



From uniformity to diversity: ongoing changes in Catalan velarised verbs

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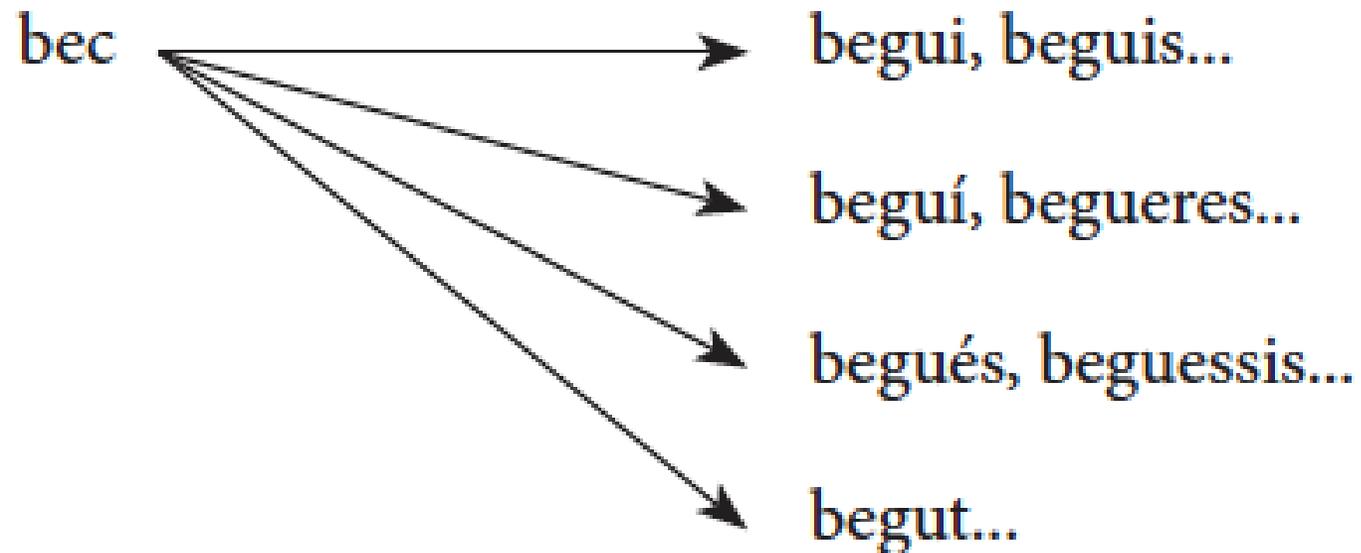
1. Introduction

Introduction

- **Largest class** in the **second Catalan conjugation**.
- Depending on the verb, **/g/** (e.g. *beure* → *be[ɣ]és*) or **/sk/** (e.g. *viure* → *vis[k]és*).
- Normatively, **stable** and **systematic** (more ahead, notion of *morphome*).
- In colloquial language, it **continues** to **evolve**.
- **Significant dialectal differences**.

Normative distribution of the velar consonant /g/

Verb *beure* 'to drink' (IEC 2016: 253-254):



Outline of the talk

1. Introduction
2. Formation of the velarised verbs class
3. Morphological role and paradigmatic distribution of the velar consonant
4. An evolving verb class: recent phenomena of analogical velarisation
5. Conclusions

2. Formation of the velarised verbs class

Velarised forms from the Latin *inflectum*

- First person present indicative and present subjunctive.
- Three verb classes with an etymological velar (Wheeler 2011: 188-189):
 - Verbs in which -C- was intervocalic, such as DĪCŌ > *dic* ‘I say’ or DŪCAT > *duga* ‘s/he carry’.
 - Verbs in which -G- was preceded by a nasal consonant: STRINGŌ > *estrenc* ‘I draw tight’ or PLANĠAT > *planga* ‘s/he bewail’.
 - Verbs that had the affix -SC- between the root and the desinence: NĀSCOR > *na^sc* ‘I am born’ or CRĒSCAT > *cre^sca* ‘s/he grow’.

