Morpho-Phonological Micro-Parameterization in Italo-Romance

Roberto Petrosino

University of Connecticut

roberto.petrosino@uconn.edu

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Alternations

A single abstract morpheme (i.e., a given bundle of morpho-syntactic features) may have alternating realizations (ALTERNANTS) depending on the current morpho-syntactic and/or phonological environment.

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Dealing with alternations

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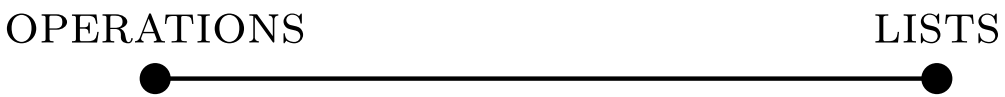

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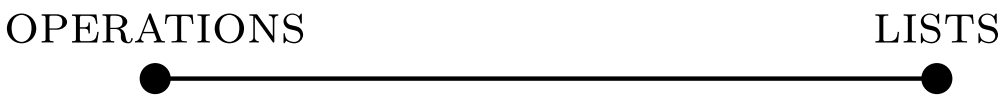

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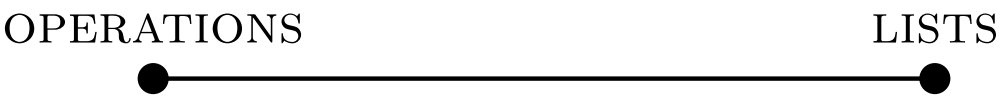
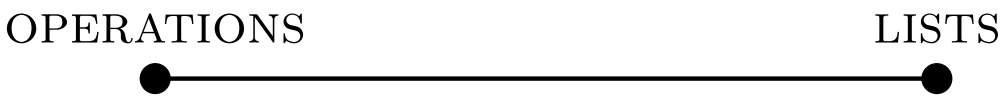


A *operations* involve a change of the underlying form

B *lists* involve memorization of separate entries

Dealing with alternations



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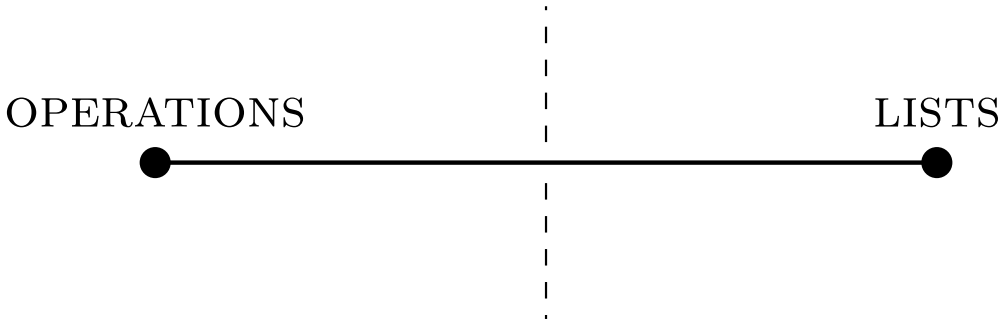
WHICH ALTERNATIONS CAN *plausibly* BE CONSIDERED TO RESULT FROM OPERATIONS?

Dealing with alternations



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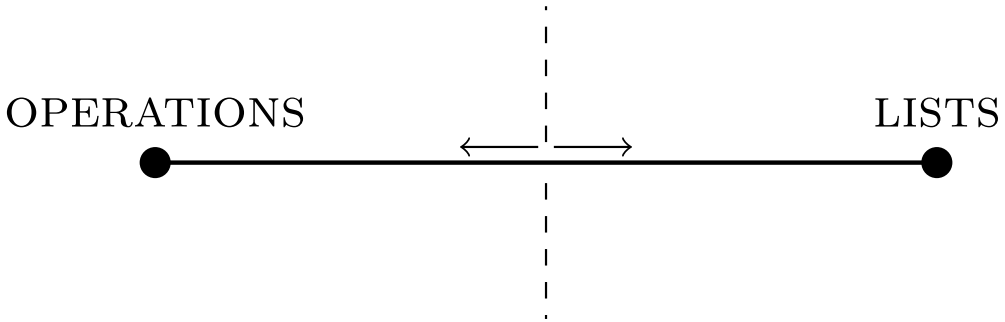

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WHICH ALTERNATIONS CAN *plausibly* BE CONSIDERED TO RESULT FROM OPERATIONS?

