On allomorphy patterns in the contexte of secondary imperfectivization in Ukrainian.

Elena Kulinich
Université du Québec à Montréal

Introduction. In this paper, I aim to provide a morphological analysis for the pattern of allomorphy sensitive to tense and its interaction with secondary imperfectivization of prefixed perfective verbs in Ukrainian. More specifically, I propose that verbal stem allomorphy becomes neutralized in the context of secondary imperfectivization when the aspectual head intervenes between the stem and tense according to locality conditions on contextual allomorphy. In derived (i.e. secondary) imperfective verbs, tense triggers allomorphy of the aspectual suffix which is realized as - *uva-* in past forms or *-u-* in non-past. Previously, different realizations of the secondary imperfectivization suffix (e.g., *-yva*, *-va*, and *-a* in Russian) have received a phonological account (e.g., Matushansky 2009), however, the data from Ukrainian suggest that an alternative morphological analysis is possible for secondary imperfectivization suffixes.

Observation. Verbal stems in Ukrainian (as well as in other Slavic languages) are sensitive to tense feature and this results in past versus non-past stem allomorphy. For example, in the bare imperfective verbs *buduvaty* 'to build' we have the following past and non-past stem allomorphs:

(1) *buduva-ty* 'to build' (IPFV)
   a. **buduva**-l-y
       build-PAST-PL
       '(they) were building'
   b. **budu**(j)-ut'
       build- NONPAST.3PL
       '(they) are building'

The same type of allomorphy is observed in prefixed perfective verbs (2). However, sensitivity of verb stems to tense systematically disappears in the context of "secondary imperfectivization", i.e. the process of deriving an imperfective verb from a perfective one by means of the suffix *-uva-* realized as *-uva-* or *– u-* (capitalized -UVA-/-U- in 3).

(2) *vid-buduva-ty* 'to rebuild' (PFV)
   a. **vid-buduva**-l-y
       PFX-build-PAST-PL
       '(they) rebuilt'
   a. **vid-budu**(j)-ut'
       PFX-build-NONPAST.3PL
       '(they) will rebuild'

(3) *vid-budovuva-ty* 'to rebuild' (IPFV)
   a. **vid-budov**-UVA-l-y
       PFX-build-ASP-PAST-PL
       '(they) were rebuilding'
   b. **vid-budov**-U(j)-ut'
       PFX-build- ASP-NONPAST.3PL
       '(they) are rebuilding'

Analysis. According to locality restrictions on contextual allomorphy (e.g., Embick 2010), allomorphs are to be adjacent to the node triggering allomorphy, which is no longer the case for the stem - *budov-* in (3). In (3), the same stem - *budov-* appears in past and non-past forms, however, the stem preceding the aspectual head is realized differently from the corresponding stem in bare

imperfective and perfective counterparts, which suggests that in Ukrainian, stem sensitivity to tense becomes neutralized in the presence of aspectual head and this can be explained by locality constraints on allomorphy: stems are no longer adjacent to tense. The aspectual suffix *-uva-,* which itself is adjacent to the tense node shows allomorphy (*-uva- /- u-*) triggered by tense.

References:

Embick, David. 2010. *Localism versus globalism in morphology and phonology*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Matushansky, Ora. 2009. On the featural composition of the Russian back yer. In: Zybatow, Gerhild, Junghanns, Uwe; Uwe and Lenertova, Denisa; Denisa, Biskup, Petr Petr (eds.), *Studies in formal Slavic phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and information structure*: Proceedings of FDSL 7. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, pp. 397-410.