

# EPENTHETIC VOWELS AND LEXICAL ORDERING IN VALENCIAN CATALAN CLITICS

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**SUBJECT:** Catalan clitic pronouns exhibit a considerable amount of contextual and dialectal **variation** in their phonetic realization. For instance:  
the first person singular pronoun /m/ can be realized

- without any vowel (as in *dóna'm* [dóna'm] 'give me'),
- with an epenthetic vowel on the left (as in *em dóna* [emdóna] 's/he gives me'), or
- with an epenthetic vowel on the right (as in *dónar-me* [donárme] 'to give me').

The addition of epenthetic vowels and their site depend on the host to which the clitic attaches & also on the position in which it appears (see Bonet 2002).

**GOALS:**

- To study a clitic for which more than one support vowel seems available in Valencian Catalan: **the accusative plural pronoun**.
- To show that the variation that this clitic displays can be described as a case of **morphologically conditioned allomorph selection** between:  
the full form, with a lexical mark for masculine (i.e., /l+o+z/ 'ACC MASC PL'), & a second form unmarked for gender (i.e., /l+z/ 'ACC PL').
- To demonstrate that the interaction between the lexical ordering of these two forms and a set of morphophonological constraints gives rise to a whole **typology of varieties** differing in the extension of the full forms, i.e. the forms with /ol/.

## 1. ACCUSATIVE PLURAL CLITIC PRONOUN: CONTEXTUAL AND DIALECTAL VARIATION IN VALENCIAN (NORTHERN VALENCIAN VARIETIES ALWAYS DISPLAY /L+O+Z/ FORMS)

	(Southern) Palmera Valencian	(Southern) Pedreguer Valencian	Standard Valencian, Case study	Gloss
<b>Proclitic position: always /l+z/</b>		els dóna vos els dóna		's/he gives them MASC' 's/he gives them MASC to you PL'
<b>Enclitic position:</b> After a host ending in V & after a clitic ending in V: <b>variation</b>	dóna-los dóna-li-los		dóna'ls dóna-li'ls	'give them MASC' 'give them MASC to him/her'
<b>/l+z/ &amp; /l+o+z/</b> After a host ending in C, <b>always /l+o+z/</b>		donar-los		'to give them MASC'
After a clitic ending in C: <b>variation</b>		donar-vos-los	donar-vos-els	'to give them MASC to you PL'

## 2. BASIC CONSTRAINT SET & RANKING FOR STANDARD VALENCIAN

- > **Syllabic well-formedness** constraints: among which \*PEAK/CONS (not violated in Val. Cat.).
  - > **Faithfulness constraints**, especially DEP-V.
  - > **Alignment constraints** (see Jiménez & Todolí 1995, Bonet & Lloret 2005, Wheeler 2005) demanding the adjacency of...
    - segments in the stem: CONTIGUITY<sub>STEM</sub>: /stɔp/
    - the stem and the affixes: CONTIGUITY<sub>STEM/AFFIX</sub>: /stɔp+z/, /l+z/
      - ⊙ [els] ⊗ [les]
    - the host and the clitics: CONTIGUITY<sub>HOST/CLITIC</sub>: /m#dóna/, /dóna#m/
      - /donár#{/l+z/}/l+o+z/}
      - ⊙ [donárlos] ⊗ [donárels]
  - > A **PRIORITY** constraint, which demands faithfulness to the lexical ordering; i.e., when there is an option, favors the choice of the unmarked allomorph (Bonet, Lloret & Mascaró 2007, Mascaró 2007). Lexical ordering for Standard Valencian:  
Accusative plural: {/l+z/ > /l+o+z/}
- /ol/ is a gender **morph** → not an epenthetic vowel
- > **Basic ranking:** CONTIGUITY<sub>STEM/AFFIX</sub>, CONTIGUITY<sub>HOST/CLITIC</sub> >> PRIORITY {/l+z/ > /l+o+z/} >> DEP-V

## 3. SELECTION OF PROCLITIC FORMS

- > Adjacency clitic/host **always** guaranteed, whichever allomorph is selected →
- > **General selection** of the first allomorph, without gender mark, /l+z/, & general addition of the epenthetic vowel [e]: e.g., *els dóna*, *vos els dóna*, *els obri* 's/he opens them MASC'...

/l+z/ > /l+o+z/ #dóna/	CONT <sub>STEM/AFFIX</sub>	CONT <sub>HOST/CLITIC</sub>	PRIORITY{/l+z/}	DEP-V
√ a. <i>elz</i> dóna				*
b. <i>loz</i> dóna			*!	
c. <i>lez</i> dóna	*!			*

## 4. SELECTION OF ENCLITIC FORMS

- > Adjacency clitic/host **not always** guaranteed by the first allomorph →
- > **Contextual variation** wrt the selection of allomorphs & the presence of the epenthetic vowel [e].
- > Default allomorph & no need of inserted vowels after a host ending in a vowel:
 

