Theme vowels: not as small as they look

Guido Vanden Wyngaerd[60]

KU Leuven/CRISSP

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Outline

Outline

Introduction

		I			II			III		
		V	TV	Φ	V	TV	Φ	V	TV	Φ
INF		cant	á	r	tem	é	r	part	í	r
SG	1	cánt	Ø	o	tém	Ø	o	párt	Ø	o
	2	cánt	a	s	tém	e	s	párt	e	s
	3	cánt	a	Ø	tém	e	Ø	párt	e	Ø
PL	1	cant	á	mos	tem	é	mos	part	í	mos
	2	cant	á	is	tem	é	is	part	í	is
	3	cánt	a	n	tém	e	n	párt	e	n
		‘to sing’			‘to fear’			‘to leave’		

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	2	cant	á	is	tem	é	is	part	í	is
	3	cánt	a	n	tém	e	n	párt	e	n
		‘to sing’			‘to fear’			‘to leave’		

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		‘to sing’			‘to fear’			‘to leave’		

Aims of this talk

- show that both types of levelling correlate with a certain type of root allomorphy
  - the (partial) II-III levelling correlates with vowel height allomorphy in the root
  - the 1SG levelling correlates with subjunctive allomorphy in the root
- provide a nanosyntactic account of

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  - the absence of a theme vowel in 1SG PRS IND
  - the two types of levelling
  - the correlations of these levellings with root allomorphy

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Subjunctive allomorphy

	Class I		Class II		Class III	
	INF	SBJV	INF	SBJV	INF	SBJV
A			pon-er	pong-a	sal-ir	salg-a
			val-er	valg-a	luc-ir	luzc-a
			conoc-er	conozc-a	-duc-ir	-duzc-a
			ten-er	teng-a	ven-ir	veng-a
B			cab-er	quép-a		
			sab-er	sep-a		
			hab-er	hay-a		
C			hac-er	hag-a	dec-ir	dig-a
			tra-er	traig-a		
			ca-er	caig-a		

Subjunctive allomorphy

conocer ‘to know’

PFV PST	SBJV	PRS	IPFV PST	FUT	COND
conoc-í	conozc-a	conozc-o	conoc-ía	conoc-eré	conoc-ería
conoc-iste	conozc-as	conoc-es	conoc-ías	conoc-erás	conoc-erías
conoc-ió	conozc-a	conoc-e	conoc-ía	conoc-erá	conoc-ería
conoc-imos	conozc-amos	conoc-emos	conoc-íamos	conoc-eremos	conoc-eríamos
conoc-istéis	conozc-áis	conoc-éis	conoc-íais	conoc-eréis	conoc-eríais
conoc-ieron	conozc-an	conoc-en	conoc-ían	conoc-erán	conoc-erían

Subjunctive allomorphy

cab-er ‘to fit’

PFV PST	SBJV	PRS	IPFV PST	FUT	COND
cup-e	quep-a	quep-o	cab-ía	cab-r-é	cab-r-a
cup-iste	quep-as	cab-es	cab-ías	cab-r-ás	cab-r-ías
cup-o	quep-a	cab-e	cab-ía	cab-r-á	cab-r-ía
cup-imos	quep-amos	cab-emos	cab-íamos	cab-r-emos	cab-r-íamos
cup-isteis	quep-áis	cab-éis	cab-íais	cab-r-éis	cab-r-íais
cup-eron	quep-an	cab-en	cab-ían	cab-r-án	cab-r-ían

Subjunctive allomorphy

decir ‘to say’

PFV PST	SBJV	PRS	IPFV PST	FUT	COND
dij-e	dig-a	dig-o	dec-ía	di-r-é	di-r-ía
dij-iste	dig-as	dic-es	dec-ías	di-r-ás	di-r-ías
dij-o	dig-a	dic-e	dec-ía	di-r-á	di-r-ía
dij-imos	dig-amos	dec-imos	dec-íamos	di-r-emos	dir-íamos
dij-isteis	dig-áis	dec-ís	dec-íais	di-r-éis	di-r-íais
dij-eron	dig-an	dic-en	dec-ían	di-r-án	di-r-ían

Subjunctive allomorphy

Correlation I

V has a root allomorph X in PRS SBJV

V has a root allomorph X in 1SG PRS IND

- one exception: if 1SG PRS IND is a portmanteau, it is not identical to the SBJV root allomorph
- *sab-er* 'to know'; *sé* 'I know'; *sep-a* 'he knows.SBJV';

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Vowel height allomorphy

	Class I		Class II		Class III	
	INF	PFV PST 3SG	INF	PFV PST 3SG	INF	PFV PST 3SG
e-i					ped-í-r	pid-i-ó
					compet-í-r	compit-i-ó
					correg-í-r	corrig-i-ó
					repet-í-r	repit-i-ó
					segu-í-r	sig-i-ó
o-u					dorm-í-r	durm-i-ó
					mor-í-r	mur-i-ó

Vowel height allomorphy

		II			III		
		V	TV	Φ	V	TV	Φ
SG	1	tem	Ø	o	pid	Ø	o
	2	tem	e	s	pid	e	s
	3	tem	e	Ø	pid	e	Ø
PL	1	tem	e	mos	ped	i	mos
	2	tem	é	is	ped	i	is
	3	tem	e	n	pid	e	n

Vowel height allomorphy

Correlation II

root allomorph	*ped* / *dorm*	*pid* / *durm*
	⇕	⇕
theme vowel	*i*	*e*

- only found in Class III (like the e/i alternation)
- the H root allomorph also appears in the SBJV (where it is followed by *a*)

Vowel height allomorphy

Correlation II

root allomorph	*ped* / *dorm*	*pid* / *durm*
	⇕	⇕
theme vowel	*i*	*e*

- only found in Class III (like the e/i alternation)
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Vowel height allomorphy

Correlation II

root allomorph	*ped*	*pid*
	dorm	*durm*
	⇕	⇕
theme vowel	*i*	*e*

- only found in Class III (like the e/i alternation)
- the H root allomorph also appears in the SBJV (where it is followed by *a*)

Vowel height allomorphy

pedir ‘to ask’

		PFV PST	SBJV	PRS	IPFV PST	FUT	COND
SG	1	ped-í	pid-a	pid-o	ped-ía	ped-iré	ped-iría
	2	ped-iste	pid-a-s	pid-e-s	ped-ías	ped-irás	ped-irías
	3	pid-ió	pid-a	pid-e	ped-ía	ped-irá	ped-iría
PL	1	ped-i-mos	pid-á-mos	ped-imos	ped-í-a-mos	ped-iremos	ped-iríamos
	2	ped-isteis	pid-á-is	ped-i-ís	ped-íais	ped-iréis	ped-iríais
	3	pid-ieron	pid-a-n	pid-e-n	ped-ían	ped-irán	ped-irían

Outline

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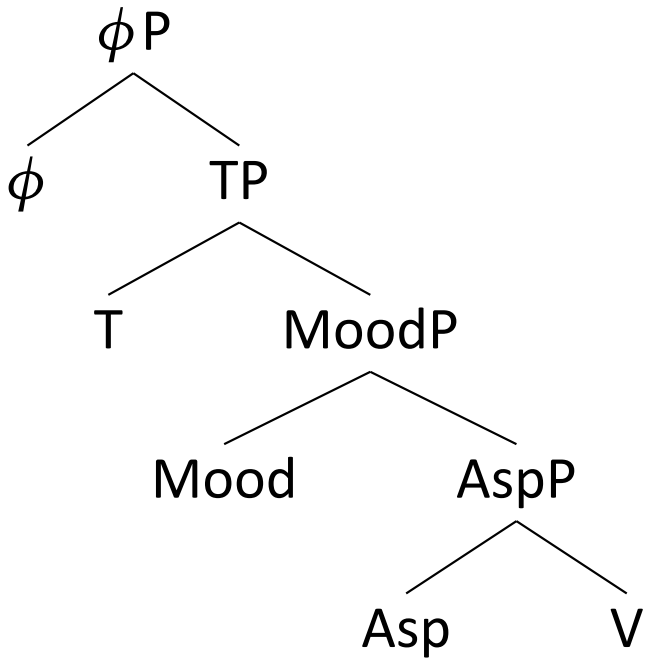
The functional sequence (Cortiula 2023)



