Segmental and Prosodic Influences on Bolognese Epenthesis

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Introduction

- Bolognese (Gallo-Italic; Bologna): illicit coda clusters are subject to vowel epenthesis.
- Two properties we'll focus on:
  - As in Donceto (Cardinaletti & Repetti 2008), prosodic structure influences whether an epenthetic vowel is required.
  - Two epenthetic vowels: [u] before [v, m], [e] elsewhere.
- We extend the analysis of Cardinaletti & Repetti (2008) to account for these facts.

Illicit Clusters in Bolognese: Clitics

- Normally, [Cs] and [Ct] are allowed word-finally (1).
- But epenthesis occurs when [s] or [t] is a clitic (2).

(1)

a-ˈpæŋs	‘I think’
a-traˈvers	‘I cross’
skɛːrs	‘rare’
peːrs	‘lost’
ˈt-sɛːlt	‘you jump’
sɛːlt	‘(a) jump’
t-iŋˈvæŋt	‘you invent’
a-gˈwaːst	‘I spoil’

(2)

ˈskɛːrə̲-s	‘to dry us’
amiˈrɛːrə̲-s	‘to admire us’
liˈvɛːrə̲-s	‘to get up’ 1plur
liˈvɛːrə̲-t	‘to get up’ 2sing
truˈvɛːrə̲-s	‘to find us’
truˈvɛːrə̲-t	‘to find you’
ˈsɛːlə̲-t	‘do you salt (st.)?’
ˈrɑŋfə̲-t	‘do you snore?’

Illicit Clusters in Bolognese: Clitics

- Evidence that [e] is epenthetic: [e] is regularly inserted to break up illicit root-internal word-final clusters.

(3)

ˈtɛːvla	‘table’	ˈtɛːve̲l	‘tables’
laŋˈteːrna	‘lantern’	laŋˈteːre̲ŋ	‘lanterns’
ˈliːvra	‘hare’	ˈliːve̲r	‘hares’
sfitˈlɛːr	‘to slice’	a-ˈsfate̲l	‘I slice’
urdˈnɛːr	‘to order’	a-ˈɑʊrde̲ŋ	‘I order’
lusˈtrɛːr	‘to polish’	a-ˈloste̲r	‘I polish’
ˈdabla	‘weak.FS’	ˈdabe̲l	‘weak.MS’
ˈðɑʊvna	‘young.FS’	ˈðɑʊve̲ŋ	‘young.MS’
ˈnaɪgra	‘black.FS’	ˈnaɪge̲r	‘black.MS’

- A clear sonority sequencing effect (e.g. Selkirk 1984); we’ll return to this.

Illicit Clusters in Bolognese: Clitics

- Elsewhere, the clitics in question do not surface with [e]:

(4)

i-s-ˈsakeŋ	‘they dry us’
al-s-aˈmiːra	‘he admires us’
a-s-iŋdurmiŋˈtæŋ	‘we fall asleep’
a-t-ˈtroːv	‘I find you’
ˈt-sɛːl	‘you salt (something).’
ˈt-rɑŋf	‘you snore.’

- These clitics also have a VC allomorph, but with [a], not [e]:

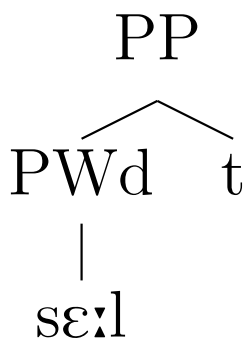
(5)

t-at-iŋdurˈmæŋt	‘you fall asleep’
t-as-ˈtroːv	‘you find us’

- Rather than positing allomorphs [-es], [-et] that appear only word-finally, we claim that the [-s], [-t] allomorphs trigger epenthesis. (One paradigm, like Cardinaletti & Repetti 2008)

Illicit Clusters in Bolognese: Clitics

- Analysis:
  - Clitics are outside the PWd but within the PP (Cardinaletti & Repetti 2008).
  - Therefore, [Cs]/[Ct] is permitted only PWd-internally.
  - Contiguity(PWd) $\gg$ *Complex $\gg$ Contiguity(PP)



Illicit Clusters in Bolognese: Clitics

(6)

/ˈt-sɛːlt/	Contig(PWd)	*Complex	Contig(PP)
☞ a. ˈtsɛːlt		*	
b. ˈtsɛːlet	*!		*

(7)

