

# Dittongo mobile and *g* verbs

## Reducing root allomorphy in Italian verbs

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28 January 2021

# In a nutshell

- ▶ Broad theoretical claims
  - i. No need PH-conditioned allomorphy, phonology is enough
  - ii. No DM-based approaches, they are not restrictive enough

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    - ▶ *Dittongo mobile*
    - ▶ *g*-verbs distribution
    - ▶ Their complementary distribution

# In a nutshell

- ▶ Broad theoretical claims
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- ▶ Specific goals of the talk
  - i. Provide a single-UR account of
    - ▶ *Dittongo mobile*
    - ▶ *g*-verbs distribution
    - ▶ Their complementary distribution
  - ii. Show how this account betters previous analysis
    - ▶ Single-UR (Lampitelli 2017)
    - ▶ PH-conditioned lexical allomorphy (Pirelli & Battista 2000, Maiden 2001, Burzio 2014)

# Dittongo mobile

► *sedere* 'to sit' IND.PRS

	SG	PL
1	'sjɛ:do	se'dja:mo
2	'sjɛ:di	se'dɛ:te
3	'sjɛ:de	'sjɛdono

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► *morire* 'to die' IND.PRS

	SG	PL
1	'mɔ:jo	mo'rja:mo
2	'mɔ:ri	mo'rixte
3	'mɔ:re	'mɔjono

## Dittongo mobile

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# Dittongo mobile

- ▶ 'jɛ/'wɔ ~ e/o
  - ▶ Not all e/o become 'jɛ/'wɔ
    - ▶ be'vja:mo 'we drink' ~ 'be:vo 'I drink' vs \*'bjɛ:vo
    - ▶ vo'tja:mo 'we vote' ~ 'vo:to 'I vote' vs \*'vwɔ:to



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  - ▶ Not all 'jɛ/'wɔ become e/o
    - ▶ 'pjɛ:go 'I fold' ~ pje'gja:mo 'we fold' vs \*pe'gja:mo
    - ▶ 'swɔ:no 'I play' ~ swo'nja:mo 'we play' vs \*so'nja:mo

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- ▶ 6 verbs
  - ▶ II class (T<sub>H</sub> = e): *sedere* 'to sit', *tenere* 'to hold', *volere* 'to want', *dolere* 'to hurt'
  - ▶ III class (T<sub>H</sub> = i): *venire* 'to come', *morire* 'to die'

## g-verbs

► *rimanere* 'to remain' IND.PRS

	SG	PL
1	ri'maŋgo	rima'nja:mo
2	ri'ma:ni	rima'nerte
3	ri'ma:ne	ri'maŋgono

## g-verbs

► *rimanere* 'to remain' IND.PRS

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► *rimanere* 'to remain' SBJ.PRS

	SG	PL
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2	ri'maŋga	rima'nja:te
3	ri'maŋga	ri'maŋgano

## g-verbs

- ▶  $\emptyset \sim g$  / \_ o,a
  - ▶ Not all **C-o,a** become **Cg-o,a** (**C** = sonorant)
    - ▶  $\sqrt{\text{FIN}}$  'end' > fi'n-isc-o<sub>1SG.PRS.IND</sub> vs \*fi'ng-o<sub>1SG.PRS.IND</sub>

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    - ▶  $\sqrt{\text{FIN}}$  'end' > fi'n-isc-**o**<sub>1SG.PRS.IND</sub> vs \*fiŋg-**o**<sub>1SG.PRS.IND</sub>
- ▶ 9 verbs
  - ▶ II class ( $T_H = e$ ): *tenere* 'to hold', *svellere* 'to pluck out', *valere* 'to be worth, count', *porre* 'to put, set', *rimanere* 'to stay, remain', *sciogliere* 'to dissolve', *togliere* 'to remove', *dolere* 'to hurt'
  - ▶ III class ( $T_H = i$ ): *venire* 'to come', *salire* 'to go up'

## Dittongo mobile & g-verbs

- ▶ *tenere* 'to hold' IND.PRS

	SG	PL
1	'tɛŋgo	te'nja:mo
2	'tjɛ:ni	te'nɛ:te
3	'tjɛ:ne	'tɛŋgono

## Dittongo mobile & *g*-verbs

- ▶ Diphthong-*g* complementary distribution
  - ▶ 'tɛngɔ vs \*'tjɛŋgɔ (cf. 'tjɛ:ni)



## Dittongo mobile & *g*-verbs

- ▶ Diphthong-*g* complementary distribution
  - ▶ 'tɛŋgo vs \*'tjɛŋgo (cf. 'tjɛ:ni)
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  - ▶ II class (T<sub>H</sub> = e): *tenere* 'to hold', *dolere* 'to hurt'
  - ▶ III class (T<sub>H</sub> = i): *venire* 'to come'