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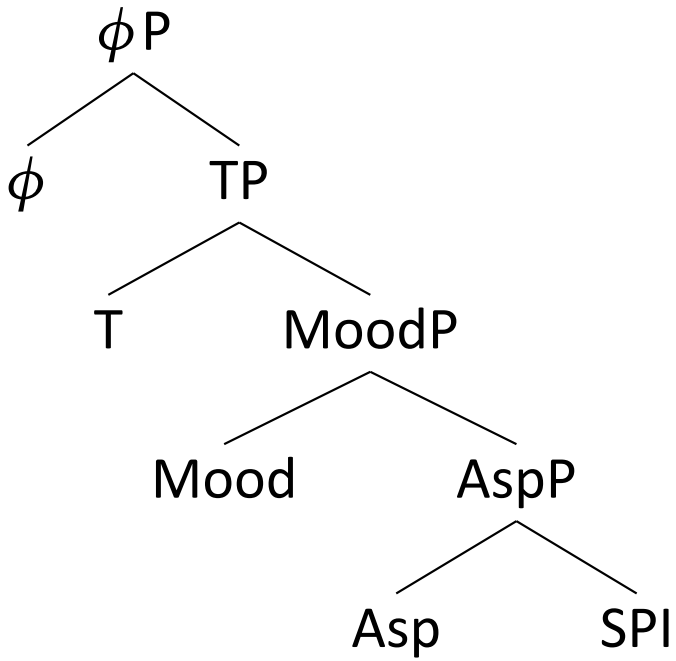

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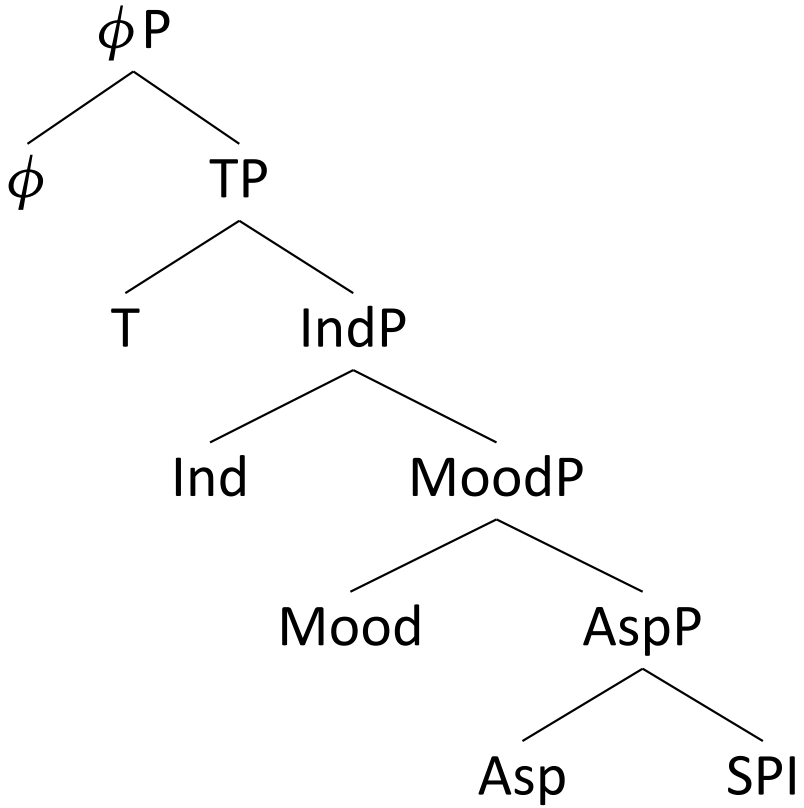

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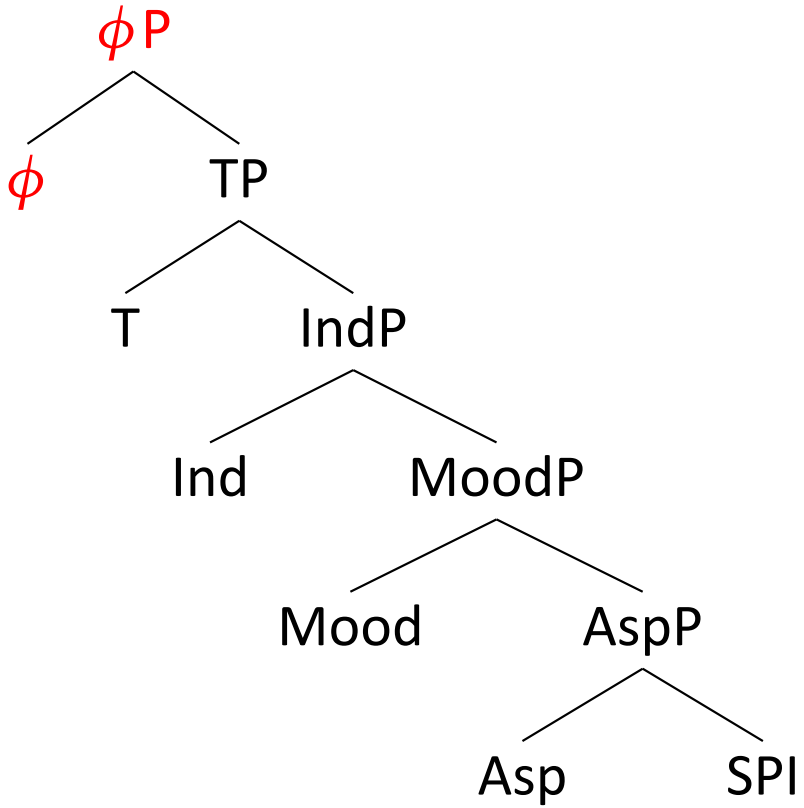

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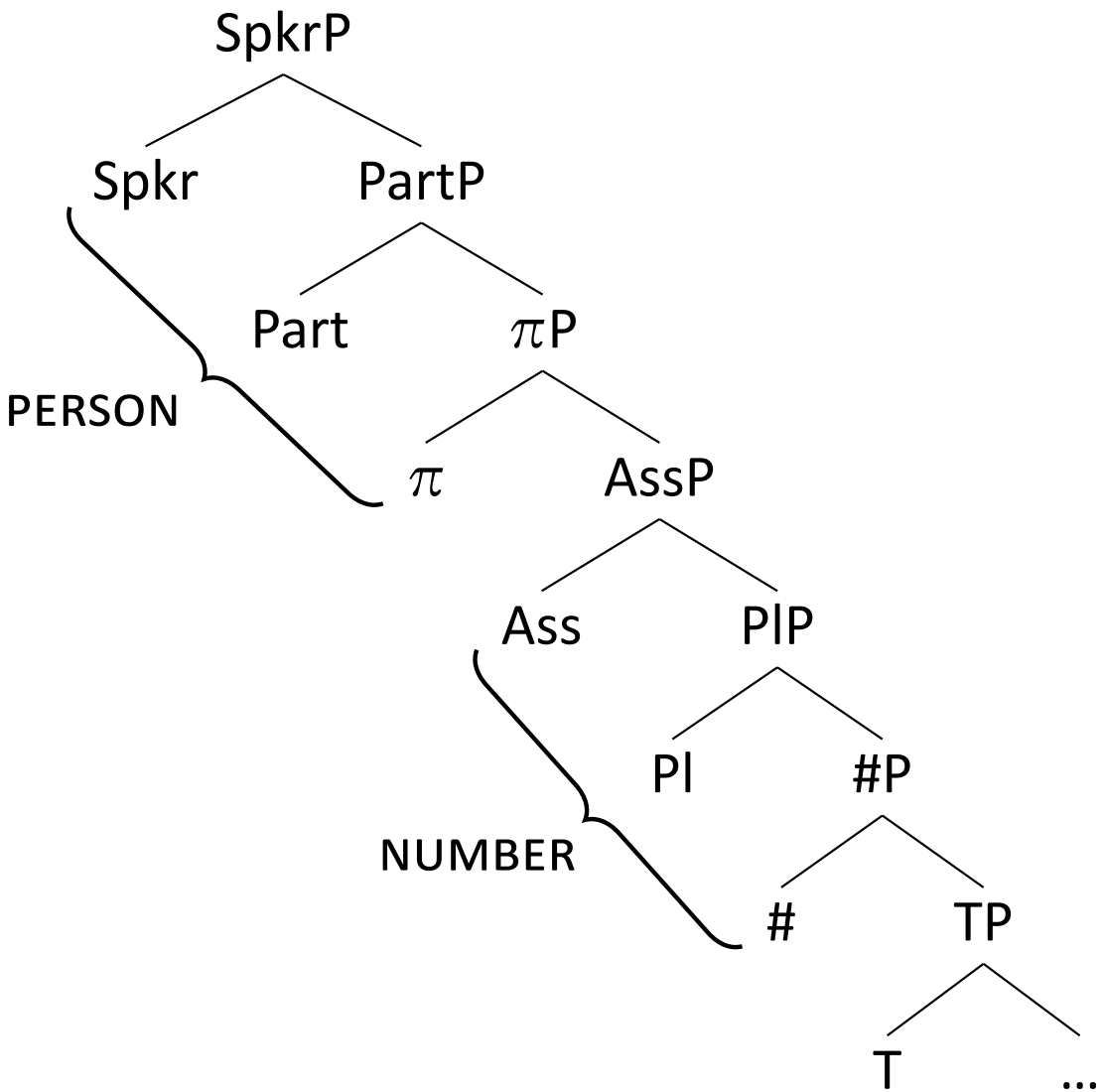