LISTS

a. $\sqrt{\text{GOOD}} \leftrightarrow$ be(tt)- / _] CMPR]

b. $\sqrt{\text{GOOD}} \leftrightarrow$ good

Dealing with alternations

TARGET \ TRIGGER	MORPHOLOGICAL	PHONOLOGICAL
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WHICH ALTERNATIONS CAN *plausibly* BE CONSIDERED TO RESULT FROM OPERATIONS?

OPERATIONS

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{son} \\ -\text{cont} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [\ \alpha\text{voice}\ ] \ /\ _[\ \alpha\text{voice}\ ]$$

Morpho-phonological alternations: a problem

TARGET \ TRIGGER	MORPHOLOGICAL	PHONOLOGICAL
MORPHOLOGICAL	good ∼ be(tt)- go ∼ wen-t	cats' *[kats-ɪz] oxen's *[ɑksən-∅]
PHONOLOGICAL	s[ɪ]ng ∼ s[ɑ]ng c[ɑ]tch ∼ c[ɔ]t	walk-[t] lov-[d]

WHICH ALTERNATIONS CAN *plausibly* BE CONSIDERED TO RESULT FROM OPERATIONS?

LISTING ACCOUNTS:
lists (iff morpho-phonological)

OPERATIONAL ACCOUNTS:
operations (iff regular)

In this talk, I will:

A present a cross-dialectal study on the allomorphy of determiners in Italo-Romance (IR)

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B argue that the within- and between-dialect distributions of IR determiners are *regular*, though being morpho-phonologically sensitive.

In this talk, I will:

A present a cross-dialectal study on the allomorphy of determiners in Italo-Romance (IR), and

B argue that the within- and between-dialect distributions of IR determiners are *regular*, though being morpho-phonologically sensitive.

C Ultimately, I will argue that only OPERATIONAL ACCOUNTS are able to account for all the above.

Roadmap

1. Data
   - Definite determiner
   - Indefinite determiner
   - Demonstratives and pre-nominal adjectives
2. Possible analyses
3. Conclusions

Standard Italian (Florentine)

	[−FEM]		[+FEM]	
	[−PL]	[+PL]	[−PL]	[+PL]
_ h[σ	il	i	la	le
_ h[σ′	lo	ʎi		
_ h[V	l		l	

Standard Italian (Florentine)

	[−FEM]		[+FEM]	
	[−PL]	[+PL]	[−PL]	[+PL]
_ $_h$[σ	il	i	la	le
_ $_h$[σ′	lo	ʎi		
_ $_h$[V	l		l	

SINGULAR FORMS PLURAL FORMS

Standard Italian (Florentine)

	[−FEM]		[+FEM]	
	[−PL]	[+PL]	[−PL]	[+PL]
_ $_h$[σ	il	i	la	le
_ $_h$[σ′	lo	ʎi		
_ $_h$[V	l		l	

SINGULAR FORMS PLURAL FORMS

Standard Italian (Florentine)

	[−FEM]		[+FEM]	
	[−PL]	[+PL]	[−PL]	[+PL]
_ $_h$[σ	il	i	la	le
_ $_h$[σ′	lo	ʎi		
_ $_h$[V	l		l	

SINGULAR FORMS PLURAL FORMS

Standard Italian (Florentine)

	[−FEM]		[+FEM]	
	[−PL]	[+PL]	[−PL]	[+PL]
_ $_h$[σ	il	i	la	le
_ $_h$[σ′	lo	ʎi		
_ $_h$[V	l		l	

