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### 3 Inflectional Morphology

**Abstract:** This chapter presents a basic description of the inflectional morphology of the Galician language: gender, number and morphological classes in nouns and adjectives; the allomorphy of the definite article; the paradigms of pronouns and determiners (including their allomorphic alternations and their contractions with the word forms of other lexemes); verbal morphology will merit special attention since the Galician verbal paradigm contains sixty-nine morphosyntactic cells and verbs should belong to one of three existing conjugations. Galician being a moderately fusional language, the content of the morphosyntactic cells may be expressed through the addition of suffixes, zero morphology or modifications in the verbal root.

**Keywords:** Galician, morphology, inflection, morphological classes, morphosyntactic features, clitics, Word and Paradigm

#### 1 Introduction

Galician could be considered a moderately fusional language, since there is no one-to-one relationship between its morphosyntactic properties and morphological expression:

- a) There exist cumulative morphs: in *cantabas* ‘you used to sing’, /ba/ is considered the exponent of Ind.Pst.Ipfv; /s/ is considered the exponent of 2Sg; in *comiches* ‘you ate/have eaten’, the corresponding word form of {V[2Sg.Ind.Pst.Pfv] COMER}, /tʃes/ is related to 2Sg (compare to 1Sg *comín* ‘I ate’, 1Pl *comemos* ‘we ate’) and to Ind.Pst.Pfv (compare to *comías* Ind.Pst.Ipfv ‘you used to eat’, *comeras* Ind.Pst.Prf ‘you had eaten’, *comeses* ‘you ate’ Sbjv.Pst).
- b) Roots may be modified to express morphosyntactic properties: /kome/ is the 2Sg.Imp of the verb COMER ‘eat’ (*come*), while /kòme/ is its 3Sg.Ind.Prs (*come*).

However, the most common method of exponence is the addition of suffixes to a root. Galician roots may be simple or complex (Villalva 2000; Rio-Torto et al. 2016). Simple roots are formed by a root to which no derivative affix has been added: /mat/ in the verb MATAR ‘kill’. Complex roots are formed by a simple root to which one or more derivative affixes have been added: /tole/ in the verb TOLEAR ‘go mad’, consisting of the adjectival root /tol/ ‘mad’ plus the affix /e/, which creates verbs from nouns and adjectives. It is useful to consider a derived word as containing one complex root because of the behavior of stress, since it

behaves the same way in the derived *tolear* as in the simple *matar*: their 1Sg.Ind.Prs word forms are stressed exactly in the same place, the rightmost vowel of the root, a single root in the case of *matar* (*mát-o*) and a complex root in the case of *tolear* (*tolé-o*). The same occurs with more complex roots: *in-sens-i-bil-íz-o* ‘I render insensitive’.

Usually, roots are followed by thematic vowels; in the verbs, thematic vowels are compulsory; in nouns and adjectives, the absence of thematic vowels is more common. A root plus a thematic vowel make up a theme. Themes are followed by inflectional suffixes.

In this exposition of the inflectional morphology of Galician, I will follow the Word and Paradigm model offered by Matthews (1991), who considers that three different and complementary notions of *word* should be distinguished:

- a) The *lexeme*, which can be viewed as the lexical meaning or grammatical function of a word and its lexical category; I will represent lexemes by writing their citation forms in small capitals, accompanied by the abbreviation in capital letters of its lexical category: {V CANTAR} ‘sing’.
- b) The *morphosyntactic word*, a lexeme determined by a set of morphosyntactic properties.
- c) The *word form*, the sequence of phonemes expressing a morphosyntactic word.

I will call *paradigm* the set of morphosyntactic words and word forms of a lexeme. This is the paradigm of the lexeme {Adj LISTO} ‘clever’:

Morphosyntactic words	Word forms
{Adj[M.Sg] LISTO}	/'listo/
{Adj[F.Sg] LISTO}	/'lista/
{Adj[M.Pl] LISTO}	/'listos/
{Adj[F.Pl] LISTO}	/'listas/

I will separate the presence of morphosyntactic properties in morphosyntactic words from the exponents used to express them in word forms. Thus, by *inflectional morphology*, I mean the study of the morphophonological structures that constitute, in the word forms, the exponents of morphosyntactic properties already present in each morphosyntactic word.

By *morphosyntactic properties*, I understand abstract syntactic features linked to some lexical categories; they are, properly, inflections and tend to be linked to semantic features and/or to morphophonological exponents. Morphosyntactic properties are grouped in *categories*; inside each category, the properties are in paradigmatic opposition. Therefore, the category “tense” groups together the properties present, past and future; “number” groups singular and plural. I represent morphosyntactic properties through their abbreviation, with their initial

letter in capitals: present > Prs. For example, the morphosyntactic word {V[2Sg.Ind.Pst.Ipfv] CANTAR} has the word form /kan'tabas/.

Morphosyntactic properties are not to be confused with meanings: the group of properties Ind.Pst.Ipfv can be used to express a declarative real imperfective past (*Daquela, nadabas moito* ‘At that time, you used to swim a lot’) or a hypothetical mood (*Se puideses, cantabas* ‘If you could, you would sing’).

In Galician, only nouns, pronouns, adjectives, determiners, relatives, interrogatives, exclamatives, and verbs inflect, i.e., their lexemes are determined by morphosyntactic properties; adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, subordinators, and complementizers do not inflect. Verbs inflect, at least, for mood, tense, aspect, number and person. The other variable lexical categories inflect, at least, for gender and number. All variable lexical categories will be described in the next paragraphs.

## 2 Nouns

### 2.1 Gender and thematic classes

Every Galician noun is inherently inflected for gender: each noun is therefore inherently either masculine or feminine. Gender is lexically marked and not added by any inflectional process. The lexical morphosyntactic representation of *morte* ‘death’ includes the features N[F], and that of *sangue* ‘blood’ those of N[M]. Gender in nouns is basically expressed through the agreement they establish with their determiners and modifiers, as in:

- |     |               |             |              |               |              |              |
|-----|---------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|
| (1) | <i>Unha</i>   | <i>raíz</i> | <i>longa</i> | <i>Un</i>     | <i>nariz</i> | <i>longo</i> |
|     | a-F.Sg        | root(F).Sg  | long-F.Sg    | a-M.Sg        | nose(M).Sg   | long-M.Sg    |
|     | ‘A long root’ |             |              | ‘A long nose’ |              |              |

We should not confuse the gender properties with the morphological classes to which the word form of every noun belongs. In fact, while there are two genders, nouns may be grouped in at least four morphological classes, established attending to their thematic vowels. The first group is formed by those nouns ending in an unstressed, mid-high back thematic vowel /o/; most of them are masculine: *libro* ‘book’, *nen* ‘boy’; however, there exist feminine nouns in this group: *tribo* ‘tribe’, *foto* ‘photograph’. The second group is formed by nouns ending in an unstressed low central thematic vowel, /a/; most of them are feminine: *casa* ‘house’, *manta* ‘blanket’; however, we also find masculine nouns in this group: *día* ‘day’, *drama* ‘drama’. The third group is formed by nouns ending in an unstressed mid-high front vowel /e/; they may be either masculine or

feminine: *sangue* ‘blood’ or *leite* ‘milk’ are masculine; *morte* ‘death’ or *noite* ‘night’ are feminine. The rest of the nouns end in a consonant, a semivowel or a stressed vowel within an open syllable; they are usually considered athematic (without a thematic vowel) or with a thematic vowel /Ø/; they may be masculine, like *mar* ‘sea’, *sal* ‘salt’, *nariz* ‘nose’, *bou* ‘fishing boat’, *dó* ‘compassion’; or feminine, like *dor* ‘pain’, *pel* ‘skin’, *raíz* ‘root’, *ventá* ‘window’, *lei* ‘law’. There exist some nouns ending in syllabic unstressed /i/ (as in *taxi*, *bikini*) or /u/ (as in *impromptu*), although these are loanwords.