Velarised forms from the Latin *perfectum*

- Preterite, indicative pluperfect > conditional and subjunctive pluperfect > imperfect subjunctive.
- Most authors: velar derives from the strengthening of the Latin affix -U-: $w > g^w > g$ (v. Meyer-Lübke 1895: §278).
- Wheeler (2011: 195–198) regards this explanation as erroneous, suggesting that the velar extended analogically from forms like PLACUIT > *plac* ‘s/he pleased’.
- **Distinctive feature** of **Catalan** and **Occitan** (Pérez Saldanya 1998: 75).

The Catalan velar morphome (Wheeler 2011)

	a.		b.		c.		
INF	<i>moure</i> 'move'		<i>viure</i> 'live'		<i>prendre</i> 'take'		
GER	<i>movent</i>		<i>vivint</i>		<i>prenent</i>		
	1SG	3SG	1SG	3SG	1SG	3SG	
PRS.IND	<i>moc</i>	<i>mou</i>	<i>visc</i>	<i>viu</i>	<i>prenc</i>	<i>pren</i>	L-pattern
PRS.SBJV	<i>mogui</i>	<i>mogui</i>	<i>visqui</i>	<i>visqui</i>	<i>prengui</i>	<i>prengui</i>	
FUT	<i>mouré</i>	<i>mourà</i>	<i>viuré</i>	<i>viurà</i>	<i>prendré</i>	<i>prendrà</i>	
COND	<i>mouria</i>	<i>mouria</i>	<i>viuria</i>	<i>viuria</i>	<i>prendria</i>	<i>prendria</i>	
PST.IPFV	<i>movia</i>	<i>movia</i>	<i>vivia</i>	<i>vivia</i>	<i>prenia</i>	<i>prenia</i>	
PST.PFV	<i>moguí</i>	<i>mogué</i>	<i>visquí</i>	<i>visqué</i>	<i>prenguí</i>	<i>prengué</i>	
PST.SBJV	<i>moguera</i>	<i>moguera</i>	<i>visquera</i>	<i>visquera</i>	<i>prenguera</i>	<i>prenguera</i>	PyTA
-r-							
PST.SBJV	<i>mogués</i>	<i>mogués</i>	<i>visqués</i>	<i>visqués</i>	<i>prengué</i>	<i>prengué</i>	
-s-							
PRE.PTCP	<i>mogut</i>		<i>viscut</i>		<i>pres</i>		participle
d. -eg- variant:	e.g. <i>aparèixer</i> 'seem': <i>aparec</i> , <i>aparegui</i> , <i>aparegué</i> , <i>aparegut</i>						

Velar consonant in Spanish (O'Neill 2018)

	Pres. Indic.	Pres. Subj.	Future	Conditional
1SG	<i>caigo</i>	<i>caiga</i>	<i>caeré</i>	<i>caería</i>
2SG	<i>caes</i>	<i>caigas</i>	<i>caerás</i>	<i>caerías</i>
3SG	<i>cae</i>	<i>caiga</i>	<i>caerá</i>	<i>caería</i>
1PL	<i>caemos</i>	<i>caigamos</i>	<i>caeremos</i>	<i>caeríamos</i>
2PL	<i>caéis</i>	<i>caigáis</i>	<i>caeréis</i>	<i>caeríais</i>
3PL	<i>caen</i>	<i>caigan</i>	<i>caerán</i>	<i>caerían</i>
	Imp. Subj. (-ra)	Imp. Subj. (-se)	Preterite	Imp. Indic.
1SG	<i>cayera</i>	<i>cayese</i>	<i>caí</i>	<i>caía</i>
2SG	<i>cayeras</i>	<i>cayeses</i>	<i>caíste</i>	<i>caías</i>
3SG	<i>cayera</i>	<i>cayese</i>	<i>cayó</i>	<i>caía</i>
1PL	<i>cayéramos</i>	<i>cayésemos</i>	<i>caímos</i>	<i>caíamos</i>
2PL	<i>cayerais</i>	<i>cayeseis</i>	<i>caísteis</i>	<i>caíais</i>
3PL	<i>cayeran</i>	<i>cayesen</i>	<i>cayeron</i>	<i>caían</i>
	Imperative	Infinitive	Gerund	Participle
2SG	<i>cae</i>	<i>caer</i>	<i>cayendo</i>	<i>caído</i>
2PL	<i>caed</i>			

The formation of the velarised verb class

- Quite an **irregular process**.
- Marked **chronological differences** in the **adoption of the velar** across classes, dialects, morphemes, tenses, and persons (Badal 2021).
- **Bidirectional spread** of **/g/**: from the *inflectum* forms to the *perfectum* forms, and vice versa.

