Beggars Can be Choosers: On Vowel Epenthesis in Western Catalan Clitics

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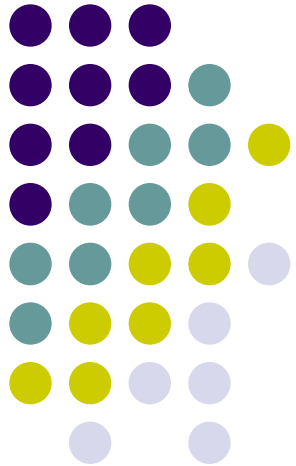


«The system of pronominal (anaphoric) clitics is possibly the most complex element of Catalan grammar. »

(Wheeler 2005: 341)

Main difficult issues

I. **Contextual variation:** Valencian **em /m/** & **els /l+z/**:

- **m’**ataca ‘s/he attacks me’
- **em** passa ‘s/he passes me’
- **me la** passa ‘s/he passes it FEM to me’

- passa**’ls** ‘pass them ACC MASC’
- passar**-los** ‘to pass them ACC MASC’
- passa**-mos-els** ‘pass them ACC MASC to us’

Main difficult issues

II. **Dialectal variation:** Valencian **em /m/** & **els /l+z/**:

- **m’**ataca
- **em ~ me** passa
- **me la** passa

- passa**’ls ~ -los**
- passar**-los**
- passa**-mos-els ~ -mos-los ~ -mo’ls …**

Problems learning pronouns? No wonder

«M'he passat la nit somiant

amb els pronoms febles. »

(Martí, *Poble Nou*, 1994)

«Last night I had a thousand nigthmares...

about weak pronouns!»

Main focus of this talk: Variation

I. **Contextual variation**

&

II. **Dialectal variation**

&

The ‘choice’ of epenthetic vowels

Outline of the presentation

I. **The syllabification of pronominal clitics** (basics) as a conflict between markedness & contiguity constraints
II. **Quality of the epenthetic vowel**
III. (Morpho)phonologically conditioned **allomorph selection**

I. The syllabification of pronominal clitics

/m#pasa/

I. The syllabification of pronominal clitics

/m#pasa/
a. me pása
b. em pása

I. The syllabification of pronominal clitics

1. **Syllabic well-formedness** constraints:

***PEAK/CONS & OTHERS (*σ-STRUC)**

ONSET

***CODA**

***COMPLEXCODA**

...

I. The syllabification of pronominal clitics

2. **Faithfulness** constraints:

DEP-V

MAX

REALIZE-MORPHEME

...

I. The syllabification of pronominal clitics

3. **Contiguity** constraints:

$\textsc{Contiguity}_{\textsc{Stem}}$:	/**stɔp**/
$\textsc{Contiguity}_{\textsc{Stem/Affix}}$:	/stɔ**p+z**/, /**l+z**/
$\textsc{Contiguity}_{\textsc{Host/Clitic}}$:	/**m#p**asa/, /pas**a#m**/ /**l#p**asa/, /pas**a#l**/ /l+**z#p**asa/, /pas**a#l**+z/
$\textsc{Contiguity}_{\textsc{Clitic/Clitic}}$:	/**m#l**+a#pasa/

I. The syllabification of pronominal clitics

- **Contiguity over markedness 1**: relevant ranking: **CONTIGUITY$_{HOST/CLITIC}$ >> DEP-V, ONSET, *CODA**

/m#pasa/	CONT$_{HOST/CL}$	DEP-V	ONSET	*CODA
a. me pása	*!	*		
√ b. em pása		*	*	*

/m#ataka/	CONT$_{HOST/CL}$	DEP-V	ONSET	*CODA
√ a. m atáka				
b. me atáka	*!	*	*	
c. em atáka		*	*	

I. The syllabification of pronominal clitics

- **Contiguity over markedness 2**: ranking: **CONT$_{STEM/AFFIX}$, CONT$_{HOST/CLITIC}$ >> *COMPLEX CODA, *CODA**

/m#pasa/	CONT$_{STEM/AFFIX}$	CONT$_{HOST/CL}$	*COMPCODA	*CODA
a. me pása		*!		
√ b. em pása				*

/lz#pasa/	CONT$_{STEM/AFFIX}$	CONT$_{HOST/CL}$	*COMPCODA	CODA
a. les pása	*!			*
√ b. els pása			*	*

II. Quality of the epenthetic vowel

- **Choice based on**:

1. **Segmental markedness** (Palmada 1994):

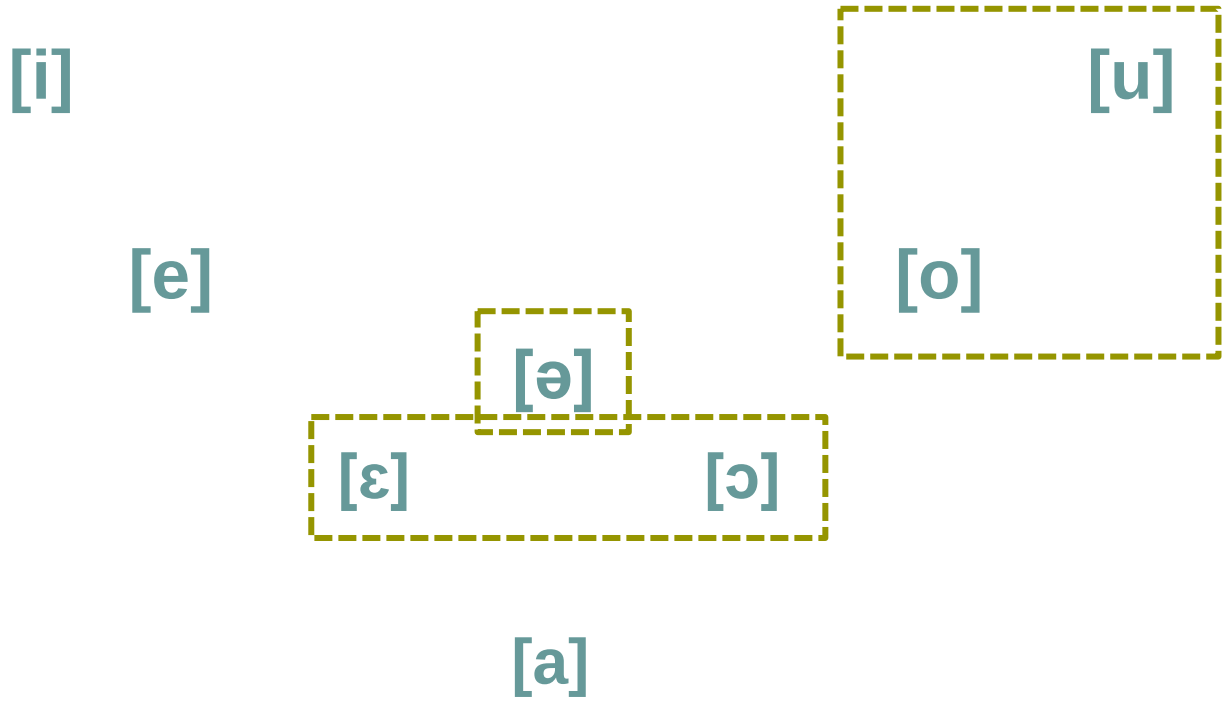
   a) Eastern Catalan: featureless vowel, **[ə]**

   b) Western Catalan: two vowels, **[e]** & sometimes **[a]**

2. **Positional markedness** (Lloret & Jiménez 2008, Jiménez & Lloret 2013).

