

Metaphony in Italo-Romance proparoxytones

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Proparoxytones in Italo-Romance offer the best source of evidence to investigate certain properties of vowel harmony, among them lookahead effects. According to Mascaró (in press), metaphonic systems are divided into those in which metaphony only applies in paroxytones and those in which it applies in both paroxytones and proparoxytones. Within the latter group, harmony is claimed to be always myopic (*pace* Kimper 2012, Walker 2010). In myopic harmony, posttonic potential undergoers in proparoxytones are targeted by metaphony irrespective of whether the stressed vowel non-local target is a potential undergoer or not. In non-myopic harmony, a type of lookahead effects, harmony of the posttonic vowel in proparoxytones is blocked if the stressed vowel non-local target is a non-undergoer. Building on previous literature, this talk explores the typological predictions of different harmony-driving constraint families (AGREE, ALIGN, SHARE, SPREAD, and IDENT within Agreement by Correspondence) in conjunction with internally layered ternary feet (Martínez-Paricio 2013) in both classic Optimality Theory and Harmonic Serialism. Taking Mascaró's (in press) typology to be the valid one, this paper shows that only Agreement by Correspondence produces a factorial typology of metaphonic systems that matches the empirical data: one that discards unattested non-myopia in proparoxytones (e.g. *'pɛrseg-i 'peach.pl' ~ 'pɛrseg-o 'peach.sg') as well as unattested gapped configurations across potential undergoers (e.g. *'zuvɛn-i 'young.pl', but 'zuvɛn-i ~ 'zovɛn-e 'young.sg'), while predicting attested myopia (e.g. 'pɛrsig-i 'peach.pl') and opacity of intervening non-undergoers between triggers and targets (e.g. la 'vorav-i 'worked.2sg impf. ind' ~ la 'vorav-a 'worked.1sg impf. ind').

References:

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