Velarisation of *infectum* forms

- *Beure* ‘to drink’ class: early velarisation (14th century). **Velarised perfect stem** and **syncretism** between the first and third person of the **present indicative** (1sg *beu* > *bec* ‘I drink’ vs. 3sg *beu* ‘s/he drinks’).
- *Deure* ‘to owe’ class: the **etymological stem prevented syncretism** in the present indicative: 1sg *deig* ‘I owe’ vs. 3sg *deu* ‘s/he owes’.
- *Prendre* ‘to catch’ class: adoption of **/g/ resolved syncretism** in the present indicative: 1sg *pren* > *pren***c** ‘I catch’ vs. 3sg *pren* ‘s/he catches’.

Velarisation of *perfectum* forms

- **Chronological divergences** between tenses in the adoption of /g/.
- Most relevant classes: *dir* ‘to say’ and *prendre* ‘to catch’.
- The most **marked tenses** (subjunctive imperfect and conditional) adopt the velar in the 15th century (e.g., *dixés* > *digués* ‘s/he said’, *dixera* > *diguera* ‘s/he would say’).
- Preterite: third-person singular (e.g., *dix* > *digué* ‘s/he said’, *pres* > *prengué* s/he caught) is much more resistant to analogical velarisation than the other persons.

Let's recap

- **1st factor:** Need to **distinguish 1st** and **3rd person** in the **present indicative**.
- **2nd factor:** **Reduce** initial **irregularity** in the distribution of the velar.
- **Result:** A more **stable verb class** where the velar appears in predictable contexts.

3. Morphological role and paradigmatic distribution of the velar consonant

The morphological value of the velar consonant

- **Option 1: Final consonant** of one of the **root** allomorphs (Roca Pons 1968, Mascaró 1983, among others).

Examples: DĪ**C**Ō > *dic*; STRING**G**Ō > *estrenc*.

- **Option 2: Thematic extension** of the **root** (Viaplana 1984, Wheeler 1993, Pérez Saldanya 2013, Badal 2021, among others).

Examples: *pren* + /g/ = *pren**c***, *mol* + /g/ = *mol**c***.

- **Current value: Marker** of **verbal class** or **morphosyntactic categories**.

A “morphomic” distribution

- **Morphome**: “phenomena that can be attributed, synchronically, neither to phonological nor to functional conditioning. There really are things, in Aronoff ’s view, that constitute ‘morphology by itself ’” (Maiden 2018: 9).
- **Mutual implication**: if a distinctive form appears in one cell, it tends to appear in all related cells.

A “morphomic” distribution

- The “majority of the stem allomorphies found in Romance conjugation cannot receive a synchronic explanation, and should be interpreted as the outcome of a purely morphological, or morphomic (Aronoff 1994) distribution” (Montermini & Bonami 2013).
- In Catalan verbal inflection: **L-pattern**, **PYTA** and **N-pattern** (Wheeler 2011, Pérez Saldanya 2013, Badal 2021).

L-pattern

- A **distinctive form** is shared, uniquely, by the whole of the **present subjunctive** together with the **first-person singular present indicative** (Maiden 2018: 84).
- It cannot be explained in terms of any coherent grouping of morphosyntactic properties.

L-pattern

Evolution from Latin to Catalan of present indicative and present subjunctive of the verb DICERE > *dir* ‘to say’:

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
PRS.IND	DĪCŌ > <i>dic</i>	DĪCIS > <i>dius</i>	DĪCIT > <i>diu</i>	DĪCIMUS > <i>deim</i>	DĪCITIS > <i>deïts</i>	* ^l dikent > <i>dien</i>
PRS.SBJV	DĪCAM > <i>diga</i>	DĪCĀS > <i>digues</i>	DĪCAT > <i>diga</i>	DĪCĀMUS > <i>digam</i>	DĪCĀTIS > <i>digats</i>	DĪCANT > <i>diguen</i>

PYTA

- Acronym of ‘perfecto y tiempos afines’.
- Origin: Latin perfective forms.
- **Romance languages** still preserve traces of this **perfective morphology**.
- The original aspectual meaning has faded.
- **Coherence** and **convergence** (Maiden 2011: 181)

PYTA

- In Old Catalan: preterite, old conditional and imperfect subjunctive.
- PYTA of verb *dir* ‘to say’:
 - PRT: 3sg DĪXIT > *dix* >> *digué*
 - COND: 3sg DĪXERAT > *dixera* >> *diguera*
 - IPF.SBJV: 3sg DĪXISSET > *dixés* >> *digués*

PYTA

- Forms share a **distinctive morphological feature** despite **losing** their original **perfective value**.
- In Catalan, no longer a clear distinction between imperfective and perfective aspect.
- Only the preterite usually preserves a perfective meaning.

