Allomorph selection in Piedmontese verbs: between syntax and phonology

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14th Brussels Conference on Generative Linguistics
December 16-17, 2021

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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 sings.

- In 2018's paper, I analyze the patterns of allomorphy of Piedmontese verbs in strict CVCV (Lowenstamm 1996, 2004).

Outline

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]
1pl	but-oma [by't-uma]	les-oma [le'z-uma]	fini-oma [fi'nj-uma]
2pl	but-e ['byt-e]	les-e ['lez-e]	finiss-e [fi'nis-e]
3pl	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..

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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]

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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]
1pl	but-o ['byt-u]	les-o ['lez-u]	finiss-o [fi'nis-u]
2pl	but-e ['byt-e]	les-e ['lez-e]	finiss-e [fi'nis-e]
3pl	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..

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Roots and Themes

Table: Roots and Themes

conj.	PresInd	ImpInd	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; ImpInd = imperfect indicative;
PresSubj = present subjunctive.

Inflectional endings

Table: Inflectional endings

	PresInd	ImpInd	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. Ø (2nd, 3rd conj) in PresInd.
b. BUT NOT in ImpInd and PresSubj, which display a
single ending -a.

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

Allomorphic alternations 2

(5)   1pl
   a.   -oma vs. -o reflects the opposition PresInd vs.
        ImpInd/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
  a. roots = a fixed template of CV-units
  b. 1sg, 2sg, 3sg, etc.. = floating vowels
  c. PresSubj = CV
  d. ImpInd = -av- (conj 1), -i- (conj. 2/3)
  e. 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 ImpInd 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   u
                                                           |
          PresSubj   C   V

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

The square bracket] indicates phase boundary.

Conj 3 ImpInd

Two syntactic domains, no PIC at PF.

(10)   ImpInd 1sg, finìa [fi'nia]

    1sg   a

    ImpInd   i

    Root   f   i   n   i   s
              │   │   │
              C   V   C   V   C   V
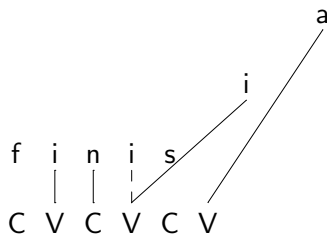
Conj 1 PresSubj

Two syntactic domains, PIC at PF

(11)   PresSubj 1sg buta ['byta]
           1sg   a
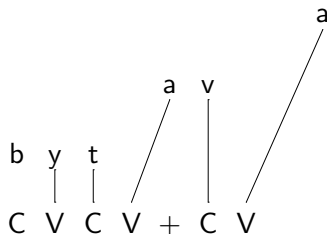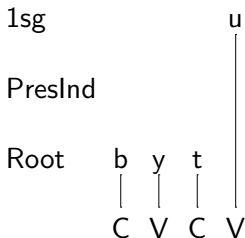 |
           PresSubj   C V

           Root   b y t
                         | |
                      C V C V]
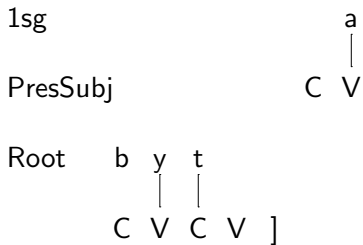
The square bracket] indicates phase boundary.

Conj 1 ImpInd

Two syntactic domains, no PIC at PF.

(12)   ImpInd 1sg, butàva [by'tava]

```
        1sg                                    a

        ImpInd              a  v
                             \    \
        Root    b  y   t      \    \
                |   |   |      \    \
                C  V  C  V  +  C  V
```

The allomorph -av- comes with its segmental support CV.

PresInd is different

- PresInd has neither an overt marker, nor Ø.
- As I proposed back in 2017, I claim that PresInd has a simpler structure (I will return to this): $\sqrt{}$, 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, finìsso [fiˈnisu]

Template is satisfied; PresInd has no overt marker.

Conj 1 PresInd

One syntactic domain, no PIC at PF

(14)   PresInd 1sg, buto ['bytu]

     1sg   u

     PresInd

     Root   b   y   t
                 | | | |
                C   V C V

Template is satisfied; PresInd has no overt marker.

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Conj 3 PresInd

(15)   PresInd 1pl finìoma [fi'njuma]
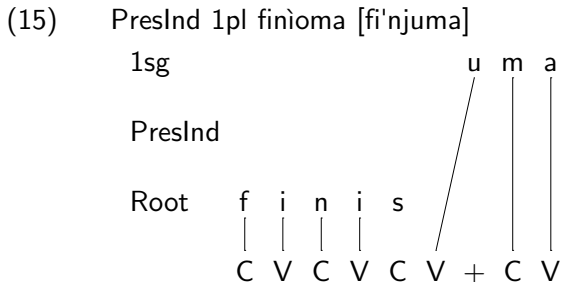
The last segment of the root, -s, remains afloat.