II. Quality of the epenthetic vowel

- **List of possible vowels**:



II. Quality of the epenthetic vowel

- **List of possible vowels**:

[i]

[e]

[a]

II. Quality of the epenthetic vowel

- **List of possible vowels**:

Peak hierarchy

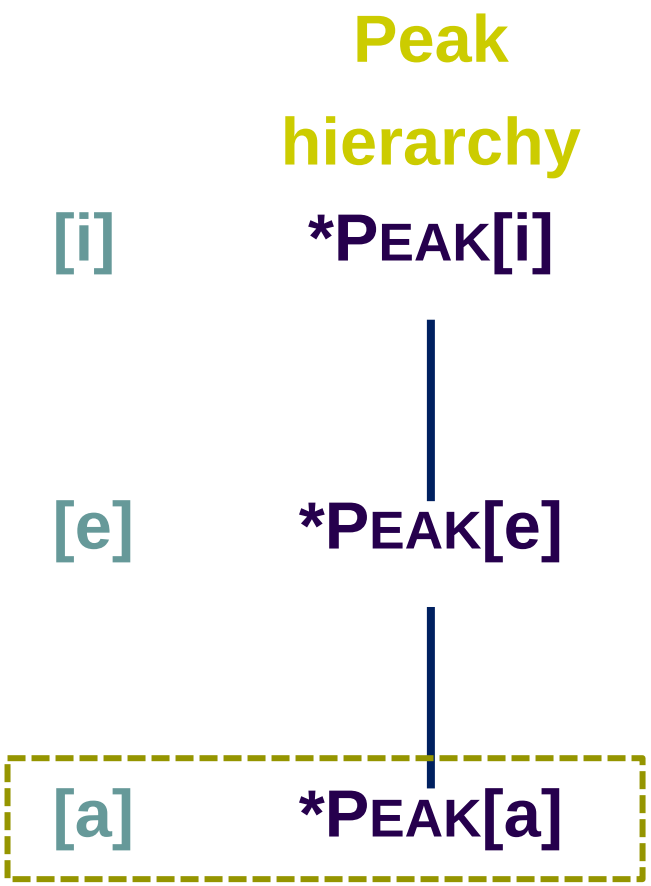
[i]

[e]

[a]

II. Quality of the epenthetic vowel

- **List of possible vowels**:



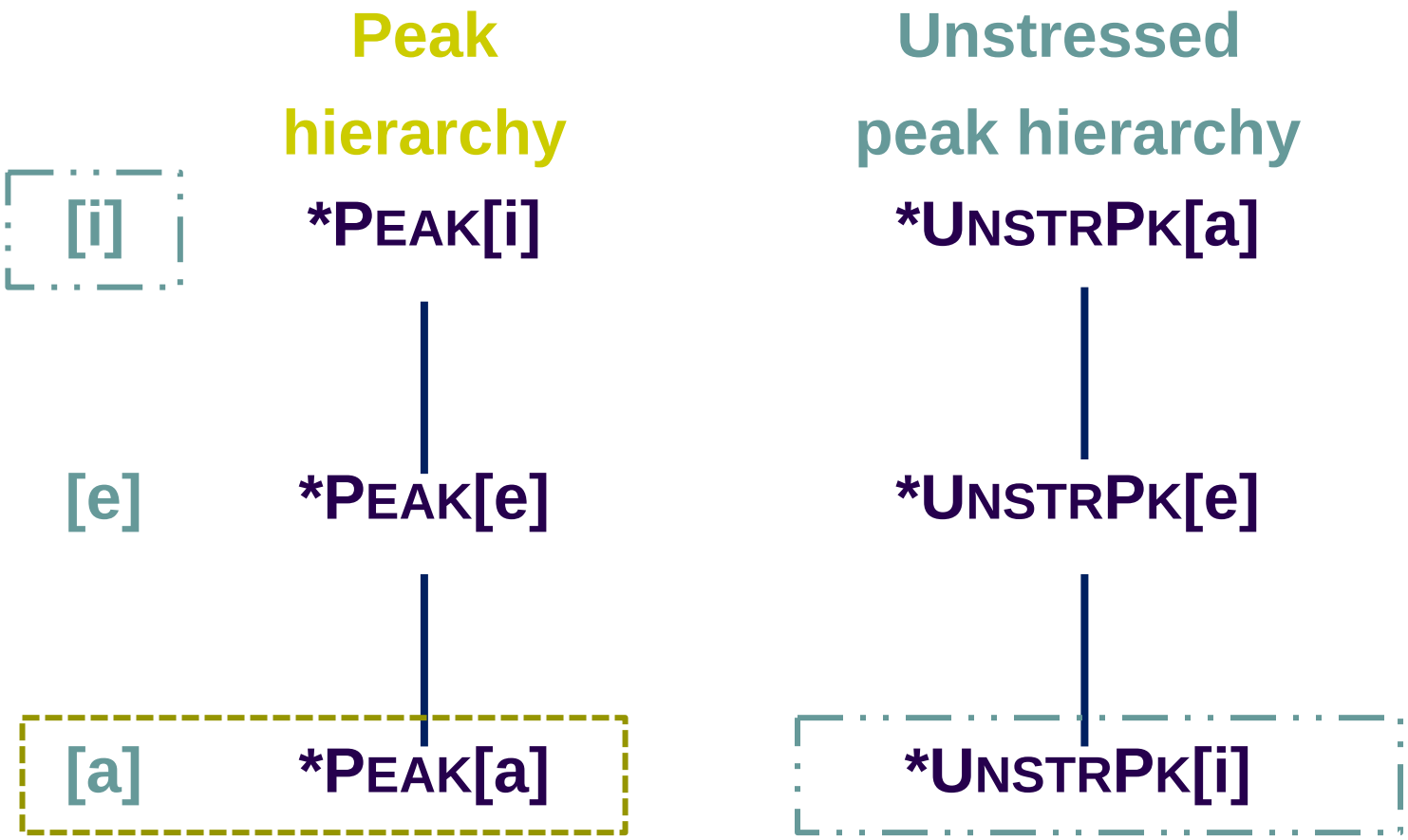
II. Quality of the epenthetic vowel

- **List of possible vowels**:

	Peak hierarchy	Unstressed peak hierarchy
[i]	*PEAK[i]	
[e]	*PEAK[e]	
[a]	*PEAK[a]	