N-pattern

- It is a **domain of attraction**, providing a template for the distribution of numerous, sometimes quite novel, types of alternant.
- The first-, second-, and third-person singular and of the third-person plural in the present indicative, present subjunctive, and imperative share formal characteristics not found elsewhere in the paradigm of the verb (Maiden 2018: 167).

N-pattern

- Instance: Catalan verbs with *isc* ~ *eix* augment, like *seguir* ‘to follow’.

	Present indicative	Present subjunctive	Imperative
1sg	<i>segu+isc</i> / <i>segu+eix+o</i>	<i>segu+isc+a</i> / <i>segu+eix+i</i>	
2sg	<i>segu+ix+es</i> / <i>segu+eix+es</i>	<i>segu+isqu+es</i> / <i>segu+eix+is</i>	<i>segu+eix</i>
3sg	<i>segu+ix</i> / <i>segu+eix</i>	<i>segu+isc+a</i> / <i>segu+eix+i</i>	<i>segu+isc+a</i> / <i>segu+eix+i</i>
1pl	<i>segu+i+m</i>	<i>segu+i+m</i>	<i>segu+i+m</i>
2pl	<i>segu+i+u</i>	<i>segu+i+u</i>	<i>segu+i+u</i>
3pl	<i>segu+ix+en</i> / <i>segu+eix+en</i>	<i>segu+isqu+en</i> / <i>segu+eix+in</i>	<i>segu+isqu+en</i> / <i>segu+eix+in</i>

Linguistic change: what does it tell us?

- What can we infer from the changes that have already occurred and continue to occur in the Romance languages?
- **Speakers** are **usually** aware of the **morphomic pattern**.
- Maiden (2011: 181): **coherence** and **convergence**.

Coherence

- **Any morphological change** affecting a PYTA root in one part of the paradigm of a given verb, always equally **affects the PYTA root** in **all** other parts of the **paradigm** of that verb.
- In Old Catalan, this principle holds true.
- In velarised verbs, all persons, both L-pattern and PYTA, undergo the same change.

Convergence

- The **phonological heterogeneity** of PYTA roots tends to be **reduced** over time, so that PYTA roots converge on a common, characteristic, phonological form.
- **Interparadigmatic** phenomenon.
- Sometimes **one verb** provides the **model** on which other PYTA roots converge → Catalan velarised verbs.

- Speakers' **strategies** to **avoid allomorphy**.
- Systematic and **predictable change**.
- No systems in which the PYTA stem appears only in the preterite or only in the imperfect subjunctive.
- The study of **velarised verbs** allows us to **test these two principles**.

4. An evolving verb class: recent phenomena of analogical velarisation

The velar consonant: first-person marker

- General phenomenon in **Valencian** (Pérez Saldanya 1998: 82).
- It already occurred in Old Catalan (Badal 2021).
- Motivation: to formally **distinguish** the **first** and **third person** of the **present indicative**:
 - 1sg *perd* > *per*[k] ‘I lose’ vs. 3sg *perd* ‘s/he loses’
 - 1sg *dorm* > *dor*[k] ‘I sleep’ vs. 3sg *dorm* ‘s/he sleeps’
- A **new allomorph** is created: e.g., *perd-* > *per-* + /g/, *dorm-* > *dor-* + /g/.

