

Allomorph selection in Piedmontese verbs: between syntax and phonology

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Outline

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Data
- 3 Observations and analysis
- 4 Verb structures
- 5 Conclusion

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Today's talk

- I present ongoing work on Piedmontese verbs.
- Piedmontese is a Gallo-Romance language spoken in an area corresponding roughly to the administrative region of Northwest Italy known as *Piemonte*.
- Data comes from Ricca (2016, 2017) and has been checked with a 90-year-old native speaker from Turin (my grandpa).
- There is, of course, variation, though I will not deal with it: see Clivio (2002), Maiden & Parry (eds) (1997), Loporcaro (2009), Ricca (2016) i.a.
- Aim: to discuss the status of allomorphy wrt syntactic structure on the one side, and phonological representation on the other.

Previous work

- Today's talk builds on a talk from 2017 and a paper from 2018.
- In 2017's talk, I claimed that Piedmontese verbs show examples of two distinct types of zeroes: (i) zeroes corresponding to zero-exponence, i.e. they bear meaning, and (ii) zeroes reflecting pure emptiness, i.e. absence of any linguistic signs.
- In 2018's paper, I analyze the patterns of allomorphy of Piedmontese verbs in strict CVCV (Lowenstamm 1996, 2004).

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Infinitive forms

- As common in Romance: three conjugations (Ricca 2017)

Table: Infinitive

conj.	1	2	3
Inf	but-é [by't-e]	les-e ['lez-e]	fin-ì [fi'ni]
Glosses	'to put'	'to read'	'to finish'

Present indicative forms

Table: Present indicative

conj.	1	2	3
1sg	but-o ['byt-u]	les-o ['lez-u]	finiss-o [fi'nis-u]
2sg	but-e ['byt-e]	les-e ['lez-e]	finiss-e [fi'nis-e]
3sg	but-a ['byt-a]	les ['lez]	finiss [fi'nis]
1p1	but-oma [by't-uma]	les-oma [le'z-uma]	fini-oma [fi'nj-uma]
2p1	but-e ['byt-e]	les-e ['lez-e]	finiss-e [fi'nis-e]
3p1	but-o ['byt-u]	les-o ['lez-u]	finiss-o [fi'nis-u]

Caveat: I abstract away from subject clitics, which occur obligatorily with each inflected form. See Clivio (2002), Maiden and Parry (1997: 108-ff.), Ricca (2017) for an overview on data.

(1) *mi i buto* 'I put'; *ti it bute* 'you put'; *chiel a buta* 'he puts'; etc..

Present indicative forms

Table: Imperfect indicative

conj .	1	2	3
1sg	but-av-a [by't-av-a]	les-ì-a [le'z-i-a]	fin-ì-a [fi'n-i-a]
2sg	but-av-e [by't-av-e]	les-ì-e [le'z-i-e]	fin-ì-e [fi'n-i-e]
3sg	but-av-a [by't-av-a]	les-ì-a [le'z-i-a]	fin-ì-a [fi'n-i-a]
1pl	but-av-o [by't-av-u]	les-ì-o [le'z-i-u]	fin-ì-o [fi'n-i-u]
2pl	but-av-e [by't-av-u]	les-ì-e [le'z-i-e]	fin-ì-e [fi'n-i-e]
3pl	but-av-o [by't-av-u]	les-ì-o [le'z-i-u]	fin-ì-o [fi'n-i-u]

Present subjunctive forms

Table: Present subjunctive

conj.	1	2	3
1sg	but-a ['byt-a]	les-a ['lez-a]	finiss-a [fi'nis-a]
2sg	but-e ['byt-e]	les-e ['lez-e]	finiss-e [fi'nis-e]
3sg	but-a ['byt-a]	les-a ['lez-a]	finiss-a [fi'nis-a]
1p1	but-o ['byt-u]	les-o ['lez-u]	finiss-o [fi'nis-u]
2p1	but-e ['byt-e]	les-e ['lez-e]	finiss-e [fi'nis-e]
3p1	but-o ['byt-u]	les-o ['lez-u]	finiss-o [fi'nis-u]

- (2) *ch'i buta* 'that I put'; *ch'it bute* 'that you put'; *ch'a buta* 'that he puts'; etc..