# Explananda

- ▶ Dittongo mobile
  - ▶ 'jɛ/'wɔ ~ e/o
- ▶ *g*-verbs
  - ▶ ∅ ~ **g (with root-final C resyllabification)**
- ▶ Dittongo mobile & *g*-verbs
  - ▶ **Diphthong-g complementary distribution**

# Preview of the analysis

## i. *Dittongo mobile*

- ▶ The glide of *dittongo mobile* - G - belongs to a complex onset
- ▶ G surfaces only if licensed by 'V:

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## ii. *g*-verbs

- ▶ *g* is a floater belonging to the ROOT
- ▶ *g* surfaces only if licensed by  $V_{[-\text{front}]}$  *and* associated to C

# Preview of the analysis

- i. *Dittongo mobile*
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  - ▶ G surfaces only if licensed by 'V:
- ii. *g*-verbs
  - ▶ *g* is a floater belonging to the ROOT
  - ▶ *g* surfaces only if licensed by  $V_{[-front]}$  *and* associated to C
- iii. *Dittongo mobile-g* complementary distribution
  - ▶ *g* forces ROOT-final C resyllabification
  - ▶ ROOT-final C prevents 'V lengthening
  - ▶ No 'V lengthening, *dittongo mobile*'s G pronunciation

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Hypotheses

Theoretical toolkit

Analysis

Conclusions

# Hypotheses - Dittongo mobile

- i. Rising diph are 'complex O' (Marotta 1988, Kramer 2009)
  - ▶ Acoustic measurements (Salza 1988)
  - ▶ GV words select the pre-C Det (Loporcaro & Bertinetto 2005)
  - ▶ \*TRGV
    - ▶ Exception: TR-*jamo*<sub>1PL.PRS.IND/SBJ</sub>, TR-*jate*<sub>2PL.PRS.SBJ</sub>

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  - ▶ \*TRGV
    - ▶ Exception: TR-*jamo*<sub>1PL.PRS.IND/SBJ</sub>, TR-*jate*<sub>2PL.PRS.SBJ</sub>
- ii. Non-alternating diph as CGV vs *dittongo mobile* as CGV
  - ▶ G surfaces only if followed, i.e. licensed by 'V':



## Hypotheses - *g*-verbs

- i. *g* is stored in the UR of the relevant roots
- ii. *g* is a floater
- iii. The presence of |l| (in a V) blocks the licensing of *g*'s |U|
  - ▶ *g* can only be licensed by *o*, *a* (Fanciullo 1998, Burzio 2004, Lampitelli 2019)

## Hypotheses - Dittongo mobile - *g*-verbs interaction

- i. *g*-surfacing pushes ROOT-final *n*, *r*, *l* backwards
  - ▶ Scheer (2016, on Hungarian): “/i/ moves to the onset of the CV unit that is endowed with [due to] harmonic pressure”
  - ▶ Faust & Lampitelli (tomorrow): “*multiple correspondence*, whereby the melody lexically associated to  $x_1$  is realized by  $x_2$ ”

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- ii. /'C(G)V:/ → /'C(G)VC/ → ['CVC]
- iii. 'V: is a stronger licenser than 'V

# Hypotheses - Licensing

- ▶ Lic strength  $\propto$  complexity (Cyrus 2008, 2010)
  - ▶ Full V > ə > EN
  - ▶ Complexity *qua* prosodic prominence
    - ▶ Mid vowels are not stronger than corner vowels

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- ▶ V Lic TR  $\Rightarrow$  'V Lic TR, \*'V Lic TR  $\Rightarrow$  V Lic TR (Harris 1997)
  - ▶ Br. Port. ['livru] > ['livu] 'book'
  - ▶ Palmoli ['kwɛllə] 'that<sub>F.PL</sub>' vs [ˌkəllə'fɛmmənə] 'that<sub>F.PL</sub> woman<sub>F.PL</sub>'

# Hypotheses - Licensing

- i. Branchingness contributes to complexity calculation
  - ▶  $'\mathbf{CV}_i\mathbf{CV}_i > '\mathbf{CVC}\emptyset > \mathbf{CV}$
  - ▶ Language-specific cut-off point

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# Theoretical toolkit

- ▶ Element Theory (Backley 2011)
- ▶ Strict CV (Lowenstamm 1999, Scheer 2004)
  - ▶ Complexity Scales and Licensing Strength (Cyrano 2003, 2010)
- ▶ Stress as CV (modified version of Larsen 1998, QT)

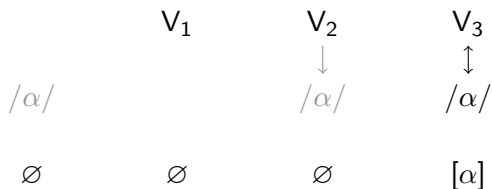
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    - ▶ Cannot be modified

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- ▶ Turbidity Theory (Goldrick 2001)
  - ▶ Projection: skeleton-to-melody (↓)
    - ▶ Defined at UR
    - ▶ Cannot be modified
  - ▶ Pronunciation: melody-to-skeleton (↑)
    - ▶ Defined at UR
    - ▶ Can be modified (deleted, added, moved)