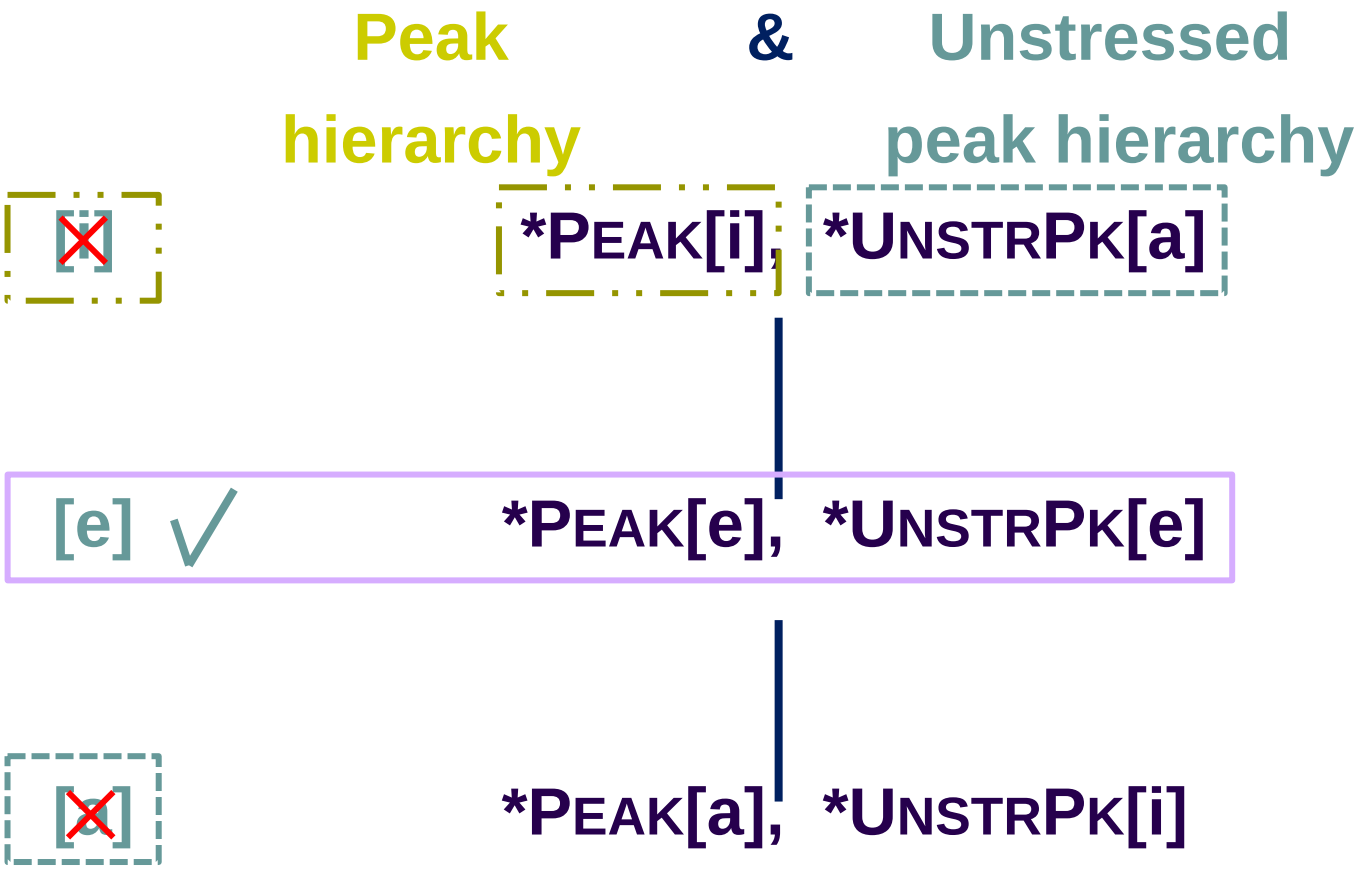
II. Quality of the epenthetic vowel

- **List of possible vowels**:



II. Quality of the epenthetic vowel

- List of possible vowels:



II. Quality of the epenthetic vowel

Variety I: Standard Valencian

II. Quality of the epenthetic vowel

- **Epenthetic vowel**, always **[e]**: **at the word-level**…

  - **Word-initially**:
    - **[e]**stop
    - **[e]**spaguetis

  - **Elsewhere**:
    - centr**[e]** (cf. *centr-al*)
    - batr**[e]** (cf. *batr-é* ‘I will hit’)

II. Quality of the epenthetic vowel

- **Epenthetic vowel**, always **[e]**: **at the word-level**… & **in the clitic group**:

  - **Proclisis**:
    - **[e]**m passa
    - m**[e]**l passa

  - **Enclisis**:
    - passar-m**[e]**
    - passa-m**[e]**l

II. Quality of the epenthetic vowel

- Ranking: ***PEAK[i]**, ***UNSTRPK[a]** >> ***PEAK[e]**, ***UNSTRPK[e]**

/m#pasa/	*PEAK[i]	*UNSTRPK[a]	*PEAK[e]	*UNSTRPK[e]
a. am pása		*!		
√ b. em pása			*	*
c. im pása	*!			

II. Quality of the epenthetic vowel

Variety II: Pedreguer Valencian

(Garcia & Beltran 1994, Beltran 2005)

II. Quality of the epenthetic vowel

- **Epenthetic vowel**: **at the word-level**…

  - **[a] word-initially**:
    - **[a]**stop
    - **[a]**spaguetis

  - **[e] elsewhere**:
    - centr**[e]** (cf. *centr-al*)
    - batr**[e]** (cf. *batr-é* ‘I will hit’)

II. Quality of the epenthetic vowel

- **Epenthetic vowel**: **in the clitic group**…

  - **[a]** in **proclisis**:
    - **[a]**m passa
    - m**[a]**l passa

  - **[e]** in **enclisis**:
    - passar-m**[e]**
    - passa-m**[e]**l

II. Quality of the epenthetic vowel

- **Among unstressed syllables**, initial syllables are considered prominent (i.e. peaks)
- We can split the ***UNSTRPK[α]** ranking in two, depending on the site of the epenthesis, i.e. in proclisis or in enclisis:
  - **Proclisis**:

    $*\text{UNSTRPK}_{\text{PR}}[a] >> *\text{UNSTRPK}_{\text{PR}}[e] >> *\text{UNSTRPK}_{\text{PR}}[i]$
  - **Enclisis**:

    $*\text{UNSTRPK}_{\text{EN}}[a] >> *\text{UNSTRPK}_{\text{EN}}[e] >> *\text{UNSTRPK}_{\text{EN}}[i]$
- And order these sub-hierarchies in different ways w.r.t. the general ***PEAK[α]** ranking.

II. Quality of the epenthetic vowel

- **Enclitic forms**; relevant ranking: ***PEAK[i]**, ***UNSTRPK$_{EN}$[a]** >> ***PEAK[e]**, ***UNSTRPK$_{EN}$[e]**

/pasár#m/	*PEAK[i]	*UNSTRPK$_{EN}$[a]	*PEAK[e]	*UNSTRPK$_{EN}$[e]
a. pasár ma		*!		
√ b. pasár me			*	*
c. pasár mi	*!			

II. Quality of the epenthetic vowel

- **Proclitic forms**; relevant ranking: IDENT$_{[low]}$, *PEAK[i] >> ***PEAK[e]** >> *UNSTRPK$_{PR}$[a]

/m#pása/	*IDENT$_{[low]}$	*PEAK[i]	***PEAK[e]**	*UNSTRPK$_{PR}$[a]
√ a. am pása				*
b. em pása			*!	
c. im pása		*!		