Roots and Themes

Table: Roots and Themes

conj.	PresInd	ImplInd	PresSubj	Glosses
1	byt-	byt-av-	byt-	'to put'
2	lez-	lez-i-	lez-	'to read'
3	finis-/fini-	fin-i-	finis-	'to finish'

PresInd = present indicative; ImplInd = imperfect indicative;
PresSubj = present subjunctive.

Inflectional endings

Table: Inflectional endings

	PresInd	Implnd	PresSubj
1sg	u	a	a
2sg	e	e	e
3sg	a/∅	a	a
1pl	uma	u	u
2pl	e	e	e
3pl	u	u	u

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Allomorphic alternations 1

(3) 3sg

- a. -a (1st conj) vs. \emptyset (2nd, 3rd conj) in PresInd.
- b. BUT NOT in Implnd and PresSubj, which display a single ending -a.

(4) TAM

- a. PresInd and PresSubj select for no overt exponents;
- b. Implnd has two: -àv- (1st conj.) vs. -ì- (2nd, 3rd conj)

Allomorphic alternations 2

(5) 1pl

- a. -oma vs. -o reflects the opposition PresInd vs. Implnd/PresSubj
- b. The three conj. behave in the same manner.

(6) Roots

- a. No alternation in conj.1/2
- b. Conj 3: fini- and finiss-. Finíss- is stressed; fini- is unstressed.

Assumptions: Strict CV

- Strict CV (Lowenstamm 1996, Scheer 2004)
- Autosegmental VIs (Bendjaballah & Haiden 2008)

(7) VIs

- roots = a fixed template of CV-units
- 1sg, 2sg, 3sg, etc.. = floating vowels
- PresSubj = CV
- Implnd = -av- (conj 1), -i- (conj. 2/3)
- PresInd = wait for it!

Assumption: locality and modular PIC

Locality restrictions on allomorphy

Following Embick (2010, 2015), allomorphy is constrained by locality: a morpheme may trigger allomorphy of another morpheme only if these are adjacent and spelled-out within the same phase.

Modular PIC (D'Alessandro & Scheer 2015, Scheer this conference): "a PIC may or may not correlate with a phase". A phase associated with PIC at PF will be visible in the phonology.

Proposal

(8) Hypothesis

- a. PresSubj (=T head) is associated with PIC at PF and triggers spell-out
- b. Both Implnd and PresInd are not.

This allows for an analysis of the alternations (5) and (6): 1pl and fini/finis.

Conj 3 PresSubj

Two syntactic domains, PIC at PF

(9) PresSubj 1sg, 1pl finissa [fi'nisa]

1sg

PresSubj

u
|
C V

Root f i n i s
 | | | |
 C V C V C V]

The square bracket] indicates phase boundary.

Conj 3 Implnd

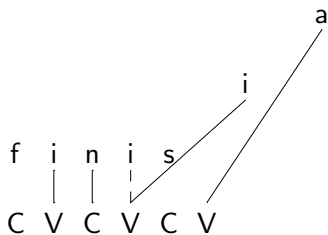
Two syntactic domains, no PIC at PF.

(10) Implnd 1sg, finìa [fi'nia]

1sg

Implnd

Root



PresInd is different

- PresInd has neither an overt marker, nor \emptyset .
- As I proposed back in 2017, I claim that PresInd has a simpler structure (I will return to this): $\sqrt{\text{V}}$, v, Agr. (cf. Calabrese 2015 for a similar proposal)
- This explains why the root triggers allomorphy of Pers/Num markers.

Conj 3 PresInd

One syntactic domain, no PIC at PF

(13) PresInd 1sg, finisso [fi'nisu]

1sg

PresInd

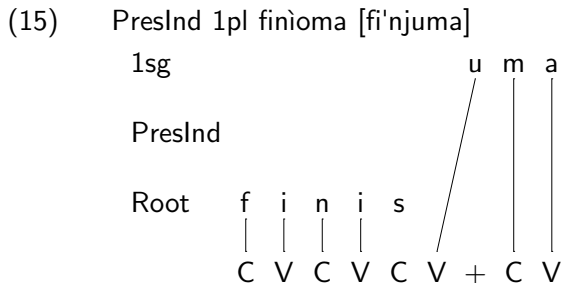
Root

f	i	n	i	s	
					↗
C	V	C	V	C	V

u

Template is satisfied; PresInd has no overt marker.