In general, although gender in nouns is unpredictable, we find some tendencies: nouns with the thematic vowel /o/ are mostly masculine; nouns with the thematic vowel /a/ are usually feminine. Some derivative suffixes select one gender: *-idad/-* (*claridade* ‘light’, *posibilidade* ‘possibility’) or *-/θjon/* (*excitación* ‘excitation’) produce feminine nouns; *-um/-* produces masculine nouns (*acedume* ‘heartburn’, *negrume* ‘negritude’); the names of letters, days and months are masculine (*o ele* ‘the l’, *o luns* ‘Monday’, *o xaneiro* ‘January’). Gender is also semantically unmotivated in the vast majority of nouns, especially in inanimate ones.

There exist some inanimate nominal lexemes maintaining semantic relationships among them that share the root of their word forms (2). One member of the pair belongs to the /a/ class and is feminine, and the other member belongs to the /o/ class and is masculine.

- (2) {N[M] GORRO /'goro/} ‘hat’ vs. {N[F] GORRA /'gora/} ‘cap’  
 {N[M] POZO /'poθo/} ‘well’ vs. {N[F] POZA /'poθa/} ‘puddle’  
 {N[M] COITELo /koj'telo/} ‘knife’ vs. {N[F] COITELA /koj'tela/} ‘blade’

These alternations can be considered derivative and related to word-formation processes:

“The relationship among the members of these pairs is distant from those that are standard among grammatical morphemes, but is identical, however, to those that exist in word formation: new words are created throughout a derivative process (in these cases, the change of the thematic vowel -o /-a linked to a change in gender), words that, once created, gain special meaning” (Álvarez/Xove 2002, 398, my translation).

The differences in meaning in those cases are related to form, size, an opposition between individual and collective, etc. (Alonso Núñez 2007). As in all derivative processes, the nouns of those pairs may specialize their meaning in different ways, having peculiar semantic evolutions. In addition, masculine and feminine nouns of these pairs may become interchangeable, depending on dialectal differences.

However, in some animate nouns referring to people and some culturally relevant animals there exists a clear tendency to relate male beings with

masculine nouns, and female beings to feminine nouns: *home* ‘man’, *cabalo* ‘horse’, *boi* ‘ox’ are masculine; *muller* ‘women’, *egua* ‘mare’ and *vaca* ‘cow’ are feminine. Following another similar tendency, the word forms of those feminine nouns referring to female beings use to belong to the /a/ class. In fact, the existence of an entrenched and productive schema, {N[F] ‘female’ /a/}, that links the semantic feature ‘female’, the morphosyntactic property F and the thematic vowel /a/, may be proposed. The link between the semantic feature ‘male’ and the morphosyntactic property M is also strong; however, this schema {N[M] ‘male’} is not so closely related to one thematic vowel.

In other pairs of animate lexemes (like *duque~duquesa*, *нено~нена*, *mestre~mestra*, *rapaz~rapaza*, *león~leoa*, *herexe~herexe*, *actor~actriz*, *irmán~irmá*), one member refers to males and the other member refers to females of the same kind or species:

{N[M] ‘male’}	{N[F] ‘female’}
(3a) {N[M] DUQUE /duke/} ‘duke’	{N[F] DUQUESA /du'kesa/} ‘duchess’
(3b) {N[M] NENO /'neno/} ‘boy’	{N[F] NENA /'nena/} ‘girl’
(3c) {N[M] MESTRE /'mestre/} ‘teacher’	{N[F] MESTRA /'mestra/} ‘teacher’
(3d) {N[M] RAPAZ /ra'paθ/} ‘kid’	{N[F] RAPAZA /ra'paθa/} ‘girl’
(3e) {N[M] LEÓN /le'oŋ/} ‘lion’	{N[F] LEOA /le'oa/} ‘lioness’
(3f) {N[M] HEREXE /e'reʃe/} ‘heretic’	{N[F] HEREXE /e'reʃe/} ‘heretic’
(3g) {N[M] ACTOR /ak'tor/} ‘actor’	{N[F] ACTRIZ /ak'triθ/} ‘actress’
(3h) {N[M] IRMÁN /ir'maŋ/} ‘brother’	{N[F] IRMÁ /ir'ma/} ‘sister’

These pairs are different from those of *home~muller*, *cabalo~egua*, *boi~vaca*, because in the former, both masculine and feminine word forms share their root (or a part of it, as in 3e, *león~leoa*). Note that the patterns of (3) represent only a part of the set used in these pairs. Álvarez/Xove (2002, 391) show others, such as *hero~heroína* ‘hero’, *poeta~poetisa* ‘poet’, *galo~galiña* ‘rooster~hen’.

In (3a,b,c,d,e), although the feminine word forms belong to /a/ class, the corresponding masculine nouns belong to different thematic classes: (3a) {M /e/}, (3b) {M /o/}, (3d,e) {M /Ø/}. Moreover, in the feminine word forms an unexpected morph between the root and the thematic vowel that does not appear in the corresponding masculine forms may exist: *-es/-* in (3a), as in *abad-e~abad-es-a* ‘abbot~abbess’; however, we have also seen the cases of *-ip/-* in *gal-o~gal-iñ-a*, or *-in/-* in *hero-e~hero-in-a*. Finally, none of the feminine forms of (3f,g,h) belong to the /a/ class. In (3f), we find syncretism: both M and F share the same word form and thematic vowel /e/ (compare with 3c). In (3g,h), whose morphological segmentation is unsure, both M and F word forms are athematic. Definitively, the exponence of gender in these animate nouns is varied and lexically conditioned.

The systematic link between gender and sex (M ‘male’; F ‘female’) is quite grammaticalized in many of these animate nouns referring to beings whose sex is culturally and cognitively relevant for people. Even the schema {N[F] ‘female’ /a/} is so productive that it is continuously creating feminine nouns for female referents according to the communicative needs of the speaker: *xuíza* (< *xuíz* ‘judge’), *notaria* (< *notario* ‘notary’). The creation of these feminine forms increases the number of pairs of lexemes such as those of (3) and reinforces the strength of the schema.

This use of gender implies the alternation of semantic features referring to an extralinguistic property of the referents: their sex. Nouns referring to animals whose sex is not so culturally relevant (e.g., ants, eagles, bats, whales, etc.) are epicene, and the expression of the sex of their referents is realized through NN compound words (Villalva 2000, 230) formed by the noun in question (functioning as the head) and the nouns *macho* for ‘male’ and *femia* for ‘female’. The grammatical gender of these compounds is independent of the sex of the animal:

- |     |             |                  |              |           |                 |              |
|-----|-------------|------------------|--------------|-----------|-----------------|--------------|
| (4) | <i>unha</i> | <i>anduriña</i>  | <i>macho</i> | <i>un</i> | <i>corvo</i>    | <i>femia</i> |
|     | a-F         | [swallow(F)]     | male(M)]-F   | a-M       | [crow(M)]       | female(F)]-M |
|     |             | ‘a male swallow’ |              |           | ‘a female crow’ |              |

All these facts raise the question of whether the relation between the members of pairs such as *nenó~nena*, *mestre~mestra*, *rapaz~rapaza*, *duque~duquesa*, *herexe~herexe*, *actor~actriz*, should be handled by word formation (the creation of new lexemes, like those cases of *pozo~poza*, *coitelo~coitela*) or by inflection (the creation of different morphosyntactic words and their corresponding word forms, within the paradigm of one lexeme) (Lagares 2003).