/#dóna#{/l+z/ > /l+o+z/}/	CONT <sub>STEM/AFFIX</sub>	CONT <sub>HOST/CLITIC</sub>	PRIORITY{/l+z/}	DEP-V
√ a. dóna <i>ls</i>				
b. dóna <i>los</i>			*!	
c. dóna <i>les</i>	*!			*
- > Default allomorph & no need of inserted vowels after another clitic ending in a vowel:
 

/#dóna#li#{/l+z/ > /l+o+z/}/	CONT <sub>STEM/AFFIX</sub>	CONT <sub>HOST/CLITIC</sub>	PRIORITY{/l+z/}	DEP-V
√ a. dóna li <i>ls</i>		*		
b. dóna li <i>los</i>		*	*!	
c. dóna li <i>les</i>	*!	*		*
- > Second-choice allomorph BUT no need of inserted vowels after a host ending in a consonant:
 

/#donár#{/l+z/ > /l+o+z/}/	CONT <sub>STEM/AFFIX</sub>	CONT <sub>HOST/CLITIC</sub>	PRIORITY{/l+z/}	DEP-V
a. donár <i>els</i>		*!		*
√ b. donár <i>los</i>			*	
c. donár <i>les</i>	*!			*
- > Default allomorph & insertion of epenthetic vowels after another clitic ending in a consonant:
 

/#donár#voz#{/l+z/ > /l+o+z/}/	CONT <sub>STEM/AFFIX</sub>	CONT <sub>HOST/CLITIC</sub>	PRIORITY{/l+z/}	DEP-V
√ a. donár voz <i>els</i>		*		*
b. donár voz <i>los</i>		*	*!	
c. donár voz <i>les</i>	*!	*		*

## 5. TYPOLOGY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

- > In the **grammaticalization** process, clitic pronouns tend to become regular affixes & reduce their form to the minimum; i.e., **PRIORITY {/l+z/ > /l+o+z/}** is progressively **promoted** in the ranking:
  - In **varieties without allomorphic variation**, one extreme of the scale is represented by some Northern Val. varieties which always choose the full form /l+o+z/, even in proclisis: i.e., *los dóna* [loz dóna] (see Todolí 1988, 1992). On the opposite end of the scale, the complete generalization of the reduced form /l+z/ is almost attained in non-Val. varieties such as colloquial Empordà Cat., at the expense of separating the clitic and the host: i.e., *donant-els* [dunánt els] 'giving them MASC' (see Lloret 2002, Campmany 2008)
  - In **varieties displaying allomorphic variation**, /l+z/ is always selected in **proclisis**, whereas in **enclisis** the scale goes from varieties which always select the full form /l+o+z/, as Palmera Val., to varieties in which the full form only appears to ensure the adjacency between the clitic and the host, as Standard Val. (see Todolí 1988, 1992, Garcia & Beltran 1994, Jiménez 1997, Beltran 2005).
- > In **proclisis**, whichever allomorph gets preference is systematically selected, since both forms guarantee the adjacency between the host and the clitic.
- > Whereas favoring /l+z/ in **enclisis** can lead to variation, favoring the full form /l+o+z/ is equivalent to having a unique allomorph, as shown by Palmera Val. enclitic forms (and by all Northern Val. forms).
- > The two Valencian varieties displaying allomorphy in **enclisis** favor the reduced allomorph and differ in the ranking between **PRIORITY** and **DEP-V**:
  - The ranking **PRIORITY {/l+z/ > /l+o+z/} >> DEP-V** promotes the selection of the form without gender /l+z/ in Standard Val., except when adjacency restrictions are involved.
  - The ranking **DEP-V >> PRIORITY {/l+z/ > /l+o+z/}** favors the choice of the full form /l+o+z/ in Pedreguer Val. in order to ensure the alignment clitic/host and to avoid an unnecessary violation of **DEP-V**.

PRIORITY {/l+z/ > /l+o+z/} progressively promoted in the ranking ----->

	Fully marked: Northern Val.	(Southern) Palmera Val.	(Southern) Pedreguer Val.	Standard Val.	Fully unmarked: Empordà Cat.
<b>Proclisis</b>	PRIORITY {/l+o+z/ > /l+z/} → Always /l+o+z/			PRIORITY {/l+z/ > /l+o+z/} → Always /l+z/	
<b>Enclisis</b>		PRIORITY {/l+o+z/ > /l+z/} → Always /l+o+z/	CONT <sub>(STEM/AFFIX &amp; HOST/CLITIC)</sub> >> DEP-V >> PRIORITY {/l+z/ > /l+o+z/} → /l+o+z/ selected to satisfy CONTIGUITY & to avoid a violation of DEP-V	CONT <sub>(STEM/AFFIX &amp; HOST/CLITIC)</sub> >> PRIORITY {/l+z/ > /l+o+z/} >> DEP-V → /l+o+z/ selected to satisfy CONTIGUITY	CONT <sub>STEM/AFFIX</sub> , PRIORITY {/l+z/ > /l+o+z/} >> CONT <sub>HOST/CLITIC</sub> , DEP-V → Always /l+z/

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