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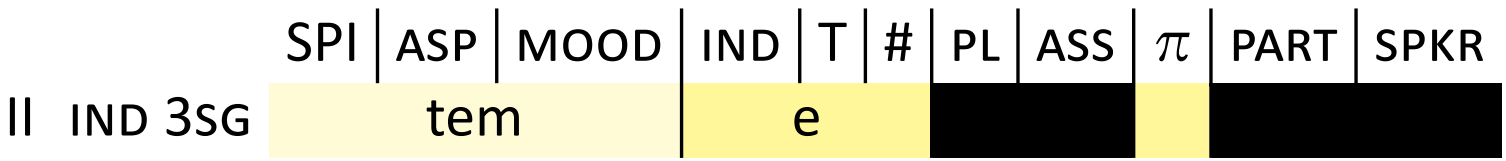
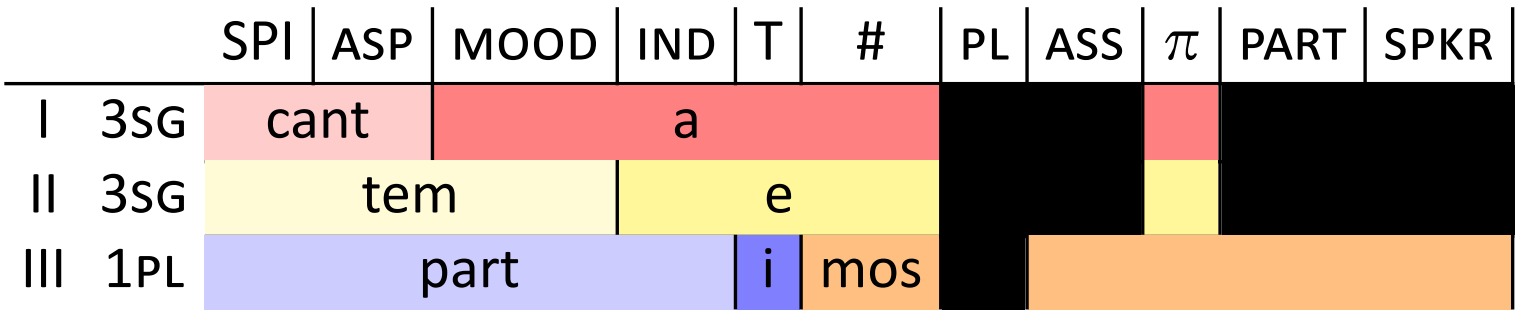


Outline

Root size


SPI
ASP
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PART
SPKR
I 3SG
cant
a
II 3SG
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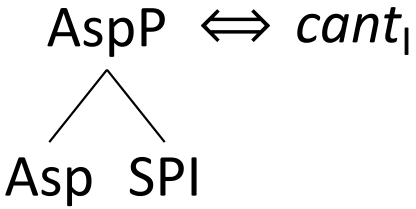
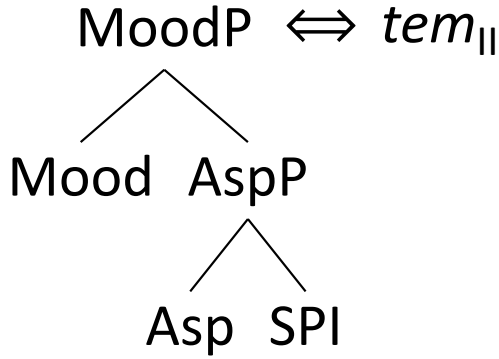
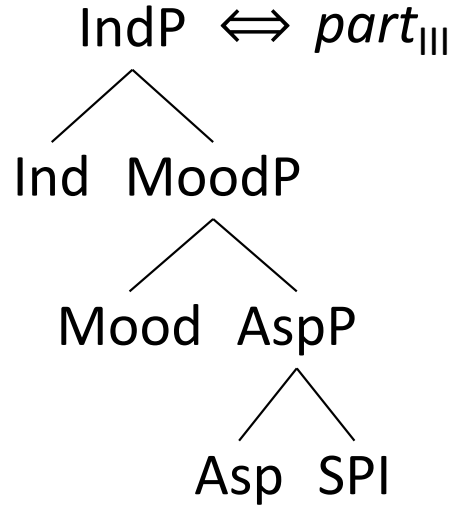
e
III 1PL
part
i
mos


AspP ⇔ $cant_{I}$
Asp SPI


MoodP ⇔ tem_{II}
Mood AspP
Asp SPI


IndP ⇔ $part_{III}$
Ind MoodP
Mood AspP
Asp SPI

π ⇔ a
π #P
TP
T IndP
Ind MoodP
Mood

π ⇔ e
π #P
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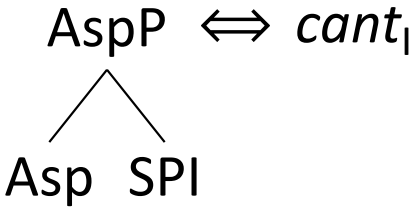
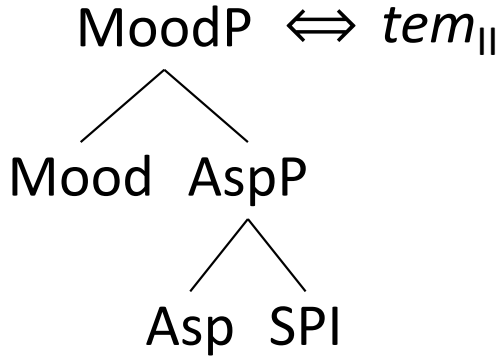
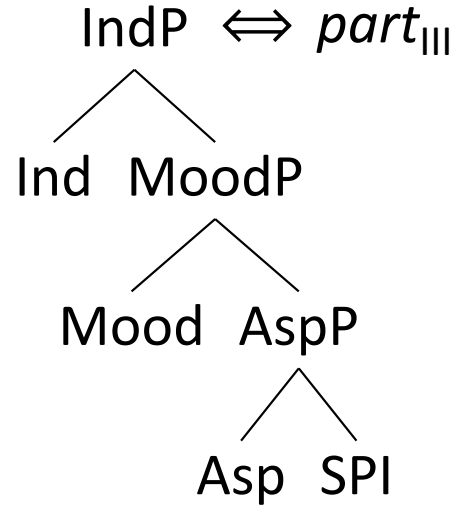
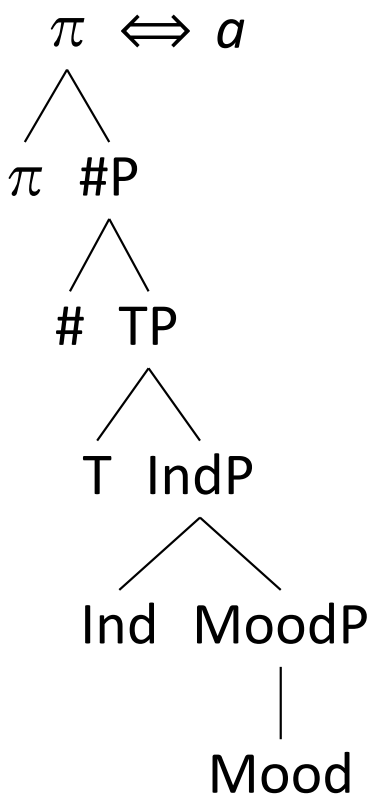
T IndP
Ind