However, since gender triggers processes of agreement, it should be considered inflectional. Furthermore, since M and F are inherent inflectional properties (Booij 1996) in nouns, every nominal lexeme has to bear its corresponding gender’s inflection; the generality of its use and its lack of meaning in the majority of nouns add reasons to why it should be considered inflectional (Bybee 1988). I will therefore consider that nouns like *nenó* and *nena* belong to two different lexemes, with their corresponding gender’s inflections, M and F respectively, like *home* and *muller*:

- (5) {N[M] NENO /<sup>h</sup>nen<sub>ROOT-0TV</sub>/}, {N[F] NENA /<sup>h</sup>nen<sub>ROOT-aTV</sub>/}

The word forms *nenó* and *nena* are morphologically related, since they share a basic part of its meaning (‘immature human being’), their lexical category (N) and their root (/nen/). Each lexeme selects the same root, but different thematic vowels. This approximates pairs of animate nouns such as those of (3) to word formation. I propose the existence of schemata (like those of 6) that give structure

to these nouns and which, at different levels of abstraction, relate these nouns amongst themselves and with other nouns, or that may be used to create new nouns by analogy (like *xuíza* ‘[female] judge’, *fiscalá* ‘[female] public prosecutor’, *avogada* ‘[female] lawyer’). These schemata are also responsible for the common identification of the thematic vowel /a/ as a morph of feminine gender in *nená*, *duquesa*, *mestra*, *abadesa*.

(6) {N[F] ‘female’ /arv/}, {N[F] /arv/}, {N[F] ‘female’}, {N[F]}

Finally, there exist cases of neutralization by which the masculine word forms of pairs such as *home/muller*, *boi/vaca*, *nenó/nená*, or *actor/actriz* tend to be used to refer to males and females indistinctly. This is the case of *fillos* ‘sons’ in (7), where it means ‘children’:

(7) *Teño tres fillos, un neno e dúas nenas*  
 I.have three sons(M), one-M boy(M) and two-F girls(F)  
 ‘I have two children, one boy and two girls’

The feminine word form is selected when the female beings of the species are cognitively or culturally more relevant: *Pedro cria ovellas* ‘Peter rears ewes’ ‘Peter rears ewes and rams’.

## 2.2 Number

Morphological inflection for number behaves in a different way than gender does. Number also has two properties, Sg and Pl, and every noun used in discourse needs also to be inflected for number. However, unlike gender, the vast majority of nominal lexemes have both a singular and a plural construction in their paradigms. Therefore, while nominal lexemes are inherently either masculine or feminine, and exchanging gender implies exchanging lexemes (cf. 3), almost all of them may choose between being determined by either Sg or Pl, the resulting construction belonging to the paradigm of the same lexeme:

(8) a) {N[M.Sg] NENO /'neno/} vs. {N[M.PL] NENO /'nenos/} *nenó(s)* ‘boy(s)’  
 b) {N[F.Sg] NENA /'nena/} vs. {N[F.PL] NENA /'nenas/} *nená(s)* ‘girl(s)’

This generality in its use is again one of the reasons why number may clearly be considered an inflectional category. Other reason is that adjectives or determiners syntactically related to a noun agree with it in number: *o neno listo* ‘the smart boy’, *os nenos listos* ‘the smart boys’, *as nenas listas* ‘the smart girls’ vs. *a nena lista* ‘the smart girl’.

Only some nouns, like *cóxegas* ‘tickling’, *tenaces* ‘pliers’, *viveres* ‘provisions’, *costas* ‘back’, are inherently plural (known as *pluralia tantum*). In some other nouns there exists free variation among a form fixed in the plural and another appearing in singular, both referring to a single object in the reference: *braga* or *bragas* ‘knickers’, to denote only one undergarment. Uncountable nouns may inflect for Pl, but their lexical meaning changes slightly: while *viño* ‘wine’ in *Bebe viño* ‘He drinks wine’ refers to a mass noun, its plural *viños* in *Bebe viños* refers to glassfuls of wine (Álvarez/Xove 2002).

Other important difference between gender and number concerns the exponence of their respective properties: the exponents of number are quite regular, predictable and phonologically conditioned. Thus, Sg is uniformly expressed through /Ø/ (or it simply lacks a specific exponent); Pl is, however, expressed through a set of allomorphs in a complex complementary distribution, /s/, /es/, /is/, and /Ø/:

- a) Polysyllabic oxytone nouns ending in /l/ substitute /is/ for the final lateral: *papel* ‘paper’ > *papeis*, *animal* ‘animal’ > *animais*; polysyllabic oxytone nouns ending in /il/ substitute /s/ for /l/: *fusil* ‘rifle’ > *fusís*.
- b) Non-oxytone nouns ending in /s/ have syncretism between Sg and Pl: *atlas* ‘atlas’ > *atlas*.
- c) Nouns ending in a vowel, a diphthong or a nasal consonant take the allomorph /s/: *casa* ‘house’ > *casas*, *avó* ‘grandfather’ > *avós*, *lei* ‘law’ > *leis*, *man* ‘hand’ > *mans*, *mitin* ‘rally’ > *mitins*.
- d) The remaining nouns, i.e., those ending in /θ/ and /t/, oxytonic nouns ending in /s/, monosyllabic nouns ending in /l/, and non-oxytone nouns ending in /l/, take the allomorph /es/: *vez* ‘time’ > *veces*, *mar* ‘sea’ > *mares*, *mes* ‘month’ > *meses*, *compás* ‘compass’ > *compases*, *val* ‘valley’ > *vales*, *túnel* ‘tunnel’ > *túneles*.

The allomorph /s/ is the default exponent, selected for most non-adapted loanwords: *pub* ‘pub’ > *pubs*, *club* ‘club’ > *clubs*, *robot* ‘robot’ > *robots*, *fagot* ‘bassoon’ > *fagots*.

The expression of number in compound nouns depends on their internal structure. In morphological compounds (Rio-Torto et al. 2016), number is expressed at the end of the compound noun: *aninovo* ‘year(M) new-M’ vs. *aninivos* ‘New Year/s’; in NN morphosyntactic compounds, number is expressed in the head noun: *piso piloto* ‘flat(M) pilot(M)’ vs. *pisos piloto* ‘pilot flat/s’; in VN morphosyntactic compounds, the exponent appears at the end of the compound, depending on the form of the noun: *lavalouza* ‘[wash crockery(F)](F)’ vs. *lavalouzas* ‘dishwasher/s’, although *furafollas* ‘[make.holes leaves(F)](M).Sg’ vs. *furafollas* ‘chiffchaff/s’; in NA syntactic compounds, Number is expressed both in the noun and the adjective: *chave inglesa* ‘key(F) English-F’ > *chaves inglesas* ‘wrench/es’.

### 3 Adjectives

Adjectives agree in gender and number with the nouns to which they are syntactically related (either in attributive, *a nena lista* ‘the smart girl’, or in predicative position, *a nena é lista* ‘the girl is smart’): thus, gender and number properties in adjectives are not inherent, but contextual. Since every adjective in use is inflected for gender and number, their paradigms have four morphosyntactic words sharing the same root in their word forms:

Morphosyntactic words	Word forms	Spelling
{Adj[M.SG] PEQUENO}	/pe'keno/	pequeno
{Adj[F.SG] PEQUENO}	/pe'kena/	pequena
{Adj[M.PL] PEQUENO}	/pe'kenos/	pequenos
{Adj[F.PL] PEQUENO}	/pe'kenas/	pequenas

The morphological structure of adjectives is, however, very close to that of nouns. Therefore, the word forms of the adjectives may belong to four morphological classes corresponding to the thematic vowel in which they end: those of the /o/ class (*listo* ‘clever-M’), those of the /a/ class (*lista* ‘clever-F’, *laczana* ‘lazy-F’), those of the /e/ class (*grande* ‘big’), and those without a thematic vowel – or of the /Ø/ class – (*laczán* ‘lazy-M’). Adjectival lexemes diverge in the way they select the thematic vowel corresponding to their masculine and feminine word forms, existing different patterns. A common pattern, like that of *pequeno* (see above), therefore selects /o/ for masculine word forms and /a/ for the feminine ones (in fact, as in the case of nouns, the schema {F /a/} is strong and productive). Other adjectives of this kind are *lento~lenta* ‘slow’, *cheo~chea* ‘full’.