# Theoretical toolkit



TT representations (Cavirani & van Oostendorp 2017, 2019)

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Hypotheses

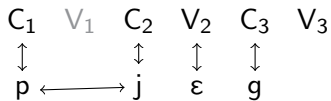
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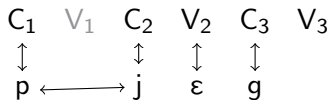
## Non-alternating diphthong

- ▶  $\sqrt{\text{PIEG}}$  'fold'

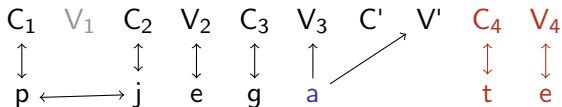


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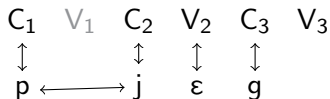


- ▶ 2PL.IND.PRS:  $\sqrt{\text{ }}$  + floating  $a_{\text{TH}}$  +  $C_t V_{e2\text{PL}}$   $\Leftrightarrow$  [pje'ga:te]

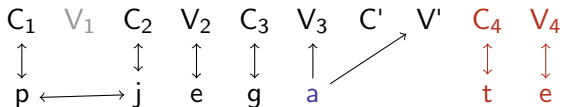


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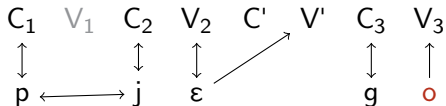
- ▶  $\sqrt{\text{PIEG}}$  'fold'



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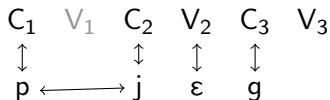
- ▶ 1SG.IND.PRS:  $\sqrt{\text{ }}$  + floating  $o_{1\text{SG}}$   $\Leftrightarrow$  ['pjε:go]



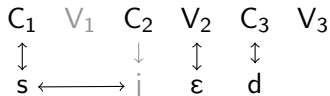


## Dittongo mobile

- ▶  $\sqrt{\text{PIEG}}$  'fold'



- ▶  $\sqrt{\text{SIED}}$  'sit' - *Dittongo mobile*

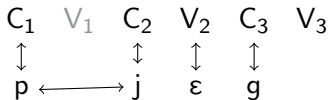


- ▶ Non-alternating diphthong

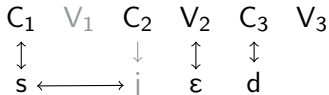
- ▶  $C_2$  has both  $\uparrow$  and  $\downarrow \Rightarrow$  always pronounced  $\Rightarrow$  no Lic required

## Dittongo mobile

- ▶  $\sqrt{\text{PIEG}}$  'fold'



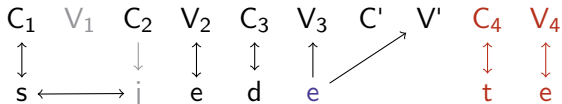
- ▶  $\sqrt{\text{SIED}}$  'sit' - *Dittongo mobile*



- ▶ Non-alternating diphthong
  - ▶  $C_2$  has both  $\uparrow$  and  $\downarrow \Rightarrow$  always pronounced  $\Rightarrow$  no Lic required
- ▶ *Dittongo mobile*
  - ▶  $C_2$  has only  $\downarrow \Rightarrow$  pronounced if Lic
    - ▶  $V_2 \text{ Lic} > x, x \propto \text{complexity}$

## Dittongo mobile

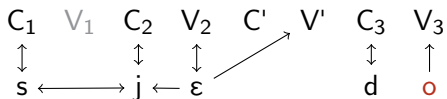
- ▶ 2PL.IND.PRS:  $\sqrt{\quad}$  + floating  $e_{\text{TH}}$  +  $C_t V_{e2\text{PL}}$   $\Leftrightarrow$  [se'de:te]



- ▶  $V_2$  is unstressed  $\Rightarrow$  weak licenser
- ▶  $V_2$  cannot Lic  $C_2 \Rightarrow$  no  $j$ -to- $C_2 \uparrow \Rightarrow$  silent  $j$

## Dittongo mobile

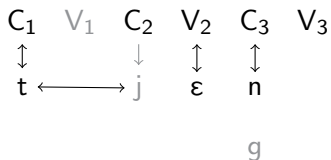
- ▶ 1SG.IND.PRS:  $\checkmark$  + floating  $o_{1SG} \Leftrightarrow$  ['sjɛ:do]



- ▶  $V_2$  is stressed *and* long  $\Rightarrow$  strong(est) licenser
  - ▶ Branchingness adds to complexity
- ▶  $V_2$  Lic  $C_2 \Rightarrow j$ -to- $C_2$   $\uparrow$  insertion  $\Rightarrow j$  pronunciation