TP ⇔ i
T


AspP ⟺ $cant_{I}$
Asp
SPI


MoodP ⟺ tem_{II}
Mood
AspP
Asp
SPI


IndP ⟺ $part_{III}$
Ind
MoodP
Mood
AspP
Asp
SPI


π ⟺ a
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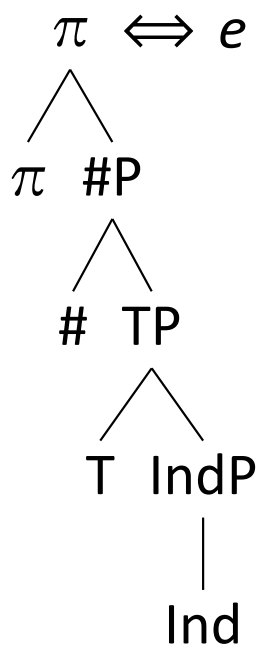
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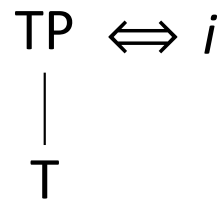
TP ⟺ i
T

Outline

Root allomorphy

	AP	C1	C2
POS	good		
CMPR	bett		er

(Caha et al. 2019)

Outline

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The analysis

Correlation I

V has a root allomorph X in PRS SBJV

V has a root allomorph X in 1SG PRS IND

- 1SG PRS IND
  - absence of theme vowel
  - full paradigm levelling

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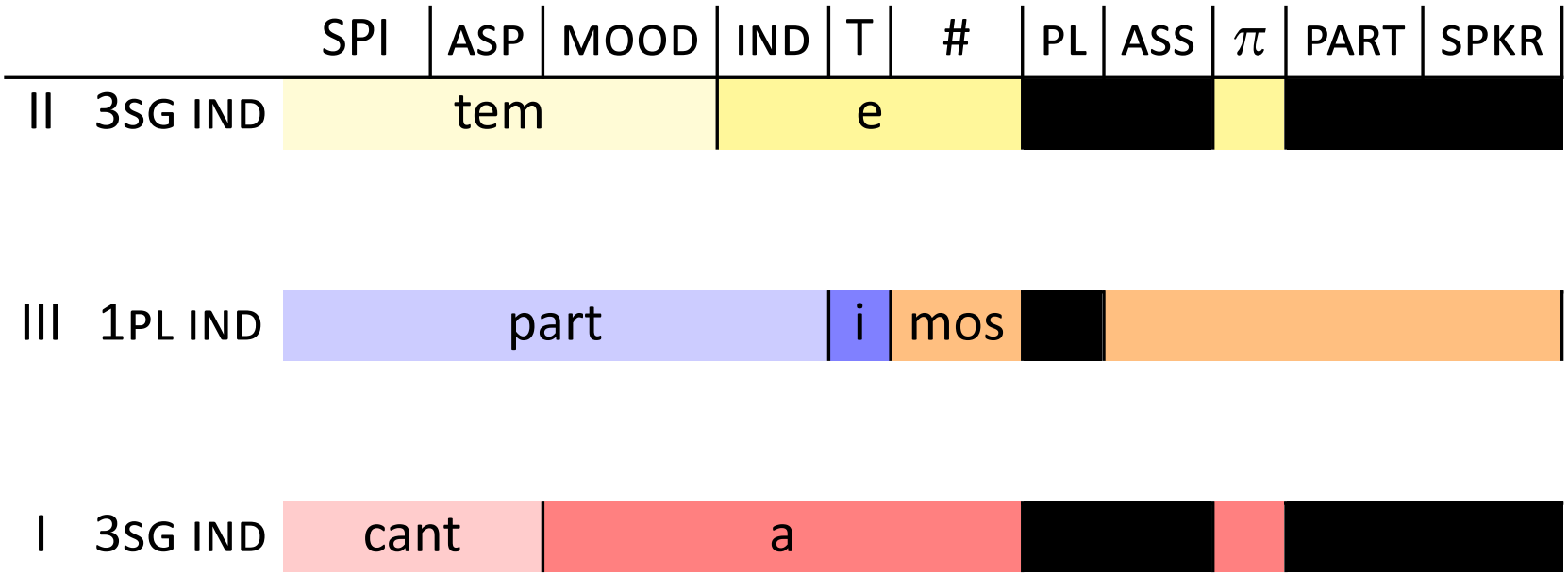
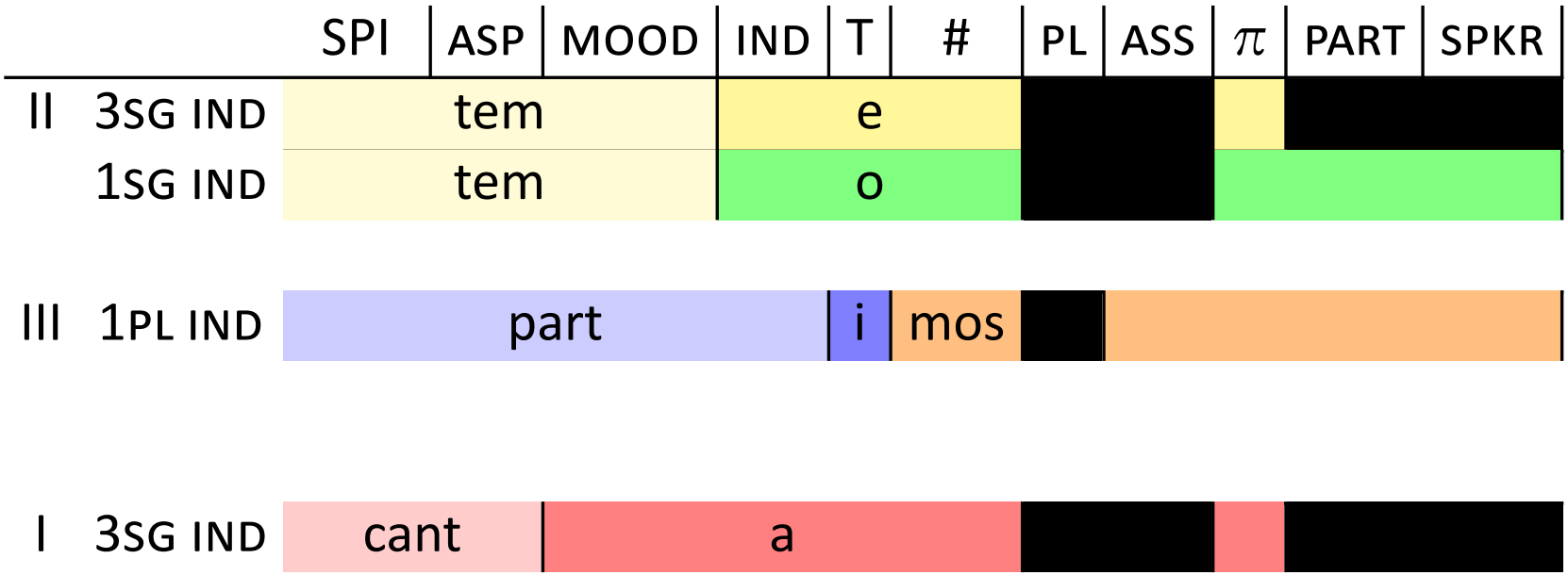
Subjunctive allomorphy



