The facts

(1) Realizations of prep+definite article

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prep</th>
<th>M-sg</th>
<th>a.</th>
<th>b.</th>
<th>c.</th>
<th>d.</th>
<th>e.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>article</td>
<td>il</td>
<td>lo</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>TR environment</td>
<td><em>/C\TR</em>/C_V_/C_V_</td>
<td>TR/branching onset: e.g. [tr]</td>
<td>CC/other clusters, e.g. [sk]</td>
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- To be accounted for today: 1. the appearance of gemination of /l/ 2. the quality of the vowel
- We will show that there is no allomorphy involved!

(2) Realizations of the MSG definite article

a. [il] sakk
c. [lo] skaf
e. [az] no 'donkey'

b. [il] ka ne'dog'

c. [lo st] djo 'stadium'

e. [ez] nce 'exam'

d. [il] ba fo 'bass'

c. [lo za b'] 'mistake'

e. [ink] ariko 'task'

e. [il] kjav stello 'bolt'

c. [lo skj u ] 'slave'

e. [ur] to 'strike'

Strict CV (Lowenstamm 1996, Scheer 2004)

- Strict alternation of C and V on skeletal tier.
- Lexically unassociated V-slots remain unrealized if properly-governed (PG) from following full V-slot.

a. Modern Hebrew: [jitsok] -[jihka] 'he will mold, they will mold'

b. [lo] saka k
nc. [lo] skaf
e. [az] no 'donkey'

Analysis of Preposition+article

- \( d i \) does not trigger raddoppiamento fonosintattico [\( d i \) kárlo]
- ‘Carlo’s’, *[\( d i \) kkárlo]. Consequently, its UR involves a single CV (Passino 2013:335-II).

- When followed by the definite article, if our proposal in (3) is correct, gemination is only expected.

Faust, Lampitelli & Ulfsbjörninn (to app.)

- A single underlying representation for the definite article, to which the general inflectional suffixes are added. No Allomorphy:

(3) a. Def.

b. 0-features

(4) V₂ being governed, /o/ floats and /i/ must associate

(5) V₂ being un governed, /o/ associates with it

(6) Unlike MSG /f/, FSG /af/ is lexically associated to V₂ (cf. 4 above)

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- Consequently, the feminine article does not exhibit alternations. As a result, the existence of \( CV \) in its representation remained hypothetical.

Conclusion and epenthesis

- By simply extending the analysis of previous work, we’ve motivated the alternations in the form of prepositions before articles without reference to allomorphy.

- The inclusion of both CV₁ and the floating /i/ in the feminine article is now supported.

- The only price to pay is epenthetic <e> (pace Repetti 2012). But this idea is motivated independently: i: [e] is the vowel of hesitation in Italian; ii: [e] is inserted in loans ending in a consonant [il gole]; and iii: /n/+il/ => [nel].