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- 9-16 **Lloret, Maria-Rosa** (Universitat de Barcelona. Departament de Filologia Catalana); **Jiménez, Jesús** (Universitat de València. Departament de Filologia Catalana)
Morphology in Phonology. Introduction. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2005, vol. 4, pp. 9-16.

Articles

- 19-55 **McCarthy, John J.** (University of Massachusetts at Amherst. Department of Linguistics)
Taking a Free Ride in Morphophonemic Learning. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2005, vol. 4, pp. 19-55.

As language learners begin to analyze morphologically complex words, they face the problem of projecting underlying representations from the morphophonemic alternations that they observe. Research on learnability in Optimality Theory has started to address this problem, and this article deals with one aspect of it. When alternation data tell the learner that some surface [B]s are derived from underlying /A/s, the learner will under certain conditions generalize by deriving *all* [B]s, even nonalternating ones, from /A/s. An adequate learning theory must therefore incorporate a procedure that allows nonalternating [B]s to take a «free ride» on the /A/ → [B] unfaithful map.

Key words: chain shift, learning, morphophonemics, opacity, Optimality Theory; Arabic, Choctaw, German, Japanese, Rotuman, Sanskrit.

- 57-82 **Wheeler, Max W.** (University of Sussex. Department of Linguistics & English Language)
Cluster Reduction: Deletion or Coalescence? *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2005, vol. 4, pp. 57-82.

I show that a consequence of Correspondence Theory in Optimality Theory is that, for processes such as cluster reduction, if MAX outranks UNIFORMITY, candidates displaying coalescence are preferred to those displaying true deletion.

It is thus incumbent on the analyst to identify the constraints that select appropriate coalescence candidates, even for apparent deletion cases. I show how Lamontagne and Rice's (1995) account of the D-effect in Navajo must be modified to ensure the correct outcome in a language where both coalescence and apparent deletion are repairs to cluster constraint violations. If, for other reasons, it is necessary that UNIFORMITY outrank MAX, the admission of MAX(Feature) constraints becomes unavoidable. An analysis of certain cluster reduction phenomena in Ibiza Catalan shows how complex coda constraints, perceptual markedness constraints for clusters, Paradigm Uniformity, and featural faithfulness interact to derive a pattern of contextual variation. The paper includes a review of Correspondence Theory focusing on its effects in cluster reduction.

Key words: cluster reduction, coalescence, Correspondence Theory, deletion, fusion, Optimality Theory, phonology; Catalan, Navajo.

- 83-106 **Downing, Laura J.** (Zentrum für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, Typologie und Universalienforschung, Berlin)
Morphological Complexity and Prosodic Minimality. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2005, vol. 4, pp. 83-106.

It is widely attested, cross-linguistically, for both words and prosodic morphemes to be required to be minimally bimoraic or disyllabic. Work since McCarthy and Prince (1986) argues that these minimality effects fall out from the Prosodic Hierarchy. Requiring the relevant morpheme to be a Prosodic Word and dominate a stress Foot automatically also imposes a two mora or two syllable minimality requirement. In this paper I show, based on a reanalysis of reduplication in Axininca Campa, that this Prosodic Hierarchy-based theory of minimality is inadequate. I argue instead that morphological minimality conditions are better explained as a form of Head-Dependent Asymmetry (Dresher and van der Hulst 1998). Head morphemes are enhanced by requiring more complex prosodic structure, mirroring their more complex morphological structure. This alternative approach not only provides a uniform account of minimality effects holding for Axininca Campa reduplication, it also solves the problems raised by McCarthy and Prince's (1993, 1995) analysis of the data.

Key words: compounds, head-dependent asymmetry, minimal word, minimality, onset, Optimality Theory, positional prominence, prosodic hierarchy, prosodic word, reduplication, stem; Axininca Campa, Diyari.

- 107-126 **van Oostendorp, Marc** (Meertens Instituut. Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences)
Expressing Inflection Tonally. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2005, vol. 4, pp. 107-126.

In Limburg Dutch, the difference between neuter and feminine agreement on adjectives is expressed by a difference in lexical tone. This paper argues that this distinction is due to a difference in underlying representations and not to a paradigmatic antifaithfulness effect. In particular, it argues for a specific ver-

sion of REALIZE-MORPHEME, the constraint demanding every underlying morpheme to be present in phonological surface representations. The key argument is that a schwa suffix turns up whenever the tonal change from neuter to feminine is not possible.

Key words: dialectology, lexical tones, morphology-phonology interface, Optimality Theory, paradigm uniformity; Dutch.

- 127-154 **José, Brian** (Indiana University. Department of Linguistics); **Auger, Julie** (Indiana University. Department of French & Italian and Department of Linguistics)

Geminates and Picard Pronominal Clitic Allomorphy. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2005, vol. 4, pp. 127-154.

In this paper, we examine five pronominal clitics in Vimeu Picard with a geminate-consonant allomorph. Assuming a doubly-linked (non-moraic) representation of geminates, we attribute the four different patterns observed to four different underlying structures serving as inputs to an OT constraint ranking. The 1sg and 2sg pronouns are singletons which are subject to gemination in one specific position, syllable structure permitting. The 3sg pronoun is a geminate which is subject to variable degemination or vowel epenthesis where there are insufficient syllable slots to accommodate it. The partitive/genitive is somewhere in between a singleton and a geminate (its UR is /nⁿ/, where the superscript «n» represents a floating nasal; it may surface as [nn] or as [nɛ̃], depending upon where its floating nasal docks). Finally, the 3pl is neither a singleton nor a geminate underlyingly, but becomes a geminate by its first segment assimilating to its second.