Subjunctive allomorphy



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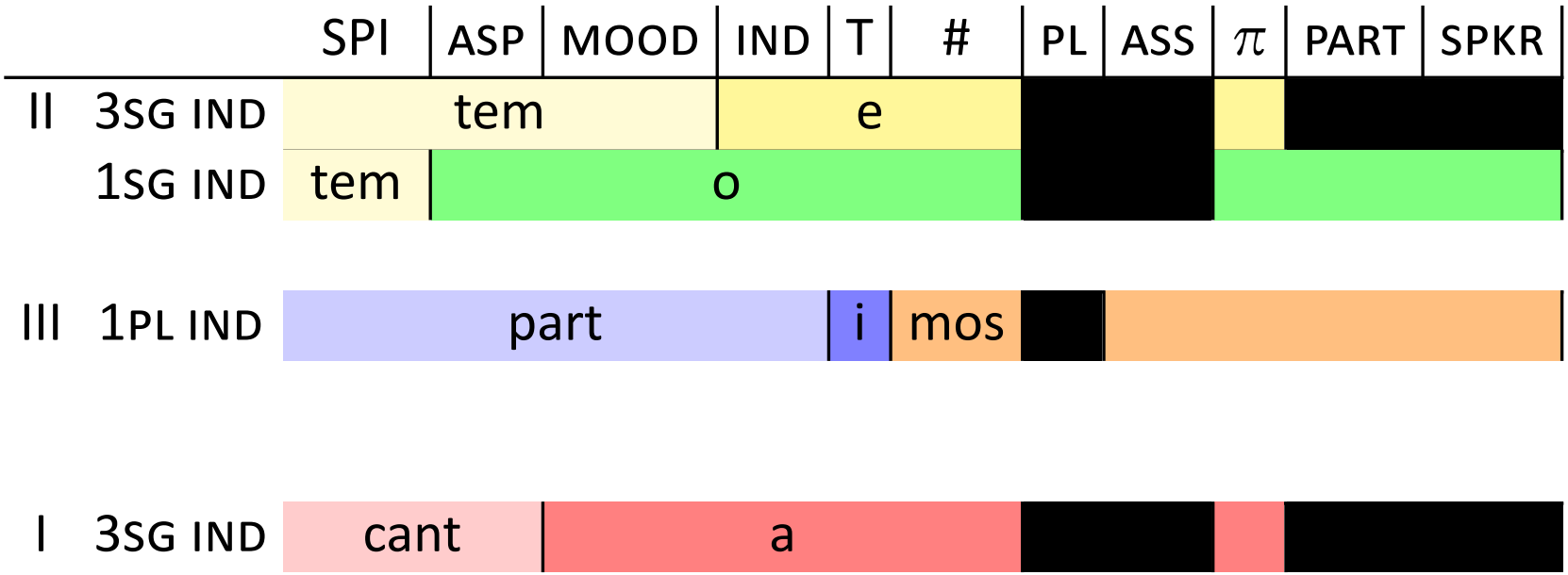
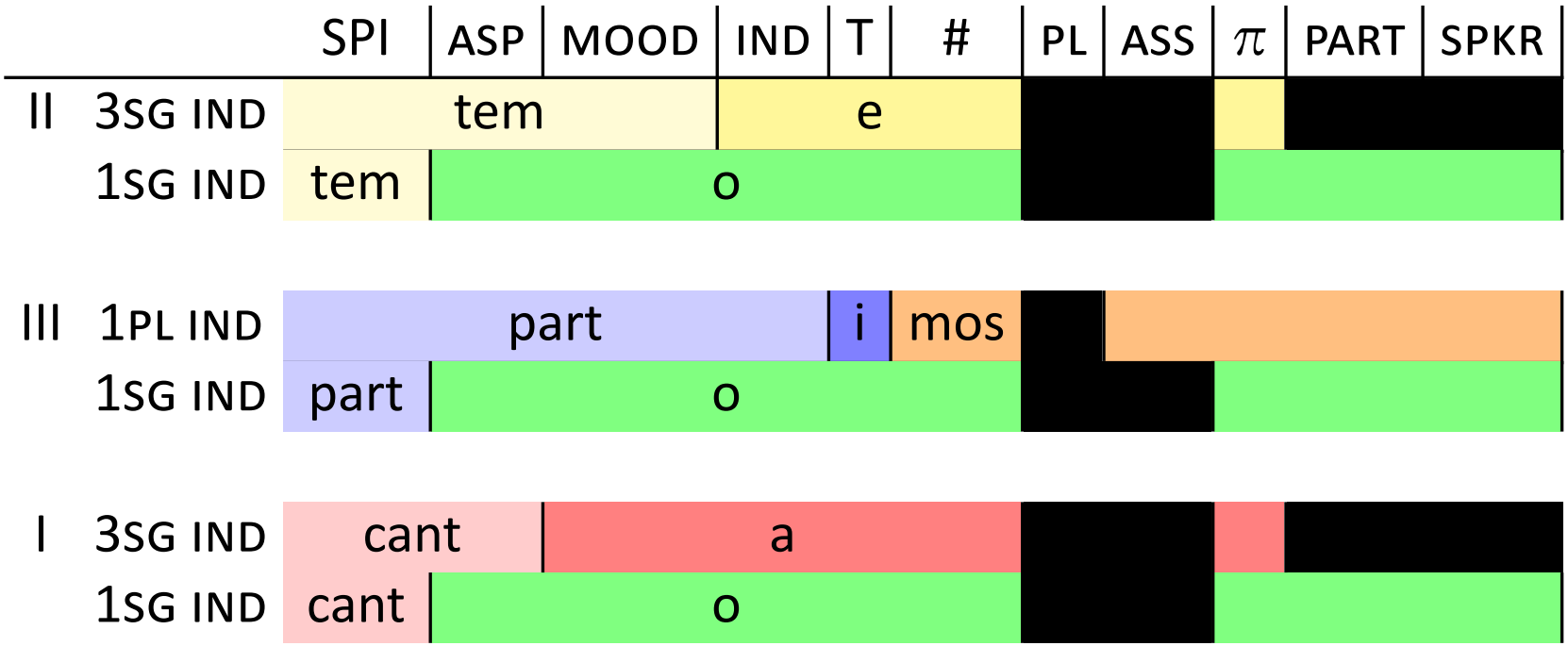
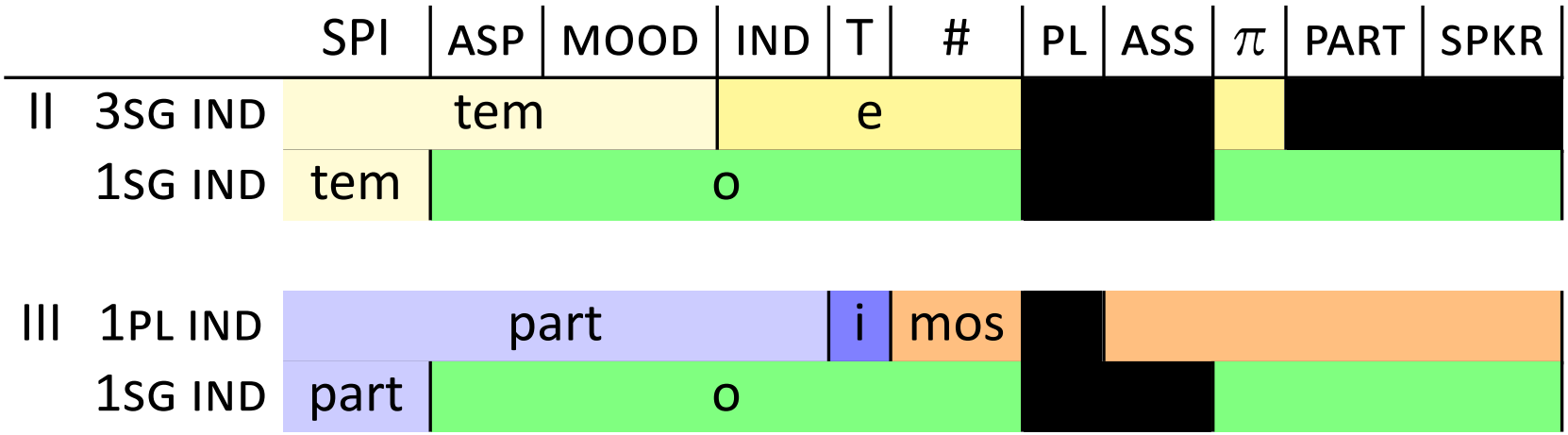