There exists other pattern with masculine forms belonging to the /Ø/ class and feminine belonging to the /a/ class:

- (9) Lexeme {Adj LACAZÁN} *laczán, laczana* ‘lazy’  
 {Adj[M.SG] LACAZÁN /laka'θaŋ/}, {Adj[F.SG] LACAZÁN /laka'θana/}  
*un neno laczán* ‘a lazy boy’ vs. *unha nena laczana* ‘a lazy girl’

Other adjectives of this kind are *abafador~abafadora* ‘stifling’, *chorón~chorona* ‘whining’. Other patterns present different kinds of syncretism:

- (10) a) Lexeme {Adj BELGA} *belga* ‘Belgian’, /a/ class  
 {Adj[M.SG] BELGA /'belga/}, {Adj[F.SG] BELGA /'belga/}  
*un neno belga* ‘a Belgian boy’ vs. *unha nena belga* ‘a Belgian girl’  
 b) Lexeme {Adj PODRE} *podre* ‘rotten’, /e/ class  
 {Adj[M.SG] PODRE /'podre/}, {Adj[F.SG] PODRE /'podre/}  
*un peixe podre* ‘a rotten fish’ vs. *unha pataca podre* ‘a rotten potato’

c) Lexeme {Adj FÁCIL} *fácil* ‘easy’, /Ø/ class  
 {Adj[M.SG] FÁCIL /'faθil/}, {Adj[F.SG] FÁCIL /'faθil/}  
*un traballo fácil* ‘an easy job’ vs. *unha pregunta fácil* ‘an easy question’

Belonging to one class or another may depend on the morphological structure of the adjective, since each affix may select its own specific thematic vowel. Thus, *grande* ‘big’, formed by a simple root, belongs to the /e/ class and it is syncretic (*o zapato grande* ‘the big shoe’; *a casa grande* ‘the big house’); *grandísimo~grandísima* ‘very big’, a complex root including the suffix *-/isim/-*, presents /o/ for M and /a/ for F (*zapato grandísimo* ‘very big shoe’; *casa grandísima* ‘very big house’). There exists a suffix *-/añ/* whose both M and F word forms belong to the /Ø/ class (*livián~liviá* ‘light’) and there exists a suffix *-/añ/* whose M word forms belongs to the /Ø/ class and whose F word forms belongs to the /a/ class (*brután~brutana* ‘brutish’).

The morphological exponence of number in the adjectives is exactly the same as in nouns (cf. 2.2).

Álvarez/Xove (2002, 417) present a different analysis: for them, syncretic adjectives with respect to gender (*grande* ‘big’) are *invariable adjectives* and have one *clase xenérica* ‘class of gender’; adjectives distinguishing M and F word forms (*malo~mala* ‘bad’) are *variable adjectives* and have two *clases xenéricas*. The same applies to number: syncretic adjectives with respect to number (*choromicas* ‘crybaby’) have one *clase numérica* ‘class of number’; and adjectives distinguishing Sg and Pl word forms (*grande~grandes* ‘big’) have two *clases numéricas*.

In their analysis, it seems as if the morphosyntactic words of syncretic adjectives were not inflected for gender or number because their word forms lack open exponents for the corresponding morphosyntactic properties. However, since syncretism is a common feature in the Galician inflectional morphology, I will consider that, in general, all adjectival lexemes behave the same way with respect to agreement (all of them agree with the nouns they accompany), but differently with respect to the morphological expression of the morphosyntactic properties present in their morphosyntactic words. In other words, syncretism does not affect the morphosyntactic word, but the word form. If not, we should accept that there exist different classes of agreeing and non-agreeing adjectives, confounding the expression of morphosyntactic properties with their presence.

## 4 Articles

Galician distinguishes two classes of articles: the definite /o, a, os, as/ and the indefinite /un, una, uns, unas/, both of them agreeing in gender and number with

the noun they determine. Thus, articles should have four word forms corresponding to the four combinations of properties [M.Sg], [M.Pl], [F.M] and [F.Pl]. In fact, this is not the case, as will be shown presently.

#### 4.1 Definite articles

Definite articles are clitics, unstressed word forms that lean on other stressed word forms. The citation forms of the definite articles are /o, a, os, as/. However, at least two allomorphic systems have been recognized; some linguists demand the existence of three systems (Dubert-García 2014b for a review). One system is that of the aforementioned citation forms, the first form of the article; the other system is /lo, la, los, las/, the second form of the article. The other possible system of allomorphs is /no, na, nos, nas/, the third form of the article. Moreover, the definite article may contract with some prepositions.

The standard description roughly states that the /lo, la, los, las/ forms appear when the article is preceded by a word ending in /s/ or in /t/; as a result of their selection, /s/ or /t/, the segments conditioning the selection disappear, which renders the selection of the /lo, la, los, las/ forms opaque:

- (11) /ber=la tele/ > /be=la tele/                      /bes=la tele/ > /be=la tele/  
to.watch=the-F.Sg TV(F).Sg                      you.watch=the-F.Sg TV(F).Sg  
'to watch TV'    'you are watching TV'

When the article is preceded by a word ending in a nasal consonant (12a), this nasal may become alveolar. The nasal consonants are realized as velar when followed by a vowel belonging to a word whose lexical category is other than the definite article or the 3.Acc clitic (12b) (###2 Phonetics and phonology).

- (12) a) /'ben        =a        'tele/                      b) /'beŋ        a        'rɔsa/  
they.see        =the-F.Sg        TV(F).Sg                      they.see to        Rose(F).Sg  
'they watch TV'    'they see Rose'

The presence of the alveolar nasal followed by the definite article may be interpreted as the third form of the article /no, na, nos, nas/.

The /o, a, os, as/ forms appear elsewhere. Nevertheless, the presence or selection of the /lo, la, los, las/ forms and /no, na, nos, nas/ forms is subject to dialectal and social variation. This variation results from the spreading of the /o, a, os, as/ forms to the contexts previously occupied by the other forms. Therefore, in the discourse, it is possible to use both /be la tele/ *ve-la tele* or /ber a tele/ *ver a tele* 'to watch TV'; and both /ben a tele/ or /beŋ a tele/ *ven a tele* 'they are watching TV'.

Both the /lo, la, los, las/ and the /no, na, nos, nas/ forms are more common and appear with less grammatical or lexical restrictions in the most conservative speakers. In as much as /o, a, os, as/ are the forms appearing under the elsewhere condition, they are the ones which extend their use at the expense of the others.

The /lo, la, los, las/ and the /no, na, nos, nas/ forms are clitics whose presence affects the word form of the preceding word, although they are determiners of the following noun; this is the reason why Dubert-García (2014b) considers them an instance of *ditropic clitics* (Cysouw 2005).