SINGULAR FORMS

la [k]asa
D.FSG home.FSG
'the house'

PLURAL FORMS

le [k]ase
D.FPL home.FPL
'the houses'

Standard Italian (Florentine)

	[−FEM]		[+FEM]	
	[−PL]	[+PL]	[−PL]	[+PL]
_ $_h$[σ	il	i	la	le
_ $_h$[σ'	lo	ʎi		
_ $_h$[V	l		l	

SINGULAR FORMS

lo [st]udente
D.MSG student.MSG
'the student'

PLURAL FORMS

ʎi [st]udenti
D.MPL student.MPL
'the student'

Standard Italian (Florentine)

	[−FEM]		[+FEM]	
	[−PL]	[+PL]	[−PL]	[+PL]
− $_h$[σ	il	i	la	le
− $_h$[σ'	lo	ʎi		
− $_h$[V	l		l	

SINGULAR FORMS

il [k]orso
D.MSG course.MSG
'the course'

PLURAL FORMS

i [k]orsi
D.MPL course.MPPL
'the courses'

Northern dialects

	[−FEM]					
	_ [σ		_ [σ'		_ [V	
	[−PL]	[+PL]	[−PL]	[+PL]	[−PL]	[+PL]
Lombardia & Triveneto	il	i	il	(l)i	l	i
	al		al			
	el		e(l)			
	ol		ol			
	ul/ur		u(l)		ul/ur	
Piemonte	al		(l)u		l	
Liguria	u			i		
Emilia Romagna	al		al			
Marche			(l)o			
Tuscany	i(l)		lo	(ʎ)i		l, ʎi

Northern dialects

	[−FEM]					
	_ [σ		_ [σ'		_ [V	
	[−PL]	[+PL]	[−PL]	[+PL]	[−PL]	[+PL]
Lombardia & Triveneto	il	i	il	(l)i	l	i
	al		al			
	el		e(l)			
	ol		ol			
	ul/ur		u(l)		ul/ur	
Piemonte	al		(l)u		l	
Liguria	u			i		
Emilia Romagna	al		al			
Marche			(l)o			
Tuscany	i(l)		lo	(ʎ)i		l, ʎi

Northern dialects

	[−FEM]					
	_ [σ		_ [σ'		_ [V	
	[−PL]	[+PL]	[−PL]	[+PL]	[−PL]	[+PL]
Lombardia & Triveneto	il	i	il	(l)i	l	i
	al		al			
	el		e(l)			
	ol		ol			
	ul/ur		u(l)		ul/ur	
Piemonte	al		(l)u		l	
Liguria	u			i		
Emilia Romagna	al		al			
Marche			(l)o			
Tuscany	i(l)		lo	(ʎ)i		l, ʎi

Northern dialects

	[−FEM]					
	_ [σ		_ [σ'		_ [V	
	[−PL]	[+PL]	[−PL]	[+PL]	[−PL]	[+PL]
Lombardia & Triveneto	il	i	il	(l)i	l	i
	al		al			
	el		e(l)			
	ol		ol			
	ul/ur		u(l)		ul/ur	
Piemonte	al		(l)u		l	
Liguria	u			i		
Emilia Romagna	al		al			
Marche			(l)o			
Tuscany	i(l)		lo	(ʎ)i		l, ʎi

Romanesco & central dialects

	[−FEM]		[+FEM]	
	[−PL]	[+PL]	[−PL]	[+PL]
– $_h$[σ	er	i:	a:	e:
– $_h$[σ'	o:			
– $_h$[V̀	l			
– $_h$[V	∅ [V:			

Romanesco & central dialects

	[−FEM]		[+FEM]	
	[−PL]	[+PL]	[−PL]	[+PL]
– $_h$[σ	er	iː	aː	eː
– $_h$[σ'	oː			
– $_h$[V̀	l			
– $_h$[V	∅ [Vː			

er [k]orso
D.MSG course.MSG
'the course'

