Epenthesis and Morphology in Romance

Lori Repetti, Sedigheh Moradi, Mark Aronoff
Stony Brook University (SUNY)

Classical epenthesis

Spanish: *stop* [estop]

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'Classical epenthesis' is the insertion of phonological material whose appearance is motivated by phonology (to repair an illegal structure), and whose quality is usually unmarked in the language (Kitto & de Lacy 1999).

two epenthetic segments

two epenthetic segments

… depending on the position of the epenthetic segment

Bengali borrowings from English (Broselow 2015)

school > [i̲skul] ([i] in initial position)

glass > [g̲elaʃ] ([e] in internal position)

two epenthetic segments

… depending on the phonetic environment (“contextual coloring”)

Afrikaans loanwords in Sotho

blɪk > [bu̲leke] ‘tin can’ ([u] adjacent to labials)

truwn > [ti̲roni] ‘throne’ ([i] adjacent to non-labials)

two epenthetic segments

… copy of preceding vowel

English borrowings in American varieties of Italian

washtub [veʃʃe̲túbbu]

cocktail [kokko̲tɛlla]

trouble [trúbbu̲lu]

popcorn [pappa̲kɔrno]

In all of these cases, the choice of the inserted segment is determined **phonologically**.

Non-canonical epenthesis

San Marino utilizes two epenthetic vowels to satisfy constraints on word-final clusters: [i]/[ɐ]

/lɛt/ > [lɛ:t] ‘bed’
/viv/ > [vi:v] ‘s/he lives’
/vintʃ/ > [vi:ntʃ] ‘s/he wins’
/ojm/ > [ojmi] ‘elm’
/dɔrm/ > [dɔ:rmɐ] ‘s/he sleeps’

(Michelotti 2008)

Beyond classical epenthesis

The factors conditioning epenthesis are richer than previously noted, and go beyond phonological factors to morphological and morpho-syntactic information.

In particular, we will argue that, in some cases, the choice between epenthetic segments is based on morphology.

This talk…

Epenthesis patterns in Romance languages deviate from the classical type (Moradi 2017)

1. more than one epenthetic segment
2. arguments against an allomorphic approach
3. our proposal
4. other types of non-canonical insertions: syllables, linking elements, etc.

Non-canonical epenthesis

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[i]: /ojm/ > [ojmi̲] ‘elm’

[ɐ]: /dɔrm/ > [dɔrmɐ̲] ‘s/he sleeps’

/i/ default

/ɐ/ is used in 3sg verb-final position

(Michelotti 2008)

Non-canonical epenthesis

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/i/ default

[ɐ]: /dɔrm/ > [dɔrmɐ̲] ‘s/he sleeps’

/ɐ/ is used in 3sg verb-final position

The choice between them is made based on morpho-syntactic considerations.

Non-canonical epenthesis

Italian utilizes two epenthetic segments to repair an onset cluster violation:

[i]: [pisikologo] ‘psychologist’
/l kane/ > [il kane] ‘the dog’

[o]: /l spekkjo/ > [lo spekkjo] ‘the mirror’

/i/ is the default

/o/ is used morpheme-finally

(Cardinaletti & Repetti 2008, Repetti 2012, Repetti ms)

Non-canonical epenthesis

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[o]: /l spekkjo/ > [lo spekkjo] ‘the mirror’

/i/ is the default

/o/ is used morpheme-finally

The choice between them is made based on morphological considerations.

Non-canonical epenthesis

Veneto utilizes two epenthetic segments to satisfy a syllable constraints:

/e/ is the default

[e]: /l maɲa/ > [el maɲa] ‘he eats’

[o]: /maɲa l/ > [maɲe lo] ‘does he eat?’

/o/ is used morpheme-finally

(Cardinaletti & Repetti 2008, Tuttle 1981-1982)

Non-canonical epenthesis

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[o]: /maɲa l/ > [maɲe lo] 'does he eat?'

/o/ is used morpheme-finally

The choice between them is made based on morphological considerations.