Since it is a frequent fact that a noun phrase starting by the definite article is a complement of a preposition, the most frequent prepositions and the definite article have developed contractions; some of them have even passed to the written variety:

	/o, a/ 'the'	Spelling
/a/ 'to'	/ɔ, a:/ 'to the'	ó/ao, á
/ka/ 'than'	/kɔ, ka:/ 'than the'	ca o/có, ca a/cá
/koŋ/ 'with'	/ko, koa/ 'with the'	eó, coa
/de/ 'of/from'	/do, da/ 'of/from the'	do, da
/eŋ/ 'in'	/no, na/ 'in the'	no, na
/para/ 'to/for'	/paɾɔ, pa:ra:/ 'to/for the'	para o, para a
/poɾ/ 'by/through'	/po:lo, po:la/ 'by/through the'	po:lo, po:la

In different degrees, the definite article may be fused throughout sandhi processes with any final unstressed /a/ that precedes it, such as in *era o fillo* > *er[ɔ] fillo* "was-3sg the son" 'he was his son'.

## 4.2 Indefinite articles

The indefinite articles, /uŋ, uŋa, uŋs, uŋas/, are also unstressed. Their written forms are *un, unha, uns, unhas*, respectively. The feminine forms have a velar nasal in interior intervocalic position that is the subject of theoretical controversies about its place in the syllabic structure (Colina/Díaz-Campos 2006). This velar nasal also appears in the feminine quantifiers *algunha* 'some' and *ningunha* 'no'.

Indefinite articles contract with some prepositions:

	/uŋ, uŋa/ 'a'	Spelling
/a/ 'to'	/ɔŋ, ɔŋa/ 'to a'	a un, a unha
/ka/ 'than'	/kɔŋ, kɔŋa/ 'than a'	ca un, ca unha
/koŋ/ 'with'	/kuŋ, kuŋa/ 'with a'	cun, cunha
/de/ 'of/from'	/duŋ, duŋa/ 'of/from a'	dun, dunha

/eŋ/ ‘in’	/nuŋ, nuŋa/ ‘in a’	<i>nun, nunha</i>
/para/ ‘to/for’	/paɾoŋ, paɾoŋa/ ‘to/for a’	<i>para un, para unha</i>

The contractions with *a*, *ca* and *para* are variable, depending on the speaker, and never written. Indefinite articles may also be fused with the final unstressed /a/s of some words: *era unha nena* > *er[ɔ]nha nena* ‘was-3Sg a girl’ ‘she was a girl’.

## 5 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are determiners used to indicate spatial deixis and textual reference; in Galician they distinguish three degrees of proximity: *este, esta, isto* ‘close to the speaker’; *ese, esa, iso* ‘close to the addressee’; and *aquel, aquela, aquilo* ‘neither close to the speaker nor to the addressee’. In each series there exists an *autonomous form*, inflected for M.Sg and with special morphological marks; and *non-autonomous forms*, which agree in gender and number with the noun on which they depend or substitute (Álvarez/Xove 2002):

	‘this’	‘that’	‘that over there’
<b>autonomous forms</b>	/‘isto/	/‘iso/	/a‘kilo/
<b>non-autonomous forms</b>	/‘este, ‘esta/	/‘ese, ‘esa/	/a‘kel, a‘kela~a‘kela/

The autonomous forms have /i/ in their root and a thematic vowel /o/. /a‘kela/ is used in the Western dialects; /a‘kela/, in the Eastern ones. The Pl of /a‘kel/ is /a‘keles/, in spite of being an oxytone word ending in /l/. The other forms add /s/ to mark Pl: *estes, eses, estas, esas, aquelas*.

There exist other forms contracted with the prepositions *de* ‘of/from’ and *en* ‘in’:

	<i>este, esta, isto</i>	<i>ese, esa, iso</i>	<i>aquel, aquela, aquilo</i>
<i>de</i>	<i>deste, desta, disto</i>	<i>dese, desa, diso</i>	<i>daquel, daquela, daquilo</i>
<i>en</i>	<i>neste, nesta, nisto</i>	<i>nese, nesa, niso</i>	<i>naquel, naquela, naquilo</i>

The contraction of the non-autonomous demonstratives with the indefinite *outro, outra* ‘other’ produces *estoutro(s), estoutra(s)* ‘this other’; *esoutro(s), esoutra(s)* ‘that other’; *aqueloutro(s), aqueloutra(s)* ‘that other over there’, which also contract with the *de* and *en*: *nestoutro lugar* ‘in that other place’.

## 6 Possessives



## 7 Quantifiers and identifiers

Quantifiers and identifiers are traditionally grouped under the heading of *indefinites*. From a syntactic point of view, indefinites are classified in autonomous and non-autonomous forms (Álvarez/Xove 2002).

Some autonomous indefinites are *alguén* ‘somebody’, *algo* ‘something’, *ninguén* ‘nobody’, *nada* ‘nothing’. Autonomous indefinites trigger agreement: *alguén bo* ‘somebody-M good-M’ ‘some man who is good’, *alguén boa* ‘somebody-F good-F’ ‘some woman who is good’, *algo raro* ‘something-M strange-M’ ‘something that is strange’.

Some non-autonomous indefinites, overtly agreeing with the determined noun, are *algún(s)*, *algunha(s)* (they contract with the prepositions *de* and *en*: *dalgún*, *nalgún*) ‘some/any’: *algunhas mulleres* ‘some-F.PI women(F)’; *ningún(s)*, *ningunha(s)* ‘no/any’: *ningún problema* ‘no-M.Sg problem(M).Sg’; *todo(s)*, *toda(s)* ‘all/every’: *todas as mesas* ‘all-F.PI the-F.PI table(F).PI’; *outro(s)*, *outra(s)* ‘other’ (they contract with *de* and *en*: *doutro*, *noutro*): *doutro país* ‘from.other-M.Sg country(M).Sf’; *moito(s)*, *moita(s)* ‘a lot of’: *moita carne* ‘a.lot.of-F.Sg meat(F).Sg’; *pouco(s)*, *pouca(s)* ‘little/few’: *poucas semanas* ‘few-F.PI weeks(F)’; *tanto(s)*, *tanta(s)* ‘so many/so much’: *tantos días* ‘so.many-M.PI days(M)’, etc.

## 8 Relatives, interrogatives, exclamatives

The paradigm of the relatives is formed by *que* ‘that, which’, *o(s)/a(s)* *que* ‘that’, *o(s)/a(s)* *cal(es)* ‘that, who’, *quen* ‘who, whom’, *canto(s)/canta(s)* ‘how many/much’, *cuxo(s)/cuxa(s)* ‘whose’, *cando* ‘when’, *onde* ‘where’ e *como* ‘how’. Interrogatives and exclamatives are *canto(s)/canta(s)* ‘how many/much’, *quen* ‘who, whom’, *cal(es)* ‘which’, *que* ‘what, which’, *o(s)/a(s)* *que* ‘what, which’, *cando* ‘when’, *como* ‘how’ and *onde* ‘where’. The adverbial forms *cando*, *como* and *onde* are never inflected:

- (16) a) *As mulleres das que me falas*  
 the-F.PI women(F) of-the-F.PI that me-Dat speak-2Sg  
 ‘The women you are talking to me about’
- b) *As mulleres que estean cansas*  
 the-F.PI women(F) that-F.PI are-Sbjv.Prs.3Pl tired-F.PI  
*The women that are tired*
- c) *Cantas mulleres ves?*  
 How.many-F.Sg women(F) see-2Sg?  
 ‘How many women do you see?’

## 9 Pronouns

Pronouns inflect for gender, number, person, and case. Furthermore, there also exists a set of deferential forms used to refer to the addressee in a polite way. The 3<sup>rd</sup> person has special reflexive forms: *se*, *si*. There exist a series of stressed pronouns and another of clitics.