Romanesco & central dialects

	[−FEM]		[+FEM]	
	[−PL]	[+PL]	[−PL]	[+PL]
– $_h$[σ	er	iː	aː	eː
– $_h$[σ'	oː			
– $_h$[V̀	l			
– $_h$[V	∅ [Vː			

oː [st]udente
D.MSG student.MSG
'the student (m)'

Southern dialects

	[−FEM]		[+FEM]	
	[−PL]	[+PL]	[−PL]	[+PL]
- $_h$[C	lu	li	la	le
- $_h$[V	lu, l		la, l	

Southern dialects

	[−FEM]		[+FEM]	
	[−PL]	[+PL]	[−PL]	[+PL]
_ *h*[C	lu	li	la	le
_ *h*[V	lu, l		la, l	

lu [k]orsu
D.MSG course.MSG
'the course'

lu [st]udente
D.MSG student.MSG
'the student (m)'

Standard Italian

	[−FEM]	[+FEM]
_ h[σ	un	una
_ h[σ'	uno	
_ h[V	un	

MASCULINE FORMS FEMININE FORMS

Standard Italian

	[−FEM]	[+FEM]
_ h[σ	un	una
_ h[σ'	uno	
_ h[V	un	

MASCULINE FORMS FEMININE FORMS

Standard Italian

	[−FEM]	[+FEM]
_ $_h$[σ	un	una
_ $_h$[σ'	uno	
_ $_h$[V	un	

MASCULINE FORMS

FEMININE FORMS

una [k]asa
D.FSG home.FSG
'a house'

Standard Italian

	[−FEM]	[+FEM]
_ $_h$[σ	un	una
_ $_h$[σ'	uno	
_ $_h$[V	un	

MASCULINE FORMS FEMININE FORMS

uno [st]udente
D.MSG student.MSG
'a student'

Standard Italian

	[−FEM]	[+FEM]
_ $_h$[σ	un	una
_ $_h$[σ'	uno	
_ $_h$[V	un	

MASCULINE FORMS FEMININE FORMS

un [k]orso
D.MSG course.MSG
'a course'

Indefinite determiner in Italo-Romance

Indefinite determiner in Italo-Romance

	[-FEM]			[+FEM]	
	– $_h$[σ	– $_h$[σ'	– $_h$[V	– $_h$[C	– $_h$[V
North	un	un(o)	un	(u)na	(u)n
Center	un	no	n	na	n
South	(u)nu	nu	n	(u)na	(u)n

Indefinite determiner in Italo-Romance

	[-FEM]			[+FEM]	
	– $_h$[σ	– $_h$[σ'	– $_h$[V	– $_h$[C	– $_h$[V
North	un	un(o)	un	(u)na	(u)n
Center	un	no	n	na	n
South	(u)nu	nu	n	(u)na	(u)n

Indefinite determiner in Italo-Romance

	[-FEM]			[+FEM]	
	– $_h$[σ	– $_h$[σ'	– $_h$[V	– $_h$[C	– $_h$[V
North	un	un(o)	un	(u)na	(u)n
Center	un	no	n	na	n
South	(u)nu	nu	n	(u)na	(u)n

Indefinite determiner in Italo-Romance

	[-FEM]			[+FEM]	
	– $_h$[σ	– $_h$[σ'	– $_h$[V	– $_h$[C	– $_h$[V
North	un	un(o)	un	(u)na	(u)n
Center	un	no	n	na	n
South	(u)nu	nu	n	(u)na	(u)n

Standard Italian, northern and central dialects

	[−FEM]		[+FEM]	
	[−PL]	[+PL]	[−PL]	[+PL]
_ h[σ	quel	quei	quella	quelle
_ h[σ'	quello	queʎʎi		
_ h[V	quell		quell	