II. Quality of the epenthetic vowel

- **Proclitic forms**, with **underlying vowels**; relevant ranking: IDENT$_{[low]}$, *PEAK[i] >> ***PEAK[e]** >> *UNSTRPK$_{PR}$[a]

/lez#pása/	*IDENT$_{[low]}$	*PEAK[i]	***PEAK[e]**	*UNSTRPK$_{PR}$[a]
a. las pása	*!			*
√ b. les pása			*	
c. lis pása		*!		

III. Allomorph selection

- **Case study**:

Plural masculine accusative

III. Allomorph selection

- **Data (Standard Valencian)**:

- **Proclisis**: always **[(e)ls]**: **els porta, vos els porta**

- **Enclisis**:
  - **[ls]** after a host ending in V: **porta'ls**, &
  - **[ls]** after clitics ending in (epenthetic) V: **portar-me'ls**
  - **[los]** after a host ending in C: **portar-los**
  - **[els]** after a clitic ending in C: **portar-vos-els**

III. Allomorph selection

- **Formal interpretation**: the clitic pronoun **els** has two allomorphs (Mascaró 1986; Todolí 1988, 1992; Jiménez 1997):

/l+z/ ~ /l+o+z/

↓

/o/ is a gender **morph** → not an epenthetic vowel

III. Allomorph selection

- Following Bonet, Lloret & Mascaró (2007), we assume both allomorphs (**/l+z/** & **/l+o+z/**) are **ordered** in the lexical entry:

Accusative plural: {**/l+z/ > /l+o+z/**}

- The selection of the first form is enhanced by the **PRIORITY** constraint, which «demands faithfulness to this ordering, i.e. favors the choice of the unmarked allomorph» (Bonet, Lloret & Mascaró 2007: 906)

III. Allomorph selection

Variety I: Standard Valencian

PRIORITY ({l+z > l+o+z}) >> DEP-V

III. Allomorph selection

- **Data (Standard Valencian)**:

- **Proclisis**: always **[(e)ls]**: **els porta, vos els porta**

- **Enclisis**:
  - **[ls]** after a host ending in V: **porta'ls**, &
  - **[ls]** after clitics ending in (epenthetic) V: **portar-me'ls**
  - **[los]** after a host ending in C: **portar-los**
  - **[els]** after a clitic ending in C: **portar-vos-els**

III. Allomorph selection

- Ranking: CONT$_{STEM/AFFIX}$, CONT$_{HOST/CLITIC}$ >> PRIORITY({L+Z > L+O+Z}) >> DEP-V

/pasa#{lz>loz}/	CONT$_{STEM/AFFIX}$	CONT$_{HOST/CL}$	PRIOR	DEP-V
√ a. pása ls				
b. pása los			*!	
c. pása les	*!			*

/pasar#{lz>loz}/	CONT$_{STEM/AFFIX}$	CONT$_{HOST/CL}$	PRIOR	DEP-V
a. pasár els		*!		*
√ b. pasár los			*	
c. pasár les	*!			*

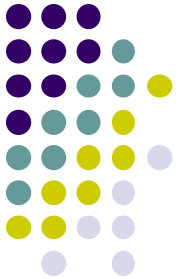
III. Allomorph selection

- Ranking: $\text{CONT}_{\text{STEM/AFFIX}}$, $\text{CONT}_{\text{HOST/CLITIC}}$ >> PRIORITY({L+Z > L+O+Z}) >> DEP-V

/pasar#m#{lz>loz}/	$\text{CONT}_{\text{STEM/AFFIX}}$	$\text{CONT}_{\text{HOST/CL}}$	PRIOR	DEP-V
√ a. pasár me ls		*		*
b. pasár me los		*	*!	*

/pasar#voz#{lz>loz}/	$\text{CONT}_{\text{STEM/AFFIX}}$	$\text{CONT}_{\text{HOST/CL}}$	PRIOR	DEP-V
√ a. pasár voz els		*		*
b. pasár voz los		*	*!	

III. Allomorph selection



Variety II: Pedreguer Valencian

DEP-V >> PRIORITY ({l+z > l+o+z})

III. Allomorph selection

- Ranking: CONT$_{STEM/AFFIX}$, CONT$_{HOST/CLITIC}$ >> DEP-V >> PRIORITY({L+Z > L+O+Z})

/pasa#{lz>loz}/	CONT$_{STEM/AFFIX}$	CONT$_{HOST/CL}$	DEP-V	PRIOR
√ a. pása ls				
b. pása los				*!

/pasar#{lz>loz}/	CONT$_{STEM/AFFIX}$	CONT$_{HOST/CL}$	DEP-V	PRIOR
a. pasár els		*!	*	
√ b. pasár los				*

III. Allomorph selection

- Ranking: CONT$_{STEM/AFFIX}$, CONT$_{HOST/CLITIC}$ >> DEP-V >> PRIORITY({L+Z > L+O+Z})

/pasa#m#{lz>loz}/	CONT$_{STEM/AFFIX}$	CONT$_{HOST/CL}$	DEP-V	PRIOR
√ a. pásar me ls		*	*	
b. pásar me los		*	*	*!

/pasar#voz#{lz>loz}/	CONT$_{STEM/AFFIX}$	CONT$_{HOST/CL}$	DEP-V	PRIOR
a. pásar voz els		*	*!	
√ b. pásar voz los		*		*

III. Allomorph selection

- **Data (Pedreguer Valencian)**:

- **Enclisis**:

  - **[ls]** after a host ending in V: **porta'ls**, &
  - **[ls]** after a clitic ending in (epenthetic) V: **portar-me'ls**

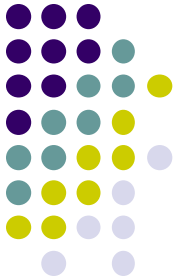
  - **[los]** after a host ending in C: **portar-los**, &
  - **[los]** after a clitic ending in C: **portar-vos-los**

(cf. standard *portar-vos-els*)

↓

Intermediate extension of /l+o+z/

III. Allomorph selection



Variety III: Palmera Valencian

PRIORITY inversion

({l+o+z > l+z}) in enclisis

III. Allomorph selection

- Ranking: CONT$_{STEM/AFFIX}$, CONT$_{HOST/CLITIC}$ >> DEP-V, PRIORITY({L+O+Z > L+Z})

/pasa#{loz>lz}/	CONT$_{STEM/AFFIX}$	CONT$_{HOST/CL}$	DEP-V	PRIOR
a. pása ls				*!
√ b. pása los				

/pasar#{loz>lz}/	CONT$_{STEM/AFFIX}$	CONT$_{HOST/CL}$	DEP-V	PRIOR
a. pásar els		*!	*	*
√ b. pásar los				

III. Allomorph selection

- Ranking: CONT$_{STEM/AFFIX}$, CONT$_{HOST/CLITIC}$ >> DEP-V, PRIORITY({L+O+Z > L+Z})