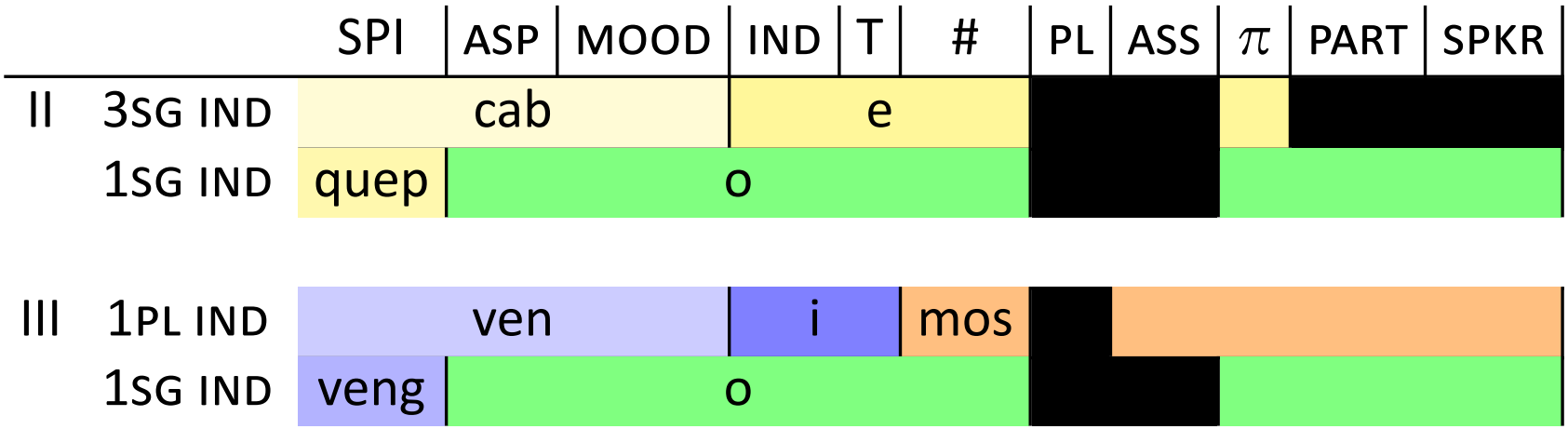
Subjunctive allomorphy



Subjunctive allomorphy



Subjunctive allomorphy



Subjunctive allomorphy

		SPI	ASP	MOOD	IND	T	#	PL	ASS	π	PART	SPKR
II	3SG IND	cab			e							
	1SG IND	quep	o									
	1SG SBJV	quep	a									
III	1PL IND	ven			i		mos					
	1SG IND	veng	o									
	1SG SBJV	veng	a									

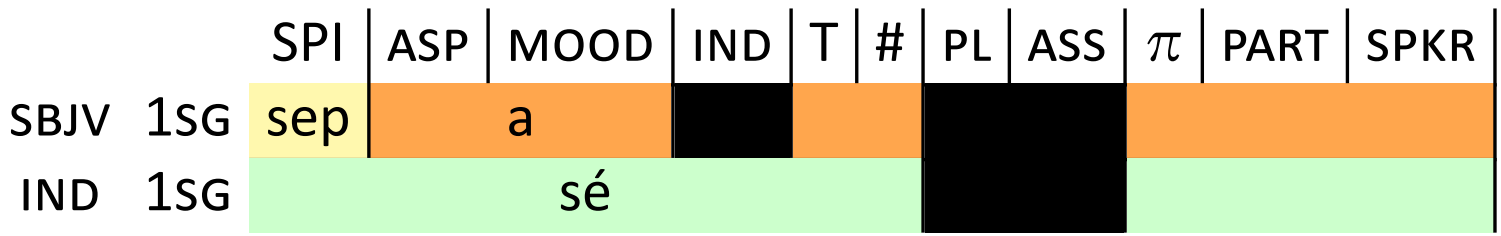
Class II, SBJV

		SPI	ASP	MOOD	IND	T	#	PL	ASS	π	PART	SPKR
SG	1	quep	a								*	
	2	quep	a								s	
	3	quep	a									
PL	1	quep	a				mos					
	2	quep	a				is					
	3	quep	a					n				

Class III, SBJV

		SPI	ASP	MOOD	IND	T	#	PL	ASS	π	PART	SPKR
SG	1	veng	a								*	
	2	veng	a								s	
	3	veng	a									
PL	1	veng	a				mos					
	2	veng	a				is					
	3	veng	a					n				

Class II, SBJV (*saber*)



Outline

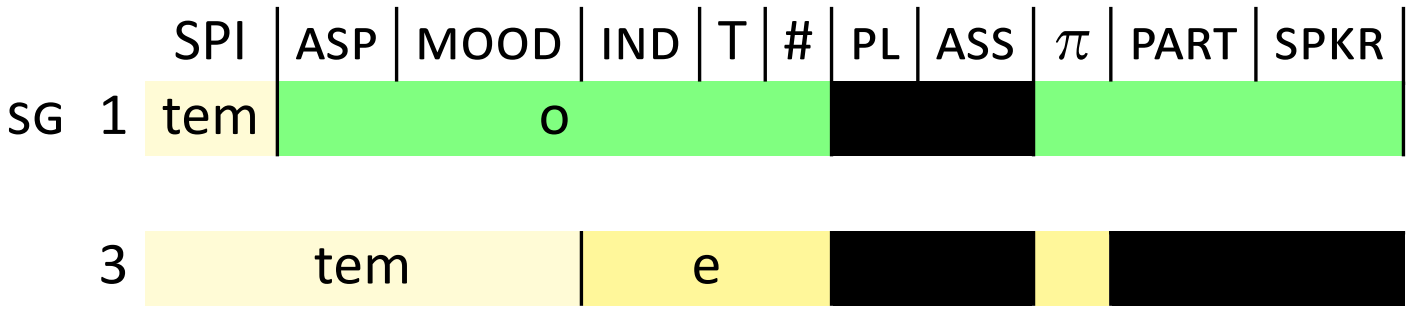
Vowel height allomorphy

Correlation II

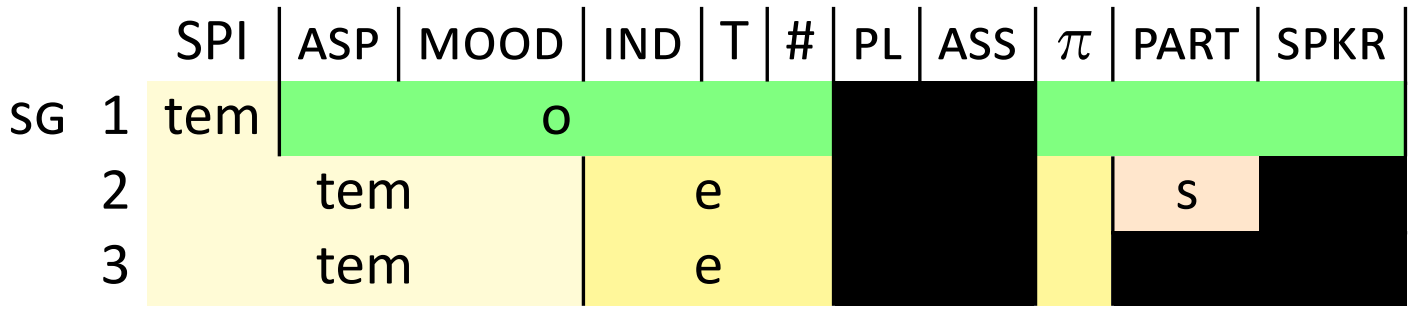
root allomorph		*ped*			*pid*			
		dorm			*durm*			
		⇕			⇕			
theme vowel		*i*			*e*			

		II			III		
		V	TV	Φ	V	TV	Φ
SG	1	tem	Ø	o	pid	Ø	o
	2	tem	e	s	pid	e	s
	3	tem	e	Ø	pid	e	Ø
PL	1	tem	e	mos	ped	i	mos
	2	tem	é	is	ped	i	is
	3	tem	e	n	pid	e	n