## Dittongo mobile & g

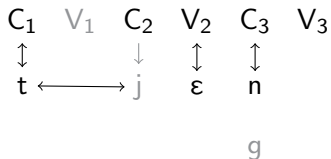
- ▶  $\sqrt{\text{TIEN}^G}$  'hold'



- ▶ Floating  $g \Rightarrow$  neither ↓ nor ↑

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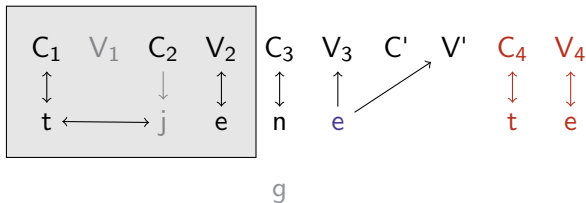
- ▶  $\sqrt{\text{TIEN}^G}$  'hold'



- ▶ Floating  $g \Rightarrow$  neither ↓ nor ↑
- ▶ Pronounced if
  - ▶ Licensed
  - ▶ Associated to C

## Dittongo mobile & g

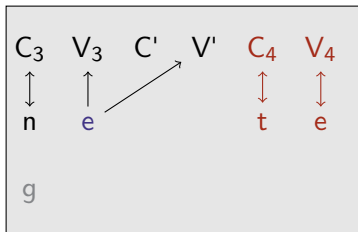
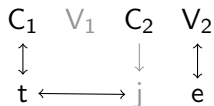
- ▶ 2PL.IND.PRS:  $\checkmark$  + floating  $e_{TH}$  +  $C_t V_{e2PL}$   $\Leftrightarrow$  [te'ne:te]



- ▶ V<sub>2</sub> is unstressed  $\Rightarrow$  weak licenser
- ▶ V<sub>2</sub> cannot Lic C<sub>2</sub>  $\Rightarrow$  no  $j$ -to-C<sub>2</sub>  $\uparrow$   $\Rightarrow$  silent  $j$

## Dittongo mobile & g

- ▶ 2PL.IND.PRS:  $\sqrt{\quad}$  + floating  $e_{TH}$  +  $C_t V_{e2PL}$   $\Leftrightarrow$  [te'nexte]

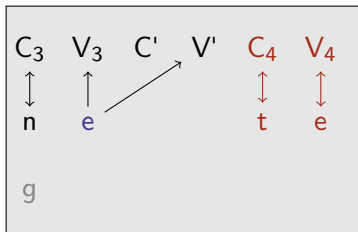
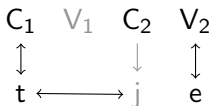


- ▶ No free C for  $g$ 
  - ▶ 'V used by  $e \Rightarrow$  'C unavailable



## Dittongo mobile & *g*

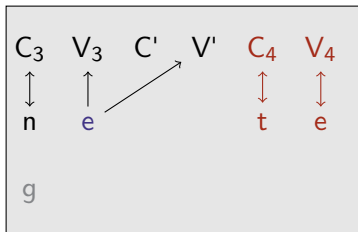
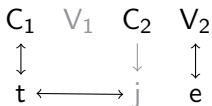
- ▶ 2PL.IND.PRS:  $\checkmark$  + floating  $e_{TH}$  +  $C_t V_{e2PL}$   $\Leftrightarrow$  [te'neɾe]



- ▶ No free C for *g*
  - ▶ 'V used by *e*  $\Rightarrow$  'C unavailable
  - ▶ \*te'negte
    - ▶ \*gt
    - ▶ No *g* licenser (EN too weak to Lic *g*)

## Dittongo mobile & *g*

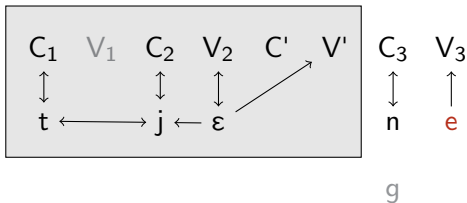
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    - ▶ \*gt
    - ▶ No *g* licenser (EN too weak to Lic *g*)
- ▶ *g* stays afloat

## Dittongo mobile & g

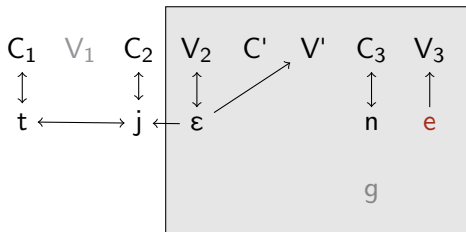
- ▶ 3SG.IND.PRS:  $\checkmark$  + floating  $e_{3SG} \Leftrightarrow$  ['tjɛ:ne]



- ▶ V<sub>2</sub> is stressed *and* long  $\Rightarrow$  strong(est) licensor
  - ▶ Branchingness adds to complexity
- ▶ V<sub>2</sub> Lic C<sub>2</sub>  $\Rightarrow$  *j*-to-C<sub>2</sub>  $\uparrow$  insertion  $\Rightarrow$  *j* pronunciation
  - ▶ C<sub>2</sub>-C<sub>1</sub> IOL  $\Rightarrow$  V<sub>1</sub> trapping