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Conj 1 PresInd

(16)   PresInd 1pl butòma [by'tuma]

1sg   u   m   a

PresInd

Root   b   y   t

            | | |
            C   V   C   V   +   C   V

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 ImpInd marker is triggered by the root

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

VI: ImpInd ⇔ -av- / conj. 1

Conjugation 2 (and 3)
- ImpInd 3sg [le'z-i-a] /lez-i-a/ *lezì
- ImpInd 1pl [l'ez-i-u] /lez-i-u/ *lez-ì-uma

VI: ImpInd ⇔ -ì- / conj. 2,3

Segmentally zero-exponence: PresSubj

Conjugation 2

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

Conjugation 3

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

VI: PresSubj ⇔   Ø
                 CV

This segmentally empty, but templatic exponent works as it was an overt
marker, i.e. it blocks the allomophry 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 morphome-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

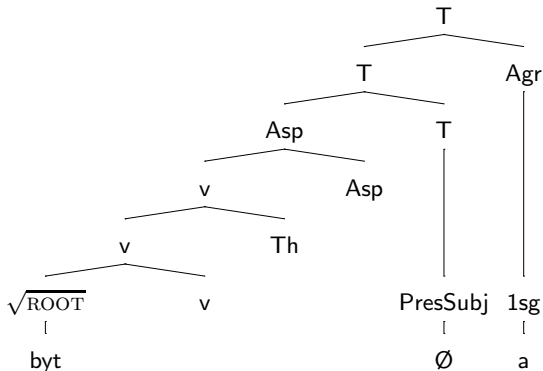Because of PIC, no allomorphy is possible between the root and T.

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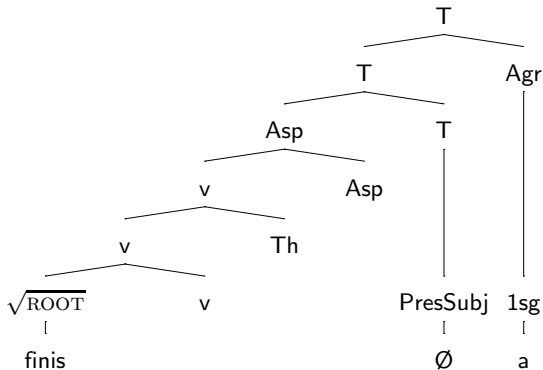
ImpInd, no PIC at PF

(22)   *fini-ì-a* [finia] 1sg, ImpInd
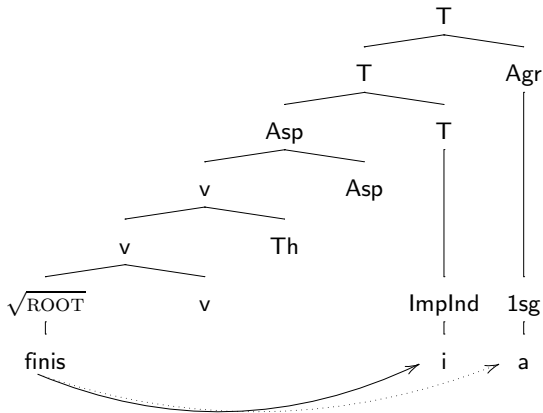
PresSubj, T triggers PIC at PF

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

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

ImpInd, no PIC at PF

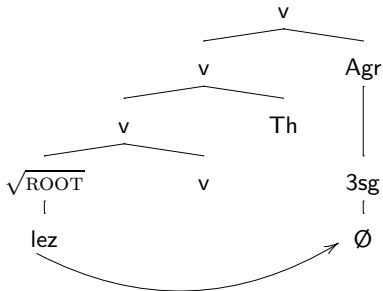(24)   *but-av-a* [bytava] 3sg, ImpInd
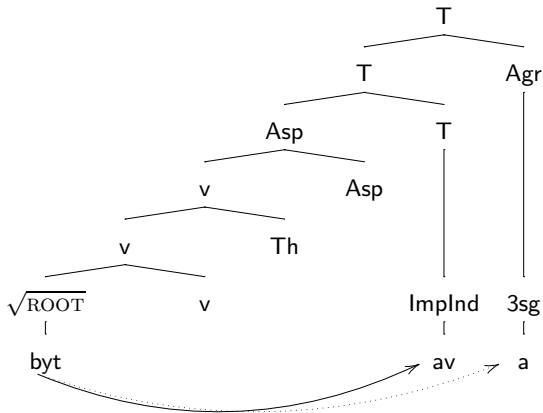
3sg -a vs. Ø alternation is triggered by the root in PresInd

(25)   *but-a* [byta] 3sg, PresInd
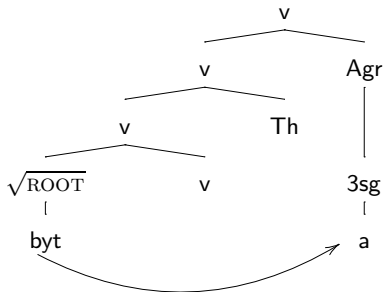
3sg -a vs. Ø alternation is triggered by the root in PresInd

(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 Ø-exponence).

- To refine the representational analysis of conjugation 3 root allomorphy: *finiss-*, *fini-* (look at the entire paradigm).

- Piedmontese verbs offer interesting evidence in favor of clear-cut division of labor between phonology and morphology/syntax in triggering allomorphy.

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