Consequence: velarised L-pattern

		1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
<i>Perdre</i> 'to lose' →	PRS.IND	<i>Per</i> c	<i>Perds</i>	<i>Perd</i>	<i>Perdem</i>	<i>Perdeu</i>	<i>Perden</i>
	PRS.SBJV	<i>Per</i> ga	<i>Per</i> gues	<i>Per</i> ga	<i>Per</i> guem	<i>Per</i> gueu	<i>Per</i> guen
		1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
<i>Dormir</i> 'to sleep' →	PRS.IND	<i>Dor</i> c	<i>Dorms</i>	<i>Dorm</i>	<i>Dormim</i>	<i>Dormiu</i>	<i>Dormen</i>
	PRS.SBJV	<i>Dor</i> ga	<i>Dor</i> gues	<i>Dor</i> ga	<i>Dor</i> guem	<i>Dor</i> gueu	<i>Dor</i> guen

Stability of inflectional classes

- Stability of inflectional classes (Wurzel 1987).
- Tendency to **minimise irregularities** and organise them implicatively.
- Allomorphic variation in the **first person of the present indicative** tends to reappear in the **present subjunctive**.

*pu**c*** ‘I can’ → *pu**g**a*, *pu**g**ues...* /g/

*va**ig*** ‘I go’ → *va**j**a*, *va**g**es...* /dʒ/

*ve**ig*** ‘I see’ → *ve**j**a*, *ve**g**es...* /dʒ/

The velarisation of the gerund

- The velarisation of the gerund (e.g., *beguent* ‘drinking’, *diguent* ‘saying’, *traguent* ‘taking out’) is widespread in Catalan.
- Motivated by the **association** between the **velar consonant** and the **thematic vowel** e (Wheeler 1993: 196, Pérez Saldanya 1998: 85): *digué* ‘s/he said’, *beguera* ‘s/he drank’, *puguem* ‘we can’...

The velarisation of the gerund

- **Gerund** is **marked** with respect to the **infinitive** (Pérez Saldanya 1998: 86).
- Marked forms tend to present more formal marks.
- In some cases, it **improves** the **syllable structure** (Hualde 1992: 383): *di.ent* > *di.guent* ‘saying’,
ca.ent > *cai.guent* ‘falling’.

The second-person plural of the imperative

- In Latin, only second-person forms.
- In present-day Catalan, generally: 2sg imp. = 3sg prs.ind (*beu* ‘drink!’); 2pl imp. = 2pl prs.ind (*beveu* ‘drink!’)
- Some exceptions: 2sg *digues* ‘say!’, 2pl *digueu* ‘say!’.
- Widespread analogical velarization in Catalan (e.g., *tragueu* ‘take out!’ or *vingueu* ‘come!’ instead of normative forms *traieu/traeu* ‘take out!’ or *veniu* ‘come!’).

The second-person plural of the imperative (II)

- Again: **association** between the **velar consonant** and the **thematic vowel** *e*: *bevee* > *begee* ‘drink!’.
- Again: in some cases, it **improves** the **syllable structure**: *tra.eu* > *tra.gee* ‘take out!’.
- Influence of the other forms of the imperative: 3sg *bega* ‘drink!’, 1pl *begem* ‘let’s drink!’, 3pl *begen* ‘drink!’.
- Negative commands, in subjunctive: e.g., *no begee!* ‘don’t drink!’

Modal leveling in the first- and second-person plural (Pérez Saldanya *et al.* 2004: 183)

	Present indicative	Present subjunctive	Imperative
1 st conjugation (<i>a</i>)	1pl <i>cantem</i> 2pl <i>canteu</i>	1pl <i>cantem</i> 2pl <i>canteu</i>	1pl <i>cantem</i> 2pl <i>canteu</i>
3 rd conjugation (<i>i</i>)	1pl <i>servim</i> 2pl <i>serviu</i>	1pl <i>servim</i> 2pl <i>serviu</i>	1pl <i>servim</i> 2pl <i>serviu</i>
2 nd conjugation (e, non-velar)	1pl <i>batem</i> 2pl <i>bateu</i>	1pl <i>batem</i> 2pl <i>bateu</i>	1pl <i>batem</i> 2pl <i>bateu</i>
2 nd conjugation (e, velar)	1pl <i>duem</i> 2pl <i>dueu</i>	1pl <i>duguem</i> 2pl <i>dugueu</i>	1pl <i>duguem</i> 2pl <i>dueu</i>
→ 2 nd conjugation (e, analogical velar)	1pl <i>duguem</i> 2pl <i>dugueu</i>	1pl <i>duguem</i> 2pl <i>dugueu</i>	1pl <i>duguem</i> 2pl <i>dugueu</i>

The first- and second-person plural of the present indicative

- Convergence of causes: association between /g/ and the thematic vowel e (1pl *duem* > *duguem* ‘we carry’), improving of the syllable structure (1pl *du.em* > *du.guem*).
- **Dialectally** restricted **phenomenon** (Beltran & Segura-Llopes 2017: 218).
- Widely spread in the Valencian region of Costera (Bataller Grau 2018, Vela Párraga 2024).