## Dittongo mobile & g

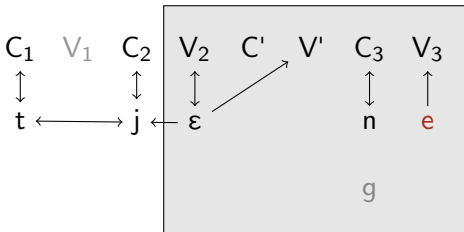
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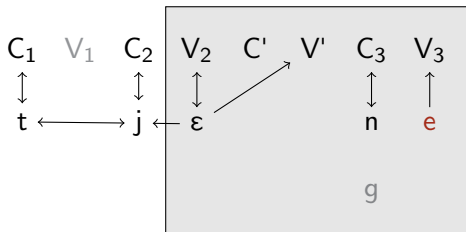
- ▶ 3SG.IND.PRS:  $\checkmark$  + floating  $e_{3SG} \Leftrightarrow$  ['tjɛ:ne]



- ▶ No free C for *g*
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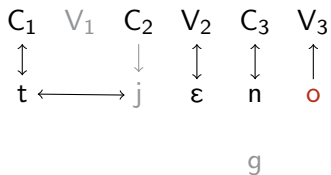
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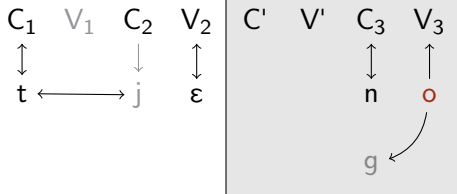
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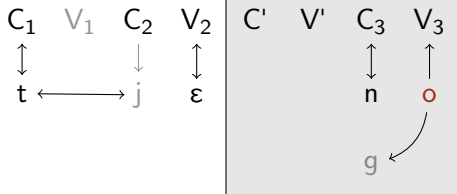


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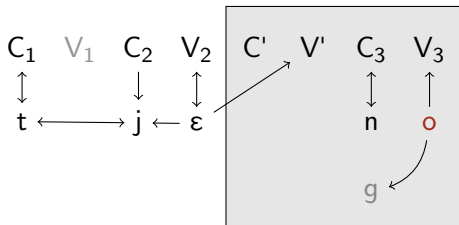
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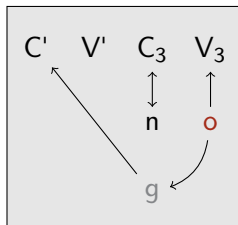
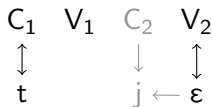
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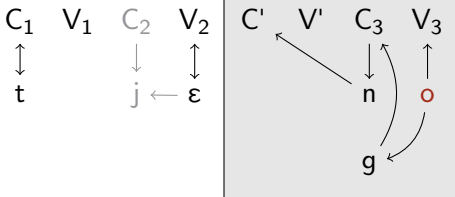
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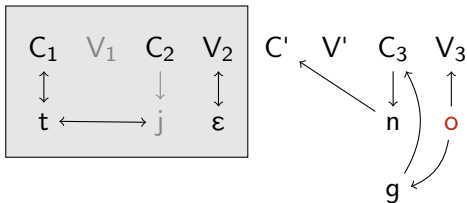
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  - ▶  $g \uparrow$  in  $C_3$  &  $n \uparrow$  in  $C'$   $\Rightarrow$   $\eta g$ 
    - ▶  $\uparrow$  from  $n$ -to- $C_3$  to  $n$ -to- $C'$

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- ▶ 1SG.IND.PRS:  $\checkmark$  + floating  $o_{1SG}$   $\Leftrightarrow$  ['tɛŋɡo]



- ▶ V<sub>2</sub> is stressed *but* non-branching  $\Rightarrow$  weak licenser
  - ▶ 'CV<sub>i</sub>CV<sub>i</sub> > 'CVC $\emptyset$  > CV
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## Previous accounts - Lampitelli (2017)

- ▶ **Strict CV and Elements**
- ▶ DM
- ▶ **One UR**
  - ▶ Two CV-units ROOT template
  - ▶ Floating ROOT vowel and *n*
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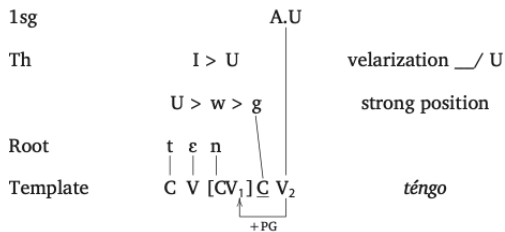
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- ▶ **g before V**<sub>[+back]</sub> (Fanciullo 1998 and Burzio 2004)
- ▶ *g* as fortition of |l|<sub>TH</sub>