SINGULAR FORMS PLURAL FORMS

Standard Italian, northern and central dialects

	[−FEM]		[+FEM]	
	[−PL]	[+PL]	[−PL]	[+PL]
_ h[σ	quel	quei	quella	quelle
_ h[σ'	quello	queʎʎi		
_ h[V	quell		quell	

SINGULAR FORMS PLURAL FORMS

Standard Italian, northern and central dialects

	[−FEM]		[+FEM]	
	[−PL]	[+PL]	[−PL]	[+PL]
_ h[σ	quel	quei	quella	quelle
_ h[σ'	quello	queʎʎi		
_ h[V	quell		quell	

SINGULAR FORMS PLURAL FORMS

Standard Italian, northern and central dialects

	[−FEM]		[+FEM]	
	[−PL]	[+PL]	[−PL]	[+PL]
_ $_h$[σ	quel	quei	quella	quelle
_ $_h$[σ'	quello	queʎʎi		
_ $_h$[V	quell		quell	

SINGULAR FORMS

quella [k]asa
D.FSG home.FSG
'that house'

PLURAL FORMS

quelle [k]ase
D.FPL home.FPL
'those houses'

Standard Italian, northern and central dialects

	[−FEM]		[+FEM]	
	[−PL]	[+PL]	[−PL]	[+PL]
_ $_h$[σ	quel	quei	quella	quelle
_ $_h$[σ'	quello	queʎʎi		
_ $_h$[V	quell		quell	

SINGULAR FORMS

quello [st]udente
D.MSG student.MSG
'that student'

PLURAL FORMS

queʎʎi [st]udenti
D.MPL student.MPL
'the students'

Standard Italian, northern and central dialects

	[−FEM]		[+FEM]	
	[−PL]	[+PL]	[−PL]	[+PL]
_ h[σ	quel	quei	quella	quelle
_ h[σ'	quello	queʎʎi		
_ h[V	quell		quell	

SINGULAR FORMS

quel [k]orso
D.MSG course.MSG
'that course'

PLURAL FORMS

quei [k]orsi
D.MPL course.MPL
'the courses'

Standard Italian, northern and central dialects

BUONO 'GOOD'

Standard Italian, northern and central dialects

BUONO 'GOOD'

	[−FEM]		[+FEM]	
	[−PL]	[+PL]	[−PL]	[+PL]
_ $_h$[σ	buon	buoni	buona	buone
_ $_h$[σ'	buono			
_ $_h$[V	buon		buon	

Standard Italian, northern and central dialects

BUONO 'GOOD'

	[−FEM]		[+FEM]	
	[−PL]	[+PL]	[−PL]	[+PL]
_ $_h$[σ	buon	buoni	buona	buone
_ $_h$[σ'	buono			
_ $_h$[V	buon		buon	

BELLO 'BEAUTIFUL'

Standard Italian, northern and central dialects

BUONO 'GOOD'

	[−FEM]		[+FEM]	
	[−PL]	[+PL]	[−PL]	[+PL]
_ h[σ	buon	buoni	buona	buone
_ h[σ'	buono			
_ h[V	buon		buon	

BELLO 'BEAUTIFUL'

	[−FEM]		[+FEM]	
	[−PL]	[+PL]	[−PL]	[+PL]
_ h[σ	bel	bei	bella	belle
_ h[σ'	bello	beʎʎi		
_ h[V	bell		bell	

Standard Italian

GRANDE 'BIG'

Standard Italian

GRANDE 'BIG'

	[−FEM]		[+FEM]	
	[−PL]	[+PL]	[−PL]	[+PL]
_ $_h$[σ	gran(de)	grandi	grande	grandi
_ $_h$[σ'	grande			
_ $_h$[V	grand		grand	

Standard Italian

GRANDE 'BIG'

	[−FEM]		[+FEM]	
	[−PL]	[+PL]	[−PL]	[+PL]
_ $_h$[σ	gran(de)	grandi	grande	grandi
_ $_h$[σ'	grande			
_ $_h$[V	grand		grand	

SANTO 'SAINT'

Standard Italian

GRANDE 'BIG'