/pasa#m#{loz>lz}/	CONT$_{STEM/AFFIX}$	CONT$_{HOST/CL}$	DEP-V	PRIOR
a. pasár me ls		*	*	*!
√ b. pasár me los		*	*	

/pasar#voz#{loz>lz}/	CONT$_{STEM/AFFIX}$	CONT$_{HOST/CL}$	DEP-V	PRIOR
a. pasár voz els		*	*!	*
√ b. pasár voz los		*		

III. Allomorph selection

- **Data (Palmera Valencian)**:

- **Enclisis**:

  - **[los]** after a host ending in V: **porta-los**, &
  - **[los]** after a clitic ending in (epenth.) V: **portar-me-los**
  - **[los]** after a host ending in C: **portar-los**, &
  - **[los]** after a clitic ending in C: **portar-vos-los**

↓

Maximal extension of /l+o+z/

IIV. Final remarks

- In the process of **grammaticalization**, pronominal clitics tend to become regular affixes & reduce their form to the minimum:

…

Palmera Valencian

Pedreguer Valencian

Standard Valencian

…

Independent words

Affixes

IV. Final remarks

- Hence, as regular affixes, they tend to add the **default** epenthetic vowel:

[e] in Western Catalan

[ə] in Eastern Catalan

- Although sometimes the support segments are chosen on **positional markedness** or on **morphophonological grounds**: cf., respectively, Pedreguer Valencian **[a]ls porta** & **portar-l[o]s**.

IV. Final remarks

- With regard to the last exceptions to the general pattern, we find a very **remarkable asymmetry** between morphosyntactic & phonological prominence:
  - On the one hand, whereas **proclitic** forms tend to maximally **reduce**, resorting, if needed, to an epenthetic vowel (cf. Standard Val. **[e]ls porta**), **enclitic** forms can retain part of their primordial morphosyntactic **independence** with the presence of specific gender markers (cf. Standard Val. **portar-l[o]s**).

IV. Final remarks

- With regard to these exceptions to the general rule, we find a very **remarkable asymmetry** between morphosyntactic & phonological prominence:
  - On the other hand, only **proclitic** forms usually take vowels whose segmental features replicate the phonological **prominence** of the initial position, as in Pedreguer Val. **m[a]ls porta** vs. **porta-m[e]ls**.

Merci beaucoup!

Presentation soon available at:
http://www.ub.edu/GEVAD/
http://uv.academia.edu/JesusJimenez

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Main difficult issues

III. Polysemic forms: Valencian els /l+z/:

- **els** passa cada dia

  them ACC MASC

  ‘s/he passes them every day’

- **els** passa la sal

  them DAT

  ‘s/he passes them the salt’

Main difficult issues

IV. **Non-transparent –syncretic– forms**, even in Valencian (mostly compositional):

- Standard Valencian:

  els els passa ‘to them them ACC MASC’

- Alternate outcomes (only Valencian ones):

  li ‘ls passa lit. ‘to him/her them ACC MASC’

  els ho passa lit. ‘to them that’

  li ho passa lit. ‘to him/her that ’

  li ho’s passa lit. ‘to him/her that PL’

  …

A variation OT can deal with

- The syllabification of pronominal clitics obeys the **Economy Principle**:

- E.g. epenthetic vowels are **only** inserted **when** necessary & **where** necessary.

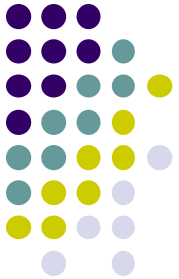
A variation OT can deal with

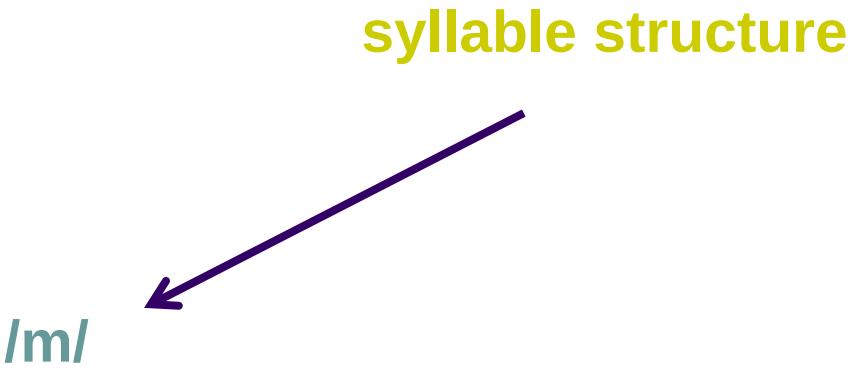
- Previously studied in a derivational model: Wheeler (1979), Viaplana (1980), Colomina (1985), Mascaró (1986), DeCesaris (1987), Todolí (1988, 1992, 1994), Bonet (1991, 1993), Morales & Prieto (1992), Lloret & Viaplana (1996), Bonet & Lloret (1998a)...

A variation OT can deal with

- Profusion of OT works: **Bonet & Lloret (1995**, 1996, 1998b, 2002, 2005), **Colina (1995)**, **Jiménez & Todolí (1995)**, **Palmada & Serra (1995)**, Serra (1996), Jiménez (1997, 1999), Campmany (2008)...

Why are clitics so appealing to OT?





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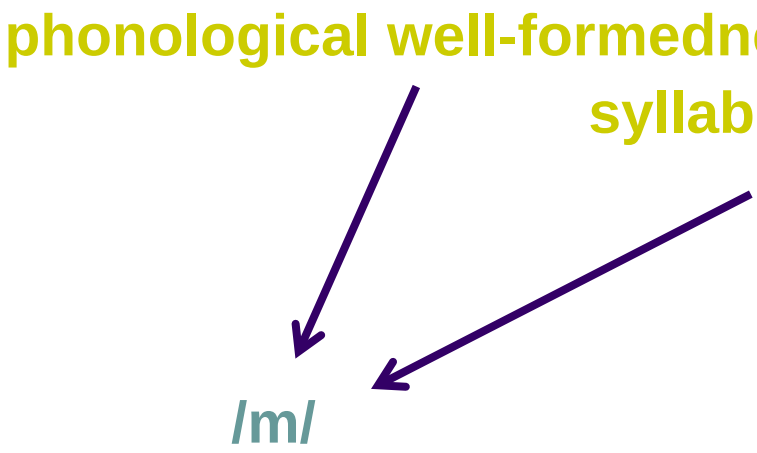

