

The Mass/Count distinction: a lexically decomposed approach to mass neuter in Central Asturian

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Statement of the Problem: In Central Asturian, CA, some nouns indicate a mass interpretation with the theme vowel *-o*. Elsewhere, final theme vowels make no explicit mass/count distinction. Examples (1)-(3) are masculine. The (a) examples are count nouns, indicated by *-u*, while the (b) examples are mass, indicated by *-o*.

- (1) a. fierr-u
iron-MASC.COUNT
‘an iron object’

b. fierr-o
iron-MASC.MASS
‘iron material’

- (2) a. pel-u
hair-MASC.COUNT
'a hair'

b. pel-o
hair-MASC.MASS
'hair'

- (3) a. fil-u
thread-MASC.COUNT
'a thread'
b. fil-o
thread-MASC.MASS
'linen'

Examples (4)-(5) are feminine mass and make no use of the *-o* theme vowel.

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------|
| (4) rop-a | (5) sidr-a |
| clothing-FEM.MASS | cider-FEM.MASS |
| ‘clothing’ | ‘cider’ |

The literature does not treat nominal derivation, (d'Andrés 1993; Arias Cabal 1998; a.o.) so more should be said about the distribution of nouns

In a novel approach to this data, I apply Kramer’s (2015) analysis of nominal gender to CA. I argue that this system sheds light on how theme vowels, gender and mass/count interpretations interact in CA.

n Licensers: Roots need to be categorized.

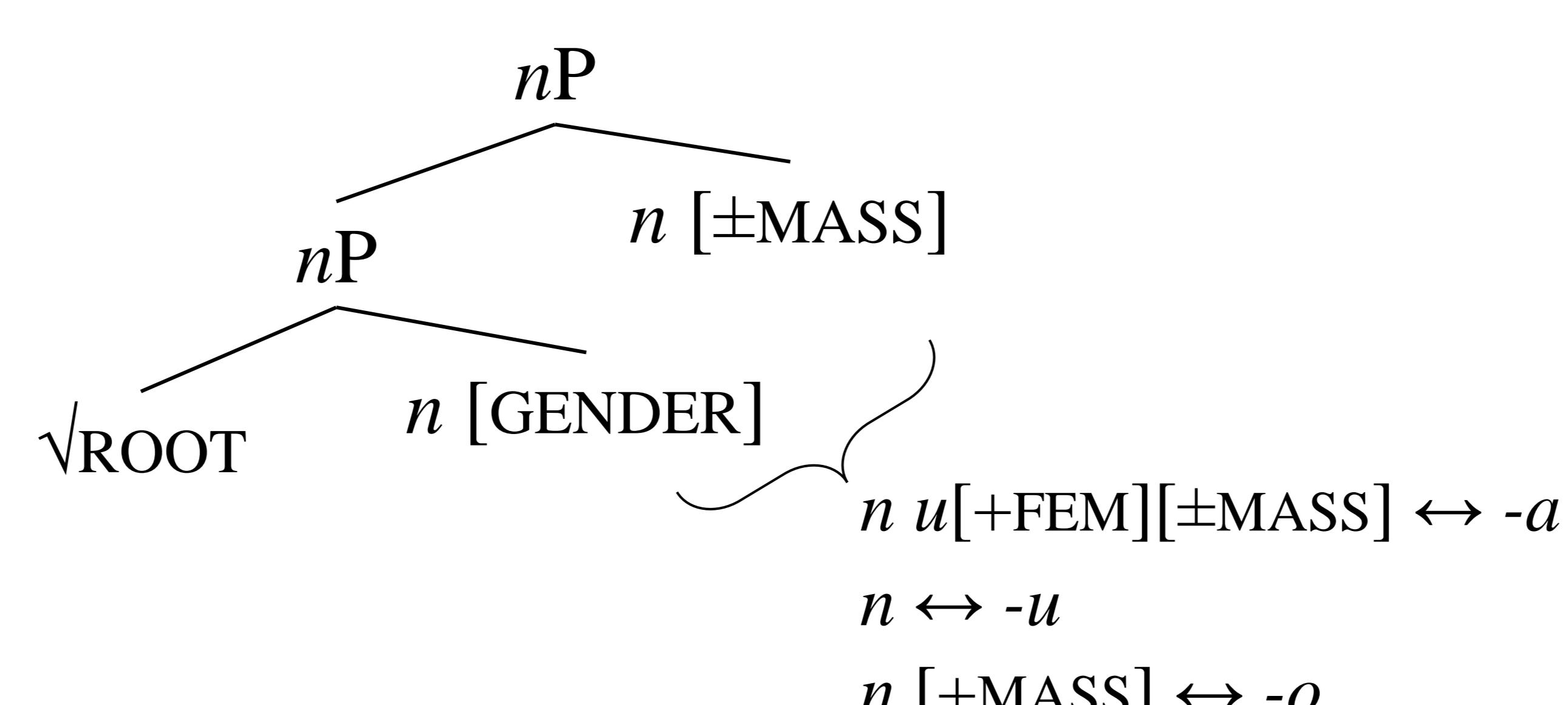
- (6) a. [n *i*[+FEM][$\sqrt{\text{NEÑ}}$]] = ‘neña’ [girl]
b. [n *i*[-FEM][$\sqrt{\text{NEÑ}}$]] = ‘neñu’ [boy]
c. [n [$\sqrt{\text{FIERR}}$]] = ‘fierru’ [an iron obj]
d. [n [+MASS][$\sqrt{\text{FIERR}}$]] = ‘fierro’ [iron mat]
e. [n *u*[+FEM][$\sqrt{\text{PER}}$]] = ‘pera’ [pear]