	[−FEM]		[+FEM]	
	[−PL]	[+PL]	[−PL]	[+PL]
_ $_h$[σ	gran(de)	grandi	grande	grandi
_ $_h$[σ'	grande			
_ $_h$[V	grand		grand	

SANTO 'SAINT'

	[−FEM]	[+FEM]	
_ $_h$[σ	san [t]imoteo	santa	[k]iara
_ $_h$[σ'	santo [st]efano		[st]efania
_ $_h$[V	sant [a]ntonio	sant [e]lena	

Other IR varieties

	$-_h[\sigma$	$-_h[\sigma'$
'that'	quel	quell-o
'good'	buon	buon-o
'beautiful'	bel	bell-o
'big'	gra(nde)	grande
'saint'	san	sant-o

	$-_h[\sigma$	$-_h[\sigma'$
'that'	kill-u	
'good'	buon-u	
'beautiful'	bell-u	
'big'	grand-u	
'saint'	sant-u	

Other IR varieties

NORTH

	– $_h$[σ	– $_h$[σ'
'that'	quel	quell-o
'good'	buon	buon-o
'beautiful'	bel	bell-o
'big'	gra(nde)	grande
'saint'	san	sant-o

SOUTH (e.g., Neapolitan)

	– $_h$[σ	– $_h$[σ'
'that'	kill-u	
'good'	buon-u	
'beautiful'	bell-u	
'big'	grand-u	
'saint'	sant-u	

Other IR varieties

NORTH

	– $_h$[σ	– $_h$[σ'
'that'	quel	quell-o
'good'	buon	buon-o
'beautiful'	bel	bell-o
'big'	gra(nde)	grande
'saint'	san	sant-o

SOUTH (e.g., Neapolitan)

	– $_h$[σ	– $_h$[σ'
'that'	kill-u	
'good'	buon-u	
'beautiful'	bell-u	
'big'	grand-u	
'saint'	sant-u	

How to account for the variation?

How to account for the variation?

- 2-dimensional allomorphic variation:

How to account for the variation?

- 2-dimensional allomorphic variation:
  - WITHIN-DIALECT VARIATION

How to account for the variation?

- 2-dimensional allomorphic variation:
  - WITHIN-DIALECT VARIATION
    morpho-phonologically conditioned alternations

How to account for the variation?

- 2-dimensional allomorphic variation:
  - WITHIN-DIALECT VARIATION
    morpho-phonologically conditioned alternations
  - BETWEEN-DIALECT VARIATION

How to account for the variation?

- 2-dimensional allomorphic variation:
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    1. truncation in all northern dialects
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  - OPTION 1: strict modularism of grammar.
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  - OPTION 2: morpho-phonological leakage.
    → OPERATIONAL ACCOUNT

Listing account

- both dimensions are treated as lists of distinct lexical entries

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WITHIN-DIALECT VARIATION

	Standard Italian
definite	$D_{[\text{-FEM,-PL}]} \leftrightarrow$ { il, lo }
indefinite	$D_{[\text{-FEM,-PL}]} \leftrightarrow$ {un, uno}
'that'	$D_{[\text{-FEM,-PL}]} \leftrightarrow$ {quel, quello}
pre-N adj	$\sqrt{\text{BEAUTIFUL}}_{[\text{-FEM,-PL}]} \leftrightarrow$ {bel, bello}
	$\sqrt{\text{GOOD}}_{[\text{-FEM,-PL}]} \leftrightarrow$ {buon, buono}
	$\sqrt{\text{BIG}}_{[\text{-FEM,-PL}]} \leftrightarrow$ {gran, grande}
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BETWEEN-DIALECT VARIATION

	definite determiner
SI	$D_{[\text{-FEM,-PL}]} \leftrightarrow$ { il, lo }
Veneto	$D_{[\text{-FEM,-PL}]} \leftrightarrow$ el
Emilia Romagna	$D_{[\text{-FEM,-PL}]} \leftrightarrow$ al
Rome	$D_{[\text{-FEM,-PL}]} \leftrightarrow$ { er, oː, l }
Salento	$D_{[\text{-FEM,-PL}]} \leftrightarrow$ l

...