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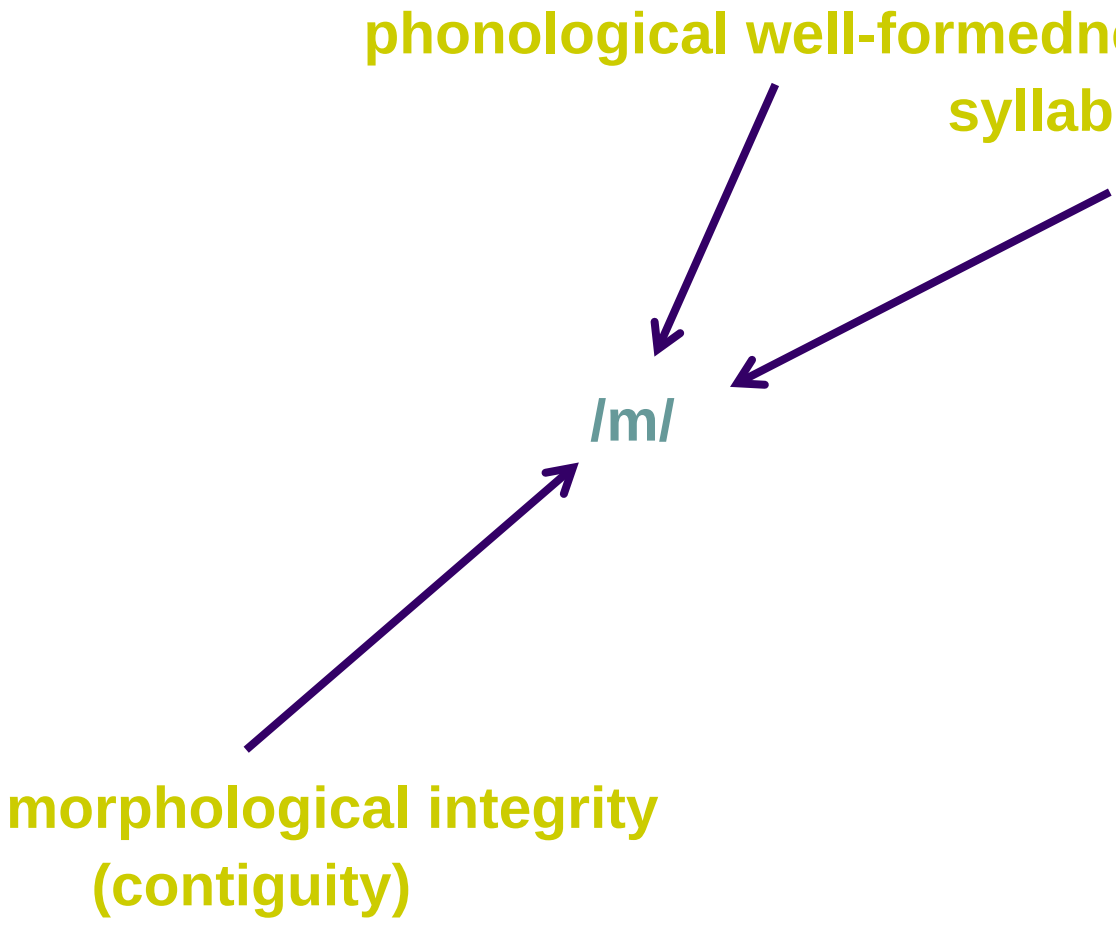

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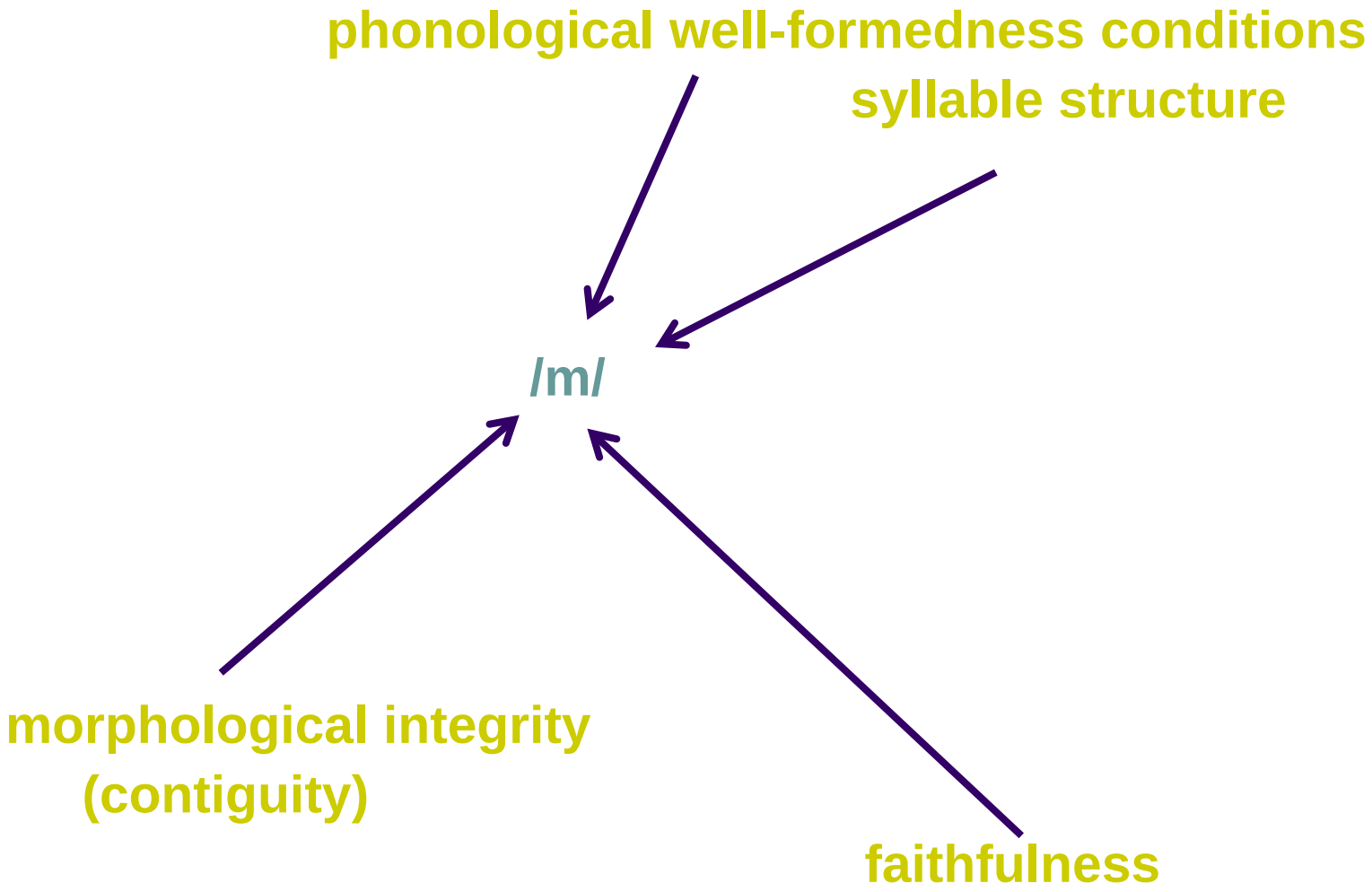