	+stress		–stress (clitics)		
	Nominative	Oblique	Acc	Dat	Refl
<b>1Sg</b>	eu	min	me	me	me
<b>2Sg</b>	ti	ti	te	che	te
<b>3Sg</b>	el, ela	el, ela si (Refl)	o/a	lle	se
<b>1Pl</b>	nós	nós	nos	nos	nos
<b>2Pl</b>	vós	vós	vos	vos	vos
<b>3Pl</b>	eles, elas	eles, elas si (Refl)	os/as	lles	se

The unstressed pronouns may be located before or after the verb, depending on syntactic conditions, but they phonologically lean on the previous stressed word form. The oblique forms are complements of prepositions. The 1Sg/Pl, 2Sg/Pl and 3Sg/Pl.Refl have special contracted forms when preceded by the preposition *con* ‘with’:

1Sg	2Sg	1Pl	2Pl	3Sg/Pl.Refl
/ko'miɣo/	/kon'tiɣo/	/kon'nosko/	/kom'bosko/	/kon'siɣo/
<i>comigo</i>	<i>contigo</i>	<i>connosco</i>	<i>convosco</i>	<i>consigo</i>

These forms *connosco* and *convosco* are being replaced by the analytic constructions, *con nós* and *con vós*, respectively.

The stressed forms *el*, *ela*, *eles*, *elas* obligatorily contract with the prepositions *de* and *en*, and, in conservative dialects (not in the written language), optionally contract with *con*:

	<i>el</i>	<i>ela</i>	<i>eles</i>	<i>elas</i>
<i>de</i>	/ˈdel/ <i>del</i>	/ˈdela/ <i>dela</i>	/ˈdeles/ <i>deles</i>	/ˈdelas/ <i>delas</i>
<i>en</i>	/ˈnel/ <i>nel</i>	/ˈnela/ <i>nela</i>	/ˈneles/ <i>neles</i>	/ˈnelas/ <i>nelas</i>
<i>con</i>	/koˈel/ <i>con el</i>	/koˈela/ <i>con ela</i>	/koˈeles/ <i>con eles</i>	/koˈelas/ <i>con elas</i>

The 2Sg *ti* and 2Pl *vós* and their related clitic counterparts *te*, *che*, *vos* are used in contexts of familiarity. Deferential Sg *vostede* and Pl *vostedes* are used as stressed

forms to refer to the addressee(s) in a polite way; they agree with the 3<sup>rd</sup>-person clitics and reflexives:

(17) *A*    *vostede*                    *dei=lle*                    *diñeiro*  
       to    you.Polite<sub>A</sub>            I.gave=him<sub>A</sub>            money (A=correferential)  
       ‘I gave money to you’

The 3<sup>rd</sup>-person pronouns have overt inflection for gender in the nominative, oblique and Acc: 3Sg.M *el* is pronounced /el/ (Pl /eles/), 3Sg.F *ela* is pronounced /ela/ (Eastern Galician) or /ela/ (Western Galician). The 3.Acc has three allomorphs whose selection is conditioned by the preceding phoneme:

- 1) *no(s)*, *na(s)*, selected by verbs ending in a diphthong: *colleuno* “took-3Sg=it” ‘(s)he took it’;
- 2) *lo(s)*, *la(s)*, selected by verbs ending in /s/ or in /t/; its insertion causes the deletion of these consonants: *coller+lo* > *collelo* “take-Inf=it” ‘to take it’;
- 3) *o(s)*, *a(s)*, elsewhere: *cólleo* ‘take it’, *dixo que o fai* “said-3Sg that =it does” ‘(s)he said that (s)he does it’. Nasal consonants preceding the 3.Acc forms are alveolar: *quéreno* “want-3Pl=it” ‘they want it’, *non o queren* “not=it want-3Pl” ‘they don’t want it’.

For the 1Pl and 2Pl there exist the stressed variants *nosoutros/nosoutras*, and *vosoutros/vosoutras*, respectively, the result of the coalescence of *nós/vós* + *outros/outras*, with overt inflection for gender. For some conservative speakers, these forms have an exclusive meaning (*nosoutros* ‘part of us’ vs. *nós* ‘we all’).

The unstressed Dat forms contract with 3.Acc clitics when they appear in a sequence:

- *me*+3.Acc > *mo(s)*, *ma(s)* “to.me=him/her/it/them”  
*Dáme os libros* ‘give me the books’ > *dámos* “give=to.me=them”
- *che*+3.Acc > *cho(s)*, *cha(s)* “to.you.Sing=him/her/it/them”  
*Douche os libros* ‘I give you the books’ > *douchos* “I.give=to.you=them”
- *lle*+3.Acc > *llo(s)*, *lla(s)* “to.him/her/it=him/her/it/them”  
*Dálle os libros* ‘give him the books’ > *dállos* “give=to.him=them”
- *nos*+3.Acc > *nolo(s)*, *nola(s)* “to.us=him/her/it/them”  
*Dános os libros* ‘give us the books’ > *dánolos* “give=to.us=them”
- *vos*+3.Acc > *volos(s)*, *vola(s)* “to.you-Pl=him/her/it/them”  
*Douvos os libros* ‘I give you the books’ > *dóuvolos* “I.give=to.you-Pl=them”
- *lles*+3.Acc > *llelo(s)*, *llela(s)* “to.them=him/her/it/them”  
*Dálles os libros* ‘give them the books’ > *dállelos* “give=to.them=them”

In fact, clitic pronouns may form sequences with fixed positions for each form (Álvarez/Xove 2002, 570): for example, when this occurs, the form *se* must always appear on the left (18a), non-reflexive 3Sg/Pl must always appear on the

right (18b), 2Sg precedes 1Sg/Pl (18c), 1Sg precedes 2Pl (18d), etc. However, it is impossible to combine *se* with 3<sup>rd</sup>-person accusative forms:

- (18) a) *Dan* =*se* =*vos* *regalos*  
 give.3Pl =3.Refl =2Pl.Dat presents  
 ‘They give you presents’
- b) *Dou* =*vo* =*los*  
 I.give =2Pl.Dat =3Pl.Acc  
 ‘I give them to you’
- c) *Non* =*te* =*me* *vaias*  
 not =2Sg.Rfle =1Sg.Dat go.Sbjv.Prs.2Sg  
 ‘Don’t leave me’
- d) *O neno non* =*me* =*vos* *come nada*  
 the boy not =1Sg.Dat =2Pl.Dat eats nothing  
 ‘My son doesn’t eat anything’

## 10 Verbs

Verbal paradigms have 69 morphosyntactic cells that may be grouped in fourteen sub-paradigms usually known as *tenses*; in turn, these fourteen sub-paradigms are regrouped in finite and non-finite forms. The finite sub-paradigms are traditionally gathered in three moods: Ind, Sbjv, and Imp. There are six sub-paradigms in the Ind: present *canto* ‘I sing’ (Prs), past perfective *cantei* ‘I sang’ (Pst.Pfv), past imperfective *cantaba* ‘I was singing’ (Pst.Ipfv), past perfect *cantara* ‘I had sung’ (Pst.Prf), future *cantarei* ‘I will sing’ (Fut) and conditional *cantaría* ‘I would sing’ (Con). There are three sub-paradigms in the Sbjv: present *cante* ‘I sing’ (Prs), past *cantase* ‘I sang’ (Pst), and future *cantar* ‘I will sing’ (Fut). The names given to all these sub-paradigms are conventional since they may be used with different temporal, modal or aspectual meanings. Every finite sub-paradigm has six cells resulting from intertwining the properties of person and number: 1Sg, 2Sg, 3Sg, 1Pl, 2Pl and 3Pl. The Imp has only two cells: 2Sg (*canta*) and 2Pl (*cantade*).

The non-finite sub-paradigms are the infinitive (Inf), the gerund (Ger) and the participle (Ptpl). The former includes an invariable Inf *cantar* ‘sing’ and an inflected Inf, with inflections for person and number (e.g. *cantares* is the 2Sg.Inf of CANTAR). The Ptpl *cantado* ‘sung’ may be inflected for gender and number in some syntactic environments, but never for person. The Ger *cantando* ‘singing’ does not allow any other inflections.

