONF}] \} & \leftrightarrow /\varphi/ \quad \{[+\text{PI}] \leftrightarrow /i/i/ \} \\
\{[+\text{CONF},+\text{OV},+\text{SH}] / n^8 \sim [+\text{PI}, \_]\} & \leftrightarrow /\varphi/ \\
{[+\text{CONF},+\text{OV},+\text{SH}] \leftrightarrow /a/} & \leftrightarrow /\varphi/ /\varphi/ \leftrightarrow /\varphi/ \\
{[+\text{CONF},+\text{OV}] \leftrightarrow /\varphi/} & \leftrightarrow /\varphi/ \\
{[+\text{OV},+\text{SH},+\text{PI}] \leftrightarrow /a/} & \leftrightarrow /\varphi/ \\
{[+\text{OV},+\text{PI}] \leftrightarrow /a/} & \leftrightarrow /\varphi/ \\
{-\text{CONF},+\text{OV},+\text{OP},+\text{PI}] \leftrightarrow /a/} & \leftrightarrow /\varphi/ \\
{-\text{CONF},+\text{OV},+\text{OP},+\text{PI}] \leftrightarrow /a/} & \leftrightarrow /\varphi/ \\
{-\text{CONF},+\text{OV}] \leftrightarrow /\varphi/ & \leftrightarrow /\varphi/ \\
{-\text{CONF},+\text{OV}] \leftrightarrow /\varphi/ & \leftrightarrow /\varphi/ \\
{-\text{CONF},+\text{OV}] \leftrightarrow /\varphi/ & \leftrightarrow /\varphi/ \\
{-\text{CONF},+\text{OV}] \leftrightarrow /\varphi/ & \leftrightarrow /\varphi/ \\
{\# \leftrightarrow /\varphi/} & \leftrightarrow /\varphi/ \\
\end{align*}
\]
42. The Palatalization Replacements (here used as convenient labels) are triggered by the following environments:

\[
\text{PR1} / [n_x/\phi/] \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
\text{[-CONF,-OV]} \\
\text{[-OP,-OV,-SH]}
\end{array} \right.
\]

\[
\text{PR2} / [n_x/\phi/] \text{[-OV, -OP]}
\]

\[
\text{PR6} / [n_x/\phi/] \text{[-SH]}
\]

\[
\text{PR7} / [\text{-CONF,-OP, -PI]}
\]

Where: ‘x’ = MASCULINE PERSONAL

42. To the set of vocabulary items we need to add a set of Impoverishment rules triggered by MASCULINE PERSONAL, and ‘Class X’ diacritics on n heads

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>n-head</th>
<th>Impoverishment 1</th>
<th>Impoverishment 2</th>
<th>Impoverishment 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class 1 (premier)</td>
<td>[-OP] → (\phi) / [__, -PI]</td>
<td>[-OV] → (\phi) / [__, +Pl, +OP]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 2 (mnich)</td>
<td>[-OP] → (\phi) / [__, -PI]</td>
<td>[-OV] → (\phi) / [__, -PI]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 3 (głupi-ec)</td>
<td>[-SH] → (\phi)</td>
<td>[-OV] → (\phi) / [__, +PI, +OP]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 4 (Belg)</td>
<td>[-OP] → (\phi)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 5 (mer)</td>
<td>[-SH] → (\phi)</td>
<td>[-OV] → (\phi) / [__, +PI, +OP]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 6 (drańi)</td>
<td>[-SH] → (\phi)</td>
<td>[+OV] → (\phi) / [__, +PI, +SH]</td>
<td>[+PI] → (\phi) / [__, -OP, -OV]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 7 (kibic)</td>
<td>[+PI] → (\phi) / [__, -OP, -OV]</td>
<td>[-OP] → (\phi) / [__, -PI]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 8 (krakowi-an-in)</td>
<td>[-PI] → (\phi)</td>
<td>[-OP] → (\phi) / #^__</td>
<td>[+PI] → (\phi) / [__, -OP, -OV]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 9 (dominik-an-in)</td>
<td>[-PI] → (\phi)</td>
<td>[-OP] → (\phi) / #^__</td>
<td>[+PI] → (\phi) / [__, -OP, -OV]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

43. Impoverishment rule: [+ CONF] → \(\phi\) / [__,+PI] is triggered by MASCULINE PERSONAL diacritic rather than any ‘Class X’ diacritic.
44. Derivation of *krakowi-an-ini-e* /krakɔvʲiapiɲe/ ‘inhabitant of Krakow, loc’

Step 1.

```
  Case
     #
    Case
       [F₁, F₂,...,Fₙ]
      # [¬PL]
  √KRAKOW n₈MP
```

Step 2. Case features get their values

```
  Case
     #
    Case
       [-CON, -OV, +OP, -SH]
      #
  √KRAKOW n₈MP
```

Step 3. Vocabulary Insertion

```
  Case
     #
    Case
       [-CON, -OV, +OP, -SH]
      #
    √KRAKOW n₈MP

  /krakɔv/  /an/
  /in/

  /vʲ/: PR1 triggered by n₈ or /an/

Features in the Case node will be rewritten with the default /e/.```
45. Vocabulary Items for virile adjectives:

[-SH] ⇔ /i~i/

[+OV,+SH,-Pl] ⇔ /ɛɡɔl/

[+CONF,+OP,-SH,-Pl] ⇔ /ɛmu/

[+OP,-SH] ⇔ /i~im/

elsewhere ⇔ /i~ix/

[-CON,+OP,+Pl] ⇔ /i~im’h/

46. Palatalizations working in $a_{\text{MASC.PERS}}$:

PR1 / $a_{\text{MP}} \sim_{[-0V,-0P]}$

PR2 / $a_{\text{MP}} \sim_{[-0V]}$

PR6 / $a_{\text{MP}} \sim_{[-0P]}$

47. Impoverishment rules triggered by $a_{\text{MASC.PERS}}$:

[+SH] → $\phi$ / [__,-CONF,+OP,+Pl]

[-OV] → $\phi$ / [__,+OP]

[-OP] → $\phi$ / [__,+SH]

48. Derivation of the adjective $\text{chorz-y}'/xɔʒl/ ‘sick, nom, pl.’$

Step 1.
Step 2. Fusion

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Agr} \\
\downarrow \\
\sqrt{\text{CHOR}} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{a} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{Agr} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{a}_{\text{MP}} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
[+\text{Pl}, +\text{CONF}, -\text{OV}, -\text{OP}, -\text{SH}]
\]

Step 3. Vocabulary Insertion

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Agr} \\
\downarrow \\
\sqrt{\text{CHOR}} \\
\downarrow \\
/\chi/ \quad /\phi/ \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{a} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{Agr} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{a}_{\text{MP}} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
[+\text{Pl}, +\text{CONF}, -\text{OV}, -\text{OP}, -\text{SH}]
\]

\[
/\j/ \text{ by PR1 triggered by } [-\text{OV}, -\text{OP}] \text{ which are deleted from the representation,}
\]

Agr node is realised \(/i-/i/ associated with [-SH]

49. PR6 is triggered by [-SH] in the case of nominals and [-OP] in the case of adjectival. Since the same features trigger PR1, it must not feed PR6.

50. PR2, on the other hand, is triggered by different features than PR6, hence the feeding between the two is possible.

References:


KAYE, Jonat han (1992): On the interaction of theories of Lexical Phonology and theories of phonological phenomena. — [In:] Wolfgang DRESSLER, Hans LUSCHŪTZKY, Oskar
PFEIFFER and John RENNISON (eds.): *Phonologica* 1988; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 141-155.