Non-canonical epenthesis

Algueres utilizes two epenthetic vowels to satisfy syllable constraints:

[i]: /amik meu/ > [amik i meu]

/i/ is used between words

[u]: /fresk + s/ > [freskus]

/u/ is used before mas. pl. /s/

cf. /mɔlt + s/ > [mɔlts] ‘dead (m.pl.)’

/kutʃ͡u + s/ > [kutʃ͡us] ‘dogs’

(Loporcaro 1997)

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Non-canonical epenthesis

Pallarese Catalan utilizes two epenthetic vowels to satisfy syllable constraints:

[ə]: simpl[ə] ‘simple’

[u]: gos + s > [gosus] ‘dogs’

/ə/ is default

/u/ is used before mas. pl. /s/

cf. gat + s > *gats*

lloro + s > *lloros*

(Artes 2017)

Non-canonical epenthesis

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Evidence from other languages

Hungarian (*CC)

[o]: used with nouns

család + k > családok

family nom.pl

/o/ nouns

[a]: used with adjectives

vidám + k > vidámak

merry nom.pl

/a/ adjectives

As well as Persian, Mohawk, Arabic, etc.

more than one epenthetic segment: previous accounts

~ Artes (2016) inflectional vowels used to repair syllable structure (Lloret and Viaplana 1992)

~ Cardinaletti and Repetti (2004); Repetti (2012) "morphological epenthesis"

~ Kager (1999: 130) "morphologically governed"

~ Steriade (1995: 138) "lexically derived"

~ Loporcaro (1997) historical explanation

~ Michelotti (2008) allomorphy

Allomorphy?

San Marino (Michelotti 2008)

3sg allomorphs (certain conjugation classes):

Ø	[ri:d] ‘laugh.3sg’
/ɐ/	[i:rvɐ̲] ‘open.3sg’

Allomorphy?

San Marino (Michelotti 2008)

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NB. 1sg/2sg has Ø morph

Ø	[ri:d] ‘laugh.1sg/2sg’
Ø	[i:rvi̲] ‘open.1sg/2sg’

Allomorphy?

Michelotti's (2008) claim that /ɐ/ ([i:rvɐ̲] 's/he opens) is an allomorph of Ø ([ri:d] 's/he laughs') misses a more general point: the quality of the inserted vowel (/ɐ/) happens to be that of the most frequent vowel used in final position with 3rd person singular verbs: [durmi:vɐ̲] 's/he was sleeping', [mɔ:rɐ̲] 's/he may die', [ba:lɐ̲] 's/he dances'.

Our proposal

We take a novel approach: we identify the vowel [ɐ] as the “default” final vowel for 3rd person singular verbs in San Marino. It is the epenthetic vowel used when needed in final position with 3rd person singular verbs.

We are not arguing that allomorphy doesn't exist!

- English indefinite article: *a/an*

  a book

  an apple
- English definite article: *ðə/ði*

  the book

  the apple
- English BE (suppletion)

  am, is, are, was, were …

Allomorphy?

Italian mas.sg definite article: [l], [il], [lo]

[l]	*l'amico*	'the friend'
[il]	*il bambino*	'the baby'
[lo]	*lo specchio*	'the mirror'

Allomorphy?

Italian mas.sg definite article: [l], [il], [lo]

1. /il, lo, l/ are allomorphs of the mas. sg. def. art.

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Allomorphy?

Italian mas.sg definite article: [l], [il], [lo]

1. /il, lo, l/ are allomorphs of the mas. sg. def. art.
2. /l/ > [l, i̲l, l̲o] with epenthetic [i] or [o]

~ [i] is the default epenthetic vowel, and its position is predictable in these contexts: [i̲l.bam.bi.no]

~ [o] is the morphologically neutral final vowel in nominals (Ferrari 2005), and its position is predictable in this context: [l̲os.pɛk.kjo]

Our proposal

We propose that [i] is the default epenthetic vowel in Italian, and [o] is the epenthetic vowel used when needed in final position of nominals.

Our proposal

Calling these cases allomorphy misses a broad generalization: specific segments predictably repair an illegal structure within specific morphological or morpho-syntactic contexts.