Class II



Class II



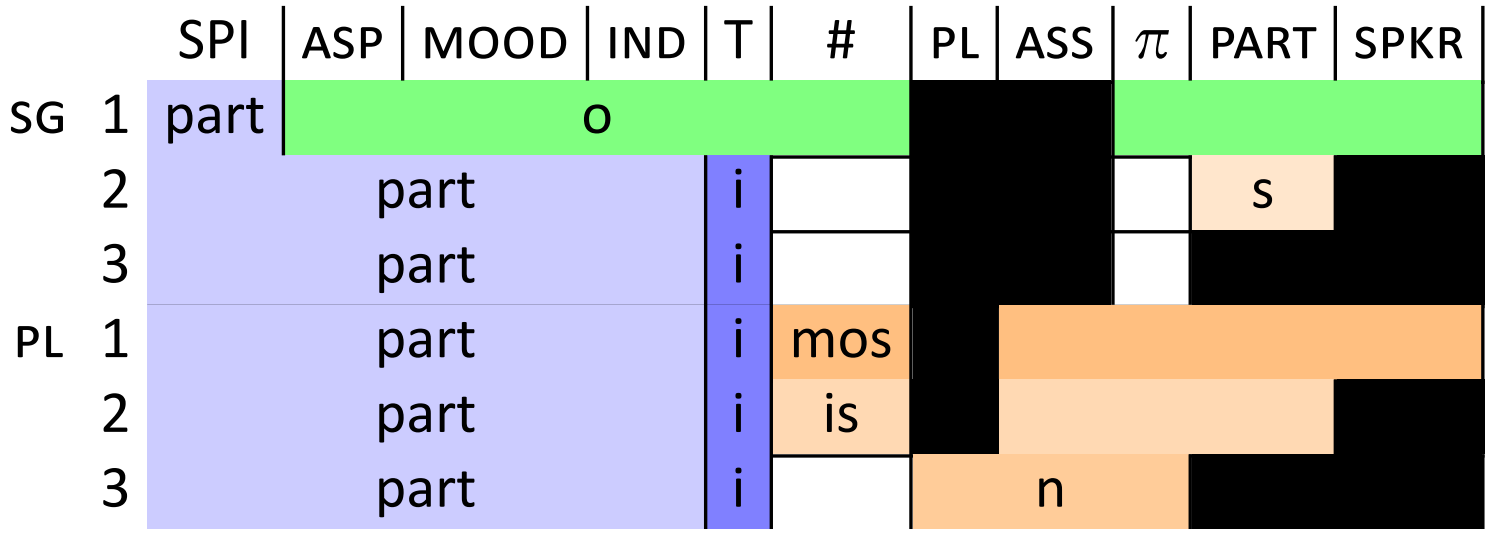
Class II

		SPI	ASP	MOOD	IND	T	#	PL	ASS	π	PART	SPKR
SG	1	tem			o							
	2		tem			e					s	
	3		tem			e						
PL	1		tem			e	mos					
	2		tem			e	is					

Class II

		SPI	ASP	MOOD	IND	T	#	PL	ASS	π	PART	SPKR
SG	1	tem		o								
	2		tem			e					s	
	3		tem			e						
PL	1		tem		e		mos					
	2		tem		e		is					
	3		tem			e			n			

Class III


SPI
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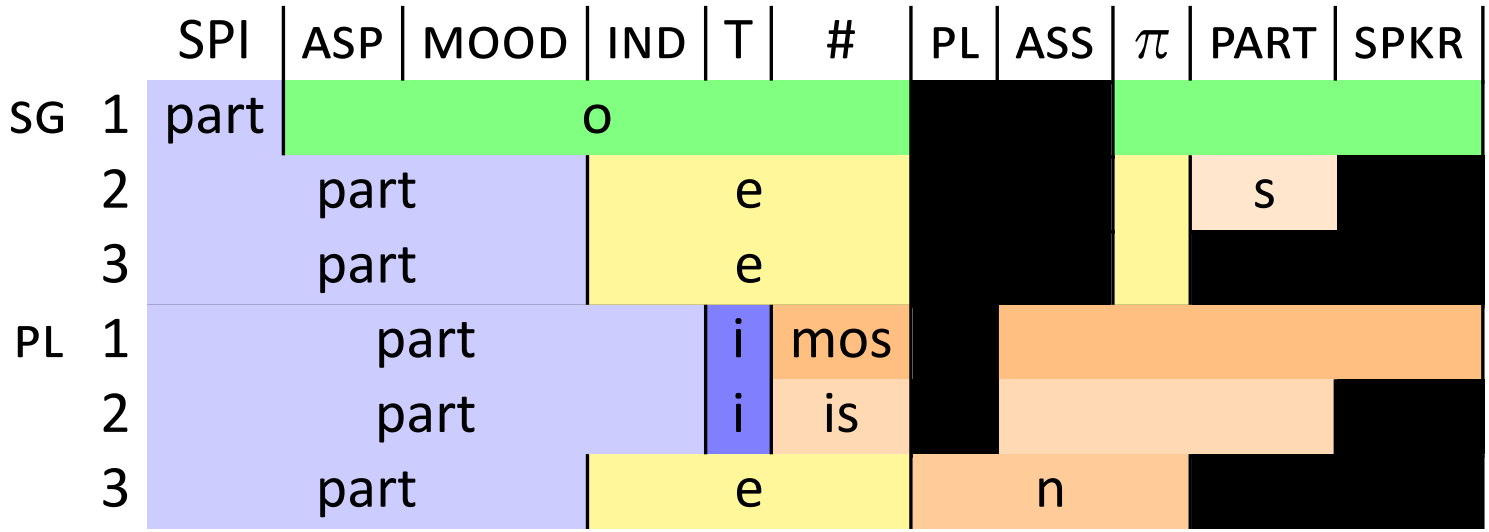
Class III


SPI
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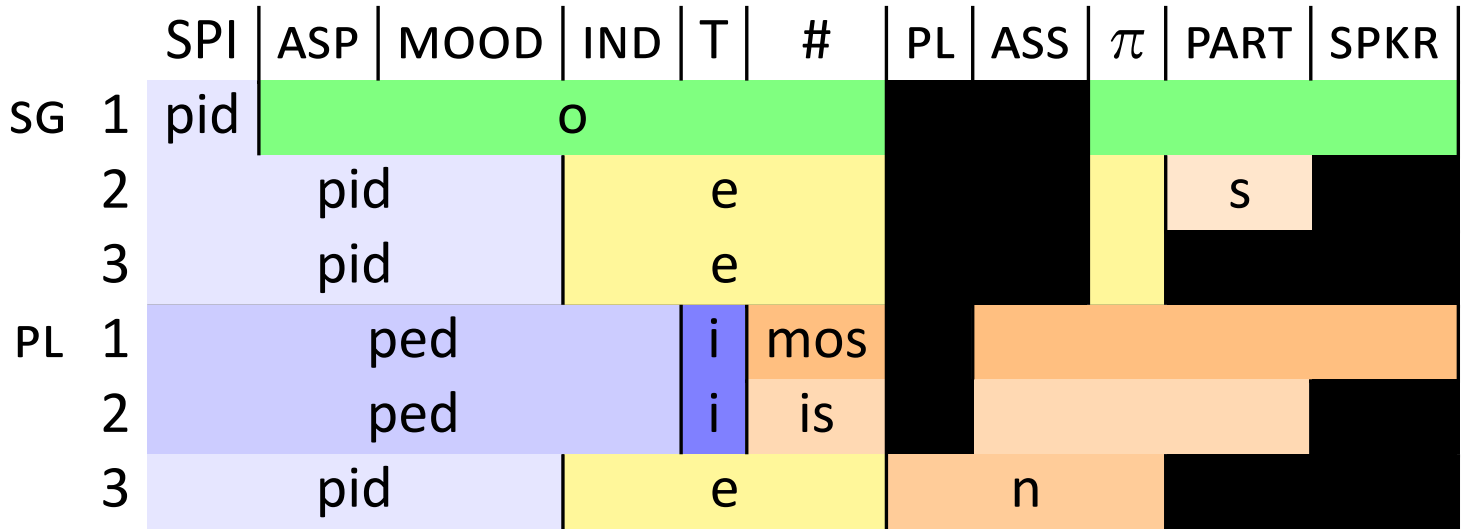
Class III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Class III, SBJV

		SPI	ASP	MOOD	IND	T	#	PL	ASS	π	PART	SPKR
SG	1	pid	a								*	
	2	pid	a								s	
	3	pid	a									
PL	1	pid	a				mos					
	2	pid	a				is					
	3	pid	a					n				

Outline

Conclusion

Aims

to provide a nanosyntactic account of

- ✓ the distribution of the theme vowels
- ✓ the absence of a theme vowel in 1SG PRS IND
- ✓ the two types of levelling
- ✓ the correlations of these levellings with root allomorphy

Conclusion

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- ✓ the absence of a theme vowel in 1SG PRS IND
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Thank you!

References

Bermúdez-Otero, R. (2013), 'The Spanish lexicon stores stems with theme vowels, not roots with inflectional class features', *Probus* **25**(1), 3–103.

Caha, P., De Clercq, K. and Vanden Wyngaerd, G. (2019), 'The fine structure of the comparative', *Studia Linguistica* **73**(3), 470–521.

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Fábregas, A. (2022), 'What 1sg forms tell us about Spanish theme vowels', *Glossa* **7**(1-40).