What happens to the L-pattern?

Example: verb *tenir/tindre* 'to have'

		1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
Standard →	PRS.IND	<i>Tinc</i>	<i>Tens</i>	<i>Té</i>	<i>Tenim</i>	<i>Teniu</i>	<i>Tenen</i>
	PRS.SBJV	<i>Tinga</i>	<i>Tingues</i>	<i>Tinga</i>	<i>Tinguem</i>	<i>Tingueu</i>	<i>Tinguen</i>
		1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
Colloquial →	PRS.IND	<i>Tinc</i>	<i>Tens</i>	<i>Té</i>	<i>Tinguem</i>	<i>Tingueu</i>	<i>Tenen</i>
	PRS.SBJV	<i>Tinga</i>	<i>Tingues</i>	<i>Tinga</i>	<i>Tinguem</i>	<i>Tingueu</i>	<i>Tinguen</i>

The segment *ig* (or *eg*) as a subjunctive marker

- The **velar segment** *ig* (or *eg*) has become a **marker** of **subjunctive** tenses, especially in northwestern dialects and Ibizan (Perea 2008: 604-605, Querol 2010, Marí Tur 2017).
- Examples: 1sg *cante* > *càntiga* ‘I sing’, 2sg *perdes* > *pèrdigues* ‘you lose’, 1pl *dormíssem* > *dormiguéssem* ‘we slept’...

The segment *ig* (or *eg*) as a subjunctive marker

- Motivation for /ig/ instead of /g/ (Viaplana 2005: 237, Perea 2008: 605): avoid syllabification problems (e.g., *cant-**gu**-em ‘we sing’, *perd-**gu**-em ‘we lose’).
- Why might speakers choose these colloquial velarized forms?

Present subjunctive (conjugation *a*)

Traditional pattern of *cantar* ‘to sing’ in North-Western Catalan:

	Present indicative	Present subjunctive
1sg	<i>canto</i>	<i>cante</i>
2sg	<i>cantes</i>	<i>cantes</i>
3sg	<i>cante</i>	<i>cante</i>
1pl	<i>cantem</i>	<i>cantem</i>
2pl	<i>canteu</i>	<i>canteu</i>
3pl	<i>canten</i>	<i>canten</i>

Present subjunctive (conjugation *a*)

Innovative pattern of *cantar* ‘to sing’ in North-Western Catalan:

	Present indicative	Present subjunctive
1sg	<i>canto</i>	<i>càntiga</i>
2sg	<i>cantes</i>	<i>càntigues</i>
3sg	<i>cante</i>	<i>càntiga</i>
1pl	<i>cantem</i>	<i>cantem</i>
2pl	<i>canteu</i>	<i>canteu</i>
3pl	<i>canten</i>	<i>càntiguen</i>

Present subjunctive (conjugation e)

Traditional pattern of *perdre* ‘to lose’ in North-Western Catalan:

	Present indicative	Present subjunctive
1sg	<i>perdo</i>	<i>perda</i>
2sg	<i>perds</i>	<i>perdes</i>
3sg	<i>perd</i>	<i>perda</i>
1pl	<i>perdem</i>	<i>perdem</i>
2pl	<i>perdeu</i>	<i>perdeu</i>
3pl	<i>perden</i>	<i>perden</i>

Present subjunctive (conjugation e)

Innovative pattern of *perdre* ‘to lose’ in North-Western Catalan:

	Present indicative	Present subjunctive
1sg	<i>perdo</i>	<i>pèrdiga</i>
2sg	<i>perds</i>	<i>pèrdigues</i>
3sg	<i>perd</i>	<i>pèrdiga</i>
1pl	<i>perdem</i>	<i>perdiguem ~ perdem</i>
2pl	<i>perdeu</i>	<i>perdigueu ~ perdeu</i>
3pl	<i>perden</i>	<i>pèrdiguen</i>

Present subjunctive (conjugation *i*)

