

**Connectivity in the mental lexicon:  
Some implications for morphological theory and typology**

Andrea D. Sims  
The Ohio State University (USA)

In recent years, much work in morphological theory has moved away from models based on morphemes as individual units (the Item-and-Arrangement approach), and towards ones based on words and patterned paradigmatic relations among them (the Word-and-Paradigm approach; Matthews 1972; Stump 2001). A similar trend can be observed in morphological processing, including Information-Theoretic (Kostić 1991; Milin et al. 2009; Moscoso del Prado Martín et al. 2004) and/or Discriminative Learning (Baayen et al. 2011) approaches. Combined, these two lines of research have the potential to be transformative for morphological theory, in part because they shift the locus of explanation (Ackerman et al. 2016). They also suggest new research questions and new answers to classic research questions.

In this talk, I will focus on two classic problems from morphological theory: (1) constraints on derivational affix ordering, and (2) the persistence of inflectional defectiveness (e.g. *\*pobežu* ‘I will conquer’ in Russian). Based on Russian corpus data and Bayesian modeling, I will show that the organization of the mental lexicon is crucial to an adequate understanding of each phenomenon. Just as importantly, I will show that in both instances, the analyses create new questions for morphological typology. The overarching goal of this talk is thus to argue for an approach to morphological theory and typology that vests explanation in the topological organization of the mental lexicon and the cognitive processing of morphological structures.