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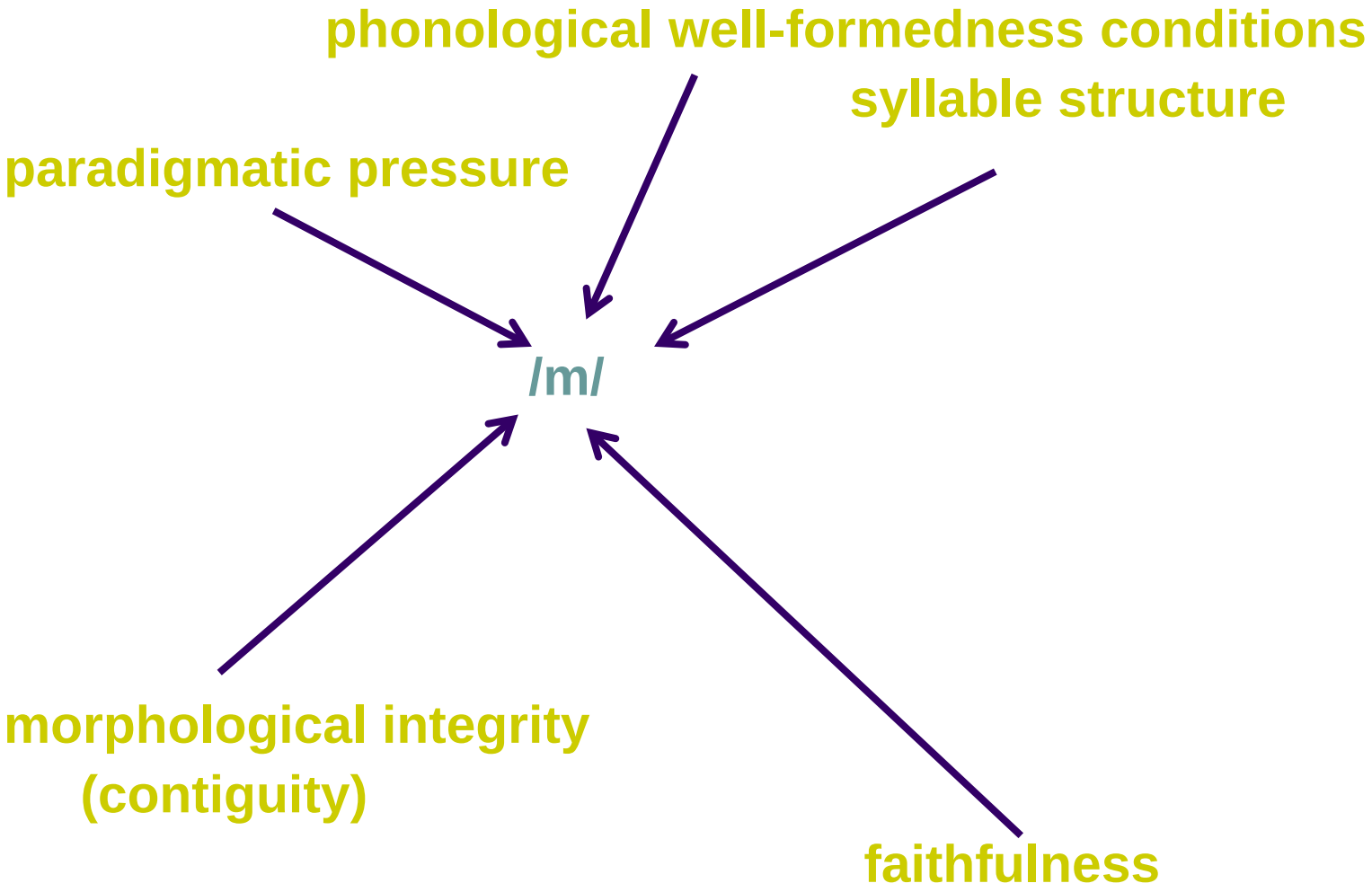

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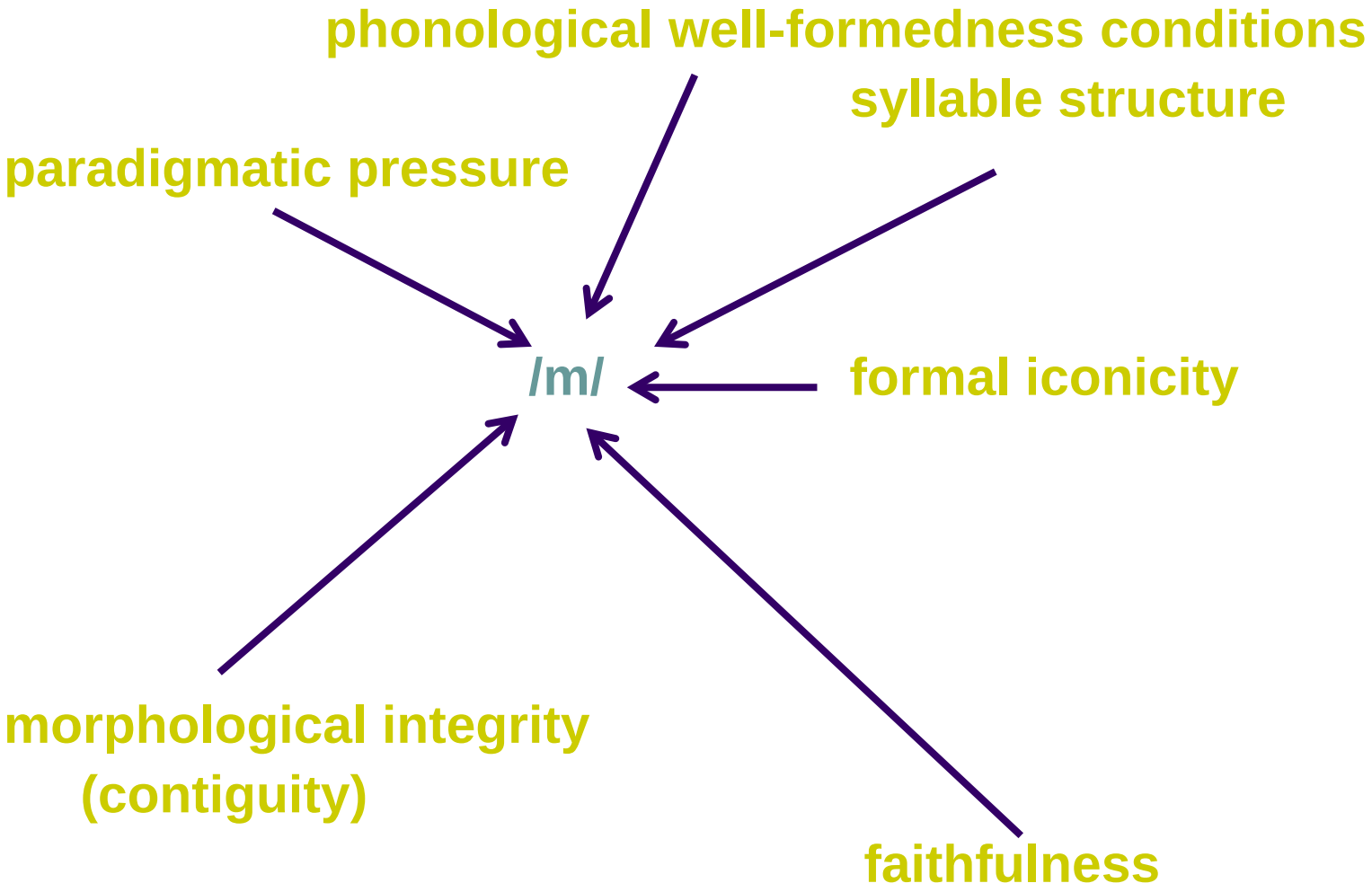