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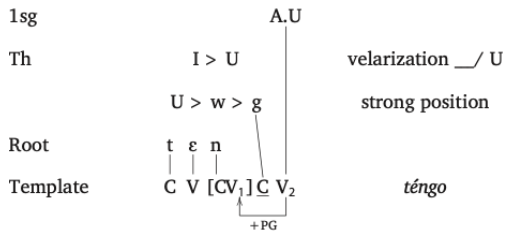
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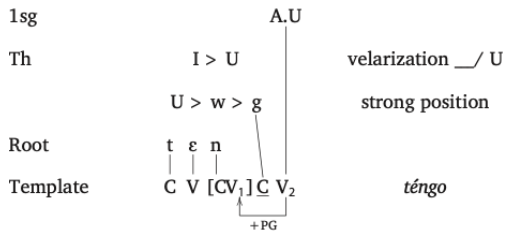


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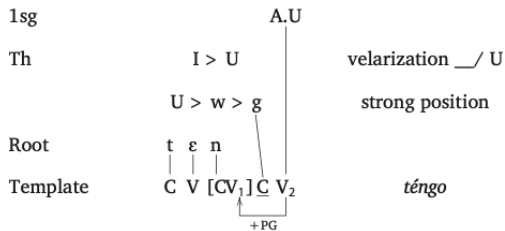


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Theoretical toolkit

Analysis

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# Credits

- ▶ Maria Cortiula, Michal Starke & nanolab
- ▶ Tobias Scheer

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  - ▶ See also Rohlfs (1968) and Pirelli & Battista (2000)



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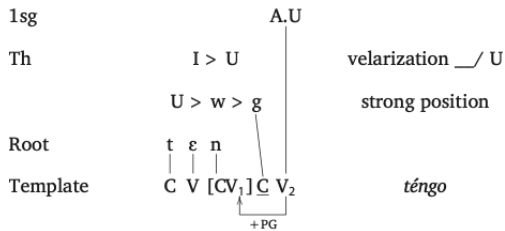
$$\begin{array}{c} t \text{ |I.A| } n \\ | \\ C \text{ V } C \text{ V} \end{array}$$

- ▶ Diphthong and *g* iif stress on the ROOT V  $\Rightarrow$  extra CV slot
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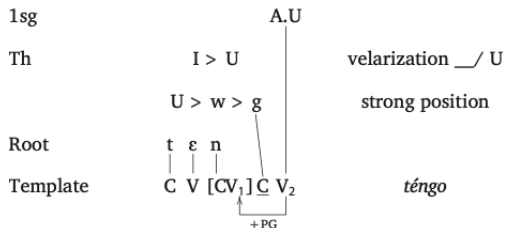
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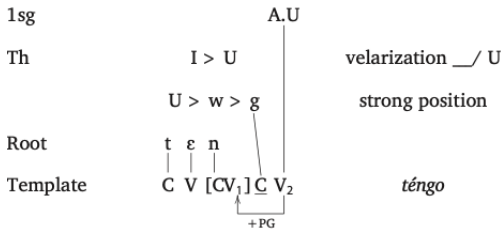
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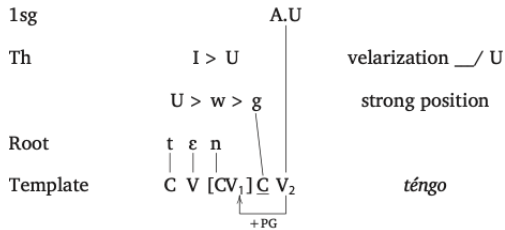
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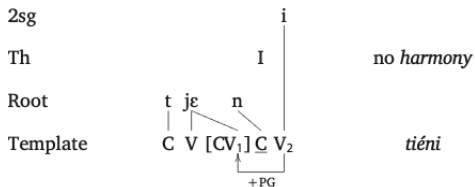
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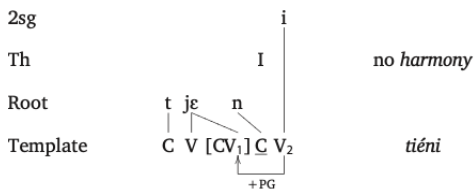
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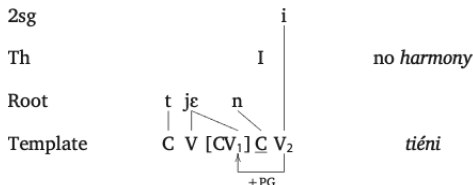
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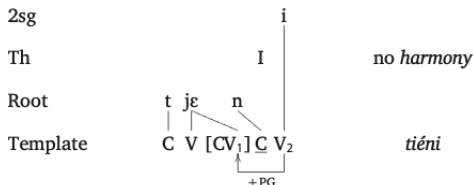
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## 1SG & 2SG vs 3SG

- ▶ 1SG.IND.PRS: ['tɛŋgɔ], ['a:mo]  $\Rightarrow$  ...CVC<sub>√</sub>-o
  - ▶ 1SG.IND.PRS phonological exponent: floating o
  - ▶ o docks onto the  $\sqrt{\text{V}}$ -final V<sub>∅</sub>
  - ▶ No TH (unless G < |I| as per Lampitelli 2017)