/ˈsɛːl-t/	Contig(PWd)	*Complex	Contig(PP)
a. ˈsɛːlt		*!	
☞ b. ˈsɛːlet			*

Illicit Clusters in Bolognese: Sonorants

- PWd-internal epenthesis driven by sonority requirements:

(8)

ˈtɛːvla	‘table’	ˈtɛːvel̲	‘tables’
laŋˈteːrna	‘lantern’	laŋˈteːreŋ̲	‘lanterns’
ˈliːvra	‘hare’	ˈliːver̲	‘hares’
sfitˈlɛːr	‘to slice’	a-ˈsfatel̲	‘I slice’
urdˈnɛːr	‘to order’	a-ˈɑʊrdeŋ̲	‘I order’
lusˈtrɛːr	‘to polish’	a-ˈlostel̲	‘I polish’
ˈdabla	‘weak.FS’	ˈdabel̲	‘weak.MS’
ˈðɑʊvna	‘young.FS’	ˈðɑʊveŋ̲	‘young.MS’
ˈnaɪgra	‘black.FS’	ˈnaɪger̲	‘black.MS’

(9)

/ˈliːvr/	SonSeq	Contig(PWd)	*Complex	Contig(PP)
a. ˈliːvr	*!		*	
☞ b. ˈliːver		*		*

[e] vs. [u]

- [m] triggers epenthesis as expected, but [u] appears, not [e]:

(10)

ˈaːnma	‘soul’	ˈaːnu̲m	‘souls’
ˈfɑʊrma	‘form’	ˈfɑʊru̲m	‘forms’
kalˈmɛːr	‘to calm’	a-ˈkɛːlu̲m	‘I calm’
lagarˈmɛːr	‘to weep’	a-ˈlɛːgru̲m	‘I weep’
ˈuːltma	‘last.FS’	ˈuːltu̲m	‘last.MS’
ˈsɛːtma	‘seventh.FS’	ˈsɛːtu̲m	‘seventh.MS’

[e] vs. [u]

- A TETU effect (McCarthy & Prince 1994):
  - Generally, vowel quality before [m] is not restricted (11).
  - FAITH preserves underlying vowel quality but doesn't protect epenthetic vowels.
  - AGREE(lab)-rime (e.g. Lombardi 1999) motivates a round epenthetic vowel (12).

(11)

θi̲mˈzɛːra	'bedbug infestation'
ʤe̲mˈleŋ	'gem.DIM'
pre̲m	'first'
krizaŋˈteːm	'chrysanthemum'
ˈɑ̲mbra	'shadow'
eˈkɔno̲m	'treasurer'
ˈo̲md	'humid'

(12) AGREE(lab)-rime: within a rime, adjacent segments must match for [labial].

(13)

/ˈaːnm/	SonSeq	Ident (lab)	Agr(lab)-rime	Contig(PWd)	*[V, +rnd]	*[V, +hi]
a. ˈaːnm	*!					
b. ˈaːnem			*!	*		
☞ c. ˈaːnum				*	*	*

[e] vs. [u]

- Why [u], not [o], [ø], which would be more similar to the default [e]?
- *RoLo and *RoFro (Archangeli & Pulleyblank 1994, Kaun 2004).

(14) a. *RoLo: non-high round vowels are disallowed.
b. *RoFro: front round vowels are disallowed.

(15)

/ˈaːnm/	SonSeq	Ident (lab)	Agr(lab)-rime	*RoLo	*RoFro	*[V, +rnd]	*[V, +hi]
a. ˈaːnm	*!						
b. ˈaːnem			*!				
c. ˈaːnom				*!		*	
d. ˈaːnøm					*!	*	
☞ e. ˈaːnum						*	*

- Contig(PWd), Contig(PP), and *Complex omitted for space. All are outranked by SonSeq.