Key words: appendix, cross-syllabification, degemination, positional alignment, stressed lengthening, stochastic Optimality Theory, Sympathy Theory, variation, vowel epenthesis; Picard.

- 155-170 **Rice, Curt** (University of Tromsø. Center for Advanced Study in Theoretical Linguistics)

Optimal Gaps in Optimal Paradigms. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2005, vol. 4, pp. 155-170.

This article develops a treatment of phonologically motivated gaps in paradigms within Optimal Paradigms Theory (McCarthy 2001). The gaps are instances of absolute ungrammaticality, i.e. situations in which there is no output for a given input. In the approach developed here, gaps arise when phonological markedness constraints outrank constraints requiring the expression of a particular morphological category. In this way, incomplete paradigms can be selected as optimal, since the incomplete paradigm will incur fewer markedness violations. The optimal gaps approach is illustrated with Norwegian imperatives and Hungarian *CCik* verbs. The analysis is compared with earlier treatments of absolute ungrammaticality, such as the null parse of Prince and Smolensky (1993).

Key words: gaps, ineffability, Optimality Theory, Optimal Paradigms, phonology; Hungarian, Norwegian.

- 171-198 **Bertinetto, Pier Marco** (Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa); **Jetchev, Georgi** (University of Sofia St. Kliment Ohridski. Department of Romance Philology)

Lexical Access in Bulgarian: Nouns and Adjectives with and without Floating Vowels. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2005, vol. 4, pp. 171-198.

The main goal of the experiments described in this paper was to compare the behavior of Bulgarian words with vs. without «vowel/Ø» alternation. The Ø-form may for instance be observed, within the relevant word paradigms, in noun plurals, in adjectives' gender and plural inflections, and in derived nouns. The materials in experiment 1 consisted of six sets of frequency controlled Bulgarian words, contrasting with respect to the following factors: Alternation (sets A1, B1, C1 with alternation vs. A2, B2, C2 without alternation), Morphology (set A with plural formation, an inflectional process, vs. set C with abstract noun formation, a derivational process), and Stress pattern (set A with first syllable stress vs. set B with second syllable stress). The experimental paradigm was based on repetition priming with visual-input lexical decision. Alternation had a clear effect on the lexical decision time, while Morphology (in the specific manifestation of this parameter) was virtually ineffective and Stress had a minor effect. The materials in experiment 2 consisted of two sets of adjectives contrasting with respect to Alternation (D1 vs. D2), presented in three forms: base-form, inflected (plural) and derived (the corresponding abstract noun). The results of experiment 2 substantially replicate those of experiment 1. The converging results of experiments 1 and 2 offer themselves to a relatively straightforward interpretation. The Bulgarian participants showed a sharp inclination towards full listing, i.e. direct access, of the morphologically modified forms (both inflected and derived) of morphophonologically complex, thus opaque, alternating words. By contrast, the morphologically modified forms of non-alternating, transparent words were clearly processed compositionally. As for the contrast inflection/derivation, although the specific instantiation of this opposition did not prove to directly yield a statistical difference, its interplay with the morphophonological complication implied by the process of vowel/Ø alternation produced a relatively clear effect in terms of lexical decision speed. Finally, the combination of vowel alternation and second syllable stress, involving replacement of the stressed vowel in morphologically modified forms, seemed to enhance the intimations of direct access.

Key words: alternation, floating vowels, lexical access, morphology, phonology, psycholinguistics; Bulgarian.

- 199-223 **Pérez Saldanya, Manuel** (Universitat de València. Departament de Filologia Catalana); **Vallès, Teresa** (Universitat Internacional de Catalunya. Facultat d'Humanitats)

Catalan Morphology and Low-level Patterns in a Network Model. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2005, vol. 4, pp. 199-223.

The fact that more specific or low-level morphological patterns may coexist with the most general or abstract ones is a characteristic insight of Cognitive Morphology. According to the bottom-up approach of the model, it is even to be expected that low-level patterns may have a more relevant role than the most

inclusive and abstract ones. On the basis of the analysis of an aspect of Catalan inflection (velar verbs of the second conjugation) and one aspect of Catalan word-formation (complex words with the prefixoid *radio-*), we will show the advantages of incorporating to the model salient low-level patterns and the local paradigmatic relations in which they are based.

Key words: Cognitive Morphology, low-level patterns, network model, paradigmatic relations; Catalan.

225-247 **Viaplana, Joaquim** (Universitat de Barcelona. Departament de Filologia Catalana)

Velar Verbs and Verbal Classes in Catalan. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2005, vol. 4, pp. 225-247.

There is in Catalan a set of verbs, the so-called «velar verbs», whose differential characteristic consists in presenting a velar segment between the root and the inflectional suffixes in certain morphosyntactic contexts. This velar segment has traditionally been considered as being part of the root in the contexts where it occurs, and has been made responsible for the typical allomorphic character of velar verbs. Under the assumption that regular verbs are only one-root verbs, velar verbs have been treated as irregular verbs. Nevertheless, neither the phonetic character of the velar segment nor the marginal character of velar verbs is clear. The aim of this paper is to present a different account of velar verbs on the basis of the inflectional morphological character of the velar segment. The work is split into two parts. The first one focuses on standard Catalan, and tries to show that in this variety velar verbs are better treated as regular verbs. The second one focuses on other Catalan varieties, and aims to exhibit the incoherence implied in the traditional treatment of velar verbs in the context of the Catalan language as a whole. The discussion is mainly developed on morphological grounds, halfway between theory and description.

Key words: inchoative segment, irregular verbs, lexical entries, regular verbs, velar verbs, verbal classes, verbal subclasses; Catalan.

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