Conj 3 PresInd



The last segment of the root, -s, remains afloat.

PresSubj 1pl vs PresInd 1pl

The comparison between PresSubj 1pl vs PresInd 1pl points to PIC being active in the former, but not in the latter:

- (17) PresSubj
- a. [[fi'nis] u]
 - b. [['byt] u]
- (18) PresInd
- a. [fi'njuma]
 - b. [by'tuma]

Allomorphy of ImplInd marker is triggered by the root

Conjugation 1

- ImplInd 3sg [by't-av-a] /byt-av-a/ *byt-ì-a
- ImplInd 1pl [by't-av-u] /byt-av-u/ *byt-ì-u, *byt-av-uma

VI: ImplInd \Leftrightarrow -av- / conj. 1

Conjugation 2 (and 3)

- ImplInd 3sg [le'z-i-a] /lez-i-a/ *lez-ì
- ImplInd 1pl [l'ez-i-u] /lez-i-u/ *lez-ì-uma

VI: ImplInd \Leftrightarrow -ì- / conj. 2,3

Segmentally zero-exponence: PresSubj

Conjugation 2

- PresSubj 3sg ['lez-a] /lez-∅-a/ *lez
- PresSubj 1pl ['lez-u] /lez-∅-u/ *lez-uma

Conjugation 3

- PresSubj 3sg [fi'nis-a] /finis-∅-a/ *finis
- PresSubj 1pl [fi'nis-u] /finis-∅-u/ *fini(s)-uma

VI: PresSubj ⇔ ∅
CV

This segmentally empty, but templatic exponent works as it was an overt marker, i.e. it blocks the allomorphy of 3sg triggered by the root.

3sg/1pl in PresInd

Conjugation 1

- PresInd 3sg ['byt-a] /byt-a/
- PresInd 1pl [by't-uma] /byt-uma/ *byt-u

Conjugation 2

- PresInd 3sg ['lez] /lez- / *lez-a
- PresInd 1pl [le'z-uma] /lez-uma/ *lez-u

There is no marker of PresInd. Curiously, Ricca (2017), who proposes a morpheme-based analysis of these paradigms, claims that PresSubj has a zero TAM morpheme, whilst PresInd has...none.

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Piedmontese verb structures

Syntactic structure (an entire literature: see Embick 2000, Oltra-Massuet & Arregi 2005 a.o.)

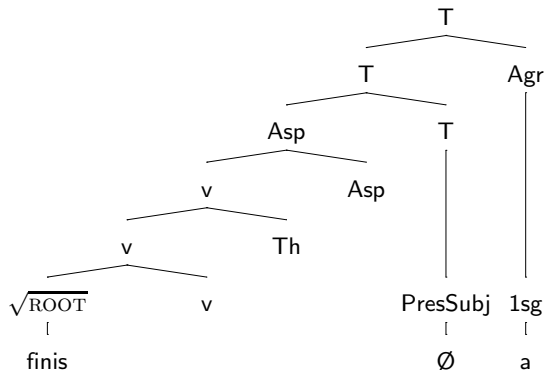
(19) [Agr [T [Asp [v ROOT]_{vP}]]_{AspP}]]_{TP}]]_{AgrP}

Complex head

(20) ROOT + v, Th + TAM + Infl

PresSubj, T triggers PIC at PF

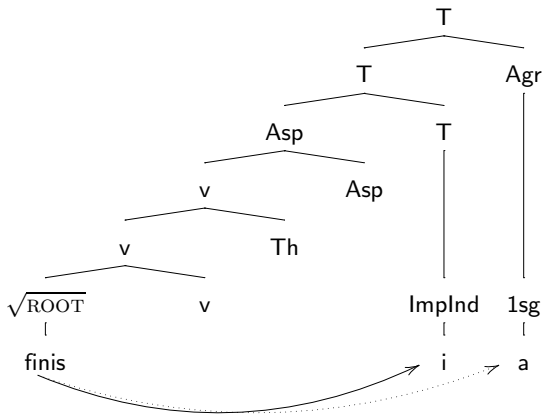
(21) *finissa* [finisa] 1sg, PresSubj



Because of PIC, no allomorphy is possible between the root and T.