## 1SG & 2SG vs 3SG

- ▶ 1SG.IND.PRS: ['tɛŋgɒ], ['a:mo] ⇒ ...CVC<sub>√</sub>-o
  - ▶ 1SG.IND.PRS phonological exponent: floating o
  - ▶ o docks onto the <sub>√</sub>-final V<sub>∅</sub>
  - ▶ No TH (unless G < || as per Lampitelli 2017)
- ▶ 2SG.IND.PRS: ['tjɛ:ni], ['a:mi] ⇒ ...CVC<sub>√</sub>-i
  - ▶ 2SG.IND.PRS phonological exponent: floating i
  - ▶ i docks onto the <sub>√</sub>-final V<sub>∅</sub>
  - ▶ No TH

# 1SG & 2SG vs 3SG

- ▶ 1SG.IND.PRS: ['tɛŋgɔ], ['a:mo] ⇒ ...CVC<sub>√</sub>-o
  - ▶ 1SG.IND.PRS phonological exponent: **floating o**
  - ▶ o docks onto the  $\sqrt{\text{ }}$ -final V<sub>∅</sub>
  - ▶ No TH (unless G < || as per Lampitelli 2017)
- ▶ 2SG.IND.PRS: ['tjɛ:ni], ['a:mi] ⇒ ...CVC<sub>√</sub>-i
  - ▶ 2SG.IND.PRS phonological exponent: **floating i**
  - ▶ i docks onto the  $\sqrt{\text{ }}$ -final V<sub>∅</sub>
  - ▶ No TH
- ▶ 3SG.IND.PRS: ['tjɛ:ne], ['a:ma] ⇒ ...CVC<sub>√</sub>-e/a
  - ▶ 3SG.IND.PRS phonological exponent
    - ▶ Class II, III: **floating e**
    - ▶ Class I: **floating a**

# 1SG & 2SG vs 3SG

- ▶ 1SG.IND.PRS: ['tɛŋgɔ], ['a:mo] ⇒ ...CVC<sub>√-</sub>o
  - ▶ 1SG.IND.PRS phonological exponent: floating o
  - ▶ o docks onto the  $\sqrt{-}$ -final V<sub>∅</sub>
  - ▶ No TH (unless G < || as per Lampitelli 2017)
- ▶ 2SG.IND.PRS: ['tjɛ:ni], ['a:mi] ⇒ ...CVC<sub>√-</sub>i
  - ▶ 2SG.IND.PRS phonological exponent: floating i
  - ▶ i docks onto the  $\sqrt{-}$ -final V<sub>∅</sub>
  - ▶ No TH
- ▶ 3SG.IND.PRS: ['tjɛ:ne], ['a:ma] ⇒ ...CVC<sub>√-</sub>e/a
  - ▶ 3SG.IND.PRS phonological exponent
    - ▶ Class II, III: floating e
    - ▶ Class I: floating a
  - ▶ Class-sensitive allomorphy?

# 1SG & 2SG vs 3SG - a nanosyntax proposal

- ▶ 3SG.IND.PRS: ['tjɛ:ne], ['a:ma] ⇒ ...CVC<sub>√</sub>-e/a
  - ▶ TH vowels
    - ▶ Class III = |I| (*tenere*)
    - ▶ Class II = |A.I| (*venire*)
    - ▶ Class I = |A| (*amare*)
  - ▶ 3SG.IND.PRS phonological exponent: |A|



# 1SG & 2SG vs 3SG - a nanosyntax proposal

- ▶ 3SG.IND.PRS: ['tjɛ:ne], ['a:ma] ⇒ ...CVC<sub>√</sub>-e/a
  - ▶ TH vowels
    - ▶ Class III = |I| (*tenere*)
    - ▶ Class II = |A.I| (*venire*)
    - ▶ Class I = |A| (*amare*)
  - ▶ 3SG.IND.PRS phonological exponent: |A|
  - ▶ TH & |A|<sub>3SG.IND.PRS</sub> merge in  $\sqrt{\text{-final}} V_{\emptyset}$ 
    - ▶ Class III = |I| + |A| ⇒ ['vjɛ:ne]
    - ▶ Class II = |A.I| + |A| ⇒ ['tjɛ:ne]
    - ▶ Class I = |A| + |A| ⇒ ['a:ma]

# 1SG & 2SG vs 3SG - a nanosyntax proposal

- ▶ 3SG.IND.PRS: ['tjɛ:ne], ['a:ma] ⇒ ...CVC<sub>√</sub>-e/a
  - ▶ TH vowels
    - ▶ Class III = |I| (*tenerē*)
    - ▶ Class II = |A.I| (*venire*)
    - ▶ Class I = |A| (*amare*)
  - ▶ 3SG.IND.PRS phonological exponent: |A|
  - ▶ TH & |A|<sub>3SG.IND.PRS</sub> merge in  $\sqrt{\text{-final}} V_{\emptyset}$ 
    - ▶ Class III = |I| + |A| ⇒ ['vjɛ:ne]
    - ▶ Class II = |A.I| + |A| ⇒ ['tjɛ:ne]
    - ▶ Class I = |A| + |A| ⇒ ['a:ma]
  - ▶ Why does TH surface only in 3SG.IND.PRS?