Declension Classes: There are three classes that help us link noun roots to their theme vowels.

III	-e/Ø	xent-e ‘ <i>people</i> ’, carbón-Ø ‘ <i>coal</i> ’
II	-a	dí-a ‘ <i>day</i> ’, rop-a ‘ <i>clothing</i> ’, sidr-a ‘ <i>cider</i> ’
I	-u/-o	man-u ‘ <i>hand</i> ’, fierr-u ‘ <i>an iron object</i> ’, fierr-o ‘ <i>iron material</i> ’, pel-u/pel-o...

Theme Nodes: Rules for theme vowel insertion.

- A. i. Insert [TH, III] in context $\sqrt{\text{XENT}}$, $\sqrt{\text{CARBÓN}}$...
ii. Insert [TH, II] in context $\sqrt{\text{DÍ}}$...
iii. Insert [TH, I] in context $\sqrt{\text{MAN}}$...
 - B. Insert [TH, II] in context [+FEM]
 - C. Insert [TH, I, -o] in context [+MASS] $\sqrt{\text{FIERR}}$,
 $\sqrt{\text{PEL}}$, $\sqrt{\text{FIL}}$...
 - D. Insert [TH, I] elsewhere



Predictions/Implications:

Mass nouns (cf. (1b), (2b), (3b)) spelled out as *-o* forms licensed under *n* [+MASS] via specific vowel insertion rule

Count nouns (cf. (1a), (2a), (3a)) spelled out as *-u* forms licensed under *n* via elsewhere vowel insertion rule

Count/mass feminine nouns (cf. (4)-(5)) spelled out as *-a* forms licensed under [+FEM] via specific vowel insertion rule

All other theme vowels derivable by the same system; may be dependent on specific rules

Selected References: **Academia de la Llingua Asturiana (ALIA).** (2001). Gramática de la Llingua Asturiana. Uviéu: ALIA.; **d'Andrés, R.** (1993). Emplegu del neutru n'asturianu. **LIA**, 49, 49-85.; **Arias Cabal, Á.** (1998). Diacronía del incontable o ‘neutro de materia’ en asturiano. In **Atti del Xxi CILFR** (Vol. 1, pp. 35-49). Berlin/NYC: Mouton de Gruyter.; **Camblor Portilla, M. et al.** (2005). The Mass Neuter Phenomenon in Asturian: Adjectives and Agreement. **RFA**, 5, 19-40.; **Kramer, R.** (2015). The Morphosyntax of Gender. Oxford: OUP.

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