While in Galician there exist verbal complexes expressing modal, temporal or aspectual meanings, known as *periphrases*, none of them may be considered

something like the compound tenses of Spanish (*había cantado* ‘I had sung’) or Portuguese (*tinha cantado*). Most of the meanings transmitted by the Spanish or Portuguese compound verbs are expressed in Galician with single forms. The passive voice is expressed through specific periphrases (basically, *ser* ‘be’ + V[Ptpl]), or by other syntactic means.

Regarding inflectional morphology, in order to express the 69 verbal morphosyntactic cells, the morphological structure of the Galician verb is conventionally considered to be formed by a theme, composed by a root (simple or complex) and a thematic vowel (TV), followed by two inflectional suffixes: the leftmost one, the tense, aspect, and mood suffix (TAM); and the rightmost one, the number and person suffix (NuP). Thus, *cantabamos*, the word form corresponding to {V[1Pl.Inf.Pst.Ipfv CANTAR]}, illustrates all the morphological slots occupied by their corresponding morphs:

Word form	Theme	Root	/kant/
		TV	/a/
	Inflectional suffixes	TAM	/ba/
		NuP	/mos/

Inside the root it is necessary to distinguish the root vowel, the rightmost vowel of the root (*a* in *compart-ir* ‘share’, *o* in *percorr-er* ‘go over’), and the root consonant, the rightmost consonant of the root (*t* in *bat-er* ‘beat’, *b* in *sab-er* ‘know’), because they may help to express some morphosyntactic properties. The root is the only compulsory constituent of the verbal word forms, since there exist cases where the other slots are empty (or occupied by /Ø/).

Every verbal lexeme is included in one of the three verbal inflectional classes traditionally known as *conjugations*. The adscription of each verb to its corresponding inflectional class seems to be idiosyncratic. The first conjugation (C1), with the thematic vowel /a/ in the Inf, is the most productive (new verbs tend to be included in the first conjugation: *testar* ‘test’) and does not seem to have formal restrictions for admitting verbs. The second conjugation (C2), with the thematic vowel /e/ in the Inf, admits verbs with a low or a mid root vowel: *bater* ‘beat’, *beber* ‘drink’; there is no C2 verbs with a high root vowel (like Portuguese *viver* ‘live’). The third conjugation verbs (C3), with the thematic vowel /i/ in the Inf, admit verbs with a low or a high root vowel (*partir* or *subir*); verbs with a mid-high front vowel are also admitted (*pedir* ‘ask’); verbs with a mid back root vowel are few (*oír* ‘hear’ is the most used). The C1 is really the most different, since the C2 and the C3 share similar exponents.

## 10.1 Roots

The forms of the roots of several verbs change in some sub-paradigms, in such a way that they may help to mark morphosyntactic properties. The most important alternations in the verbal roots occur in the verbs of the C2 and C3. In every regular verb, the 1Sg, 2Sg, 3Sg, 3Pl word forms of the Ind.Prs and the Sbjv.Prs and the 2Sg of the Imp are root stressed. Thus, (a) in most of the regular verbs of C2 with mid-high root vowels (/e, o/), and (b) in many regular verbs of the C3 with high back root vowels (/u/), we find mid-low high vowels in the word forms 2Sg, 3Sg, and 3Pl.Ind.Prs, while the other stressed root vowels keep their original height:

	Ind.Prs	Sbjv.Prs	Imp	
<i>comer</i>	1Sg	/ˈkomo/ <i>como</i>	/ˈkoma/ <i>coma</i>	—
	2Sg	/ˈkomes/ <i>comes</i>	/ˈkomas/ <i>comas</i>	/ˈkome/ <i>come</i>
	3Sg	/ˈkome/ <i>come</i>	/ˈkoma/ <i>coma</i>	—
	3Pl	/ˈkomeŋ/ <i>comen</i>	/ˈkomaŋ/ <i>coman</i>	—
<i>subir</i>	1Sg	/ˈsubo/ <i>subo</i>	/ˈsuba/ <i>suba</i>	—
	2Sg	/ˈsɔbes/ <i>sobes</i>	/ˈsubas/ <i>subas</i>	/ˈsube/ <i>sube</i>
	3Sg	/ˈsɔbe/ <i>sobe</i>	/ˈsuba/ <i>suba</i>	—
	3Pl	/ˈsɔbeŋ/ <i>soben</i>	/ˈsubaŋ/ <i>suba</i>	—

Consequently, 2/3Sg and 3Pl in Ind.Prs are linked to a mid-low vowel in the root, since they are also expressed by their own endings, shared by the rest of the verbs of each conjugation. Compare too 3Sg.Ind.Prs with 2Sg.Imp.

The C3 verbs with a mid-high front root vowel follow two models, that of *pedir* ‘ask for’, and that of *seguir* ‘follow/carry on’, with different patterns of root vowel alternations:

	Ind.Prs	Sbjv.Prs	Imp	
<i>pedir</i>	1Sg	/ˈpido/ <i>pido</i>	/ˈpida/ <i>pida</i>	—
	2Sg	/ˈpides/ <i>pides</i>	/ˈpidas/ <i>pidas</i>	/ˈpide/ <i>pide</i>
	3Sg	/ˈpide/ <i>pide</i>	/ˈpida/ <i>pida</i>	—
	1Pl	/peˈdimos/ <i>pedimos</i>	/piˈdamos/ <i>pidamos</i>	—
	2Pl	/peˈdides/ <i>pedides</i>	/piˈdamos/ <i>pidades</i>	/peˈdide/ <i>pedide</i>
	3Pl	/ˈpiden/ <i>piden</i>	/ˈpidaŋ/ <i>pidan</i>	—
<i>seguir</i>	1Sg	/ˈsigo/ <i>sigo</i>	/ˈsiga/ <i>siga</i>	—
	2Sg	/ˈseges/ <i>segues</i>	/ˈsigas/ <i>sigas</i>	/ˈsige/ <i>sigue</i>
	3Sg	/ˈsege/ <i>segue</i>	/ˈsiga/ <i>siga</i>	—
	1Pl	/seˈgimos/ <i>seguimos</i>	/siˈgamos/ <i>sigamos</i>	—
	2Pl	/seˈgides/ <i>seguides</i>	/siˈgades/ <i>sigades</i>	/seˈgide/ <i>seguides</i>
	3Pl	/ˈsegeŋ/ <i>seguen</i>	/ˈsigaŋ/ <i>sigan</i>	—

It is noteworthy that the verbs of the class of *subir* are becoming fully regular; and the verbs of the class of *seguir* are passing to the class of *pedir*. Therefore, the mid-low vowels in the 2Sg and 3Sg/Pl of the Ind.Prns may be disappearing from the C3, which would simplify the system.

Another common feature of some irregular verbs of the C2 and C3 is that of sharing a special root in the 1Sg.Ind.Prns and all the Sbjv.Prns; Maiden (2005) calls this phenomenon an L-pattern (which also operates in verbs like *pedir* and *seguir*, O'Neill 2011):

	1Sg.Ind.Prns and Sbjv.Prns	Elsewhere
<i>valer</i> 'be good for'	/baɣ/ ( <i>vallo, valla</i> )	/bal/ ( <i>vales, valeron</i> )
<i>caer</i> 'fall'	/kaɣ/ ( <i>caio, caia</i> )	/ka/ ( <i>caes, caeron</i> )
<i>parir</i> 'give birth'	/paɣ/ ( <i>paio, paia</i> )	/pa/ ( <i>pares, pariron</i> )
<i>ver</i> 'see/watch'	/beʃ/ ( <i>vexo, vexe</i> )	/b/ ( <i>ves, viron</i> )

Verbs like *dar* 'give', *ser* 'be', *ir* 'go', *pór-poñer* 'put', *ter* 'have', *vir* 'come' have their own kind of irregularities in their roots.