# 1SG & 2SG vs 3SG - a nanosyntax proposal

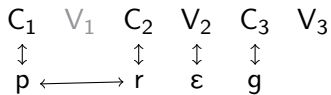
- ▶ 3SG.IND.PRS: ['tjɛ:ne], ['a:ma] ⇒ ...CVC<sub>√</sub>-e/a
  - ▶ TH vowels
    - ▶ Class III = |I| (*tenere*)
    - ▶ Class II = |A.I| (*venire*)
    - ▶ Class I = |A| (*amare*)
  - ▶ 3SG.IND.PRS phonological exponent: |A|
  - ▶ TH & |A|<sub>3SG.IND.PRS</sub> merge in  $\sqrt{\text{-final}} V_{\emptyset}$ 
    - ▶ Class III = |I| + |A| ⇒ ['vjɛ:ne]
    - ▶ Class II = |A.I| + |A| ⇒ ['tjɛ:ne]
    - ▶ Class I = |A| + |A| ⇒ ['a:ma]
  - ▶ Why does TH surface only in 3SG.IND.PRS?
  - ▶ 3SG.IND.PRS is 'smaller' than 1,2SG.IND.PRS
    - ▶ floating *o* ⇔ ROOT-TH-1SG.IND.PRS
    - ▶ floating *i* ⇔ ROOT-TH-2SG.IND.PRS
    - ▶ floating *a* ⇔ ROOT-TH-3SG.IND.PRS

# 1SG & 2SG vs 3SG - a nanosyntax proposal

- ▶ 3SG.IND.PRS: ['tjɛ:ne], ['a:ma] ⇒ ...CVC<sub>√-e/a</sub>
  - ▶ TH vowels
    - ▶ Class III = |I| (*tenere*)
    - ▶ Class II = |A.I| (*venire*)
    - ▶ Class I = |A| (*amare*)
  - ▶ 3SG.IND.PRS phonological exponent: |A|
  - ▶ TH & |A|<sub>3SG.IND.PRS</sub> merge in  $\sqrt{\text{-final } V_{\emptyset}}$ 
    - ▶ Class III = |I| + |A| ⇒ ['vjɛ:ne]
    - ▶ Class II = |A.I| + |A| ⇒ ['tjɛ:ne]
    - ▶ Class I = |A| + |A| ⇒ ['a:ma]
  - ▶ Why does TH surface only in 3SG.IND.PRS?
  - ▶ 3SG.IND.PRS is 'smaller' than 1,2SG.IND.PRS
    - ▶ floating *o* ⇔ ROOT-TH-1SG.IND.PRS
    - ▶ floating *i* ⇔ ROOT-TH-2SG.IND.PRS
    - ▶ floating *a* ⇔ ROOT-TH-3SG.IND.PRS
  - ▶ In 3SG.IND.PRS, TH head can be lexicalized (in  $\sqrt{\text{-final } V_{\emptyset}}$ )

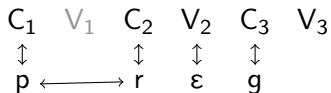
# TR cluster

- ▶  $\sqrt{\text{PREG}}$  'prey'

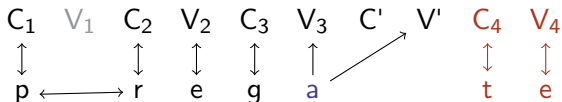


# TR cluster

- ▶  $\sqrt{\text{PREG}}$  'prey'

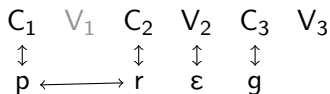


- ▶ 2PL.IND.PRS:  $\sqrt{\text{ }}$  + floating  $a_{\text{TH}}$  +  $C_t V_{e2\text{PL}}$   $\Leftrightarrow$  [pre'ga:te]

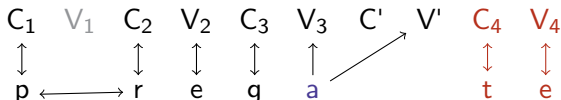


# TR cluster

- ▶  $\sqrt{\text{PREG}}$  'prey'



- ▶ 2PL.IND.PRS:  $\sqrt{\text{ }}$  + floating  $a_{\text{TH}}$  +  $C_t V_{e2\text{PL}}$   $\Leftrightarrow$  [pre'ga:te]



- ▶ 1SG.IND.PRS:  $\sqrt{\text{ }}$  + floating  $o_{1\text{SG}}$   $\Leftrightarrow$  ['pre:go]