Taking stock - listing account

- WITHIN-DIALECT VARIATION
  morpho-phonologically conditioned alternations:
- BETWEEN-DIALECT VARIATION:
  1. truncation present in all northern dialects
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Taking stock - listing account

- WITHIN-DIALECT VARIATION
  morpho-phonologically conditioned alternations: *listed*
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Taking stock - listing account

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  morpho-phonologically conditioned alternations: *listed*
- BETWEEN-DIALECT VARIATION: *missed*
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Operational analysis

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  - B general (i.e., non item-specific)

Operational analysis

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NORTHERN & CENTRAL DIALECTS

	[−FEM, −PL]	
	$-_h[\sigma$	$-_h[\sigma'$
definite	il	l-o
indefinite	un	un-o
'that'	quel	quell-o
'good'	buon	buon-o

	[−FEM, −PL]	
	$-_h[\sigma$	$-_h[\sigma'$
'beautiful'	bel	bell-o
'big'	gran(de)	grand-e
'saint'	san	sant-o

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TRUNCATION

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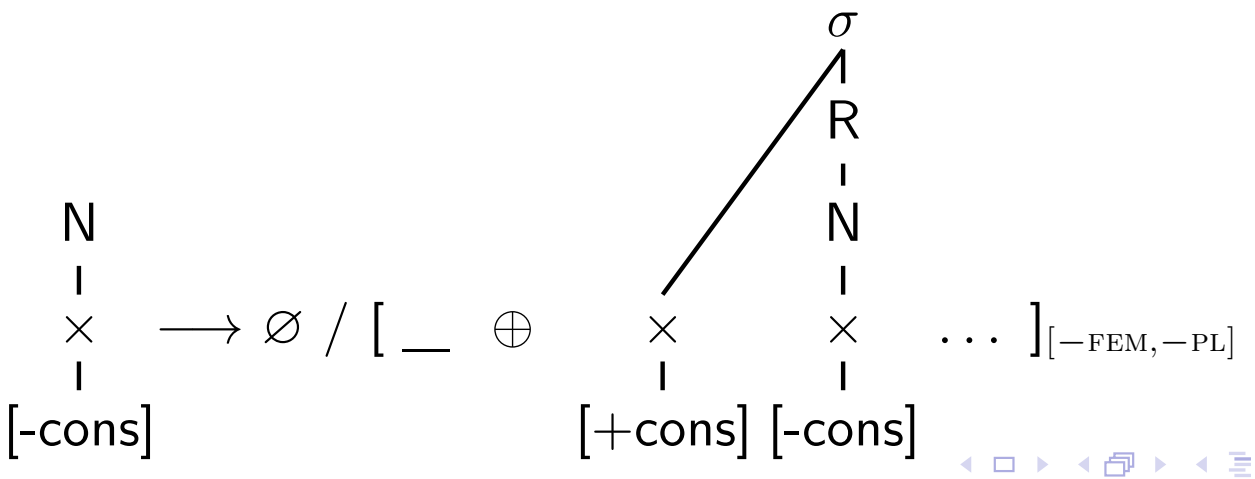

