

## Variable Analogical Extension of Velar Augments in Dialectal Catalan

Several Romance languages show an unexpected, unetymological velar stop in certain verb forms (especially in the 1SG present indicative). For example, Latin TENEŌ “have/hold” → Sp./It. **tengo**, Cat. **tinc**, Occ. **tenc**, versus expected \*teño (for Spanish, cf. Port. tenho). Most discussion of this phenomenon to date has focused on the origin of the velar in Spanish, leaving Catalan generally overlooked. In Spanish and Italian, this velar is limited to a few verbs; most notably **tengo** and **vengo** “come”. However, in Catalan far more verbs have this unexpected velar. For example, Lat. SCRIBŌ “write” → Sp. **escribo**, It. **scrivo** without the velar; by contrast Cat. **escric** has the velar insert.

Thus, there is variation across Romance as to the presence of the velar insert. Some languages lack it entirely (Portuguese), some show it in a few verbs (Spanish, Italian), while in Catalan, the number is far greater. Importantly, within languages, there are also interesting patterns of variation. Dialectal data from Griera’s *Atlas lingüístic de Catalunya* show this velar insert to an even greater extent regionally within Catalan (Lat. CANTŌ → Std.Cat. **canto**, but dialectally (Girona), **cantuk**).

While the ultimate origin of the velar is uncertain, the process by which it has spread and caused the observed dialectal variation is clearly analogical in nature: the verbs that show the velar have acquired it via influence from other forms that already had the velar consonant. The widespread **pongo** “put” no doubt acquired it by association with **tengo/vengo**, and its further extension derives from these established patterns. Looking at only the standard language is deceiving, as the full range of occurrence of the velar is observable only in nonstandard dialects. Dialectal data not only show the differing degrees to which this analogical change is accomplished, but also the different analogical options available. For example, Lat. DORM(I)Ō (Std. Cat. **dormo**) “sleep” gives a variety of reflexes with this unetymological velar: **dórmik** (SE.France), **dórmuk** (Girona), **dórk** (Valencia), **dórmigo** (W.Tarragona), each form showing a different “solution” to the issue of velar accretion.

Interestingly, further analogical options not involving this velar insert add to the variation in these same verbs. For instance, some 4<sup>th</sup> conjugation verbs that can follow the patterns described above can also pattern with the group of 4<sup>th</sup> conjugation verbs conjugated with the inchoative suffix. Thus, reflexes of DORM(I)Ō, in addition to the above options (i.e. **dork**), can also pattern with this ‘inchoative’ group in some dialects, giving **dormisko**.

In this paper, I catalogue the range of analogically induced variation in the Catalan verb with regard to this velar insert by way first of demonstrating the importance of looking beyond the contemporary, standard language for evidence of variation and second, of showing that variation of this sort, with analogy at its root, unlike the more commonly described phonological variation, has a distinctively cognitive dimension to it (Antilla 2003). Observing this variation gives insight into how the language has changed and observing this change can give insight into how the relevant cognitive processes actually work.

### Selected references:

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