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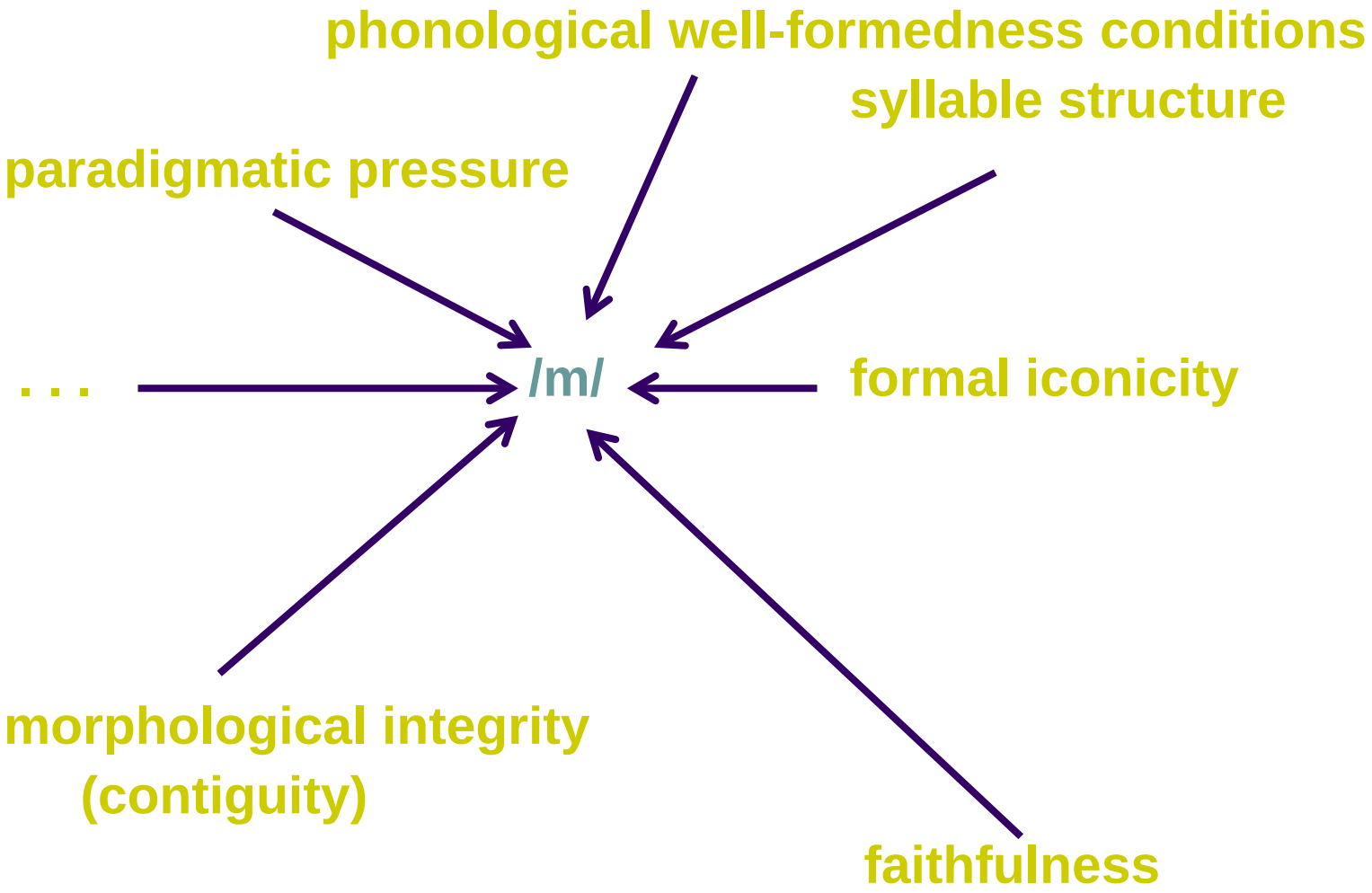

II. Underlying representation

Formal options (Bonet & Lloret 2005: §3):

1. **Option 1: [e]** are the product of a phonological process of **epenthesis** → the 1st person clitic:

   - has a **single underlying form, /m/,**

   &

   - different outputs are derived through the application of processes or **constraints.**

II. Underlying representation

Formal options (Bonet & Lloret 2005: §3):

1. **Option 1):**

- ☺ The results in *m'ataca* [**m** atáka], *em passa* [**em** pása] & *me la passa* [**me la** pása] can be **derived from the ranking** of well-founded principles.
- ☺ The **epenthetic vowel [e]** & **its peripheral position** are the same as the vowels appearing:
  - in **patrimonial words:**

centre	'center'	/sentr/	[sentr**e**]
batre	'to hit'	/bat+r/	[batr**e**]

  - in **loanwords**: *stop* /stɔp/ [**e**stɔ́p]

II. Underlying representation

Formal options (Bonet & Lloret 2005: §3):

2. **Option 2: [e]** are present underlyingly →
   1st person clitic:

   - has **3 different allomorphs: /m/, /em/** & **/me/**

   

   - which are **a)** either chosen by mere **stipulation** or **b)** derived from independently needed **constraints.**

II. Underlying representation

Formal options (Bonet & Lloret 2005: §3):

2. **Option 2b):**

- ☺ Markedness constraints ***CODA & ONSET** favor the winning candidates *m'ataca* [**m** atáka] or *me la passa* [**me** la pása].

II. Underlying representation

Formal options (Bonet & Lloret 2005: §3):

2. **Option 2b):**

- ☹ In a form such as *em passa* [**em** pása]…

/{m, em, me}#pasa/	CONT$_{HOST/CL}$	DEP-V	ONSET	*CODA
√ a. **me** pása				
☹ b. **em** pása			*!	*!

- ...it's **not possible to resort to syllabification** for the choice of the allomorph /em/ **nor** to ground the choice on **contiguity** constraints, since the vowel of **/me/** is now part of the clitic.

II. Underlying representation

Formal options (Bonet & Lloret 2005: §3):

2. **Option 2:**

☹ Hence, at least in some cases, “the choice of one allomorph over another would have to be a mere stipulation” (Bonet & Lloret 2005: 45).

↓

For all these reasons, forms such as **/m/** or **/l+z/**, without the allegedly epenthetic vowels, have been posited as **underlying forms** for pronominal clitics (cf. Wheeler 1979, Viaplana 1980, Mascaró 1986, Bonet 2002).

I. The syllabification of pronominal clitics

- **The emergency of the unmarked**: relevant ranking: **CONTIGUITY$_{HOST/CLITIC}$ >> ONSET, *CODA >> CONTIGUITY$_{CLITIC/CLITIC}$**

/m#pasa/	CONT$_{HOST/CL}$	ONSET	*CODA	CONT$_{CL/CL}$
a. me pása	*!			
√ b. em pása		*	*	

/m#l+a#pasa/	CONT$_{HOST/CL}$	ONSET	*CODA	CONT$_{CL/CL}$
√ a. me la pása	*			*
b. em la pása	*	*!	*!	