Outline

Diphthongal ‘allomorphy’

	Class I		Class II		Class III	
	INF	PRS 3SG	INF	PRS 3SG	INF	PRS 3SG
e-je	neg-ar	niég-e	atend-er	atiend-e	sent-ir	sient-e
	empez-ar	empiez-a	quer-er	quier-e	ven-ir	vien-e
	cerr-ar	cierr-a	entend-er	entiend-e	prefer-ir	prefier-e
o-we	rod-ar	rued-a	mol-er	muel-e	dorm-ir	duerm-e
	vol-ar	vuel-a	pod-er	pued-e	mor-ir	muer-e
	cont-ar	cuent-a	ten-er	tien-e		
i-je					inquir-ir	inquier-e
u-we	jug-ar	jueg-a				

Diphthongal ‘allomorphy’

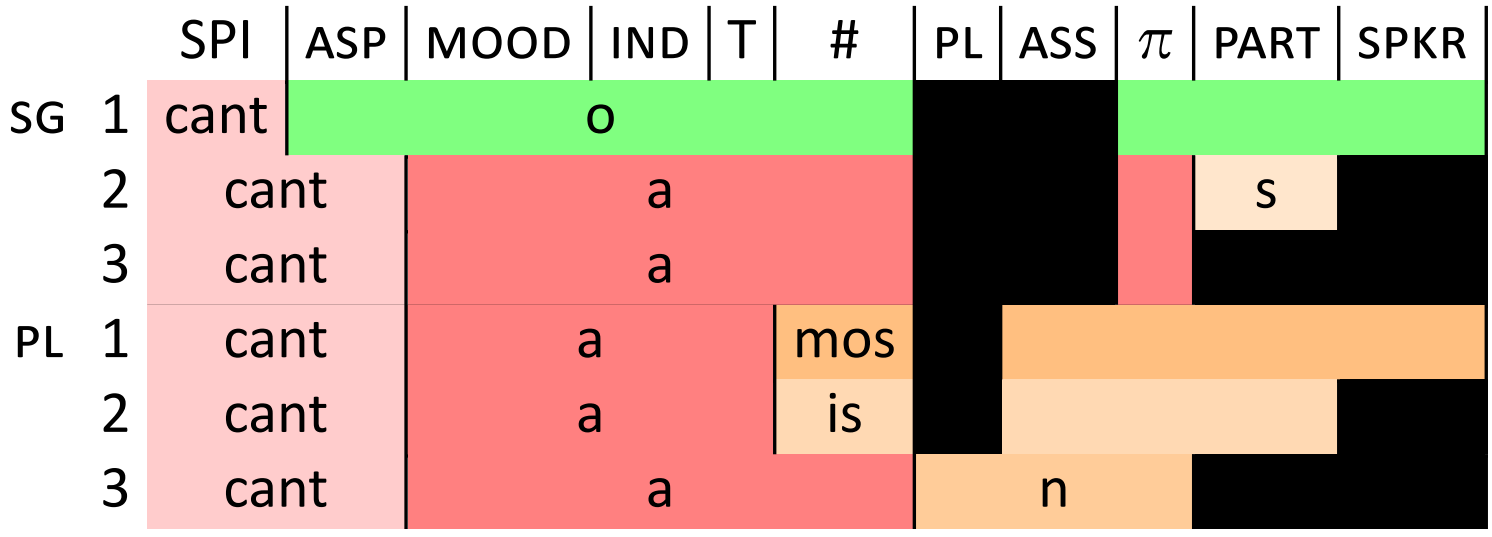
Diphthongal allomorphy: *volar* ‘to fly’

PFV PST	SBJV	PRS	IPFV PST	FUT	COND
vol-é	vuél-e	vuél-o	vol-aba	vol-aré	vol-aría
vol-áste	vuél-es	vuél-as	vol-abas	vol-arás	vol-arías
vol-ó	vuél-e	vuél-a	vol-aba	vol-ará	vol-aría
vol-ámos	vol-émos	vol-ámos	vol-ábamos	vol-aremos	vol-aríamos
vol-astéis	vol-éis	vol-áis	vol-abais	vol-aréis	vol-aríais
vol-áron	vuél-en	vuél-an	vol-aban	vol-arán	vol-arían

Diphthongal ‘allomorphy’

- stressed root $\Leftrightarrow$ diphthong
- unstressed root $\Leftrightarrow$ monophthong

Class I


SPI
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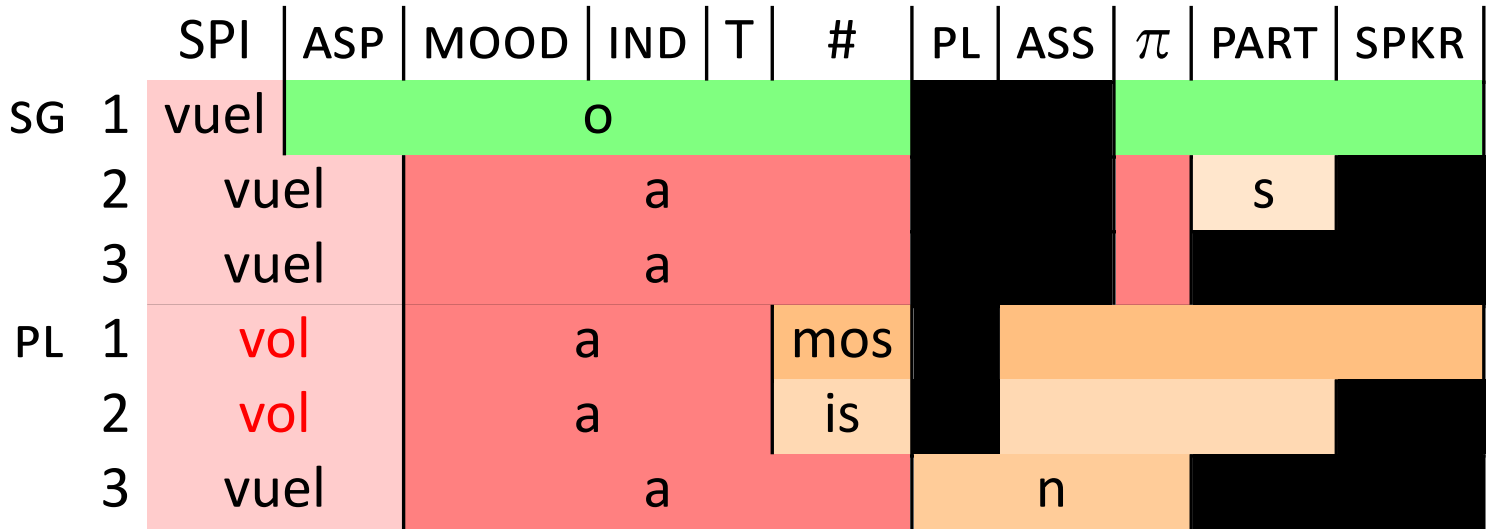
Class I


SPI
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PL 1
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3
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Class II

		SPI	ASP	MOOD	IND	T	#	PL	ASS	π	PART	SPKR
SG	1	quier			o							
	2		quier			e					s	
	3		quier			e						
PL	1		quer			e	mos					
	2		quer			e	is					
	3		quier			e			n			

Diphthongal ‘allomorphy’

- the relevant verb roots have a representation that comes out as a diphthong when stressed and a monophthong when unstressed
  - v{O/UE}l
  - qu{E/IE}r
- there is no allomorphy

Dipthongal allomorphy in denominal derivations

tiénd-a	‘shop’	tend-ér-o	‘shopkeeper’
puért-a	‘door’	port-ér-o	‘doorman’
diént-e	‘tooth’	dent-ál	‘dental’
muért-e	‘death	mort-ál	‘mortal’
siérr-a	‘mountain range’	serr-án-o	‘from the mountains’
ciég-o	‘blind’	ceg-edád	‘blindness’
nuév-o	‘new’	nov-edád	‘novelty
Venezuél-a	‘Venezuela’	Venezol-án-o	‘Venezuelan’

(Bermúdez-Otero 2013: 61)

Outline

Class II

		SPI	ASP	MOOD	IND	T	π	PART	SPKR	#	PL	MIN
SG	1	tem			o							
	2		tem		e			s				
	3		tem			e						
PL	1		tem		e			mos				
	2		tem		e			is				
	3		tem			e					n	

Class III, vowel height allomorphy