An important series of root allomorphy concerns the expression of the forms known as *perfect stems* (i.e., the Ind.Pst.Pfv, Ind.Pst.Prf, Sbjv.Pst, and Sbjv.Fut) of eighteen irregular verbs (and their derivatives) with high frequency of use. Although the roots of those forms are idiosyncratic, they share some "family resemblances" (Dubert-García 2014a, Varela 1999): they tend to have high root vowel or diphthongs; they have stressed roots in the 1Sg and 3Sg of the Ind.Pst.Pfv; some forms have roots ending in /j/, regardless the form of the root in the other sub-paradigms:

Verb	Perfect root
<i>facér</i> 'do/make'	/fiʃ/-
<i>dicir</i> 'say'	/diʃ/-
<i>pór-poñer</i> 'put'	/puʃ/-
<i>querer</i> 'want'	/kiʃ/-
<i>estar</i> 'be/stay'	/estib/-
<i>saber</i> 'know/can'	/sowb/-
<i>haber</i> 'have'	/owb/-
<i>caber</i> 'fit'	/kowb/-

## 10.2 Thematic vowels

Verb forms lack the thematic vowel in the 1Sg.Ind.Prns (*canto* 'I sing') and in all the Sbjv.Prns (*cante* 'I sing'). The verbs *poñer* 'put', *ter* 'have', *vir* 'come', *ser*

'be' have other word forms without a thematic vowel: *tes* 'you have', *vés* 'you come'; *pór* 'put' and *ir* 'go' are athematic (Fernández Rei 1998).

In the regular verbs, the thematic vowel of the 1C gets realized /e/ in the 1Sg.Ind.Pst.Pfv and /o/ in the 3Sg.Ind.Pst.Pfv: *cantei*, *cantou* vs. *cantaches* (2Sg). The thematic vowel in the C2 has the allomorph /i/ in all the Ind.Pst.Ipfv, the 1/2Sg.Ind.Pst.Pfv and in the Ptpl: *batía*, *batín*, *batiches*, *batido*. In the C3, the thematic vowel is realized as /e/ in 2/3Sg.Ind.Prs, 3Pl.Ind.Prs and 2Sg.Imp (final post-tonic positions): *parte*, *partes*, *parten*, *parte*.

The special *perfect stems* tend to share a thematic vowel /ε/ following the unstressed roots, irrespective of their conjugation in the other sub-paradigms; the thematic vowel lacks in the 3Sg.Ind.Pst.Pfv and it is /e/ in the 1Sg.Ind.Pst.Pfv: 1Sg /'fiʃ-e-ŋ/ 'I made', 2Sg /fiʃ-ε-tʃes/ 'you made', 3Sg /'fiʃ-o/ '(s)he made'. Fernández Rei (1998) proposes that those irregular forms with a thematic vowel /ε/ belong to a new fourth conjugation.

### 10.3 Tense, aspect, mood, and non-finite forms

The morphological segmentation of finite sub-paradigms includes some formatives conventionally called TAM affixes. However, the properties of tense, mood or aspect may lack specific exponents (this is the case of Ind.Prs, Ind.Pst.Pfv, and Imp), or may be realized through extended exponence in other parts of the word form (e.g., alternation of roots, thematic vowels or NuP affixes).

- Ind.Pst.Ipfv is marked by /ba/ in the C1 and /a/ in the C2 and C3: *cant-a-ba*, *bat-i-a*, *part-i-a*. Note also the thematic vowel /i/ in the C2 *bat-i-a*.
- Ind.Pst.Prf is marked by /ra/, *cant-a-ra*, *bat-e-ra*, *part-i-ra*.
- Ind.Fut is marked by /re/ 1Sg and 1/2Pl, and /ra/ in 2/3Sg and 3Pl: *cant-a-re-i*, *cant-a-rá-s*, *cant-a-re-mos*, etc.
- Ind.Con is marked by /ria/: *cant-a-ria*, *bat-e-ria*, *part-i-ria*. Remember that in Galician, unlike Portuguese, there is no mesoclisism in the Ind.Fut or the Ind.Con.
- Sbjv.Prs is marked by /e/ in the C1 and by /a/ in the C2 and C3: *cant-e*, *bat-a*, *part-a*. The verbs of the C1 *dar* 'give' and *estar* 'be/stay' use the allomorph of the C2: *de-a* and *este-a*, respectively.
- Sbjv.Pst is marked by /se/: *cant-a-se*, *bat-e-se*, *part-i-se*. In spoken language, it is being replaced by the Ind.Pst.Prf /ra/ suffix.
- Sbjv.Fut is marked by /r/: *cant-a-r*, *bat-e-r*, *part-i-r*. This is a literary sub-paradigm, not used at all in spoken language, their place being occupied by the Ind.Prs and the Sbjv.Prs.

Regarding non-finite forms, Inf is marked by /r/ (*cant-a-r*, *bat-e-r*, *part-i-r*), Ger by /ndo/ (*cant-a-ndo*, *bat-e-ndo*, *part-i-ndo*), and Ptpl by /do/ in regular verbs

(*cant-a-do*, *bat-i-do*, *part-i-do*). There exist irregular participles with special adjectival uses: *canso* vs. *cansado* ‘tired’ in *estou canso* ‘I.am tired-M.Sg’ ‘I am tired’ (see Álvarez/Xove 2002). These irregular participles may have the exponents /to/ (*bendicir* ‘bless’ > irreg. *bendito*, reg. *bendicido*) or /so/ (*acender* ‘light’ > irreg. *aceso*, reg. *acendido*). In some constructions, Ptpl have forms inflected for gender and number: *Feitas as camas, saímos* ‘made-F.Pl the-F.Pl bed(F).Pl, we.leaved’ ‘Having made our beds, we left’.

#### 10.4 Number and person

The suffix /o/ marks the 1Sg.Ind.Prs (*cant-o*); /j/ marks the 1Sg.Ind.Pst.Pfv in the C1 (*cant-e-i*) and the 1Sg.Ind.Fut in all the conjugations (*cant-a-re-i*); /ŋ/ marks the 1Sg.Ind.Pst.Pfv in the C2, C3, and in most of the *perfect stems* (*bat-t-n*, *fix-e-n*). In all those cases, the NuP suffix helps to mark tense, aspect, and mood (Fernández Rei 1991). Elsewhere, 1Sg lacks specific exponents.

The 2Sg.Imp forms lack specific exponents (*cant-a*); the 2Sg.Ind.Pst.Pfv has the exponent /tʃes/ (*cant-a-ches*); the 2Sg.Inf and 2Sg.Sbjv.Fut have /es/ (*cant-a-r-es*); the allomorph /s/ appears elsewhere.

With respect to 3Sg, it has /w/ in the Ind.Pst.Pfv (*cant-o-u*), /o/ in most of the *perfect stems* (*fix-o*); it lacks specific exponents elsewhere.

As regards to 1Pl, it has /mos/ (*cant-a-mos*). The forms of 2Pl have /de/ in the Imp (*cant-a-de*), /stes/ in the Ind.Pst.Pfv (*cant-a-stes*), and /des/ elsewhere. The 3Pl has /ron/ in the Ind.Pst.Pfv (*cant-a-ron*), /en/ in the Inf and the Sbjv.Fut (*cant-a-r-en*), and /ŋ/ elsewhere (for other proposals of segmentation, see Santamarina 1974; Fernández Rei 1991; Álvarez/Xove 2002).

## 11 Bibliography

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