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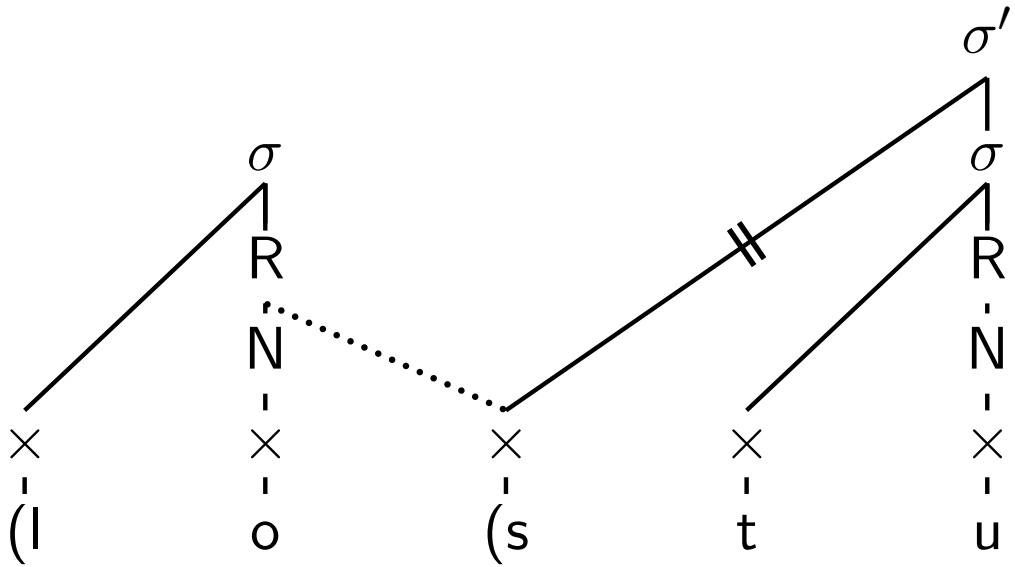
- the non-truncated form surfaces as result of *resyllabification*

Operational analysis



Operational analysis

SOUTHERN DIALECTS

	[−FEM, −PL]	
	$-_h[\sigma$	$-_h[\sigma'$
definite	l-u	
indefinite	(u)n-u	
'that'	kill-u	
'good'	buon-u	

	[−FEM, −PL]	
	$-_h[\sigma$	$-_h[\sigma'$
'beautiful'	bell-u	
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- in southern dialects, the truncation rule is micro-parametrically deactivated

Operational analysis

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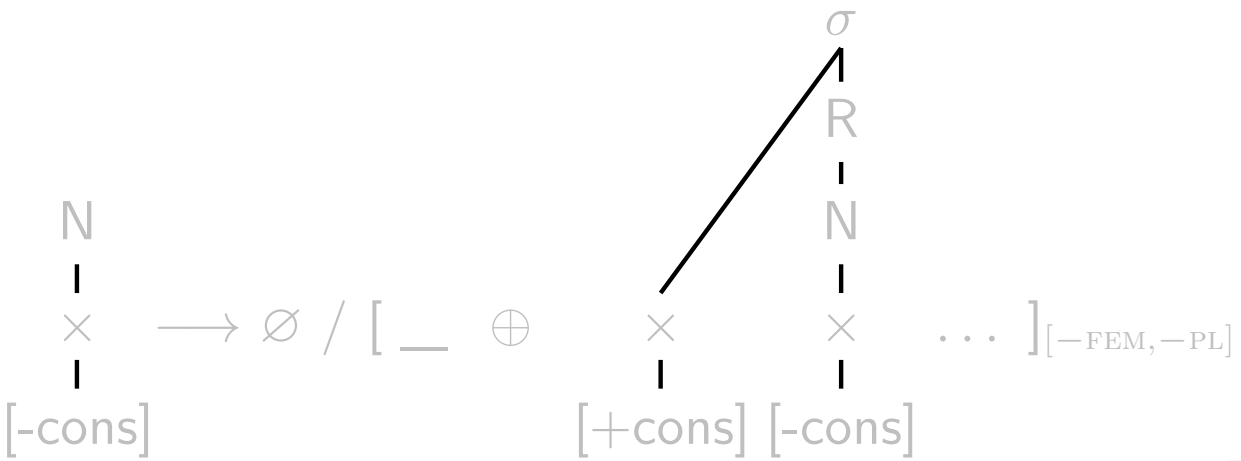

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  2. OPERATIONAL ACCOUNTS can account for the wide-ranging variation by allowing for micro-parametric activation of morpho-phonological rules.