Traditional pattern of *sentir* ‘to feel’ and *servir* ‘to serve’ in North-Western Catalan:

	Sentir		Servir	
	Present indicative	Present subjunctive	Present indicative	Present subjunctive
1sg	<i>sentó</i>	<i>senta</i>	<i>servixo</i>	<i>servisca ~ servixa</i>
2sg	<i>sents</i>	<i>sentes</i>	<i>servixes</i>	<i>servisques ~ servixes</i>
3sg	<i>sent</i>	<i>senta</i>	<i>servix</i>	<i>servisca ~ servixa</i>
1pl	<i>sentim</i>	<i>sentim</i>	<i>servim</i>	<i>servim</i>
2pl	<i>sentiu</i>	<i>sentiu</i>	<i>serviu</i>	<i>serviu</i>
3pl	<i>senten</i>	<i>senten</i>	<i>servixen</i>	<i>servisquen ~ servixen</i>

Present subjunctive (conjugation *i*)

Innovative pattern of *sentir* ‘to feel’ and *servir* ‘to serve’ in North-Western Catalan:

	Sentir		Servir	
	Present indicative	Present subjunctive	Present indicative	Present subjunctive
1sg	<i>sento</i>	<i>séntiga</i>	<i>servixo</i>	<i>servisca ~ servixa</i>
2sg	<i>sents</i>	<i>séntigues</i>	<i>servixes</i>	<i>servisques ~ servixes</i>
3sg	<i>sent</i>	<i>séntiga</i>	<i>servix</i>	<i>servisca ~ servixa</i>
1pl	<i>sentim</i>	<i>sentiguem</i>	<i>servim</i>	<i>serviguem</i>
2pl	<i>sentiu</i>	<i>sentigueu</i>	<i>serviu</i>	<i>servigueu</i>
3pl	<i>senten</i>	<i>séntiguen</i>	<i>servixen</i>	<i>servisquen ~ servixen</i>

Present subjunctive (conjugation *i*)

Innovative pattern of *sentir* ‘to feel’ and *servir* ‘to serve’ in North-Western Catalan:

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1sg	<i>sento</i>	<i>séntiga</i>	<i>servixo</i>	<i>servisca ~ servixa</i>
2sg	<i>sents</i>	<i>séntigues</i>	<i>servixes</i>	<i>servisques ~ servixes</i>
3sg	<i>sent</i>	<i>séntiga</i>	<i>servix</i>	<i>servisca ~ servixa</i>
1pl	<i>sentim</i>	<i>sentiguem</i>	<i>servim</i>	<i>serviguem</i>
2pl	<i>sentiu</i>	<i>sentigueu</i>	<i>serviu</i>	<i>servigueu</i>
3pl	<i>senten</i>	<i>séntiguen</i>	<i>servixen</i>	<i>servisquen ~ servixen</i>

- The velar segment has spread to the present subjunctive in all three conjugations, but not to the first person of the present indicative.
- Forms like *pèrdigo* ‘I lose’ and *sèntigo* ‘I feel’ are documented, but they haven't been as widely generalized as the subjunctive forms.
- Possible explanation for the **break** in **morphological coherence**: the velar segment has acquired a functional value as a subjunctive marker.

Imperfect subjunctive

- In this tense, the phenomenon mostly affects non-velarized verbs from the **second** and **third conjugations**.
- Examples: *perdigués* or *perdegués* ‘s/he lose’, instead of *perdés* ‘s/he lose’; *sentigués* ‘s/he feel’ or *servigués* ‘s/he serve’, instead of *sentís* ‘s/he feel’ or *servís* ‘s/he serve’.
- **Uniform phenomenon**: affects all persons equally.
- Alcover & Moll (1929-1932): *cantigués* ‘s/he sing’, *cantiguessa* ‘s/he sing’...

5. Conclusions

Conclusions

- Notable **divergence** between **colloquial** and **standard** forms.
- **Dialectal variation** in the phenomena of analogical velarization.
- **Index of marked** morphosyntactic **categories** (Wheeler 1993, Valls 2013: 367): e.g., gerund, plural, subjunctive...
- **Systematization of irregularities**: correlation between the thematic vowel e and /g/ (Wheeler 1993).
- Sometimes, **morphomic coherence** is **disrupted** (velarisation of 1pl and 2pl of the present indicative).

Danke schön!



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