[v] as a Sonorant

- Interestingly, [v] behaves with sonorants here:

(16) Most common example types:

ˈseːrva	‘servant.S’	ˈseːru̲v	‘servant.P’
ˈvadva	‘widow’	ˈvadu̲v	‘widower’
kurˈvɛːr	‘to bend’	a-ˈkuːru̲v	‘I bend’
userˈvɛːr	‘to observe’	t-u’seːru̲v	‘you observe’

[v] as a Sonorant

- Other obstruents don't trigger epenthesis in these contexts:

(17)

rbz	forbz	'scissors'
rb	tɑʊrb	'cloudy'
rp	auˈzuːrp	'I usurp'
rd	sɑʊrd	'deaf'
rdg	poːrdg	'portico'
rt	pɛːrt	'part'
rθ	pɔːrθ	'pig'
rts	kwɛːrts	'lid'
rð	zgɛːrð	'wool comb'
dg	aˈpɛːdg	'I walk'
ŋdg	pɑŋdg	'mouse'

- Obstruent-obstruent clusters are permitted despite SonSeq; but not when [v] is involved.

[v] as a Sonorant

- Padgett (2002): In Russian (and possibly other languages), [v] is a sonorant.
- We suggest this is also true in Bolognese. Thus *['se:rv] violates SonSeq:

(18)

/'se:rv/	SonSeq	Ident (lab)	Agr(lab)-rime	*RoLo	*RoFro	*[V, +rnd]	*[V, +hi]
a. 'se:rv	*!						
b. 'se:rev			*!				
c. 'se:rov				*!		*	
d. 'se:røv					*!	*	
☞ e. 'se:ruv						*	*

Other Contexts

- Underlying vowels do not change:

(19) [iŋˈkɛːv] ‘groove’

/iŋˈkɛːv/	SonSeq	Ident (lab)	Agr(lab)-rime	*RoLo	*RoFro	*[V, +rnd]	*[V, +hi]
☞ a. iŋˈkɛːv			*				
b. iŋˈkuːv		*!				*	*

Other Contexts

- AGREE(lab) does not require [u] after [m, v]:

(20) ['li:v-et] 'Get up!'

/'li:v-t/	SONSEQ	IDENT (lab)	AGR(lab)-rime	*ROLO	*ROFRO	*[V, +rnd]	*[V, +hi]
☞ a. 'li:v-et							
b. 'li:v-ut			(*!)			*(!)	*(!)

Other Contexts

- Enclitics that are sonorants trigger epenthesis, too, when following a root-final C:

(21) ˈliːv-e̲l ‘Is he lifting (something) up?’
ˈliːv-e̲ŋ ‘lift some up!’
ˈliːv-u̲m ‘lift me up!’
liˈvɛːr-u̲v ‘to lift you up’

(22)

/ˈliːv-l/	SonSeq	Contig(PWd)	*Complex	Contig(PP)
a. ˈliːvl	*!		*	
☞ b. ˈliːvel				*

[v] as a Sonorant

- Evidence: [v] alternates with [w] and is sometimes transcribed as [ʋ].

(23)

ˈakuv	‘waters’	ˈakwa	‘water’
t-iŋˈsiːnuv	‘you insinuate’	iŋsiŋˈwɛr	‘to insinuate’
koŋˈtiː.guv	‘contiguous.MS’	koŋˈtiːgwa	‘contiguous.FS’

(24) Canepari & Vitali (1995:148): “/v/ often vanishes: [faraˈ(v)ɑŋna] ‘guinea fowl’, [(v)ɲo] ‘come (past part.)’ (or also [faraˈvɑŋna]); occasionally it becomes [w]: [asˈwad] ‘si vede/one sees’. ”

- Historical evidence: Latin [w] > [v].

Beyond Word-final Codas

- Our focus has been on word-final clusters, but proclitics show similar behavior.
- E.g. [e] is epenthesized, except that [u] appears when sharing a rime with [m, v]:

(25)

al-ve̲-ˈʤdɛːva	‘He was waking you up.’
al-me̲-ˈtsftes	‘He’s undressing me.’
l-u̲m-ˈda	‘he gives me’

- More work is needed to determine how well our analysis accounts for data of this sort, too.

Conclusion

- Like other Romance languages, epenthesis in Bolognese shows sensitivity to morphological and prosodic structure.
- By extending the analysis of Cardinaletti & Repetti (2008), we can account for this behavior while also providing a treatment of the variation in the quality of the epenthetic vowel.
- Treating the word-final clitic data presented here as involving epenthesis has two major benefits:
  - These clitics show extensive allomorphy. Treating some of this allomorphy as epenthesis reduces the number of allomorphs in the lexicon and/or the number of clitic-specific processes that must be posited.
  - It connects clitic allomorphy to broader epenthetic processes in the language.

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