The position and quality of the inserted segments are predictable!

Interim summary

Inserted Elements	classical epenthesis	non-canonical epenthesis		
semantic function	-		-	
presence is phonologically motivated	+		+	
distribution is influenced by morphology (or morpho-syntax)	-		+	
quality is influenced by morphology	-		+	

This approach can be extended to other types of insertion:

~ syllable insertion
~ linking vowels

syllable insertion

insertion of semantically vacuous material whose presence is phonologically driven, whose distribution and quality are influenced by morphology

Syllable insertion: Formentera Catalan stem extenders

pɛrt / pərðə́lə	‘lose’ / ‘lose it (fem.sg)’
əprən / əprəŋgə́lə	‘learn’ / ‘learn it (fem.sg)’
buʌ / buʌiɣə́lə	‘boil!’ / ‘boil it (fem)!’

(Bonet & Torres-Tamarit 2009)

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- *prosodic requirement for moraic trochees at the right edge of verb + enclitic units*
- *distribution of the extenders is paradigmatically determined: different conjugation classes use different accretions*

Syllable insertion: Italian and Maltese an <isc> ~ <ixx>

Italian: sugger-í / sugger-ísc-o

's/he suggested' / 'I suggest'

Maltese: i-ssuġġer-íet / ni-ssuġġer-íxx-i

'she suggested' / 'I suggest'

(DiFabio 1990; Hoberman & Aronoff 2003)

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- *augment is used to avoid stressing the verb stem*
- *used only with verbs of a certain category*

linking elements

insertion of semantically vacuous material whose presence and distribution are morphologically driven (i.e., with compounds)

Linking Elements

Italian: [i]:	cap**i**nera	‘blackcap’
	pett**i**rosso	‘robin’
Spanish: [i]:	pel**i**rojo	‘red-haired’
	pat**i**tuerto	‘bow-legged’
German: [s]:	Arbeit**s**zimmer	‘workroom’

Linking Elements

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- *no phonological motivation*
- *unpredictable distribution*
- *their presence is morphologically determined*

Interim summary

Inserted Elements	**classical epenthesis**	**non-canonical epenthesis**		
		two epen. segments	syllable insert.	linking elem.
semantic <u>function</u>	-	-	-	-
<u>presence</u> is phonologically motivated	+	+	+	-
<u>distribution</u> is influenced by morphology (or morpho-syntax)	-	+	+	+
<u>quality</u> is influenced by morphology	-	+	±	?

Conclusions

- Epenthesis - phonological repair
- Epenthetic segment quality

  ~ default: “classical epenthesis”

  ~ morpho-syntactically conditioned: “non-canonical”
- Insertion of semantically vacuous material (epenthesis, syllable, linking vowel) lies along a cline from phonological to morphological conditioning

Insertion of Semantically Vacuous Material

Phonology-Morphology Continuum:

PHONOLOGY — MORPHOLOGY

classical epenthesis — *non-canonical epenthesis*

Thank you!

Allomorphy?

Ptg, Catalan (Korean)

ALTERNATIONS PECULIAR TO SPECIFIC LEXEMES

Syllable insertion

- Spanish ante-suffixal interfixes, such as <ec>, require a specific phonological context (a short base), and their distribution is limited to appearing before certain suffixes only (Dressler & Merlini Barbaresi 1994)

Syllable insertion

Spanish: madr-e / madr-ec-ita
‘mother’ / ‘(dim)’

amor/amorcito

Italian: bocconcino

consistency of exponence-no changes in the exponence of a phonologically-specified morpheme

Non-canonical epenthesis

Portuguese utilizes two epenthetic segments to resolve hiatus vowels:

[j]: *Correa* [koreja]

/j/ is usually used to resolve hiatus vowels

[z]: /sofa + inu/ > [sofazĩnu]

/z/ appears before diminutive suffix

(Garcia 2017, Bachrach & Wagner 2007)

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/z/ appears before diminutive suffix

The choice between them is made based on lexical considerations.