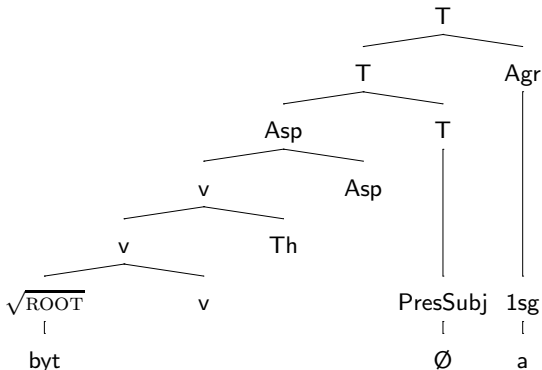
ImplInd, no PIC at PF

(22) *fini-ì-a* [finia] 1sg, ImplInd



PresSubj, T triggers PIC at PF

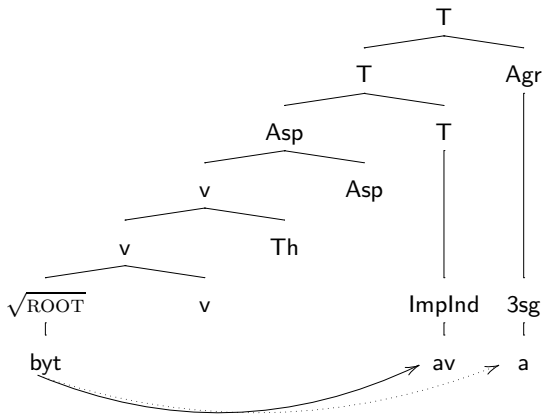
(23) *buta* [byta] 1sg, PresSubj



Because of PIC, no allomorphy is possible between the root and T.

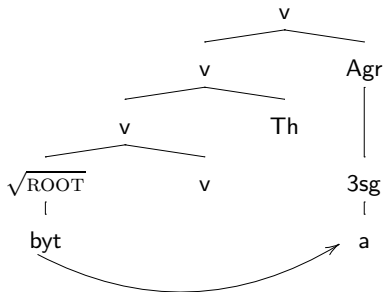
ImplInd, no PIC at PF

(24) *but-av-a* [bytava] 3sg, ImplInd



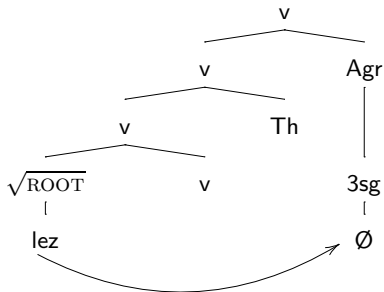
3sg -a vs. \emptyset alternation is triggered by the root in PresInd

(25) *but-a* [byta] 3sg, PresInd



3sg -a vs. \emptyset alternation is triggered by the root in PresInd

(26) *lez* [lez] 3sg, PresInd



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Concluding remarks:

- To find independent evidence of lack of AspP, TP in PresInd (cf. Pullum & Zwicky 1992: less structure in the input allows for avoidance of \emptyset -exponence).
- To refine the representational analysis of conjugation 3 root allomorphy: *finiss-*, *fini-* (look at the entire paradigm).
- To look at root-alternating verbs from conj 1.
- Piedmontese verbs offer interesting evidence in favor of clear-cut division of labor between phonology and morphology/syntax in triggering allomorphy.

	IND.PRS.3SG	IND.PRS.1PL	Foni in alternanza	
			B _{2,3}	B ₁
1. 'suonare'	'suŋa	su'numa	ŋ	n
2. 'portare'	'pɔrta	pur'tuma	ɔ	u
3. 'uscire'	sɔert	syr'tuma	æ	y
4. 'provare'	'prɔeva	pru'vuma	æ	u
5. 'picchiare'	pa'tela	pa'tluma	e	∅
(6. 'pesare'	'pejza	pə'zuma)	ɛj	ə

Data from Ricca (2017: 272)

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